

Negotiating Modernity:
Urdu Print Culture in the Princely State of Hyderabad

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By

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Abbreviations

Anjuman	Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Urdu (Organization for the Advancement of Urdu)
APSA	Andhra Pradesh State Archives and Research Institute
F.	Fasli year
H.	Hijri year
Idāra	Idāra-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdu (Institution for Urdu Literature)

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Note on Translation and Transliteration

All translations from Urdu to English are mine unless otherwise specified. This thesis prefers pronunciation of Urdu names and terms over their script. Words commonly used in the English language, like *ulama* or *Urdu*, have not been transliterated. Names of the newspapers and unpopular words have been italicized. I have chosen the most commonly accepted form of names of the individuals and places. I follow the pattern set by institutions such as the International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, the Journal of Asian Studies, and the Encyclopedia of Islam. The ‘a’ sound in Urdu is normally transliterated as ‘i’ in English, I use ‘e’ instead of ‘i’ as I prefer pronunciation (for example, instead of *Rhabar-i-Deccan* I use *Rahbar-e-Deccan*). The word ‘Sayyid’ is also written according to pronunciation.

Abstract

By historically analyzing select printed materials such as books, journals, and newspapers, this thesis attempts to contextualize Urdu print culture in the princely state of Hyderabad. Thematically it examines books on science, journal essays on social reform, and newspaper editorials on infrastructure and development. The thesis argues that print functioned in Hyderabad less as a disseminator of modern knowledge and social agent and more as a condition of discursive configurations. Print culture helped accelerate the mutual constitution of tradition and modernity and religion and science through intersection and divergence. The methodology chosen for this study is archival techniques coupled with the historical method and textual analysis.

Chapter I

Introduction

When I expressed my interest in studying Urdu press in the Princely Hyderabad in a coursework session in 2013 at the department, one of my colleagues commented that “it must have been about biryani”.¹ That comment was, on the one hand, provocative and, on the other, inspiring. The prejudiced and stereotypical remark pushed me to think and ask more questions about the history and story of print in Hyderabad. Was the Hyderabadi/Deccani print culture only about biryani? If yes, how did it take place? What were the contours of such a phenomenon? If not, what was it about? How were its texture and taste? What were its ingredients? Interestingly enough, I understood that it has something to do with biryani and food as there were lithographed Urdu books available on food, recipes, and cuisine of Nizams. The manuscript and print literature on food provides rich data on culinary traditions, cosmopolitanism, and textual culture in a princely space (Lanzillo, 2020).

Further inquiry into other aspects of print led me to go beyond biryani and explore a variety of discourses, debates, and practices related to print culture. The print culture in Hyderabad dealt with several issues and themes like modernity, tradition, religion, science, social reform, development, politics, language, literature, nationalism, society, culture, ideology, everyday life etc. The print story in Hyderabad differs from European, colonial and nationalist history. Hence the present thesis attempts to historically analyze the trajectory/specificity of Urdu print culture in the princely state of Hyderabad. Scholars from diverse disciplinary backgrounds and geographical focuses have studied print’s technological, socio-political and cultural dimensions.² Due to many reasons in the colonial South Asian

¹ Hyderabad biryani is world-famous and most of the discussions on Hyderabad usually begin with a stereotypical reference to biryani concealing/erasing other historical and cultural aspects of life.

² Works on print culture and princely states will be elaborately discussed in the literature review chapter of the thesis.

context, more attention has been paid to British India rather than princely states. As a vigorously emerging area, the social, political, and cultural histories and issues of princely states are being explored (Zutshi, 2009) while the field of print culture is rarely touched. A recent scholarship on print culture in the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir attempts to shift focus to media cultures of princely India and bring them to the center stage of history (Parray & Saeed, 2021).

The present study mainly looks at the emergence of printing in Deccan. It attempts to trace who were the actors behind it, what they produced, why, and for whom. It covers the period between the 1820s and 1920s but does not treat it as a print era as the so-called pre-print cultures were prevalent and Deccan has a huge tradition of orality, manuscript, calligraphy, etc. After examining the emergence, it moves to a momentous period in the history of print in the state and then proceeds to analyze the third theme related to the topic. To further clarify, the thesis is structured into three themes:

1. The beginning of print which marks the inauguration of book production on science,
2. The second stage is identified with the debates on social reform in periodicals/journals
3. The third aspect is infrastructure and development discussed in newspapers

These three themes- science, reform, and development/change- have been generally identified as the markers of modernity. Hence the study investigates how various actors in different contexts engaged with these questions through print. The language of Urdu, the technology of print, and the location of Hyderabad play a vital role in the discussion informed by various archival sources and textual discourses.

To comprehend the larger picture of print, contextualization is a necessary prerequisite. Hence the introductory chapter locates Hyderabad in its geopolitical, socio-

cultural, and linguistic-literary contexts. The next section will give a sketch of Hyderabad's history then the chapter will move to a description of the Urdu language and press in the state.

The Princely State of Hyderabad

Hyderabad was the premier and second-largest princely state in India after Kashmir as England and Scotland together,³ with over 16 million inhabitants (in 1948).⁴ It was the largest in terms of revenue and population and the last relic of Muslim rule in the Deccan survived until 1948.⁵ Urdu/Persian/Arabic-speaking Muslims (many of them came from the Middle East, North Africa, Armenia, North India and many other regions) constituted the majority of Hyderabad city's population. Other religious communities like Hindus and Christians (who spoke Telugu, Kannada and Marathi, Urdu, etc.) were predominantly present in the rest of the state. Thus, Hyderabad state became a multicultural, cosmopolitan, and diasporic space (Farooqui, 2008). Hyderabad was a Muslim space influenced by colonial and Indo-Islamic cultures (Shah, 2005).

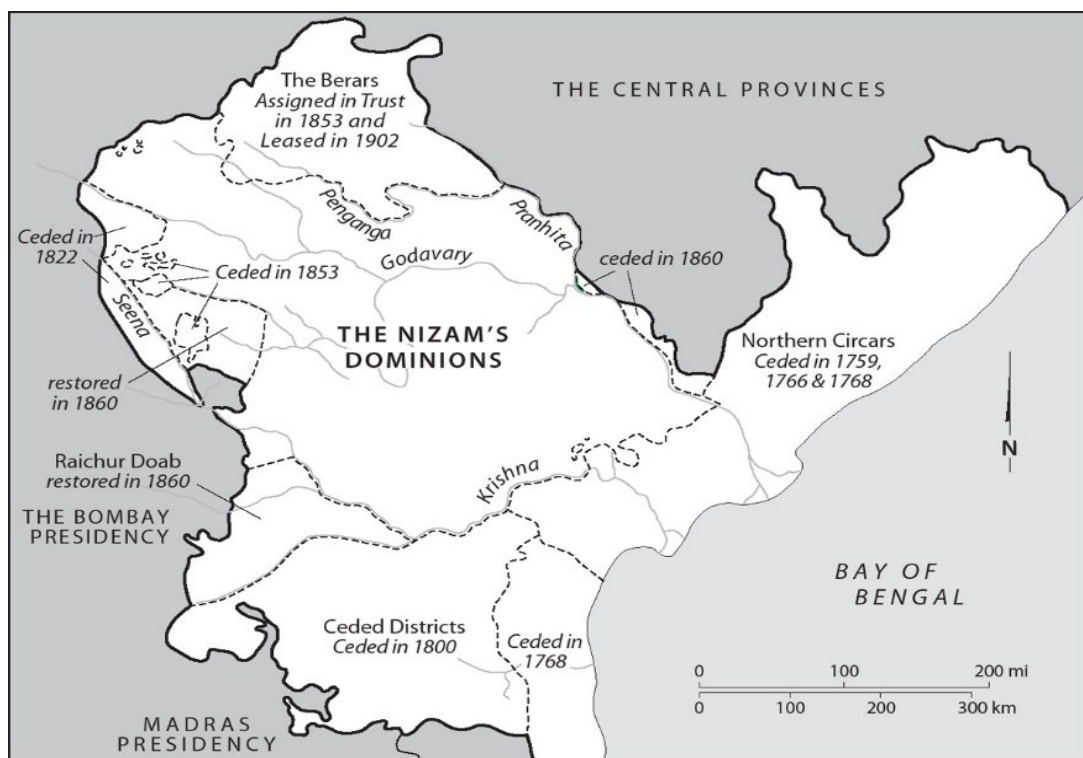
Geographically, Bombay, Central Provinces, and Madras surrounded the state which composed of three regional areas- Telangana, Marathwada (now Maharashtra), and Karnataka.

³ The census of 1901 suggests that the extent of the state was same as it was in 1891. The state is larger in extent than the Bombay Presidency excluding Sindh, or the United Provinces excluding Oudh, or even the Madras Presidency excluding Coimbatore and Coromandel Coast (p. 12).

⁴ According to the 1901 census report the population of the dominions was 11, 141, 142 in 1901, 11, 537, 010 in 1891 and 9, 845, 594 in 1881 (p. 45).

The census of 1901 showed a net decrease from the population of 1891 of 3.45 per cent; due to the famines of 1897 and 1900, and to the abnormally high mortality from plague and cholera during the latter half of the decade, notably in the districts of Bidar, Aurangabad, Bhir, Nander, Parbhani, and Osmanabad. in the Districts of Atraf-i-Balda, Nalgonda, Warangal, Medak, Mahbub Nagar, Sirpur Tandur, Gulbarga and Lingsugur, population rose by about 10 per cent; including Hyderabad city. For instance see, "Imperial Gazetteers of India, Provincial Series: Hyderabad State" (1909, p. 21).

⁵ The census reports of 1891-1941 provide details on state's geography, land, water, industry and agriculture etc. they point out that Hyderabad had enough income from taxation- mainly land revenue, excise, opium, customs, forests, stamp registration, railways and mines- to have surplus budgets even during the Depression and the Second World War.



*Map 1, The Nizam's Dominions, Purushotham, M. (2021), sup.org,
<https://www.sup.org/books/extra/?id=31562&i=Excerpt%20from%20Chapter%201.html>*

Apart from Persian, Urdu, Telugu, Maratha, and Kannada, many other languages and literary cultures were actively present in the state (Azam, 2017). The state had its currency, communication, army, and judiciary.

This part of Deccan was ruled by various kingdoms/dynasties, later it became part of the Mughal Empire. In 1724, the state came under the control of the Nizams (known as Asaf Jahs) and in 1798 it allied with the British. This subsidiary alliance (often known as “faithful alliance”) marked the beginning of state’s unequal status.⁶ Due to the system of indirect rule,

⁶ The struggle between the French and English during the wars in southern India in the eighteenth century brought both powers into contact with the Nizam’s Government. In 1759, Masulipatam was taken by British troops under Colonel Forde, directed by Clive, and a treaty ceding that district to the British and ousting the French was thereupon concluded with the Hyderabad government, to whom the territory belonged.

the Hyderabad princely state found itself in a protected position (Pernau, 2000).⁷ The alliance continued for a century and a half with conflicts and tensions.

The relationship between princely states and the British East India Company manifested through treaties, rituals, symbols, and traditions (Pernau 2000; Ramusack 2003). British paramountcy attempted to subjugate and control Hyderabad state's political power and autonomy in multiple ways.

Generally, the princely states were administered by local elites. Even though there were Hindu high officials and prime ministers, Hyderabad state Government service was dominated by Muslims. Until the final decline of the Mughal Empire in 1857, the Nizams maintained a symbolic subordination to Delhi. They identified themselves as "Servants of the Emperor" and considered their title as originating from the court of Delhi (Berton, 1905).

Between 1724 and 1948 seven Nizams ruled Hyderabad and they initiated several socio-political and cultural changes in the state with the participation of multiple actors. The second Asaf Jah Nizam Ali Khan (between 1762 and 1803) formulated a new political system, set firm boundaries, and established a new capital in Hyderabad city. The eighteenth century witnessed frequent warfare with Deccani rivals.

The mutiny of 1857 which started in Northern India also affected the state. The British authority was afraid of a possible uprising in Hyderabad against them. But the Nizam accepted the advice of his minister to keep the loyalty unshaken. After the mutiny, in recognition of the service rendered by the Nizams, the British government modified the treaty of 1853.⁸

⁷ The idea of indirect rule has been challenged in recent scholarship, for instance see, Beverley (2016).

⁸ By a treaty made in 1860, Osmanabad (Naldurg) and the Raichur Doab, yielding a revenue of 21 lakhs, were restored, and a debt of 50 lakhs was canceled, while certain tracts on the left bank of Godavari were ceded and the Assigned Districts of Berar, yielding a revenue of 32 lakhs, were taken in trust by the British for the purposes specified in the treaty of 1853. The Nizam, his minister, and noblemen were rewarded with expensive presents.

During the rule of the sixth Nizam Mir Maḥbūb Ali Khan, Sir Salar Jung I initiated and implemented various political, administrative, economic, and social reforms. Sir Salar Jang II was appointed as minister followed by Sir Asman Jah in 1888. In 1892 a code named *Kanuncha-e-Mubārak* (the auspicious code) was issued to guide the minister and the council of all state ministers. Minister Sir Vikar-ul-Umara made many changes in various departments of the administration. In 1901, the Nizam appointed Sir Kishen Pershad Bahadur as Prime minister of Hyderabad.

Nizam Osman Ali Khan took over power in 1911 as the seventh Asaf Jahi ruler after Mir Maḥbūb Ali Khan died. His period underwent various socio-political, cultural, and developmental changes in the state. He established Osmania University, the first vernacular university in South Asia in 1918 during his reign and many political movements emerged either to challenge or support his regime in many ways. The Indian state, after gaining independence from the British, forcefully integrated Hyderabad into it in 1948.

In the early nineteenth century, the Nizams had to mainly deal with policies and rules of relationship between them and the British, political disputes with rulers of other states, technological changes, and new knowledge practices, especially western science, and new information/communication practices. The latter half of the century witnessed many administrative reforms and socio-political modifications such as the emergence of educational institutions, a shift in the official language, the beginning of Urdu journalism, and nationalist tendencies. New religious and political movements emerged mainly in the first half of the twentieth century. This period also marks the proliferation of language and literary movements and infrastructural advancements. The technology of print, question of language, and negotiation between a variety of intellectual and cultural aspirations were significantly relevant in all these periods.

The above description sheds light on the power structure and British-Nizam relations which is vital in the discussions on press and print technology in Hyderabad. This will be evident in the fourth and fifth chapters of the thesis. The following section discusses how politics functioned in Hyderabad and how the princely rule operated. The engagement between the Nizams and elite actors in the state is also connected with the introduction of print.

The Question of Power

The control of the British over Hyderabad was mainly confined to the political field. Karen Leonard (1971) suggests that the socioeconomic structure designed during the period of Asaf Jah I survived in its main outlines until the end of the princely era in 1948. Following Bahmanis and Qutb Shahis, Asaf Jah I entrusted military positions mainly to Muslims, assigning administrative work and cultivation of the land to Hindus.

In the political structure of Hyderabad state, the Nizam was placed at the top. The *divān* (revenue minister) came below the Nizam and was responsible for looking after the state's daily administration. Beneath the minister were elites including rajas, *pāigāh* nobles whom the first Nizam gave land on a military tenure. Many of the nobles of these groups were patrons of artists, musicians, dancers, poets, and pundits. The *vakils* (agent, lawyer) served both patrons and clients. British residents who were the local representative of the company's governor-general and later the Queen's viceroy also involved in state politics. Finally, many communities became part of the state's power structure including "Arab moneylenders, African soldiers, and Afghan and Rohilla mercenaries" (Cohen, 2007, pp. 15-16).

The political system of Hyderabad operated through patron-client relationships and used *vakils* (intermediaries) of many kinds. Most of the participants were members of

administration and nobility. A distinctive Hyderabad nobility connected to the Nizam's court was formed by the late eighteenth century. Some of them were recruited from the Mughal service, and families with traditional-associations with the early Deccani Sultanates. The nobility was predominantly Muslims, with a few Marathas and Rajputs.

The prominent Muslim noble family in Hyderabad was known as the *pāigāh*, and they maintained a huge military force for the Nizam. They played a massive role in the print, the literary, and textual cultures of the state and they represented Sunni tradition. Shias also made a good presence in Deccan.⁹

Symbolic, cultural, and ideological expression of religion was visible in the spatial and social spheres of the state. Technological changes had to negotiate with and incorporate religious ideas and values. Hence religion/tradition is one of the major categories used in the current study. To look at how religion/tradition was symbolized and approached is important to investigate the textual cultures and knowledge traditions in Hyderabad. It will also help to navigate the connection of Hyderabad to outer world and global networks.

Religion and the Social

The Asaf Jahi rulers promoted and represented certain Muslim cultural and civilizational values while encouraging local languages and cultures. The influence of Persian culture, architecture, and lifestyle is largely visible in Hyderabad (Datla, 2013)¹⁰. The rulers and intellectuals of the state established various learning centers like madrasas, schools, translation bureaus, Osmania University and many other educational institutions at different points in time.

⁹ According to Karen Leonard (1971), this happened due to two reasons. First, the early Deccan sultanates at Bijapur and Golconda had been ruled by Shias, and many families once associated with those sultanates attached themselves to the Hyderabad court. Second, during the late eighteenth century, several successive Shia *divans* of Hyderabad attracted other Shias from Madras, Mysore, and Oudh (Where power was passing to the English) (p. 581). There were sectarian conflicts between Sunnis and Shias. Hindu-Muslim riots also had taken place in the state.

¹⁰ For more information on the history of Persian art and culture in Deccan, see Overton (2020). On the Islamic character of the architecture, see Shah (2005).

Bureaucratic intellectuals and scholars also promoted classical Islamic knowledge. Sayyid Husain Bilgrami with other scholars founded *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif* in 1888 to print rare and unpublished works of the golden ages of Islamic civilization.

The slow and gradual democratization and popularization of education influenced religious education systems, methods of teaching, and spread of the Persian language and led to the development of the Urdu language as well. Muslim rulers and the community in Hyderabad attempted to keep their cultural significance active and alive with the participation and involvement of other communities. The preservation of traditional values was possible through conscious negotiation and engagement with new ideas, technologies, and practices. This thesis approaches religion/tradition not as a ritual doctrine but as a discourse and framework of inquiry.

The questions of language and culture were very significant in the socio-political arena of Hyderabad. Persian enjoyed the status of 'language of command' for a long time while the Qutb Shahis did patronize the Urdu language and Telugu language. Different dynasties produced several manuscripts in Persian language. Urdu also had a long history in the literary and social sphere but the shift from Persian to Urdu as the official language occurred in the 1880s in Hyderabad. The following section examines the history of the Urdu print and language in India in general and in Hyderabad in particular.

The story of Urdu Language and Urdu Press in India

There are various studies on Urdu print in India both in Urdu and English.¹¹ Most of them focus on the chronological history of the press and book production. Religious and reform literature, intrareligious and inter-religious polemics, fiction, and journalistic publications were the major concerns of many studies. Individual names and institutions are essential in understanding Urdu print culture in India. Urdu became a popular language by the mid-18th

¹¹ The studies on print culture will be elaborately analyzed in the second chapter as part of the review of literature.

century, even though Persian remained the official language of Mughals until the 1830s. The Fort William College of Calcutta played a notable role in shaping and developing the Urdu language through translation and book production. Apart from that, many individuals, including poets and writers, linguistic and literary associations, and educational and cultural associations also played a significant part in the growth and popularity of the Urdu language and literature (Sadiq, 1964).

Urdu printing presses and publishing houses started emerging in India in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. *Abdu Rahman* printing press was the first Urdu printing press, established in 1813. Gaziuddin Haider founded this press in Lucknow and it published a large number of books. John Handerson established an Urdu printing press at Agra. He published a vernacular paper in Persian script namely *Agra Akhbār* in 1832. Many magazines were also published during this period.¹² Through diplomatic and journalistic ways, many of the Muslim administrators, intellectuals, and scholars of North India had connections with Hyderabad such as Mohsin-ul-Mulk of Aligarh, Shibli Nomani, Zafar Ali Khan, Chiragh Ali, Mohammad Aziz Mirza, etc (Saksena, 1940).

Scholars consider *Jām-i-Jahān numā* as the first Urdu newspaper in India and it started publication in 1822 from Calcutta by Harihar Dutta. Urdu journalism started before Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, and Tamil journalism. Bengali journalism was started in 1816 with the publication of *Bengal Gazette*. The *Aaina-e- -Sikandari* published in Bombay has been attributed as the second Urdu newspaper. The launching of *Delhi Urdu Akhbār* in 1836 gave new vigor to

¹² *Dil Gudāz* of Abdul Halim Sharar, *Zamāna* of Daya Narayan Nigam, *Adīb* of Allahabad, *Al Nāzir* of Zafar-ul-Mulk, *Hazār Dāstān of Lahore*, *Humayūn* of Lahore and *Shabāb-e-Urdu*, *Nigār* of Bhopal, *Muarraf* of Azamgarh, *Urdu* of Aurangabad, *Suhail* of Aligarh, *Urdu-e-Mualla* of Hasrat Mohani, *Muraqqa* and *Khayabān* of Lucknow, *Akbar* of Allahabad, *Maḥzan* and *Deccan Review* were the famous old Urdu magazines. *Urdu Akhbār* of Delhi, *Koh-e-nūr*, *Punjab-e Akhbār* and *Anjuman-e-Akhhār* of Punjab, *Shula-e-Tur* and *Matla-e-Noor* of Kanpur, *Ashaf-ul- Akhhār* of Delhi, *Victoria* paper from Sialkot, *Qāsim-ul- Akhhār* from Bangalore, *Kashf-ul-Akhhār* from Bombay, *Jarida-e-Rozgār* from Madras, *Oudh Akhbār* of the United Provinces, *Shams-ul- Akhhār* of Madras, *Oudh Punch* of Lucknow, *The Hindustani of Lucknow*, *Rafiq-e-Hind* of Lahore, *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and *Thahzīb-ul-Akhlāq* of Aligarh, *Paisa Akhhār* of Lahore were the major Urdu newspapers/journals of the nineteenth century (Saksena, 1940).

Urdu journalism. Patriotism and anti-colonialism were the major features of most Urdu newspapers, especially after 1857 (Sadiq, 1964).

Princely states such as Hyderabad, Rampur, Mysore, Tonk, and Patiala also published newspapers in Urdu. Around 43 newspapers sprang up in 14 princely states from 1858 upto 1900. The number of newspapers published in Hyderabad was 14. Rampur published four newspapers (Masood, 2009). *Asif-ul-Akḥbār* was a prominent journal from Hyderabad state. The rulers and the British authority simultaneously controlled and scrutinized the press.

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the slow growth of Urdu print culture in the North Indian context. The printers and publishers did not target commercial success. In 1853 the total circulation of the forty vernacular newspapers in North-West Provinces and Punjab was under 2000. The *Mustafāi* press of Lucknow and Delhi had a successful distribution network. By the beginning of the *Koh-e-Nūr* press in Lahore in 1849, the printing industry shifted from Delhi to Lahore during the 1850s. *Avadh Akḥbār* became the first Urdu daily newspaper in Northern India in 1877. It began as a weekly in the 1850s, it was read from Delhi to Hyderabad and Lahore to Calcutta (Emiko, 2013).

Abdul Halim Sharar started Urdu monthly periodical *Dil Gudāz* in 1897 in Lucknow to publicize his views. He talked about the changes brought by colonialism, industrialism, and urbanization in cities of Europe and India and compared Lucknow with London. He presented Lucknow as *Mashriqi Thamaddun ki Akhiri Namūna* (The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture). It is pointed out that Sharar mixed Western models of writing with Persian and Urdu crafts (Perkins, 2017). He spent his time between Hyderabad and Lucknow and traveled to Europe. Unlike Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who embraced western progress as an ideal, Sharar problematized the idea of progress and wanted to preserve the past while thinking about the concept of a global city.

Sir Sayyid made tremendous contributions to Urdu journalism and print culture in colonial India and was well educated in Persian and Arabic (Abbas, 2015). Sir Sayyid's brother Sayyid Muhammad ran one of Delhi's first presses and published its first Urdu newspaper *Sayyid-ul-Akḥbār* in 1836/37. When Sayyid Muhammad died in 1841 the press was taken over by Sir Sayyid. During the same period, he published his book *Asrar-u-Sanādīd*, on the history of buildings of Delhi. The press was destroyed during the violent conflict of 1857.

Thahzīb-ul-Akhlāq was the most popular journal started by Sir Sayyid. *The Aligarh Institute Gazette*, the organ of the Aligarh Scientific Society, primarily in bilingual format functioned as a vehicle of the Aligarh movement (Lelyveld, 1978). Even though the circulation was small, it was distributed to large places including Lahore, Patna, Hyderabad, and Bombay. In his book, David Lelyveld (2013) points out that the then prevalent Urdu journals intensely criticized both journals because of Sir Sayyid's religious and social views.

Sir Sayyid believed that Urdu of Delhi is the best and other locations have corrupted the language with excessive Persian words. He wrote on the mutiny of 1857 and published a commentary on the Qur'an in Urdu language. He established Aligarh University and later realized that English is the appropriate language for education and Urdu is unfit.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was also attracted to Sir Sayyid and the Urdu language. He attended the conferences of *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Urdu* (Organization for the Development of Urdu), a branch of the Muhammadan Educational Conference. He started the journal *Lisān-u-ṣidq*, believing that translations to Urdu can raise the capacity of language to make it a national language (*mulkī zubān*) in the future. He started the journal *Al-Hilāl* in 1912 and gained a good reputation. Through the journal, Azad distanced himself from Sir Sayyid's ideas. Still, like Sir Sayyid, he preferred typography over lithography and machine production over individual craft and also used *naskh* typeface (Lelyveld, 2013). Lithography was the most popular technology among Muslims as it could satisfy their aesthetic tastes. In the context of criticism against the

delay among Muslims in accepting print and their sticking onto lithography for a long time, Nuaiman K. A (2018) argues that when studying media and a community, especially Muslims it should be kept in mind that any community accepts a technology according to their particular needs and requirements.

Munshi Naval Kishore (1836- 1895) was one of the eminent Hindu publicists in the history of nineteenth-century Urdu journalism (Stark, 2008). He founded Naval Kishore Press in Lucknow in 1858. During his lifetime the press published 5000 titles covering literature in Hindi, Urdu, Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit on subjects including religion, science, education, medicine, literature, etc. he took a particular interest in printing and publishing the Qur'an. In 1858, he launched *Avadh Akhbār*, a milestone Urdu newspaper.

In the North Indian context early twentieth century witnessed a rise in the publications of reformist literature in the Urdu language through books, pamphlets, tracts, newspapers, journals, magazines, and Qur'an translations. Muslim scholars of the Deobandi School published primers on Islamic beliefs and rituals (Ingram, 2014).

The story of the Urdu language and press in princely states has been rarely told. Urdu language and literature have an incredible history in the princely setups, especially in Hyderabad.

Urdu Language, Literature and Press in Hyderabad

Urdu in Hyderabad was known as the Dakhni language. It was a form of Hindustani influenced by Deccani vernaculars including Telugu, Kannada, and Marathi languages. Richard Eaton argued that adopting Dakhni Hindi by the Sufis was instrumental in spreading Islam beyond the Persianate elite in the city of Bijapur (as cited in Guha, 2004, p. 24).

The centers of three long-lived sultanates of Deccan were in three different language zones: the Adil Shahi in the Kannada-speaking area, the Nizam Shahi in west Maharashtra, and the Qutb Shahi in Andhra. Dakhni received patronage during the same period as well as

the use of regional languages like Marathi and Telugu. Some Sufi Pirs turned to Dakhni composition from the late fifteenth century onward. Eaton suggested that part of the reason for its adoption was that:

It was evidently the only vernacular of Bijapur with which both Muslims and Hindus – at least those integrated with the city – were familiar. Dakhni could reach more people than could the elitist Persian language. Of course, the use of Marathi or Kannada would have gained many more than even Dakhni. But Dakhni had the advantage of being written in the Perso-Arabic script, which would permit, when necessary, the easy importation of Islamic vocabulary (Guha, 2004, p. 25).

As the simple technical explanation is insufficient, Sumit Guha (2004) argues:

I would suggest that Dakhani may have been the only vernacular that the Sufis knew and that they saw no need to go beyond the circle of Dakhani-knowing plebeians (which would include the women and retainers of their Persian-knowing patrons). Hence they needed no rustic languages. As Eaton pointed out, at their most activities they were no more than passive proselytizers or reformers of the established community; unlike, say, the ferociously proselytizing Jesuits, who not only learned local vernaculars worldwide but also took steps to bring them into the world of print (p. 25).

Women played a remarkable role in crafting the Dakhni language in the fifteenth century. During the Bahmani Sultanate, Muslim men who spoke Persian and served as administrators or soldiers in Muslim kingdoms married Hindu wives whose languages were Kannada, Marathi, or Telugu. A mix of Dakhni and Indic languages emerged from these mixed marriages (Kugle, 2010).

Jameela Nishat (cited in Kugle, 2010) points out that *Rekḥthi* poetry originated in the Deccan. Rekḥthi means male poets emphasizing female expressions and experiences.

According to Scott Kugle (2010) Urdu as a poetic language first developed in Deccan and then spread to the North. In the North, rulers promoted Persian as a literary and administrative language followed by the Nizams in Deccan.

According to Sumit Guha (2004), Dakhni was the language of urban centers and the elite. Shivaji gave importance to the Sanskrit language while Marathi remained the official language. North Indian works on the history of Urdu language and literature considered Dakhni an impure language since it contained many loaned words from Marathi and Telugu (Kugle, 2010).

Since Nizams were immigrants, they brought with them to the Deccan a new Urdu dialect heavily influenced by Persian in vocabulary, pronunciation, and poetry known as the *Zubana-e- Urdu-e-Mua' illa* (the language of the lofty army of the Mughal camp). Under their rule, this Urdu gained space in the court and among poets. The Mughal conquest of the region caused the slow erasure of Dakhni language. In the late eighteenth century, many poets and writers from the North migrated to Hyderabad after Delhi became unstable due to weak leadership, infighting among ministers, and raids by the Marathas.

In Urdu linguistic and literary sphere, Hyderabad enjoys a special place. Urdu poets like Wali Dakhni (1668- 1744) and Siraj Aurangabadi (1715- 1763) are considered pioneers in the Urdu literary tradition (Saksena, 1940). They used the varied Urdu dialect called Dakhni cultivated in the courts of Bijapur and Golconda. The kings of Golconda especially Qutb Shahis and rulers of Bijapur patronized the literature and wrote poems in Dakhni. Qutb Shahis wrote poems in Telugu as well. Nizams also kept the spirit alive and attracted poets and philosophers to their courts. The older Nizams practiced Persian poetry, not Urdu.

Scholars admit that Deccan was a crucible for the early development of the Urdu language and the origin of the ghazal genre. Few scholars shifted their attention to North India especially Delhi and Lucknow as centers of mature flowering of Urdu gazal after Wali

Dakhni brought the practice of writing ghazal to the North. In the history of Urdu ghazal, Wali Dakhni has been praised but other Hyderabad poets have been the second rate. The North Indian literary scholars also considered their Urdu, heavily influenced by Arabic and Persian as refined and standard for literary expression. During the Qutb Shahi era, Ibn Nishati, Maulana Wajahi, and Tahsinuddin were the major poets and literary figures. Mulla Zahuri, Nasrati, Hashmi, and Daulat were the famous poets of Adil Shahi courts of Bijapur (Hashmi, 1985).

The founder of the Asaf Jahi dynasty, Mir Qamaruddin Asaf Jah (1671- 1748) wrote poems in the Persian language. The Nizams were book collectors (Khalidi, 2011). The sixth Nizam Mir Maḥbūb Ali Khan (1869- 1911) was an Urdu poet who knew many other languages. *Farhang-e-Asafia*, a lexicon of the Urdu language compiled by Sayyid Ahmad Dehlvi was funded by Mir Maḥbūb Ali Khan¹³. Under his patronage, many standard books such as *Tamaddun-e-Arab* (Civilization of Arabia), *Sawānah-e-Umri Nawab Sir Salar Jung* (The Biography of Nawab Sir Salar Jung), and *Tāriḫ-e-Deccan* (The History of Deccan) were written and published. Poets were attracted to the court of Nizams. There were great women courtesans as well.

Mahlaqa Bai Chanda (1767- 1824), was a great poet, courtesan, and Shi'i woman. She was an influential and powerful figure in the court of the second and third Nizams of Hyderabad. She was also a warrior and statesman who accompanied the then Nizam on the battlefields and mediated in talks with the Marathas. She built a library in Hyderabad, trained girls in song and dance, and patronized many poets and historians who wrote in Persian and Urdu. Mahlaqa Bai mainly wrote love poems (Kugle, 2010).

The seventh Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan was a poet and a liberal patron of poets and scholars. The foundation of the Osmania University gave great impetus to the progress of the

¹³ For a historical and linguistic analysis of this lexicon, see Walter N. Hakala (2016).

Urdu language and literature as it was the language of instruction. He had good proficiency in Arabic and Persian and occasionally wrote poems in those languages.

Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad (1864- 1940), who held the position of Prime Minister of Hyderabad wrote poems in Urdu, Persian, and Arabic. His pen name was *shad* and he became the pupil of Mir Maḥbūb Ali Khan, the sixth Nizam. He edited two journals entitled *Dabdaba-e- Asafia* and *Maḥbūb-ul-Kalām* to which Nizam regularly contributed. Kishen Pershad was the author of more than forty works and one of his dīvāns, *ḵhumkada-e- - Raḥmat* is in praise of the prophet Muhammad.

Linguistic and literary organizations and cultural clubs also made more significant contributions toward the growth of Urdu in Deccan. They played an important role in creating educational changes and shaping the public sphere in the state. *Anjuman-e-Traqqi Urdu* founded in Aligarh in 1886, owes its origin to the All India Muslim Educational Conference, set up by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan with the assistance of Muhsin-ul-Mulk. Maulvi Abdul Haq became the secretary of the organization in 1912 and its base was shifted to Aurangabad in 1913. Maulvi Abdul Haq did considerable work in advancing and promoting the cause of the Urdu language and literature. *Anjuman* translated many classic works from English to Urdu. Sir Thomas Buckle's "History of Civilization", John S.C. Abbot's "Napoleon Bonaparte", Plutarch's "Lives", William Edward Hartpole Lecky's "History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne", Edward Granville Browne's "A Literary History of Persia", and Reynold A. Nicholson's "A Literary History of the Arabs" were some of the translated works.

Anjuman published books on history, science, morals, etc. Old Urdu classics were reprinted with new introductions. Its activities were extended to Persian, Arabic, and French besides English. At the same time, the *Anjuman* issued a list of technical terminologies and scientific vocabulary to standardize the language and ease the translation process. Lexicons

and dictionaries were also prepared. The journal called “*Urdu*”, organ of the *Anjuman* was issued quarterly under the editorship of Maulvi Abdul Haq. He also launched *Anjuman*’s Urdu-medium science magazine, *Science*.

The Bureau of Translation is also significant in the history of Urdu in Hyderabad. The intellectuals of Hyderabad established it to prepare textbooks for the Osmania University. It produced almost all books for intermediate and B.A. classes. The Bureau prepared History textbooks (Eastern and Western, Ancient and Modern), Philosophy, Economics, Mathematics (Pure and Applied), Physics, Chemistry, and Law.

Hyderabad Educational Conference also attempted to reform education in the state. In their programs, they proposed that science and arts be translated into Urdu and the history and geography of Hyderabad also be prepared in the same language. They also pointed out that a university has to be established to keep their knowledge and education in their hands. In their first annual conference, there was an agreement to publicize original and translated works in Urdu. It demanded that the government focus more on this and give prizes for the best Urdu translation of educational books. According to them, Engineering and medicine also have to be taught in Urdu. Associations and organizations with explicit nationalist tendencies also started emerging during the 1880s. Organizations like ‘The Young Men’s Improvement Society’, ‘The Theosophical Society’, ‘Albert Reading Room’, ‘Hindu Social Club’, etc. were influenced by Hindu religious aspirations and they used non-Urdu languages to propagate their ideas (For instance, *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad: A Connected Account* (1885-1920), Volume III, 1957).

‘Iqbal Club’ was one of the reputed associations in Hyderabad. They organized lectures for the young generation and old age people every Friday. By the death of its secretary Afzal Ali, the club stopped functioning. ‘Osmania Reading Room’, founded in

1904, also organized one or two lectures monthly. There was a library as well related to this organization.

‘*Anjuman-e-tamrathul Adab*’ was established in *Dar-ul-Uloom* School in 1894. Enhancing general knowledge among the students was the specific target of this organization and they had a library and newspaper reading room. The organization conducted weekly lectures. Prominent people from North India came to Hyderabad to deliver lectures. Qur’an learning classes were also organized and they published a monthly journal titled ‘*Tamrat-ul-Adab*’. They received financial assistance from the government. After the dysfunction of the organization, the library was merged with the Osmania University union.

Idāra-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdu (Urdu Literary Organization), established in 1923 by the pioneer of Urdu language and literature, Sayyid Muhiuddin Qadiri Zore made tremendous contributions to the growth of Urdu language and literature. It also worked for the cause of Arabic, Persian, and Dakhni languages. Its library and archive are home to ancient Arabic and Persian manuscripts and were accommodating for the present study.

Not only Urdu, but the Arabic language was also given great importance by the state. The establishment of *Dāirat-ul-Maā’rif* in 1888 gained global fame for Hyderabad. The main objectives of the *Dāirat-ul-Maā’rif* were procuring, editing, and publishing rare Arabic manuscripts belonging to the classical era of Islam. The subjects included interpretation of the Qur’an, history, philosophy, Sufism, mathematics, astronomy, Islamic jurisprudence, etc.

Scholars and intellectuals from North India also made contributions to the growth of the Urdu language and journalism in Hyderabad. Zafar Ali Khan deserves a special mention in this regard. Zafar Ali Khan after gaining education from Aligarh University and learning social reformist and political lessons from personalities like Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Ali brothers, Althaf Husain Hali, Shibli Nomani, Maulvi Abdul Haq, etc got an appointment in the princely state of Hyderabad under the sixth Nizam Maḥbūb Ali Khan at the *Dar-u-*

Tarjuma (Translation Bureau) and later at the home department of Hyderabad state. In Hyderabad, he mainly focused on literary works, translation, and publication. He launched a research journal called *Deccan Review* in 1904. He translated several works from English into Urdu, including ‘Persian and the Persian Question’ (1892), authored by George Nathaniel Curzon (1859- 1925) in 1900 as *Khayā bān-e-Fāris*.

The journal *Deccan Review* was quite scholarly as its articles were contributed by scholars like Maulvi Abdul Haq who was known as *Bāba-e-Urdu* (father of Urdu), Abdul Haleem Sherar, Shibli Nomani, and their contemporaries. In 1909, Zafar Ali Khan was fired from his post because of an effort to launch *Anjuman-e-Tabligh-e-Islam* in Hyderabad to counter missionary activities and his strong opinions on social and political matters caused British displeasure.

What is narrated above is the larger picture regarding language literature and print in Hyderabad. This study does not cover all aspects of print instead it examines specific moments to make sense of the discourses around the introduction of print, dominant themes like modernity, science, social reform, language, development, culture, etc. There happened heated political debates in the press, especially during the 1920s-1940s and that requires a full-fledged analysis which is out of the scope of this work.

The emergence and growth of print in Hyderabad will be discussed in detail in the core chapters of the present thesis. Unlike the nineteenth century, the twentieth century witnessed the proliferation of printing activities in Hyderabad representing different intellectual, educational and political traditions. Having narrated Hyderabad’s history, politics, and language, the following section moves to the research questions of the thesis.

Research Questions and Objectives

As a study attempting to explore numerous themes, formulation of specific objectives and framing relevant questions becomes simultaneously inevitable and challenging. The foregrounding concept of the thesis has been defined as Urdu print culture in its historical concreteness. The following are the major objectives/questions of the study:

1. To trace the beginning and emergence of printing in Hyderabad and to historically and narratively analyze the debates around its introduction
2. To understand how the Urdu language was shaped and imagined through print and how the print was approached through the lens of Urdu
3. To map the trends and themes of Urdu print culture at different points in time, specifically during the nineteenth century and the twentieth century
4. To ascertain and analyze the themes/tropes/discourses of Urdu print and to trace their origin and development across time

To find answers to the above-stated questions/objectives, a review of literature dealing with a variety of themes of the thesis, outlining of theoretical framework, and formulation of methodological tools have been elaborated in the next two chapters. Following is the structure and summary of chapters of the thesis.

Chapter Organization

Apart from the introduction and conclusion, this thesis consists of a chapter on literature review, a chapter on method and theory, and three core chapters. While the introduction chapter contextualizes the thesis, the second chapter maps the literature on various subjects and areas related to the princely state of Hyderabad, specifically Urdu print culture. The third chapter discusses theoretical questions and methodological concerns. Three core chapters deal with three themes- science, social reform, and infrastructural development- to analyze the print culture by examining book production concerning science,

magazine/journal publishing about social reform, and newspaper publication vis-a-vis infrastructural development as three printed artifacts.

The introductory chapter attempts to contextualize the Urdu print culture in the princely Hyderabad by detailing and analyzing its history, geography, social structure, political system, cultural practice, language, and literature. To do this, the chapter examines census reports, official documents, other primary sources, and secondary literature and interprets them through comparison and contrast. The chapter also peripherally touches upon the historical trajectories and power shifts of various kingdoms in the state. Deccan was ruled by the Hindu dynasties like Chalukya and Kakatya and Muslim kingdoms like Khilji, Tughlaq, Bahmani, Adil Shahi, Qutb Shahi, and Asaf Jahi.

Encounters with the French and the British colonial powers and Arabs, Africans, and Turks contributed to the global, diversified, and multicultural characteristics of Hyderabad. In 1798, Hyderabad entered into a subsidiary alliance with the British. Hence it became a princely state where the British indirectly influenced the state.

The political structure and political culture were based on nobility and patrimonial relations. Different families of Sunni and Shia origin managed various departments. In the first half of the nineteenth century, educational and printing activities emerged, whereas the latter half witnessed the establishment of more schools and colleges. Literary productions and translation activities also increased during this period. The shift from Persian to Urdu as the official language in 1887 made changes in the linguistic arena of Hyderabad.

The first half of the twentieth century was eventful thanks to the founding of the Osmania University and educational reforms. A number of newspapers, journals, and magazines surged and dealt with various questions including politics, culture, and society. In the last part, the chapter overviews the history of the Urdu language and press in India in

general and Urdu print and literary culture in Hyderabad in particular. The story of the Dakhni language is also touched upon in the chapter.

The second chapter on the review of literature extensively examines books and theses dealing with the history of Hyderabad, historiography of princely states, Urdu language, literature, and print culture. In the third chapter, various theories of modernity have been elaborately analyzed to formulate a theoretical framework to look at Urdu print culture in connection with science, social reform, and infrastructure. For methodological insights, studies on archive and archival research are also discussed. At the end of the chapter, research questions and objectives have been laid out.

The first core chapter, titled ‘Printing Science in the Princely Hyderabad: Nawab Faḡhruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara’s Epistemological Interventions” looks at the introduction of printing technology in Hyderabad, the establishment of the educational institutions and the translation, and production of science books in the Urdu language. He translated various books dealing with different scientific subjects from French and English to Urdu and wrote introductions and commentaries in those works. Rather than receiving western science passively, through his writings, Nawab Shams-ul-Umara connected science with morality and theology which was lacking according to him in western science. The connection of science to the life-world, a concept theorized by Edmund Husserl, will be analyzed in the chapter.

The second core chapter titled “Printing Social Reform: *Mua’līm-e-Shafīq*, Muhib Husain, Jamaluddin al-Afghani” explores the themes of *Mua’līm-e-Shafīq* journal, its editor and social reformer Muhib Husain’s journalism, and Pan Islamist Afghani’s writings. It argues that their journalism aimed to encounter colonialism and present Islam as a civilizational power. Discourses on language, religion, and education were discussed extensively in the journal. *Mua’līm-e-Shafīq* encouraged the people of Hyderabad to welcome technological advancements and be open to every knowledge while critiquing the West and imperial ideologies. This chapter

also moves out of the liberal and modernist frameworks, especially nationalism, by deploying the idea of civilization to understand the press/print culture.

The third core chapter titled “Printing Infrastructure: *Rahbar-e-Deccan* as a Mediator” discusses the content of *Rahabr-e-Deccan* daily to understand how educational, institutional, and developmental discourses were formulated and exchanged in Hyderabad. Intellectuals of the state attempted to ascertain educational models from Eastern locations instead of West which British India imitated. The function of the daily was to act as a mediator between the state and the public especially in educational and developmental issues.

The thesis is concluded by summarizing the key arguments and suggesting a few new arenas of research which can be conducted in and on Hyderabad dealing with media especially print. The first half of the twentieth century is a very significant period in which journalism and print culture thrived in the state. Printed materials, specifically newspapers and magazines represented different ideological tropes and standpoints.

Chapter II

Exploring Princely Print: An Overview of Literature

The first section of the present chapter reviews and analyzes works on print culture in multiple contexts, and the second section examines the literature on princely states to locate the study in its specific milieu. Both sections deal with literature in general and conclude with works on Hyderabad in particular. While the analysis of print culture traverses through diverse geographical locations including Europe, the Middle East, and South Asia, the exploration of princely spaces focuses on India as there were princely/uncolonized/sub imperial-settings like Siam, Qajar Iran, Malaya States, Sokoto, etc.

Print Cultures across Time and Space

A plethora of studies on socio-political, cultural, and educational aspects of printing technology and print culture have been conducted in different geo-socio-political contexts in various parts of the world. Several scholars have pointed out that print played a crucial part in reformation, modernization, and many social changes in the world, and it has deep connection with socio-political structure, public sphere, and culture. Roger Chartier (1989) has explained that the term “print culture” is connected with the attempts of European historians to understand the social connotations of the Gutenberg press in early modern Europe.¹⁴ All ideas and practices related to printing can be generally called ‘print culture’. Joseph A Dane (2003) argues that “print culture apparently transcends particularities of books or printing history; it is by definition, that which encompasses and transcends print, however defined, and all associated levels of bibliographical evidence” (p. 1). He adds that “print culture is the result of certain historical

¹⁴ Elizabeth Eisenstein (2005) also wrote that “thus the term “print culture” is used throughout this book in a special parochial Western sense: to refer to post-Gutenberg developments in the West while setting aside its possible relevance to pre-Gutenberg developments in Asia. Not only earlier developments in Asia, but also later ones in Eastern Europe, the Near East, and the New World have been excluded” (p. 18).

practices, not a cause of them” (p. 16). Adrian Johns (1998) also makes the same point by saying that “it becomes a result of manifold representations, practices, and conflicts rather than just the monolithic cause with which we are often presented” (p. 20).

European historians explored how elites with literacy used the technology of print to propagate their ideas and redefine the beliefs of the people. Classic studies of European print culture viewed the shift from manuscript to print culture as a “communication revolution” and described the printed book as an intellectual ferment that affected major cultural, social, and political transformations.¹⁵ Elizabeth Eisenstein (1979) argues that “there is something inherent in the very nature of printing that revolutionizes the intellectual outlook of individuals and cultures with which it comes in contact” (Vol.1, p. 55). She identified increased dissemination, standardization, and fixity as the main features of print culture and stressed the preservative power of print (Stark, 2008). Elizabeth Eisenstein (1983) points out that “as an agent of change, the print altered the methods of data collection, storage and retrieval systems, and communication networks” (p. xiv). According to George Sarton (as cited in Eisenstein, 1983, p. 42) it was not the “printed word” but the “printed image” which acted as a “savior for Western science”. Eisenstein’s work on print culture in Europe played a huge role in redirecting the succeeding studies in various contexts (For instance, see Baron et al; 2007).

In a different study, Elizabeth Eisenstein explicates that:

Her notion of “revolution” is inspired by “Raymond Williams’s oxymoronic expression “long revolution” in a sense that it is not about fast change as a result of a single act, but about a continuous but irreversible process, whose effects become visible in the course of its development (Orlin Sabev, 2008, p. 309).

¹⁵ Francis Bacon suggests that print changed ‘the appearance and state of the whole world’ (As cited in Joseph A Dane, 2003, p. 14). Bacon’s trinity of transforming inventions are the compass, gunpowder, and press.

The scientific revolution, the protestant reformation, and the achievements of the Italian renaissance were made possible by the invention of print technology (Eisenstein, 1979). Robert Danton (1982) made the point that scurrilous underground literature undermined France's ancient regime until it collapsed in 1789.

Eisenstein's mechanistic interpretation of print culture has been contested and at the same time complemented by Adrian Johns in his study of 'print in the making' in early modern England (Johns 1998).¹⁶ Focusing on prevailing practices of piracy and unauthorized printing, Johns opposes Eisenstein's key concept of 'intrinsic fixity' to the 'uncertainty' of early print culture. He does so by highlighting issues of the reliability of printed knowledge- reliability that authors and scholarly printers often found hard to obtain. He argued that fixity and standardization were culturally constructed.

The argument made by Adrian Johns (1998) that "print entailed not one but 'many cultures' and that these cultures of the book were themselves 'local in character', underpins the necessity of studying print cultures in their particular geographic, social, and cultural contexts" (Stark, 2008, p. 5). He also points out that print/knowledge is influenced by the locations of printing (Ogborn, 2007). Adrian Johns (1998) argues that "any printed book is, as a matter of fact, both the product of one complex set of social and technological processes and also the starting point for one another" (p. 3). Hence it becomes necessary that the print culture in

¹⁶Robert A. Houston, for example, agrees with Eisenstein that printing undoubtedly changed the way of thinking, and played an indirect role in economic, social, and political development in early modern Europe (1500-1800), but he qualifies Eisenstein's thesis by stating that the printing press's "impact was neither immediate, nor direct, nor certain." The changes, he continues, were slow and contingent, depending on various social, economic, and political contexts, and printing "was arguably not fully developed until the eighteenth century." Jacques le Coff also stresses how, upon its introduction in Europe, the printing press only met the needs of the literate elite, and it was not until the Counter-Reformation that this technology was useful to educate the public. And Brian Richardson concludes: "The transition from manuscript to printed book was in some respects, then, a process of evolution." Indeed, the latest scholarship in book history is attempting to reevaluate Eisenstein's theory in radical or moderate ways, criticizing her non-contextualized approach, in which the advent of printing with movable type in itself created a print culture, and insisting that when studied within a given socio-cultural context it can be seen that manuscript copying and printing coexisted or were competing technologies until well into the eighteenth century (as cited in Orlin Sabev, NEC regional program, 2003-2004 and 2004 and 2005, p.309).

Hyderabad or in any location has to be studied by contextualization and positioning of the state/power and its politics, culture, and society since it was never independent of social and other realms. Many studies on print culture adopt the core-periphery/colony-metropole/cosmopolitan-provincial model (Connolly et al., 2016). Since Hyderabad was a semi-colonial/minor sovereign¹⁷ space history of print has to be approached from a different point of view.

The interplay between print, manuscript, and oral cultures was complex universally but it could coexist in South Asia (Blackburn, 2003). The history of print culture in nineteenth and twentieth-century South Asia was a multidisciplinary enterprise that had to deal with the cultural and linguistic diversity of the region (Peccia et al., 2021). The studies being discussed in the present thesis prove that print cultures were not homogenous/universal rather they were situated/particular. To understand the relationships between knowledge, power and social change geography of the book is central and the local perspective is also important in studying the development and consequences of print. The written objects are simultaneously grounded and mobile (Ogborn, 2007).

Roger Chartier (1989) also located the print at the center of cultural change in Europe. Chartier writes that:

After Gutenberg, all cultures in western societies can be held to be a culture of the printed word, since what movable type and the printing press produced was not reserved (as in China and Korea) for the administrative use of the ruler but penetrated the entire web of social relations, bore thoughts and brought pleasures and lodged in people's deepest self as well as claiming its place in the public scene (p. 1).

¹⁷ “Varied forms of sovereignty that were decidedly less powerful than dominant empires and nation-states” (Beverly, 2016, p. 19). This definition challenges the terms like “princely” or “indirect rule” as they are based on illusory sovereignty.

For him, “the early print culture was a culture of the image as it was closely linked to the speech even though there were differences between recitation and reading or spoken tale and written text” (p. 7). European print culture has been studied through multiple lenses. Instead of following traditional descriptive and taxonomic approaches of bibliographic studies D.F. McKenzie and Robert Danton determined to show its form, affects, and meaning (Palmer, Buckland, 2011).

Muslims around the world encountered the print and engaged with it in a radically different way. It has theological, cultural, socio-political, and economic dimensions. The next section provides a larger picture of the same and it will help to understand how diverse and contextual the print cultures were.

Print Technology in Muslim Societies

There is a raging debate among scholars about the delayed introduction of print technology in Muslim societies. In the Ottoman context, Ibrahim Müteferrika with the support of Said Effendi is credited with the establishment of the printing press in 1727. This was made possible by the religious opinion (*fatva*) which permitted printing as an effective way of multiplying written materials. Before the Sultan, Müteferrika argued that printing will help to disseminate knowledge to wider society and strengthen the empire in the face of Europe. Some of the books printed by Müteferrika were presented as gifts to different libraries in European countries such as Austria, Russia, Sweden, and France. Print helped the Ottoman Empire to establish transnational connections. Müteferrika’s printing philosophy was utilitarian. His books were read by Muslims and Turkish-speaking non-Muslims as well (Sebev, 2003).

There are some general reasons cited for the delayed introduction of printing in Muslim contexts. The threat to traditional authority by the dissemination of knowledge through printed books and the fear of losing the professions of scribes, manuscript copyists, and calligraphers due to print technology are the major causes attributed to the delayed introduction of print across

different Muslim locations and nations (Robinson 1993; Emiko 2013). It was invoked in the Ottoman context as well. Printing in Arabic was considered less practical because it required more forms than other languages. Lithography¹⁸ was widely accepted in the Muslim world on aesthetic and practical grounds. Jews, indigenous Christians, and missionaries introduced the technology of printing with movable type in the Middle East.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century the themes discussed in the Ottoman press were the unity of Islam, progress, reform, revival, and change (Karpas, 2001). Nemik Kemal, intellectual guide of the young Ottomans and constitutionalists propagated the idea of Islamic unity through his newspaper *ibret*. Same trends could be found in various other Muslim spaces including the princely state of Hyderabad where Muslim internationalist Jamaluddin al-Afghani spent a few years in the 1880s and wrote on the mentioned topics.¹⁹ In the 1870s, Istanbul became the publishing center of the Muslim world where thousands of books, pamphlets and newspapers issued and found their way to Muslims in Asia and Africa. *Al Javaib*, the first important Arabic newspaper published by Faris al Shidyaq²⁰ (later Ahmad Faris Efendi) was circulated to any place where Arabic is read to explain world politics and it has reached India too. He set up the *Javaib* press in Istanbul and he ensured that it followed the types of established Ottoman Arabic tradition. During this period, the

¹⁸ Invented in 1798-99 by Alois Senefelder (1771- 1834) who called this process “chemical printing”, lithography was the first real text printing technology after Gutenberg’s inventions. The lithographic industry spread quickly following its invention by the otherwise unknown Bavarian playwright, Senefelder, who was born in Prague. Senefelder developed the technique as a means of cheaply reproducing first his plays and then musical scores. He took his lithographic hand press to England in 1800, and by June 1801 had secured a patent. The technique reached France at approximately the same time. A lithographic printing firm was established in Rome in 1807, and, within the next decade, the industry spread to all major centers in Europe, including St. Petersburg. Lithography arrived in the United States in 1819, in India and Australia in 1821, in Chile in 1823, in Southeast Asia in 1828, and in Shanghai in 1876.

¹⁹ This will be discussed in the fifth chapter in detail.

²⁰ Faris al Shidyaq first worked with the English Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Malta where he helped to prepare Christian religious texts. He worked for the first Arabic newspaper as well and it was published in *Bulaq* press with which he became familiar. He translated the whole Bible into Arabic. He disseminated means for Arabs to learn European languages, especially English and French.

Ottoman Sultan patronized him and his pan-Islamic interests received subventions from the Bey of Tunis, the Khedive of Egypt, and the Nawab of Bhopal.

Faris al Shidyaq was an admirer and the propagator of print revolution and his concept about print was similar to Eisenstein's. Shidyaq wrote:

In truth all the crafts that have been invented in this world are inferior to the craft of printing. To be sure, the ancients built pyramids, set up monuments, erected statues, fortified strongholds, dug canals and water conduits, and paved military roads; however, those crafts, compared with the craft of printing, are but one degree above savagery. After printing became widespread, there was no longer any likelihood of the disappearance of knowledge which had been disseminated and made public, or the loss of books, as was the case when they were written with the pen (Roper, 1995, p. 214).

Egypt under Muhammad Ali is another example of print culture in a Muslim context. He ordered to set up a press in Bulaq (*al Matba' al Amiriyya bi Bulaq*), a suburb of the capital. It was established in 1820 and became popular in the 1870s. This is the famous "Bulaq press" of the Muslim world. It printed in the first twenty years 250 titles in military science, and popular literature such as *One Thousand and One Nights*, and the *Qur'an*. They acquired machinery from Milan and Paris and they dispatched workmen to Europe to learn printing, type design, and cutting. Books were published in Turkish (then the official language), Arabic, and Persian. It was an obligation on the officials to subscribe the government gazette named *al waqai' al misriyya* (Albin, 2007). Faris al Shidyaq worked for this gazette as well.

In the context of Persia (Iran), Qur'an was the first lithographed book to be printed in Tabriz in 1832. Many poetry books and Persian classics were printed during the same period. Lithographic printing continued in Iran until the 1950s. Farzin Vejdani (2015) observes:

The invention of lithography, which allowed for the reproduction of *Nast'aliq* texts at a cheaper cost, initiated what Nile Green has called the "Stanhope Revolution" in Persian

print. Lithography allowed printing to occur outside of government circles, thereby contributing to the formation of a public sphere (p. 10).

Michael Albin (2007) points out that three elements have contributed to the flood of books in the Islamic world. Apart from the Qur'an the canon included prophetic traditions and Islamic law. Secondly, history, biography, astronomy, astrology, medicine, philosophy and, literature were translated into Arabic, and demand for books increased from various sections of society (p. 166). Papermaking between the eight to fourteenth centuries brought great changes in the realms of literature, mathematics, commerce, and arts. Studies concerning the Middle East and Central Asia look at how print transformed religious communities and authority and what are the contributions of print to social reform (Khalid, 1994). Materiality, visuality, and semiotics of the books and print also have been studied by various scholars.

Local Arabic publishing was started in the late nineteenth century by overcoming customary Islamic and Christian scribal practices as the dominant mode of book production. Many of the studies about the history of the Arabic press in the eastern Mediterranean focus on movements rooted in secular thoughts and nationalism. Initially, the books were circulated among Muslim, Christian and Jewish elites. Hala Auji (2016) in her work on print culture in Beirut demonstrates the history of the American press, established in 1834. It published religious and secular works covering literature, politics, and science. Auji (2016) argues that "this nascent period in Arabic printing contributed to the late nineteenth-century *Nahḍa*, a moment of advancement of Middle Eastern cultural movements, modernization and secularization of education, and the birth of pan-Arab nationalist ideas" (p. 3). Her work looks at the visuality of books in their graphic and material dimensions. The physical components of books- typography, layout, design, binding, etc- have been analyzed as important markers of visual literacy.

The isolation of the Muslim world from nations touched by print also contributed to the delayed introduction of print technology. Travels of princes and rulers, educational missions sent

to Europe, the influence of colonial administrators and missionaries are the major channels through which the technology of print came to the Muslim world.²¹ In the context of Hyderabad, Nawab Faḵhruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara's interest pushed him to bring the technology to the princely state of Hyderabad and to print books.²²

Works on print cultures in the Indian Ocean spectrum look at how the histories of African, Indian, Muslim, and Christian worlds are connected and how the print was used as a site of anti-colonial struggles, nationalism, and personalized networks (Hofmeyr et al; 2011). Migration was key for the development of print culture in Indian Ocean contexts. Isabel Hofmeyr (2013) points out that the phrase "colonial and Indian printing" divided the empire into three printing zones, the metropolis, the dominions and British India. The term "oriental printing" was also used to designate the Indian-owned presses.

China has a historical role in print technology and production (Peccia et al., 2021).²³ Rather than business for profit, Chinese print culture was driven by cultural values and moral implications unlike western publishing culture (Reed, 2004). China also had a long history of manuscript production and calligraphy. China played a big role in Muslim book culture and Chinese people were more attracted to lithography than typography to sustain their visual sensibilities (Weil, 2016).

In Asian African contexts, Benedict Anderson (1983) illustrated how standard print cultures, were powerful forces in forging national identities among the colonial intelligentsia. Anderson's concept of print capitalism was inspired by "Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's

²¹ Irfan Habib (1980) writes that "We have seen that block-printing of textiles was widespread in India during the seventeenth century. If with all these favorable circumstances, India failed to accept printing, the reasons for this rejection are not easy to find. Perhaps we will have to take a wider perspective than of India alone, since the rejection is a common phenomenon all over the Islamic world. But it may be said that Ovington's suggestion that printing was not undertaken for fear of throwing large numbers of scribes out of employment assumes too high standards of regard for the general welfare among the ruling classes of the time. The difficulties of the script, a particular obstacle to movable type, were also not insuperable, as was to be proved later" (p. 32).

²² This will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter of the present study.

²³ In China and Japan xylography was adopted in the late seventh and eighth century CE. The diffusion of lithography and printing technology made radical changes. Tibetan cultural history also shows the coexistence and interaction between manuscript and print cultures.

discovery that the European print shop was the world's first capitalist enterprise" (Reed, 2004, p. 8). Christopher A Reed (2004) who studied the print culture in China used the term print capitalism to denote "the commercialized, secularized, non-governmental, and non-philanthropic production of texts for a popular audience" (p. 15).²⁴ Karl Marx also viewed technology of mechanization and industrialization as the vital part of the capitalist system (Reed, 2004). In Hyderabad, the print was based not on profit and commercial interests were not sought especially in the nineteenth century. Few instances of commercialization can be traced to the first half of the twentieth-century and it will be discussed later.

Anderson's arguments were challenged by many scholars including Partha Chatterjee (1993). He asks that "If nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain 'modular' forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine?" (p. 216). According to Vejdani (2015), "Chatterjee claims that anticolonial nationalism instead created its own "inner," "spiritual" domain of sovereignty— meaning language, religion, and family life—as a site for asserting difference concerning the colonizers, although, in the "outer" domains of statecraft, modular nationalism persisted" (p. 4). He has identified the technology of print along with the colonial bilingual education policy had given rise to new cultural affinities that produced nationalism initially and nation-state later. Preprint cultures also have greater significance in the South Asian context.

The manuscript culture was prevalent in South Asia. Sheldon Pollock argues that "for two millennia, from the third century BC onward, history primarily revolved around the large-scale

²⁴ Christopher A. Reed (2004) explains that "Benedict Anderson's concept of print capitalism appears overly beholden to Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's insights into European history. For this reason, Anderson's understanding fails to illuminate China's experience in two important regards. First, he does not acknowledge the existence of print commerce before China's Gutenberg revolution or the role that commerce played in shaping Chinese print capitalism. Second, Anderson's accounts cannot illuminate what difference industrialization made to the Gutenberg revolution in China" (p. 258).

production, commission, and circulation of manuscripts- this has been termed as the “pre-print publishing industry” of South Asia” (Shaw, 2007, p. 126). This phenomenon happened parallel to oral and performance culture in the region. The memorialization of the Qur’an was central to the Muslim societies around the world. Memory and oral transmission were also central to Indian society. Buddha’s teachings were also based on orality.

Apart from an oral culture, a manuscript tradition was also prevalent among Muslims. When the Mughal emperor Akbar was presented with a copy printed Bible, the imperial printing press could not replace the well-established manuscript studio (Shaw, 2007). The Islamic calligraphic tradition was not suited for mechanical reproduction and print was insufficient to match the visual aesthetic quality of the illustrated manuscripts. Print did not appeal Muslims as there was a highly sophisticated information network, and the network was organized by Muslim scribes (*katib* or *khush-navis*), with newsletters (*Akḥbār*) being regularly compiled and distributed by news-writers in every part of the empire (Bayly, 1996). The Kayasthas, castes of professional scribes played the role of information providers in Hindu Kingdoms and they have served the Nizams of Hyderabad as well (Leonard, 1978). What attracted Muslims was the technology of lithography due to its aesthetic and pragmatic value.

Lithography was introduced in Europe during 1806-1817 and was mostly used there for pictorial art, music, and map printing. It was brought to India by the East India Company in 1824. The first Muslim community to start local private journalism was in India where newsletters and journals were published in Persian and Urdu in the 1820s and 1830s (Ayalon, 2010).

Lithography was the only printing technology accepted by Muslims because it enabled them to imitate and sustain the characteristics of the manuscript tradition (Robinson, 2000).²⁵

²⁵ The printing of literary and historical works in Persian in Calcutta (after 1781) and Bombay (after 1818) was undertaken on presses run by Europeans or Parsees respectively, with only editorial participation by Muslims.

The first Muslim-run press was established in the princely state of Oudh.²⁶ The Muslim community adopted lithography technology as its own. Sometimes it was called a Muslim technology (Proudfoot, 1997). Lithography needs lower capital investment compared to printing with movable type.

Lithography gained great importance in the South Asian context as very few typefaces were developed for regional languages except Tamil and Bengali. By 1850, thousands of books were published in South Asia using lithography unlike in Europe. Lucknow and Kanpur were the main locations of lithographic printing and Naval Kishore Press was the biggest commercial publisher in Lucknow (Stark, 2007).

The introduction of print in Lucknow goes back to Nawab Ghaziuddin Haider (R. 1814-27) who founded Lucknow's first lithographic press *Matba' e-Sultani* (Royal Press) in 1817. The press published religious and scholarly works which included *Haft Qulzum* (Seven Sea) which was a Persian dictionary and grammar in seven volumes compiled by Qabul Muhammad, a courtier, in 1820-22, and *Taj-ul-Lughat*, a dictionary of Arabic into Persian.

In the 1830s Henry Archer established a lithography press in Lucknow on the insistence of King Nasiruddin Haider (R. 1827-37). In 1831 he published the first lithographed book *Bahja al-Marziyya fi sharh-il-alfiyya*, (The Pleasing beauty: A commentary on *Alfiyya* or a thousand-line poem on grammar) an Arabic commentary on the reputed Arabic grammar by famous commentator and scholar Muhammad Jalaluddin al-Suyuti, also known as *Ibn-ul-Kutub* (son of books).²⁷ At the same period lithographic printing in Hyderabad was producing science books, especially translations not explicitly religious or scholarly works.

²⁶ Over the next decade this press published several Persian works in the praise of Nawab and two publications in Arabic: a *Panjsurah* (five *suras* of the Qur'an) and the first three volumes of an Arabic dictionary, *Taj-ul-Lughat*.

²⁷ The pioneer in the field was Maulvi Muhammad Husain, who established the Muhammadi press in 1837 and gathered expert calligraphers. In 1839 Mustafa Khan established the Mustafai press. The period of the 1840's saw the emergence of a few more presses. This includes Jalali (1840), Alavi Press (1841), Afzal ul Mutabe' (1843), Mir Hasan Press (1844), Mohammadi Press (1845) Maula'i (1845), Husaini, Khayali, Sangin, Sayyid Mir Hasan, Mohammadia (1846), Mohammadi wa

After 1857, Muslim scholars (*ulama*) of British India after losing power had to counter Christian missionaries and engage with the modern education system. To do so, they depended on print and translation. Before this period, the pamphlets published in Urdu in the 1820s and 1830s were reformist. Religious publications dominated the print trade during this period (Robinson, 2009).

Long History of Print in India

In the Indian context, the printing press first arrived in Goa a century after Gutenberg in 1556. But its use was restricted to the Roman Catholic Church. It took almost two hundred years longer to reach Bengal. Printing reappeared in 1821 after coming to a halt in Goa around 1674. Print faced the problem of legitimacy in South Asia. “This is why the Christian missionaries in Orissa in the 1830s paid scribes to copy Bible texts onto palm leaves, a practice started by the Danish at Tranquebar in South India in the eighteenth century. The lithography overcame this crisis through mass-produced manuscripts” (Shaw, 2007, p. 127).

Initially, Traditional Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain book cultures did not receive parchment and paper. The western use of parchment involved the slaughter of young animals, especially cows hence it was not acceptable to some religious communities. Muslims were the intermediary to introduce paper in India. Graham Shaw (2007) assumes that:

At first, the paper must have been imported from Iran until the local centers of manufacture developed, such as Daulatabad, Ahmedabad, and Lahore. The paper did not have much impact in South Asia as it did in Europe. Islamic manuscripts were always written on paper in South Asia but non-Muslim scribes continued to write on other surfaces (p. 128).

Ahmadi (1847), Murtazavi (1849), Mehdia (1849).

The two most influential newspapers of Lucknow were *Sahr-e-Samri* and *Tilism-e-Lucknow*.

Sheldon Pollock (1998) has powerfully demonstrated the connection between text production and political power. Ashoka used Brahmi script for political purposes and Mauryan Empire united the entire subcontinent under one government and its literary culture grew into a trans-regional phenomenon called by Pollock as “Cosmopolitan-vernacular revolution”. Sanskrit enjoyed a status in South Asia similar to Latin in Europe. Persian and Urdu under the Mughals and other Muslim dynasties and English under the British Raj created cosmopolitan cultures across the regions of the subcontinent. The process of standardization began even before print was introduced.

Pushkar Sohoni (2016) argues that vernaculars including Dakhni, Gujarati, Bengali, Avadhi, and Marathi developed rich literary traditions only from the period of regional Sultanates and kingdoms, hence vernacular has to be approached as space not as language. Dakhni was a common vernacular language in the Deccan from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries.

Almanacs, astrological texts, ballads, stories, folk dramas, and medical and religious works were the popular genres in the manuscript tradition. They continued in the print era as well. Indian writing in English was the consequence of British colonialism and print technology. Graham Shaw (2007) argues that:

The first two hundred and fifty years up to 1800 can almost be described as the “non-history” of printing in South Asia. Without any take-up by indigenous powers or communities, printing was very sporadic, confined to coastal enclaves, and entirely the preserve of Europeans – Christian missionaries and colonizers (p. 131).²⁸

²⁸ ‘Only nineteen works were produced in the sixteenth century, forty in the seventeenth, 454 in the first half of the eighteenth, and 1,258 in the second half (Shaw 1987). These figures show that the pace of publication was accelerating towards 1800, matching the development of an embryonic Indian book-trade infrastructure. But print was still catering only for the small expatriate European communities in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, or feeding their early attempts at conversion to Christianity’ (Shaw, 1987).

The only instance before 1800 of the press being used by Indians for Indians (without any direct European stimulus or involvement) was when two Parsee compositors working at the Courier Press in Bombay produced an edition of their Zoroastrian holy book, the *Khordeh Avesta*, in 1798.

Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta were the major hubs of printing and education activities during the British period.²⁹ The beginning of newspapers in the 1780s paved way for advertising information about books, magazines, and other printed materials. Libraries in three presidencies were the largest markets for imported British books. They also sold books to the public. The establishment of Fort William College in 1800 to teach modern Indian languages to colonial administrators was a landmark in Indian publishing. Their publications helped to lay foundations for prose works in Hindi, Urdu, and other languages (Pritchett, 1983).

Printed words played a crucial role in shaping British colonialism, missionary activity, literature, education, and many other domains. The print culture in Goa (which was under Portugese rule between 1510 and 1961) was different from British India in terms of ideology, language policy and production pattern (Pinto, 2007). The printing press in India had been introduced even in the Mughal times. But it came into mass use only during the British rule. The missionaries produced books, pamphlets, and other printed materials for propagating Christianity. The East India Company set up its first press, superintended by missionaries, in Madras in 1761. The company press in Calcutta produced both British regulations and commercial publications. Fort William College, Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Serampore missionary press helped colonialism to advance power through knowledge producing ventures.

The print was mainly connected with the so-called progressive and modernizing sections of the society. Members of the English-e- ducated Indian elite generally welcomed the printing press as an agent of enlightenment (Stark, 2008). In C.A Bayly's opinion, imperial rule was more closely tied to existing Indian modes of information gathering and distribution than it was revolutionized by print (Ogborn, 2007).

Religious communities also made use of print to spread their messages. The orthodox, reformers, traditionalists, revivalists, and modernists adopted the print for various purposes. As

²⁹ These locations also have a regional/indigenous print history, See for instance, Vejdani (2012).

scholars of Islam in India have shown, reformist Muslims were among the first to avail them of the printing press (Metcalf: 1982, Robinson: 1993, 1996, 2001 as cited in Stark 2008:22). The print was crucial to the spread of Islamic reformist ideas, opening up of whole new discursive sphere of religious debate. Hindu reformists also used print to propagate their ideas.

Due to several reasons, printing set foot in South Asia rather late. At the beginning of the nineteenth century many printing presses started in India in various languages, especially in Hindi and Urdu. Lahore, Lucknow, and Delhi were the major hubs of Urdu printing in colonial India. Naval Kishore Press, *Mufīd-e-Aām* Press and Kohinoor Press are significant examples of print culture in India (Emiko, 2013). Urdu gained considerable prestige as the lingua franca of the educated classes and achieved the status of a prose idiom from the late eighteenth century. Urdu acquired a great boost in 1837 when it replaced Persian as the language of the court and administration in North India while Urdu presses in North India started by publishing newspapers, the vernacular press in Calcutta focused on printing books and the early print culture was a culture of image and speech (Ghosh, 2003).

Stuart Blackburn (2006) categorizes studies on print culture in India into three. While the first group representing old studies lacks a sociological perspective, the second group considered print as an influential factor in explicating literary history. The third group located the role of print and its effects on Indian languages and literature, within the historical context of colonialism. Most of the studies depend mainly on the notions of fixity and standardization derived from classical theories of print.

While in the West, a huge number of theoretical and empirical studies have been conducted on print media and print cultures, South Asian scholars focused on the newspaper and periodical press to understand the print culture- according to Veena Naregal (2001) the “most suitable site to analyze the structure of exchanges and meanings of publicity established through print” (p. 190). Print in its different manifestations “was crucial to the project of Indian

modernity and affected major transformations in the cultural, literary, and political domains...”

(Stark 2008, p. 6). According to Anindita Ghosh (2002):

The study of print culture and literature in India has been mostly concerned with immediate and overt political implications, like the Hindi-Urdu controversy over Hindustani in upper India during the nineteenth century, or the formation of regional identities based on a commonly shared language (p. 4330).

In Hyderabad, the picture was different as it experienced not Hindi-Urdu controversy³⁰ but rather tension regarding the shift from Persian to Urdu and conflicts between Urdu and other regional languages.

Francesca Orsini (2002) studied about the Hindi public sphere of 1920 to 40 in the North Indian context. She shows how educated Indians advanced their political, social, and literary agendas through creating institutional spaces. Ulrike Stark investigated the unexplored story of the social, cultural, and material aspects of the book production in the nineteenth century North India. It examines the commercial publishing of the Naval Kishore press in the second half of the nineteenth century. Stark applied Bourdieu’s field theory and theory of cultural production in her study.

The transition from manuscript to print culture in Hindi and Urdu began at the turn of the 19th century, but it spread very rapidly in the 1820s and 30s. It has been argued that, in North India, a preprint public sphere (manuscript or scribal) continued to exist until the uprising of 1857 (Pernau & Jaffrey, 2009). Both Ulrike Stark (2007) and Christopher Bayly (1996) consider the adoption of print in India as a quantitative change rather than a qualitative shift. The print was influenced by South Asia’s flourishing oral cultures (Ghosh, 2003).

³⁰ For details, see King 1999, Rai 2000, and Brass 2005. They had demonstrated that print not only unites but also divides.

While a majority of studies on print culture focus on North India few works can be identified in the context of South India. J.B. Prashant More's work (2004) on Muslim identity and Tamil print culture looks at how the print constituted Muslim identity in a Dravidian scenario and examines the Islamic reform in Tamil Nadu. A.R Venkatachalapathy (2012) gives an account of the 700 years of the printing/publishing industry. He discusses themes like the emergence of the author, printer, and publisher, the colonial state, and modern print culture and practices and modes of reading. In the Kerala context, Robin Jeffery (2000) focuses on the political economy, ownership, and control of the print media. Jeffery traces the growth of some highly circulated institutions in different parts of India. G. Arunima (2006) looked at the questions of ethnicity, territoriality, and history in Kerala through an examination of two interrelated themes: the emergent print media and its uses, and the problem of language and it addresses the question of identity also.

When it comes to Urdu press in Hyderabad, one chronological study written in the English language by Masood Ali Khan (1995) can be found. Books on print culture written in the Urdu language examine the history, content and other details of the Urdu press³¹. Kavita Datla's descriptive work (2013) focuses on the establishment and intellectual history of Osmania University and Urdu language in Hyderabad, she explores translation, book production, and print activities as well. Her work is an attempt to look at the intellectual history of Hyderabad concerned with Urdu language, education and nationalism in a Muslim space (Ashraf T, 2015).

A deeply contextualized analysis of questions concerning print culture is essential to understand the specific and exclusive history of technology and society. Anindita Ghosh (2004) points out that:

³¹ For details see, Thwayyib Ansari 1980; Nasiruddin Hashmi 1985; Sayyid Mustafa Kamal 1990; Muhammed Anvaruddin 1997; Thahir Masood 2009.

the importance of studying print and literature as a medium through which significant struggles for power take place among different social groups has not been adequately explored in the Indian context. Deeper social analyses of the evolution of modern vernacular print literatures and languages as part of larger processes of class and status formation within distinct speech communities, has not received adequate attention (p. 170).

The question of language is also significant to understand the evolution of print in India. The question of power is central to the social history of language formation. In Veena Naregal's (2004) view linguistic hierarchies, literate audiences, and political structure are interrelated. Vinay Dharwadker argues that:

Colonial south Asia witnessed the first “fully formed” print culture to appear in the world outside Europe and North America, “distinguished by its size, productivity, and multilingual and multinational constitution, as well as its large array of Asian languages and its inclusion of numerous non-western investors and producers among its active participants” (as cited in Bhandari, 2007, p. 270).

Recently published studies on Urdu print cultures focus their attention on investigating cosmopolitanism and Muslim networks in colonial India. Jennifer Dubrow (2018) in her study of periodicals and fiction published in colonial Lucknow in the late nineteenth century shows that Urdu was not an exclusively Muslim language but rather a cosmopolitan language spoken by a transregional and transnational community. Dubrow portrays Urdu as a language of modernity, bureaucracy, and transaction.

The main sources Dubrow analyzes are the periodicals *Avadh Akhbār*, *Avadh Punch*, and Rathan Nath Sarshar's novel *Fasāna-e-Azad*, containing over three thousand pages, first serialized in *Avadh Akhbār* between 1878 and 1883. The major contribution made by Dubrow is her focus on the readers and their active participation in the literary culture. Dubrow argues that

there was a participatory nature in South Asian print culture. The sixth chapter of the present study also shows how the readers' letters influenced the press in Hyderabad.

Megan Eaton Robb (2021) in her work on the *Madinah* newspaper of Bijnor *qasbah* (small-town settlement) of North India explores how print is connected to time and space and how it helps to go beyond the geographical limitation while being protected by them. Robb argues that:

A case study of *Madinah* demonstrates that the form and content of a lithographic newspaper and temporal, spatial, and social characteristics of the *qasbah* environment that produced it worked hand in hand to create productive alterities to European and nationalist imagined futures (p. 4).

As opposed to Dubrow, Robb identifies Islam as a crucial conceptual category in the Urdu public sphere. Muhammad Majid Hasan started *Madinah* newspaper in 1912. As the Bijnor town, part of British India was not connected to the railway line until 1930, the newspaper made use of the telegraph and the postal system to link with the international world. Robb also theorizes Urdu lithography as Muslim technology that helped preserve the calligraphic tradition by combining Arabic and Indo-Persian influences. Many of Robb's arguments and findings have nuances in the Urdu print culture of princely Hyderabad that will be discussed in the upcoming chapters.

Taking cues from different works of literature reviewed above, this thesis will contextualize and analytically interpret Urdu print in Hyderabad by examining the socio-political and cultural currents and trends in the state. Exchanges and engagements between religion and science, tradition and modernity, and questions of social reform and infrastructure will be examined against the backdrop of print culture.

The present study does not approach print as an exclusive disseminator of modern knowledge rather it considers it as a networked mediator of discourses and connective tissue of

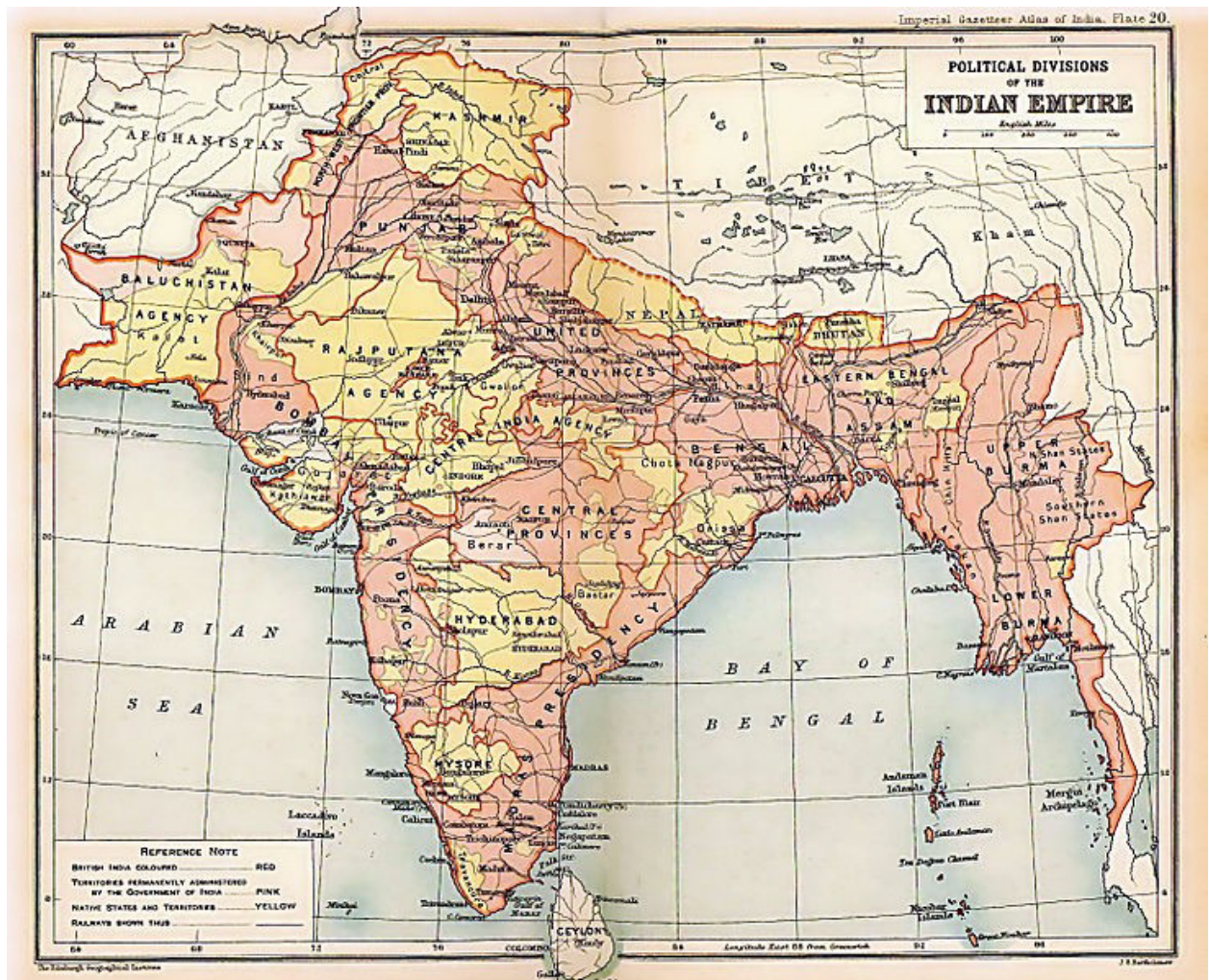
global imaginations and transnational encounters. It does not divorce the materiality of print from its imaginative, creative, metaphysical, and sometimes spiritual dimensions and capacities. The focus is not only on the surface/medium but also on the discourses and themes happening in and through print. Print culture in the state was also informed by concepts and ideas dealing with ethics and morality. To comprehensively analyze the print, the princely Hyderabad has to be situated socially, politically, and culturally.

Locating Princely States

Studies on princely states are minimal and marginal in comparison with the plenty of research works on British India. The majority of studies on princely states focus on the relation between them and the British and the operation of the residency system³² hence on sovereignty, power, and autonomy. Barbara N. Ramusack (2003) points out that “However, in the Historiography of South Asia, the princes and their states have remained on the margins of the dominant narratives of Indian nationalism and its alter ego of religious communalism” (p. 1).

Historians were interested in events, people, and phenomena that concerned their tastes. Before 1947, British historians, who were connected to imperial institutions, analyzed the aspects of Indian politics and culture that legitimated British policies. They praised the princes as faithful allies or portrayed them as misgoverning to justify annexation or deposition. After India’s independence, they concentrated on issues that challenged colonial officials in governing India. They thought about the quick collapse of princely states only after they were integrated to India and Pakistan. The conventional explanations were princely political incompetency and the unavailability of feasible choices for the princes (Ramusack, 2003).

³² For instance, on Hyderabad, see Regani 1963; Yazdani 1976; Khalidi 1987.



Map 2, Map of India, showing British India in pink and princely states in yellow. *The Imperial Gazetteers of India*. (1909), Wikimedia Commons.
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:British Indian Empire 1909 Imperial Gazetteer of India.jpg&oldid=666559684>

Initially, the concentration of British officials and nationalists was in colonial port cities. The focus of historians on dominant narratives of colonialism, nationalism or communal challenges relegated the princes to the sidelines. Another reason for the paucity of scholarship on princely states was the inaccessibility to primary sources as the archives of princely states were not organized and cataloged as those of British India. Princely houses exercised control over some of the archives. Civil unrest in some princely states also hindered scholarly access to primary materials (Ramusack, 2003).

Only at the end of the 1970s, attention was paid by scholars to the story of princely states and they emphasized the diversity of such states (Copland, 2004). Benjamin Cohen's

work, “Kingship and colonialism in India’s Deccan” (2007) has illustrated that “princely states such as Hyderabad have to be studied on multiple levels since they were ‘multitiered, multiethnic’ states” (Ashraf T, 2015). Cohen (2007) argues that:

the exercise of the state power in the Deccan involved not just the Nizams and the British residency, but rather a negotiation among various actors, including local kings, newer landlords and large populations of different ethnic groups such as Afghans, Arabs, and Africans, who were ‘frequently incorporated into the armed forces of local and regional armies’, and often turned ‘from armed service to armed resistance’ (p. 25).

According to Kavita Datla (2015):

The evolution of a system of indirect rule in India as it related to larger political questions being posed in Britain, partly because of its protracted and diverse nature, has not received the same attention. Attention to Indian states, in the scholarship on eighteenth-century South Asia, has closely followed the expanding colonial frontier, focusing on those states that most engaged British military attention: Bengal, Mysore, and the Marathas. And yet, the eighteenth century should also command our attention as a crucial moment of transition from an earlier Indian Ocean world trading system, in which European powers inserted themselves as one sovereign authority among many, to that of being supreme political authorities of territories that they did not govern directly. India’s native states, or “country powers,” as the British referred to them in the eighteenth century, underwrote the expansion of the East India Company in the East. The tribute paid by these states became an important financial resource at the company’s disposal, as it attempted to balance its books in the late eighteenth century (p. 322).

The history of Nizam–British relations in the mid-eighteenth century sheds new light on the status of princely power. Rather than peripheral concerns, metropolitan political aspirations determined the evolution of indirect rule³³ in India. The new interstate relations of this period reshaped the nature of the polities in south India. In Datla’s view (2015):

The system of the indirect rule should not be understood as an absence of colonialism, or a delayed colonialism, but rather as a novel system of interstate politics, involving the parceling of sovereign rights, which was essential to the forging of a new global order (p. 325).

Chitralkha Zutshi’s review (2009) of key works published in the first decade of twenty-first century and a half on princely states throws good light on changing trends in history writing. According to her “the princely state scholarship no longer operates on the margins” (p. 301) as it analyzes modernity, state and sovereignty, religious identity, gender, knowledge production, socio-political changes, and anticolonial resistance. She observes that:

Rather than analyzing princely states in opposition to British India, these works approach them as distinct entities where particular social, economic and political conditions, combined with interaction with external ideas and movements, produced certain outcomes in the realms of state, society, and collective identity. Moreover, by combining archival research with ethnographic studies, these works have allowed access to the oral histories, memories, and vernacular literary traditions of several marginalized social groups in South Asia (p. 301).

Princely states also have to be studied as transnational entities in connection with global political and cultural networks.

She categorizes studies on princely states into two: first, the works which focus on state politics, administrative structures, laws, and reform measures by evaluating their ideas

³³ For details on the origin of indirect rule in India, see Fisher (1984).

on nationalism and communalism in comparison with British India. Second, studies that analyzes different social groups in the state (Zutshi, 2009, p. 302).

The classic text on princely states by Robin Jeffrey (1978), urged to include princely states to study the nature of British power in India. The reason for producing the volume was to fill the lacuna created by negligible attention of historians and it suggested that “the princely states have to be studied as a whole rather than focusing on British policies within one or more of them...” (Zutshi, 2009, p. 302). While the volume could analyze bureaucratization and modernization in princely states along the lines of British India it gave centrality to the developments in British India. The volume has attempted to question the notion that no development was possible in India without the establishment of British political and cultural institutions.

Nationalism and communalism were preferred topics for historians who studied princely India. The dominant notion about nationalism and communalism was that the former was imported from Europe and the latter was rooted in Indian society. Dick Kooiman’s book (2002) discusses the emergence of communalism in three princely states. Kooiman attempts to understand communalism through regional, national and colonial factors. He looks at how communalism emerged due to British administrative reforms, the politics of the Indian National Congress, and internal social conditions. He sees separate electorates not as a cause for the emergence of communalism but as a result of its emergence.

Ian Copland (2005) argues that princely governments did not claim religious neutrality or they did not boast that they represent every religious group like governments in British India which led to the sacrifice of peripheral rights by religious groups and the freedom to perform their basic religious duty kept princely states free from Hindu-Muslim communal violence. Copland also connects communalism to the introduction of representative politics within the borders of the princely states. According to Copland (2005),

“the reason for the limited presence of communalism in princely states was due to small Muslim populations, isolation from British India, a degree of ‘backwardness’, a stronger sense of community, and monarchical policies that resembled ‘fatherly despotism’” (As cited in Cohen, 2007, p. 14).

Zutshi (2009) argues that “Kooiman and Copland’s works bring princely states to the center stage of South Asian Historiography by incorporating the ideas of nationalism and communalism, which were discussed predominantly in the British Indian context” (p. 305). Benjamin Cohen (2007) suggests that “positive communal relations in twentieth-century Hyderabad had nineteenth-century models, which were developed by the role of the *samasthans* as ‘Hindu’ Kings in a ‘Muslim’ state” (pp. 14-15).

Chithralekha Zutshi (2009) and Mridu Rai (2004) also have examined 1931 political movements and subsequent political developments in Jammu and Kashmir using Persian and Kashmiri language sources. Both scholars attempt to transcend the divide between princely India and British India by locating them within larger trans-regional contexts and that is applicable in the case of Hyderabad as well.

Shail Mayaram (1997) in her study, discusses the process of making Meos of Mewat and Bharatpur ‘Muslims’ in the highly polarized atmosphere of early twentieth century Rajputana. She argues that:

The root cause for the ethnic conflict that led to the massacre of Meos during partition was the nature of the state rather than the feudal form of the princely states. Alwar and Bharatpur were variants of modern states that exercised, ‘central control over the means of violence and wide-ranging legislative and administrative enactments which strengthened the juridico-legal apparatus’. Maharaja Jai Singh of Alwar gained legitimacy not through traditional rituals such as sacrifice and gift, but rather through the nationalist moral renewal through the state’s collaboration with pan-Indian

movements such as Arya Samaj, cow protection movement, and Hindi language movement. In the state's view, there were only Hindus or Muslims, not Meos, a group that had a liminal position between these two categories (Zutshi, 2009, p. 306).

Hira Singh (1998) attempts to theorize indigenous resistance in the princely states of Rajasthan by problematizing the category of 'indirect rule'. He argues that the pre-capitalist economic/feudal system survived in princely states because of their resistance to penetration of the colonial system and both affected and modified each other. This interaction led to the emergence of peasant movements in the 1920s-40s, which brought an end to colonial rule.

Singh examines the complex nature of indigenous resistance designed by political parties, caste, traditional culture, and ideology. The resistance helped end both colonialism and feudalism. The portrayal of princely states by Singh as feudal is problematic and this view was contested by Shail Mayaram's work discussed above.

The volume edited by Waltraud Ernst and Biswamoy Poti (2007) calls for a "multidimensional approach that is focused on the varied conditions in specific states as well as cognizant of interstate relationships and interactions with colonial governmentalities" (Zutshi, 2009, p. 307). They argue that several concepts about princely states have to be reconsidered including the princely states are autonomous entities and the British had little control over them. They suggest that the emergence and maintenance of states were influenced by British colonial policies in South Asia. They also questioned the 'progressive reforms' initiated in such states. The editors take Manu Bhagavan's book (2003), and it looks at the reforms in the field of education in the princely states of Mysore and Baroda. Those reforms were articulated against colonial modernity, which questioned colonialism and how it defined the modern.³⁴

³⁴ Bhagavan (2008) writes in another essay that "My claim has been that the aggressive reform packages pursued in each state (Mysore and Baroda) brought them notice from colonists and nationalists alike, the former seeking to claim credit for such a trajectory by inscribing the reform measures onto the larger narrative of colonial modernity, and the latter, in line with the evidence provided by the state reformers, seeking to locate the

The most important contribution of the volume is its ambition to “bring the people back into a limited historiography that currently seems to be inhabited mainly by princes and their sub-feudatories” (Ernst & Pati, 2007, p. 8). The essays in the volume look at people’s movements, public health, gender, religion, border disputes, and notions of rituals and legitimacy. Siobhan Lambert Hurley’s essay (2007) examines how the princely state of Bhopal initiated reform in the context of discourses on Islam. Lambert Hurley argues that: The reformist ideas of the ruler of Bhopal, Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum, were designed by the Universalist idea of equal justice for all, regardless of class and gender. Sultan Jahan Begum based her reforms- the prohibition of female infanticide, limiting polygamy, and guaranteeing woman’s right to maintenance, etc. - on Islamic thought and practice influencing not only Muslim reform movements in colonial India but also the debates over the status of Muslim women in Islam, being conducted in places like Egypt (Zutshi, 2009, p. 308).

Angma Dey Jhala’s work (2008) “Courtly Indian Women in Late Imperial India” investigates the question of gender in connection with colonialism, and modernity in the princely context. Her subject of analysis was the *zenana* (women’s quarters) and women’s politics in this realm across different princely states. Jhala argues that “courtly women were able to initiate diverse negotiations across different levels of princely families and the colonial bureaucracy to impact questions of dynastic succession, marriage alliances, and sexual politics” (Zutshi, 2009, p. 309). Elite women’s politics is the focus of two studies discussed above.

Barbara N. Ramusack’s comprehensive work (2003) attempts to fill some lacunae in the historiography of princely states. She argues that British Indians studied princely states as

source of change in a pre- and postcolonial worldview that, in toto, rejected the modernity of the colonial regime” (p. 887).

the princes were considered either allies or disloyal, autocratic despots who had to be overthrown or replaced by the virtue of British governance.

The assumption that the princely states are embodiments of more traditional and essential India was the major hindrance to the scholarship on princely states. Many scholars have studied princely states in comparison with British India. This was also the reason for not giving agency to princely subjects. But the recent scholarships on princely states have made diverse interventions on a variety of aspects of princely spaces and it will be discussed in the next section.

Zutshi concludes the review by saying that “Finally, princely states can play a role in informing other debates, for instance on ideas of history and practices of history writing, issues of vernacularization, language, and script, as well as print and popular culture” (p. 311). She also argues that to decolonize princely states, British India versus princely India approach must have to be ceased. They have to be studied as part of wider regions, movements, and ideas by multiple actors and players. This will provide new insights into the complex past of South Asia and its interconnectedness with the rest of the world. This approach can be helpful to get a wider and clearer picture of Hyderabad’s cultural and social sphere vis-à-vis global networks.

Manu Bhagvan (2003) observes that when the princes were given freedom, especially after 1909, to rule the subjects according to their agenda and political tradition, they occupied a separate sphere, a free space within the confining framework of colonial authority. He examines the educational projects and resistance against British imperialism in the Princely States of Mysore and Baroda which were considered progressive states of the late colonial period. He argued that princely states during the colonial era were ‘negotiated spaces of power’. He (2003) also pointed out that the princes have scope for constructing their imaginaries of modernity by suggesting that:

The private sphere of the princely state allowed for the re-conception, the reclamation of not-western reforms as ‘native’, the ‘pure national’ unpolluted by colonial intervention. I posit, then, that the princely states of Baroda and Mysore, unhappy with extensive illegal colonial intervention, failed promises of deliverance, and their insecurities, resisted colonial control by actively reconstituting within the inner political sphere (of the Kingdom) a ‘native’ modernity, which in turn subsumed the social and cultural realms (p. 8).

Janaki Nair (2011) coined the term “monarchical modernity” to analyze the history of princely Mysore against the colonial and nationalist notions of modernity. Nair examines artistic trends, architectural practices, bureaucratic efforts, use of law, and development as instruments of modernity.

Recent trends in the studies on princely states show how diverse themes and discourses shaped the socio-cultural structures of such states. They critique the nationalist and colonial historiography which portrays princely states as “puppets and hollow crowns” (Groenhout, 2006 and 2007; Garcia, 2022). Razak Khan (2015, 2021) in the context of princely Rampur, probes the questions of space and emotion that grant agency to princely subjects, local history writing in Urdu that problematizes territorial nationalism, and urban history and education that interrogate elite Muslim nostalgia. While Khan looks into print culture in the princely Rampur by moving beyond colonial and princely archives through personal experiences and madrasa/educational archives, Amanda Lanzillo (2018) analyzes how lithography engaged with colonial modernity and Indo-Islamic prestige in the backdrop of princely states of Rampur and Bhopal. Lanzillo finds that lithography was helpful to articulate princely state difference and favored Indo-Islamic manuscript tradition.

The reviewed literature shows that the approaches and frameworks to study princely states are undergoing a tremendous change. They deploy divergent lenses to investigate

socio- political and cultural histories of princely locations. The following section will discuss old perspectives and new directions in analyzing princely state of Hyderabad.

Researching Princely Hyderabad

Like studies on other princely states, earlier research on Hyderabad focused on British-Nizam relations (Regani, 1963; Bawa 1986; Ray, 1988), biographic sketches of the rulers, administrative reforms, political changes, especially after the 1920s, and the annexation of Hyderabad to Indian union. Benjamin Cohen (2007) opines that the princely state of Hyderabad did not receive much scholarly attention and the reason for this is “Perhaps the lure of Kashmir’s snowy peaks or the sweetness of Awadh’s Urdu have made those states the recipients of much princely states scholarship” (p. 10).³⁵

Colonial powers portrayed princely states as backward and regressive and British India as modern and progressive. British authority called traditional governance ‘misgovernance’ (Bhukya, 2013). Bhukya argues that “prior to the import of colonial ideology and its establishment in Hyderabad there was little state regulation of polity, economy, and society” (p. 121).

The works published after the 1980s shifted their focus to monographs. Karen Leonard’s work (1994) on Kayasths (record keepers and scribes) is significant in this regard. She traced the history of Kayasths from the inception of the state until the twentieth century. They came to Hyderabad as military personnel in the eighteenth century, and later, they rose to the position of hereditary nobility as their knowledge of Persian and familiarity with the Indo-Persianate literary culture were useful for better functioning of the government. She studied the inner political

³⁵William Dalrymple suggests that “The history of Hyderabad and the wider Dekan remains a major lacuna: for every book on the Dekan sultanates, there are a hundred on the Mughals; for every book on Hyderabad there is a shelf on Lucknow” (as cited in Cohen, 2007, p. 10).

structure of the state and found that patron-client institutions as the basis of the political system. She also identified 'kin group' as the active social unit in the state.

Margrit Pernau (2000) studied political culture in Hyderabad through the lens of Patrimonialism. She analyzes the political culture of Hyderabad differently. According to Pernau, the concepts of *Qaum* (society/nation) and *Millat* (community) in the context of Hyderabad did not stand for larger religious groups and certainly not for nations, but for communities that have a common origin, bound by a feeling of solidarity, linked together by commensality and connubium and within which the larger part of the actual social interaction took place. Overlapping of multiple identities was the major feature of Hyderabad state. It was founded on the possible co-existence of conflicting identities, not only at the social but also political level. In the political realm, a declaration or announcement of one's identity was a very important prerequisite. Pernau (2000) suggests possible research about the period of the last Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan by saying that:

The unhappy end of his reign, comprising the rule of the radical Muslim party, Ittehad ul Muslimin, the Communist uprising in Telangana, and the military confrontation with the Indian Union may have contributed to the fact that this epoch to a large extent still waiting for adequate historiographical treatment³⁶ (p. 19).

Lucien D Benichou's study (2000) looks at the political changes in the final decades of the princely Hyderabad. He critically examines the events leading to the forceful integration of Hyderabad into the Indian state in 1948. Benichou has chosen the year 1938 as a starting point of his analysis since this year there started a political agitation in the form of the Satyagraha movement in Hyderabad and then he examines Muslim political reactions happened in 1938 and 1944 under the leadership of Bahadur Yar Jung, orator and leader of Majlis-e-Ittehadul

³⁶ Zubaida Yazdani (1985) in her work "The Seventh Nizam: The Fallen Empire" provides a good picture of this period using many archival sources including Nizam's private papers. V. K. Bawa (1991) in his book "The last Nizam: The Life and Times of Mir Osman Ali Khan" also presents a well-researched history of the same period.

Muslimeen. The second part of the book analyzes major political events and especially the police action of 1948. Benichou used a good amount of archival data to evaluate critical events that took place in the final decades of the state. He failed to examine the relationship between earlier political events and ideas with the twentieth-century politics as it was never a sudden eruption.

The majority of scholarship on Deccan has been concentrated on the city of Hyderabad.³⁷ As pointed out earlier, another theme of the scholarship on princely states was communalism which was examined in the context of Hyderabad as well. Ian Copland (1997) has proved that communal relations were better in Hyderabad compared to British Indian provinces and presidencies. Copland in his study on the princes in the final stages of their empire discusses the negotiation among princes as well as with the British. Works on nationalism concentrate on the dealings between the princes, the National Congress, and the British. Moving beyond the city and the story of the Nizams, Benjamin Cohen (2007) considers the negotiation of power between the Samasthans ('little kingdoms') and the Asafia dynasty.³⁸

Some of the studies focus on reform and changes (during 1853-1911) initiated by the Nizam Maḥbūb Ali Pasha and Salar Jang I. V. K Bawa (1986) in his work on Salar Jang traces the transformation of Hyderabad from a *Mughlai* system to a modern state. He criticizes Salar Jang for being trapped in tradition due to an inadequate 'scientific attitude'.

Freedom struggle in Hyderabad was also a recurrent theme. The nationalist history of the *Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad* in four volumes (1966) traces the origins of the independence movement right with the establishment of the state. Sarojini Regani (1972) looks at the regional and linguistic basis of the nationalist movement. The Communist uprising in Telangana was also studied through a nationalist lens (Sundarayya, 1972).

³⁷ Cities are considered "information ports" especially in the case of Islamic reformism (Cole, 2002).

³⁸ In his ethno-history of the Tamil kingdom Pudukkottai, Nicholas Dirks (1987) has examined how the crown of the little king became "hollow" by the effect of British ascendancy. Pamela Price (1996) in her work on the Tamil kingdom of Ramnad asserted that colonialism did not "hollow" the crown; but instead "transformed" it.

Some of the unpublished doctoral theses also mainly focus on the Nizam-British relations, political and social reform, Hyderabad's transformation to modernity and nationalism, communalism, and integration of Hyderabad into India. Sunil Chander's thesis (1987) examines the transformation of Hyderabad from a pre-colonial setting to a princely system. John Roosa's thesis (1998) attempts to trace the origin of nationalism in the princely Hyderabad by analyzing the public education, writings of Muhib Husain, Hindu social reform, pan-Islamism, and Khilafat movement, Muslim politics, and Left politics. Doctoral dissertations submitted at the Osmania University, Hyderabad examines socio-political and administrative reform history (Aleem, 1985 as cited in Pernau, 2000), constitutional history (Muthalib, 1957 as cited in Pernau, 2000), role of the press (Srinivasulu, 1982), government policy (Rahman, 1986) and other socio-political themes as well.

Recently published studies shift their theoretical, methodological, and thematic focus to a new dimension different from previous ones. For instance, Kavita Datla's work (2013) excellently traces the history of Osmania University and the politics of language by analyzing literature, education, translation, secularism, and religion specifically Islam in the princely context of Hyderabad. Osmania was the first and only institution of higher education where teaching and learning were accomplished in the vernacular language of Urdu. She argues that Muslim intellectuals in Hyderabad sought to secularize their linguistic, historical, and religious traditions for a newly conceived nation. She identifies the political disagreements in the 1930s as a clash of competing secular agendas and not as an incomplete secularism. Rather than seeing Muslim initiatives and cultures as communal, Datla applies the concept of secularism to define Muslim intellectual tradition in Hyderabad.

For theoretical framework, she depends on Talal Asad's definition of secularism which suggests that:

Secularism is not simply an intellectual answer to a question about enduring social peace and toleration. It is an enactment by which a political medium (representation of citizenship) redefines and transcends particular and differentiating practices of the self that are articulated through class, gender, and religion (Datla, 2013, p. 9).

Following Asad, she defines secularism not as:

an approach to politics or a solution to communal problems and rather more a set of projects- enacted by a diverse set of actors, including South Asia's Muslim intellectuals- that was essentially productive, that reordered traditional epistemologies, and created new and conflicting ways of understanding one's heritage, language, and culture (Datla, 2013, p. 9).

The central argument put forward by Datla (2013) is that in Hyderabad, the language stands above religion and the "Urdu language in the early twentieth century became a means not only of asserting difference but also of imagining a common secular future" (p. 9). When Urdu is projected against the English language, Datla misses how Urdu engaged with other local languages and vice versa.³⁹ The category of secularism also has to be scrutinized in order to understand how far it can capture the Muslim intellectual engagements and experiments in Hyderabad. In a sense, Datla's study also attempts to nationalize the Muslim intellectual endeavors especially when she historicizes the Muslim past. Hence the intellectual, educational, and reformist moments have to be analyzed in a transnational and global framework by examining how the categories of tradition, modernity, science, and religion are constituted.

The attempts to translate western knowledge to Urdu could be found in the early decades of the nineteenth century and it was not a phenomenon of the twentieth century.

³⁹ The language was not the only tool in princely context to challenge the British dominance. As Manu Bhagvan's study (2003) shows that the plans of Mysore and Baroda to establish their own autonomous universities challenged the colonial authority and control.

Similar efforts were made in Delhi College as well before 1857. Datla also missed to adequately discuss the role and significance of printing technology in institutionalizing Muslim knowledge traditions.

The study departs from others on language politics and Hindi-Urdu controversy by suggesting Deccan as one of the multiple centers of standardizing the Urdu language and showing a different form of linguistic nationalism other than Hindi nationalism. The translation was an important intellectual project to reform and standardize the Urdu language. Datla has extensively discussed the project of translation conducted at the Osmania University. English was the dominant language from which the major translations were done followed by Arabic, German and French. The present study examines the translation project in Hyderabad starting from the intellectual and educational experiment of Nawab Faḡhruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara in the 1830s and 40s.

Asiya Alam (2016) points out that even though Datla critiques the dichotomy of modernity and tradition often seen in South Asian Historiography but does not engage sufficiently with other tropes of Islamic thought in the colonial period and how the scheme of Osmania University and Urdu nationalism is related to those discourses. Chitrlekha Zutshi (2014) observes that Datla's book does not look at the political developments in British India especially the two-nation theory and the politics of the Muslim League. Datla's study also lacks the comparative analysis of educational policies and institutions in other princely spots.

Eric Lewis Beverley's study (2016) attempts to position Hyderabad in a global comparative framework by arguing that Hyderabad's place as a subordinate state with "minor sovereignty" was not just a legal position rather it could exercise the right to self-governance and reinvigorate transnational Muslim intellectual and political networks. Instead of using the term 'Princely State' he describes Hyderabad and similar polities as sub-imperial, non-colonial, or minor states. The main focus of his study is also centered on Hyderabad city. He

argues that administrators and intellectuals of Hyderabad state made regional history and the currents in other parts of the world engage in dialogue to combine these two sources of authority (p.1). The term ‘sovereignty’ is used in Beverley’s work in a strictly political sense. The significant shift in the approach to studying Hyderabad is that instead of looking at Hyderabad from the outer world, the study views the world from Hyderabad to understand the politics in South Asia and beyond.

The book thoroughly and narratively examines the various meanings and significations of sovereignty through three sections namely ideas, institutions, urban space, and Hyderabad’s connection with intellectuals and Muslim modernist internationalists including Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Muhammad Asad, and Marmaduke Pickthall and issues of law, crime, processes of city development and economic planning. It also discusses the solidarity of the rulers with subaltern groups, especially Dalits. The author brings a variety of themes and discourses to make a powerful demonstration of how (minor) sovereignty was formulated, sustained, and maintained in Hyderabad.

The ideas of Patrimonialism and modernity have been used as the theoretical frameworks of the study. He defines patrimonialism as “personalized authority premised on relationships of reciprocity between ruler and the ruled” (p. 6). It is understood as a stage in the transition to bureaucratic hence depersonalized authority. He argues that “In Hyderabad Patrimonialism was frequently blended with languages of technocratic, rationalist, or modernist political change” (p. 7). Further, he applies the concept of patrimonialism as typological not teleological and defines it as “a political relationship centered on a mutual understanding of reciprocity between ruler and ruled, with expectations of “voluntary compliance” by the subordinated and accountability by leaders” (p. 8). The author characterizes the patrimonial system of Hyderabad as something which initiated several modernizing projects including legal and revenue reform, state welfare, urban and economic

planning, etc. The bureaucrat-intellectuals, administrators, and educationists received modern ideas from multiple sources and locations to apply them in Hyderabad state to design it as a distinctive space.⁴⁰

The book also discusses the global connection of Hyderabad enabled by modern communication systems and technologies. The role of print also has been slightly examined in some parts of the work. Another major theme of research is the forceful integration of Hyderabad into India (Hyder 2012; Noorani 2013; Purushotham 2019 and 2021). There are few works on postcolonial Hyderabad as well (Sherman 2015; Jha 2017).

As most of the studies focus on the city of Hyderabad and the relations between the Nizam and the British, this thesis focuses on the relationship between Nizam, local actors, transnational powers, and Muslim intellectuals and the emergence of printing, the question of science, reform, religion, infrastructure, and development. Since Hyderabad city was the center of printing and educational activity, the present study examines print cultures that evolved and developed in the urban spaces of Hyderabad. The discourses in and around the print were connected with the question of modernity in many ways and that will be discussed in the next chapter along with the methodological concerns.

⁴⁰ Detailed discussion on modernity is provided in the next chapter

Chapter III

Theoretical Lens and Methodological Frame

The present study revolves around multiple theories dealing with modernity, religion, media studies, and print culture. The Princely state of Hyderabad is imagined here as a unique geographic, socio-political, and cultural space, with Urdu as the language and identity marker and print as the technology of self and social. The following discussion mainly focuses on the question of modernity vis-à-vis print culture in the princely Hyderabad.

Rather than looking at modernity and tradition or science and religion as opposing categories, the thesis endeavors to find mutually constituting elements in their engagements, interactions, encounters, and negotiations. Classical theories of modernity define it as “modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence” (Giddens, 1990, p. 1). This definition conceives Europe as the producer of modernity and the rest as its mere recipients, a view that has been questioned by post-colonial scholars (Chakrabarty, 2007).

Discontinuities between traditional and modern social orders have been found as the results of technological advancements, global interconnection, the structure of modern institutions such as nation-states, and capitalism, among other factors. Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim viewed modernity as a single overriding dynamic of transformation (Giddens, 1990). Weber emphasized rationalization and bureaucratization as markers of modernity and characterized it as a universal civilization. Habermas stressed the importance of critical reason rooted in the ambitions of enlightenment. He pointed out that “the project of modernity entails the progressive extension of a potentially emancipatory communicative rationality to all parts of society” (1984, p. 87). Constant examination and reformation of social practices have been explained as the reflexive feature of modernity, and knowledge has no

certitude.⁴¹ Modernity is also theorized as a new kind of experience,⁴² disenchantment and freedom while tradition is compared with docile slavery. Modernity is also characterized as structuration, mechanism, particular kind of time-consciousness, techno-centrism, standardization of knowledge, linear progress, absolute and universal truths, and as an expression of cosmopolitanism due to its plural nature and interactive logics.

Charles Taylor suggests that modernity has to be interpreted culturally. For him, the notion of inwardness (being true to oneself) is vital in modernity in terms of the cultivation of self-control and self-exploration (Gurciullo, 2015). He criticized its individualism because of its flattening and narrowing of human life. Taylor's observation regarding how private romanticism with public utilitarianism led to instrumental satisfaction and destroyed the possibility of reconciliation sheds light on the interaction of tradition and modernity.

Reinhart Koselleck observed modernity as a "constantly changing interpretation of the present by reference to its past and the open horizon of its future" (as cited in Delanty, 2006, p. 266).⁴³ This gives referential quality to immediate past, not distant past or longer tradition. Critical theorists like Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Michel Foucault linked modernity with a disciplinary apparatus of power that becomes more and more total. Foucault searched for 'counter movements' in modernity. According to the twentieth-century formulation, "modernity is constituted by its machines, of which modern men and women are merely mechanical reproductions" (Berman, 1988, p. 29).

Many theories have emerged to counter and question western notions of modernity, such as multiple, alternative, global, hybrid, and entangled modernities. Postmodernism also deals with some of the notions of modernity since its concern was the question of culture. Frederic

⁴¹ As Karl Popper says: "all science rests upon shifting sand" (Giddens, 1990, p. 39).

⁴² Marx viewed that in modernity "all that is solid melts into air" (Berman, 1983, p. 15).

⁴³ Modernity is also defined as a 'condition of self-representation, incompleteness and renewal in which the localized past is reshaped by the present; it expresses a self-confidence in the transformative project of the present time as a liberation from the past' (Delanty, 2006, p. 268).

Jameson (1984) defined post-modernism as a “reflection of the ‘cultural logic’ of capitalism in its current phase, not an entirely new kind of society” (p.56). An argument proposes that much of the enlightenment project belongs to a distinctly non-capitalist society. Postmodernism asserts that the universe is fragmented and rejects totalizing discourses, metanarratives, and universalist political projects (Wood, 1997).

S. N. Eisenstadt (2000), the theorist of multiple modernities, argued that the origins of modernity can be traced in the prominent civilizations of the world. He stressed that modernity is global but not universal. The idea of multiple modernities was envisioned against the “homogenizing and hegemonic assumptions” (p. 1) of the original European or “Western program of modernity” (p. 1) while entangled modernities are the enmeshed, interconnected nature of modernities. Hence modernities are transformative, processual, and interconnected.

Multiple modernities entail a view of modernity as a new type of civilization. Scientific exploration was considered the epitome of rationalization. The core of science was mastery over nature. But there was a tension between reason and emotional and aesthetic dimensions and between autonomy and mastery. Extensive control by modern institutions caused the weakening of human autonomy. Hence modernity was criticized from the religious point of view, expressivist emphasis, and decolonialism. Walter Mignolo (2007) theorized modernity as coloniality.

The defining characteristic of multiple modernities is relativism. Peter Wagner (2010) opines that “the history of modernity can be considered as a history of stretching concepts to cover the entire globe” (p. 16). One can argue that the emergence of modern institutions and practices in the princely Hyderabad was deeply informed and shaped by the traditional ethos. This will be exemplified in the main chapters of the present study.

The proponents of the multiple modernity theory point out that westernization and modernity are never identical, and “western patterns of modernity are not the only ‘authentic’

modernities” (Eisenstadt, 2000, p. 3). They add that the western model remains to be a basic reference point for others, and the idea of multiple modernities was first developed in the western civilizational framework. Hence this theory assumes the West as the epitome and exporter of modernity and the rest as the receivers. The present study examines modernity and tradition as something developed in their “contexts of intercultural contact” (Clifford as cited in Medick, 2014).

It has been argued that different processes of modernity happened parallel and symmetrical. Sudipta Kaviraj (2005) points out that rather than symmetrical, capitalism and democracy developed sequentially and what exists before it must be structurally diverse. The newness of modernity is worked upon the materials and memories of the old. The idea of multiple modernities was found not applicable in the Indian context, where asymmetrical conditions of domination and exploitation are prevalent.

Challenging the concept of multiple modernities, Shalini Randeria (2006) proposes “disparate, divergent, but uneven and entangled modernities” (p. 4). Randeria (2006) critiques alternative/multiple modernities as it “cements the category of western modernity as a universal narrative against which local difference in the experience of non-western societies is measured” (p. 4). The concept of ‘trans colonial modernity’ also questions the Eurocentric narrative of modernity. Tony Ballantyne “has used the term ‘webs of empire’ to argue that, in spatial terms, modernity was built up in dialogue with transregional and transnational flows” (as cited in Savary, 2016, p. 4).

Dipesh Chakrabarty (2011) proposes that modernity can be understood as the process of building institutions and the “development of a degree of reflective and judgmental thinking about these processes” (p. 669), and he argues that the “development of ideas and development of institutions are intertwined processes” (p. 669). There were various instances of resistance from colonized/nonwestern people against imperial technologies and modernization. John F.

Richards observed that “Mughals never adopted the printing press despite having had it “demonstrated by missionaries and the European companies” was simply an instance of “cultural resistance” (as cited in Chakrabarthy, 2011, p. 673).

While discussing modernity in the South Indian context, David Washbrook (2009) points out that “modernity is an ideal-typical set of qualities that may be actually realized in any particular social and cultural setting” (p. 125). Individualism, universalism, rationality, science, technology, progressivism, recognition of the difference between past and present, and the historicity are the features of modernity, according to him. All these ideas seem to be informed by dominant theories of modernity. The qualities of being modern or innovative were not realized in the same way in different locations. There was constant negotiation and encounter between tradition and modernity, and the merging of both in the Indian context was called hybrid. In Bachmann-Medick’s view (2009) hybridity is insufficient a category where translation makes more sense. The idea of translation also presupposes a source and a receiving end.

David Washbrook (2009) argues that there was a ‘prehistory’ of modernity in south India, developed through global cloth trade, commercialized monetary economy, large industrial and service sectors, and formation of economic individuality. Some of the states moved “from patrimonial to bureaucratic systems of organization in the post-Mughal eighteenth century”, being “drawn into a faster-moving ‘Eurasian World’ of interactive commerce, politics, and culture. Later, colonialism destroyed this world of commerce and industry” (p. 135).

New ideas, institutional, organizational and associational practices were developed in South/peninsular India through coastline interaction between a wide variety of global and domestic groups and communities including the Dutch, Portuguese, French, British, Arabs, Turks, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Persian, and Urdu etc. These were informed by different religious, ethical, and ideological positions. The princely Hyderabad was also a great example of poly-glottedness.

In an essay, Washbrook (1997) observes that tradition in the Indian context seems to have undergone remarkable reinvigoration from contact with modernity. This is also evident in the production of science books by Shams-ul-Umara in Hyderabad since he endeavored to connect religious views on morality to science. Tradition is understood here not “as non-reflexive, primordial culture, but more dynamically, as the ensemble of practices and arguments that secure the social bond and provide cohesiveness to human communities of varying scale” (Salvatore, 2009, p. 7). Traditions were formed and transmitted through discourses and arguments. Alasdair MacIntyre views “tradition as a bundle of arguments, concepts, and practices motivating the social agents” (Salvatore, 2009, p. 7). This idea of tradition provides a framework to investigate the princely contexts as there were intersecting and diverging encounters between different worldviews in the case of writings of Fakhruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara, Jamaluddin al-Afghani, and the editorials of *Rahbar-e-Deccan*.

The princely states modernized various spheres, especially through institutionalization. Mysore, Travancore and Baroda invested huge amounts of money in education, healthcare, and science. Religion and science were patronized in princely states (Washbrook, 1997). The process of innovation and change witnessed constant encounters between old and new ideas and practices.

Scholars have examined how the princely states of India experienced modernity. In the context of Mysore and Baroda, Manu Bhagavan (2003) shows that modernity and its instruments constituted one of the most potent sites of struggle between the British and the princes. Janaki Nair (2011) initially analyzes art and architecture to understand how modernity was registered in the Princely State of Mysore. Nair calls modernity in Mysore ‘Monarchical Modernity’. Modern trends and changes in Hyderabad also can be called monarchical modernity since there was a control and supervision of Nizams in most of the matters of the state and society while modern ideas and practices were introduced. The making and unmaking of modernity in Hyderabad are

realized through the aspirations of multiple actors, institutions, and events in an entangled manner. Hyderabad was conceived and constituted as a ‘minor sovereign’ location, through the discursive power of religion, tradition, and language.

Instead of looking at print through conventional frameworks of nationalism and modernity, the present study moves beyond and identifies tropes out of modern political ideologies and establishes connections with civilizational power.⁴⁴ Protestant versus Catholic journalistic/print practices also share patterns that modern liberal lenses cannot grasp. Protestants dreamed of a well-ordered civilization based on Bible (Rubin 2014; Noll 2017). Eisenstadt (2003) points out that modernity has the potential to be called a new civilization and it can be connected to the spread of world religions with civilizational bases. The cultural premise is central to a civilizational model of modernity and stresses on human autonomy and the changes in being human. Instead of a “structural-functionalist conception of culture as a systemic code, the civilizational approach” emphasizes “the order-transforming impact of patterns than the order-maintaining one” (Arnason, 2006, p. 232).

According to Eisenstadt (2003), “the central analytical core of the concept of civilization is the combination of ontological or cosmological visions of mundane reality, with the definition, construction, and regulation of the major areas of social life and interaction” (Volume. I, p. 34). The current study approaches civilization as a theologically inspired and ethically formed phenomenon and examines the diverse aspects of printing informed by notions of religion, tradition, ethics, and globality/cosmopolitanism. This work employs archival, historical, and textual methods to trace the socio-cultural history of print in Hyderabad.

⁴⁴ Civilization appears as macro-units in space and time, with unifying patterns and developmental dynamics of their own.

Archive, Data, and Methodology

Primarily, the archive refers to a place where documents and historical records are collected and preserved. Often it also refers to the contents of museums, and libraries thus it includes all historical documents. The development of information technology contributed to the tremendous growth of digital archives worldwide.⁴⁵

The journal “History of the Human Sciences” devoted its two issues in 1998 and 1999 to discussing the archive question. In fifteen essays, scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds explore the meaning and significance of archives in scholarly and political domains. They deal with the questions such as national consciousness, development of liberal citizenship, totalitarian society, and ethnic struggle in connection with the archive. They address the contribution of the archive to disciplines including anthropology, history, and literature. They also discuss new trends in archiving including digital collection and the internet.

Philosophers and scholars have theorized archives in different ways. Most of them deal with questions of power, governance, colonialism, culture, etc. The following section of this chapter examines different approaches toward archives to develop a methodological framework for analyzing the materials of the present thesis.

Politics of Archive and Colonialism

Derrida theorizes archives mainly in his famous text titled “Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression” published in 1995. Derrida (1995) suggests that the structure of the archive determines the archivability of things and the technical method of “archivization” shapes history and memory. The methods for transferring information influence the nature of

⁴⁵ The present study, to access various historical materials depended extensively on archive.org, an online repository of historical documents which are otherwise inaccessible as they are kept in the British library and other Euro-American libraries.

producible knowledge. The archival technology determines what is worth archiving and therefore what is worth studying. Thus Derrida (1995) claims that “archivization produces as much as it records the event” (p. 17). Marlene Manoff (2004) claims that “Derrida’s work has contributed to scholarly recognition of the contingent nature of the archive- the way it is shaped by social, political, and technological forces” (p. 12).

All knowledge-producing endeavors have to negotiate with, interpret, and contribute to the archive. Every text and event has the potential to be archived and recorded. No discipline is free from using archival materials for study and research. There is an element of suspicion of the historical record in postmodern scholarship. Historical records such as books and archival documents have to be approached not as an objective representation of the past but rather as select objects preserved for a variety of reasons. Hence the archive is not a neutral space to be authenticated. In this sense, the archive is based on reconstruction and interpretation. Archives have also been approached as products of the institutions they serve (Robertson, 2011).

It seems that the investigation of colonial archives will be helpful in understanding the relationship between information gathering and political power. Derrida (1995) identified the control of the archive as a vital element of political power.⁴⁶ British had tried to monopolize knowledge through various policies and institutions.

Marlene Manoff (2004) points out that:

If the establishment and consolidation of the empire were built on the accumulation of information about the people and places under colonial rule, one of the strategies adopted by postcolonial subjects has been to reinterpret and recontextualize the information and thus call into question the colonial version of events. Whereas the

⁴⁶ Power and control, is fundamental to the etymology of the term archive. In the Latin, *archivum* means “residence of the magistrate” and in the Greek, *arkhe* means to command or govern (Ann Laura Stoler, 2002, p. 97).

colonial archive places the British administrator at the center, surveying and documenting foreign subjects, postcolonial literature places the former subjects at the center and makes possible the exposure of the distortions and manipulations of the historical record.

Postcolonial scholarship has demonstrated how the colonial archive was shaped by the aims of its creators and how the interpretation of the archive always depends on the perspective of its interpreters. Hayden White has argued that “transforming archival data into a historical narrative is a subjective act” (p. 16).

Colonial politics is based on the constitution of the archive, its form, and its classification system. Early colonial historiographies of British India depended on native informants, and such histories show the relationship between archiving, experts, and knowledge production (Dirks, 2002). Christopher Bayly (1996) has demonstrated how the British intelligence system worked in colonial India by depending on native channels and how information was the nodal point of the art of governance. Colonial archives are representations of configurations of power and exclusion, which are productions of state machines and vice versa. Colonial governing was implemented with the help of knowledge produced by archival practices (Stoler, 2008; 2002). The postcolonial archive is designed according to the nationalist interests and statist agenda (Taneja, 2017).

Rama Sundari Mantena (2012) proposes a different conceptualization of the colonial archive. Mantena approaches the archive as a result and product of the intellectual encounter between the colonial powers and the natives. The archive is imagined as a creative space than a preservative repository. Mantena focuses on the shifts colonialism brought to archival and historiographical practices in South India instead of seeing them through the lens of dissemination and adoption. The princely archive can also be seen as a product of epistemological encounters and intellectual engagements.

Princely Archive

Archives are not universal; hence they have to be situated. Craig Robertson (2011) argues that “archives are “historicized” to be located in specific social, political, and cultural contexts that generate distinct understandings of what constitutes reliable evidence and reliable knowledge” (pp. 1-2). Princely archives also differ from other archives. They serve the princely interests and aspirations that are informed and influenced by numerous actors. Archives express power and produce a particular kind of imagination (Steedman, 2001). Because the archive is not about the past but an anticipation of the future according to Derrida (1995). In the context of Hyderabad, the archive is tied to sovereign forms of power and ‘royal memory’ and Foucault considers the archive an effect of sovereignty (Osborne, 1999).

A huge number of records of various princely states especially regarding the federal debates (about making India a federal state) have been kept in the National Archives of India (New Delhi) and the British Library (London). Princely states generated a plethora of legal and political records. The states had a variety of non-official documents and records. Copies of journals, magazines, and books published from Hyderabad are available in British Library not in the regional archives. In the 1930s and 1940s, there were discussions about the aspects of federation between the princes and British officials. Sarath Pillai (2020) suggests that the records of federal discussions are hardly found in the regional archives of leading advocates of the federation, such as the princely state of Travancore and Cochin. By contrast, large records of both states and their participation in federal debates are available in the colonial archives in Delhi and London. This center versus province phenomenon shows the trajectory of organizing retaining and preserving historical documents in state-run archives in postcolonial India. Pillai (2020) argues that:

Various state archives formed in postcolonial India sought to preserve historical records that aligned with their postcolonial future, and not their colonial history. Thus, some regions and states with a historical tendency for secession, as well as those, like Travancore, that argued for independence not just from the British, but also from the Indian Union, now have state-run archives that contain very little about these advocacies” (pp. 2-3).

Foucault, Archive, and ‘The Archaeology of Knowledge’

‘The Archaeology of Knowledge’, a book by Michel Foucault (2002) provides more critical insights into understanding the archive. The archive, for Foucault (2002), is what he calls “the system of discursivity” (p. 145) “that establishes the possibility of what can be said and what cannot be said”. Foucault conceptualizes academic disciplines as discursive formations that define their own truth criteria (Manoff, 2004).

Foucauldian methodological concerns made shifts in history writing and archival research practices. He suggests that now it needs a mass of elements to be grouped to form totalities. “The raw materials of history, which presented themselves in the form of dispersed events”, “had to be rearranged, reduced, and effaced to reveal the continuity of events” (Foucault, 2002, p. 9).

Foucault (2002) argues that a book “is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, and other sentences; it is a node within a network” (pp. 25-26). Further, he suggests that “the unity of the book, even in the sense of a group of relations, cannot be regarded as identical in each case” (p. 26). The unity of a book is shifting and relative, while unity is the result of an operation. Thus, we can say no text, material, or document is free from this theory. The story of print in Hyderabad is also part of a web of knowledge tradition,

orality, manuscript, calligraphy, and the discourses around it are also shaped by the social, the cultural, and the political.

In his view, every moment of discourse should be received in its sudden irruption. Discourse must not be referred to the origin; but treated as and when it occurs. The exact specificity of the occurrence should be grasped. Foucault (2002) suggests that:

The systematic erasure of all given unities enables us first of all to restore to the statement the specificity of its occurrence, and to show that discontinuity is one of those great accidents that create cracks not only in the geology of history but also in the simple fact of the statement, it emerges in its historical irruption (p. 31).

So looking at the specificity of events/texts is very important in this framework. We have to understand the relations between statements, relations between groups of statements, relations between statements, and groups of statements and different kind of events. Thus the print in Hyderabad should not be approached as a universal phenomenon but as a particular process.

The object in every discipline is not formed in a sudden occurrence. Foucault claims (2002) “Statements different in form, and dispersed in time, form a group if they refer to the same object” (p. 35). He exemplifies madness as an object of psychopathology and suggests that:

The unity of discourses on madness would not be based upon the existence of the object’ madness’ or the constitution of a single horizon of objectivity; it would be the interplay of the rules that makes possible the appearance of objects during a given period (p. 36).

Dispersed and heterogeneous statements make each discipline. This view can be applied in the case of print in Hyderabad as it has to engage with diverse discourses.

The description of the system of dispersion and the definition of regularity are inevitable in the formation of any discipline. Foucault calls it as discursive formation. The conditions to which the elements of this division are subjected are called the rules of formation. The rules of formations are conditions of existence in a given discursive division.

To form the objects, there should be a mapping of the first surfaces of emergence, a description of authorities of delimitation, and an analysis of the grid of specification. The present study examines the emergence of printing in Hyderabad to form its objects. Different kinds of relations play a vital role in the formation of a whole category of various objects. In Foucault's view (2002), the conditions necessary for the appearance of an object of discourse are many and imposing and the object exists under the positive conditions of a complex group of relations. The specificity of discursive relations should be revealed. The relations are at the limit of discourse, not exterior or interior and they offer their objects. Discourse should be conceived as a practice.

The unity of discourse can be sought in objects, the relations of the object and a group of rules that govern them. The relations between the surfaces on which they can be analyzed and specified remain stable. The following section shows how the Foucauldian concept of archive is useful for examining the history of technology and related discourses around knowledge, society, and language.

Studying Urdu Press in Hyderabad and the Formation of Objects

In communication/media studies, conventionally, the object of the study would be related to either medium or message or the audience of the communication. To deploy the Foucauldian methodological framework to make sense of Urdu printing and journalism in Hyderabad, the present study considers it as an instrument of dispersion of events across time and space. Here history has been dispersed in succession and simultaneity.

Multiple elements played vital roles in constituting the archive of the Urdu press. Thus the archive of Urdu print becomes a dispersed entity. Documents and data are distributed in multiple institutions such as Telangana State Archives and Research Institute⁴⁷ (former AP State Archives and Research Institute, the name was changed after the bifurcation of the state), Salar Jung Museum, Asafia library now known as the State Library, Nizam Trust Library, Idāra-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdu Panjagutta, Osmania University library, etc. British Library and National Archives of India also possess a number of materials and records of Hyderabad state. Online sources like <https://archive.org/> and others were helpful for this project since some important materials were unavailable in physical archives locally and some were inaccessible as they are located in foreign institutions.

Telangana State Archive was highly resourceful for this project as it provided various reports, especially administrative reports of the Nizam government. The story of Telangana State Archives (henceforth TSA) goes back to the year 1894. In that year the documents of the *Daftar-e-Dīvāni*, the *Daftar-e-Mal*, and some other *Daftars* were amalgamated and centralized under the Nizam's government into a central archival institution, the Archival Office of the *Daftar-e-Dīvāni*.⁴⁸ These records had been possessed by several families of landlords, *Jagirdārs* (land holding officials) and noblemen. In 1924, the *Daftar-e-Dīvāni* was constituted into an independent directorate under the government of Hyderabad.

TSA contains records from the 15th century in various languages like Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu, Telugu, Marathi, Kannada, and English. The oldest documents are those of the kingdoms like Bahmani, Qutb Shahi, Adil Shahi, Mughal Empire's Deccan, and Central Indian *subahs* from the time of Shah Jahan onwards, Vijayanagara and Maratha periods, besides the archives of the Asaf Jahi period. Mughal records were formerly in the Mughal

⁴⁷ Still the website is active in the name of APSA. See, <https://apstatearchives.ap.nic.in/>

⁴⁸ To narrate the history of TSA, I mainly depend on M.V.S Prasad Rao (1980), unless otherwise mentioned.

Central Government's Archives in *Qilat-e-Arak* (Aurangabad Fort) in Aurangabad as it was the seat of the Mughal Empire during the final decades of Aurangzeb's reign and, as such, the de facto capital of Mughal India. Archival holdings from the Mughal *subahs* of Aurangabad, Berar, Bijapur, and Burhanpur.

Many of the archives are recorded in Persian in *Shikasta* script which is calligraphic that favors beauty over legibility. This is one of the world's richest repositories of Persian records apart from the Persian records of Iran. The main categories of records in the archive are Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans, Mughal documents (2, 00,000 documents dating from 1630 to 1724 AD), Asafia records of old *Daftar* (1724-1853) in the Persian language with Shikasta script and many are in Urdu and Telugu as well, Secretariat Records of the Erstwhile Hyderabad State (1853- 1948 and 1948- 1956), which are mostly in Urdu as the official language was changed from Persian to Urdu in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and some of the documents are in English. The other categories of records are Secretariat Records of the Madras Presidency, the Madras Province and the Madras State (1920- 1953), Secretariat Records of the Andhra State (1953- 1956), and Andhra Pradesh (1956- 1959)⁴⁹, Family papers like Salar Jung collection mainly in Persian, Urdu and Marathi, and Manuscripts in Persian, Urdu, Marathi, Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannada, etc. There is a reference library as part of the archive and it was established in 1929. It has about 800 Persian, Arabic, and Urdu historical manuscripts. The archive also holds a collection of postal stamps, seals, and coins of the former Hyderabad State.

The state archive was constituted by the amalgamation of various *Daftars* (administrative offices). The oldest *daftar* was *Daftar-e-Dīvāni* which was created in 1721 and held on a hereditary basis in the family of the Rai Rayans. The *Daftar-e-Dīvāni* covered

⁴⁹ The secretariat records of the composite Madras Presidency and the Madras State which relate exclusively to the Andhra districts were separated and transferred to TSA. They cover the period from 1920 to 1953 and they are in English.

the entire civil and military administration and issued *sanads* (administrative orders). There were various daftars like *Daftar-e-Istifa*, *Daftar-e-Mawahir*, *Daftar-e-Mulkī*, *Daftar-e-Darul-Insha*, etc in Hyderabad state and their records were accumulated by *Daftar-e-Dīvāni* gradually. Records scattered in several families were collected and organized in order. The *Daftar-e-Dīvāni* attached to the finance department shared a portion of the palace of Nizam Maḥbūb Ali Khan and it continued from 1894- 1949. The archive was deeply connected with the power center.

Modern housing methods and repair techniques were introduced to maintain the records. Rare manuscripts were bound with Morocco leather with gilded titles. Photography and photocopy facilities were introduced in the *Daftar*. Persian and Marathi research sections to organize the documents and prepare them for publication. *Akḥbār* (Newsletter) which is discussed in the fourth chapter was one of the major categories among the records.

The story above provides a picture of how the archive's institutionalization, systematization, and centralization were taking place in the princely Hyderabad. Most of these events happened during the prime ministership of Salar Jung I (1853-1883), who is credited with the modernization of Hyderabad. He reorganized the offices in the new pattern. In 1868 he divested *Daftar-e-Dīvāni* of all its executive functions and allowed it only to issue, confirm and verify *sanads* relating to the grant of *jagirs* and *inams*. This year it acquired the characteristics of a Central Record Office or an Archives. It contained various papers like *sanad/ahkam*, treaties between the Nizam and the Marathas, and between the Nizam and the English. There are also papers dealing with diplomatic relations between the Nizams and colonial powers and other local rulers, especially, on the Deccan plateau. The period after Salar Jung I also witnessed the abolition of various departments and the formation of new departments.

The process of making a princely archive should be understood as radically different from colonial and nationalist archives as Salar Jung was promoting Mughlai/Persian temporality. He envisioned a future rooted in the past and shaped by the present. Other institutional settings like *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif*, which was established to procure and publish rare Islamic manuscripts, help to even argue that larger Muslim knowledge traditions and aspirations imagined the princely Hyderabad. It does not mean that this was possible or implemented exclusively through Muslims. Rather this was realized through the efforts and participation of a diverse set of actors. The making of the archive was less about colonialist and nationalist tendencies and more about princely/monarchical/acolonial sensibilities.

After the forceful integration of Hyderabad state into India and the creation of the state of Andhra Pradesh, the agenda of preserving and maintaining the records have been changed to nationalist and regional interests. In the foreword of the book, which I depend on to trace the history of the princely archive, P. V. Narasimha Rao, former prime minister of India, writes:

There is also a wealth of archival material in the possession of the State Archives department which can document serious historical research works on the history of the freedom movement in the vast territories of the State of Andhra Pradesh (1980, xxi).

The above statement indicates the concern of the authorities of independent India. The books published and theses produced by the research institute also correspond to the nationalist project.⁵⁰ In 1962, the Andhra Pradesh State Archives (henceforth APSA) Department was reorganized on the pattern of the National Archives of India.

⁵⁰ See the list of publications here <https://apstatearchives.ap.nic.in/publications.pdf>.

The reverberations of Telugu nationalism⁵¹ is also visible in the formation of APSA. After the formation of Andhra State in 1953, all the records pertaining exclusively to the Telugu-speaking districts of the erstwhile Madras state were separated from the Madras Record Office at Egmore, Madras, and transferred to the newly created Andhra Record Office. Later it became APSA after being shifted to a new building to accommodate records from various sources. A research institute and library were established as part of the archive. The newly formed Andhra Pradesh state focused on medieval Andhra and Hindu culture by neglecting modern Hyderabad under the Nizams. Since 1953, the government presses have not published documents within the Asaf Jah collections and before 1848, the Nizam state did not publish any records. The unsystematic cataloguing of records and lack of government support also create problems for research (Shah, 2005). The archive's regional, linguistic and nationalistic focus blurred the records' multilingual, multiregional aspects. Archive in this context should be understood as a multilingual and multi-aspirational space.

A single archive with a diverse set of records can never tell a comprehensive story of a space/time. Hence this project has consulted with a variety of sources, both physical and digital. Apart from the public/nationalized institutions like Asafia Library now known as State Central Library, and Salar Jung Museum library (It holds a rich collection of unique manuscripts and books) this study depended to access newspapers/journals on *Idāra-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdu*⁵² (known as *Aiwan-e-Urdu*), Panjagutta, established in 1931 by Sayyid Muhiuddin Qadri Zore, historian, author, and literary critic. The institute has collections of manuscripts, books, journals, magazines, and newspapers produced during the Asaf Jahi period. He started the famous Urdu journal *Sabras* in 1938. This thesis could identify various Urdu journals in the institute and access *Rahabr-e-Deccan* newspaper, specifically for

⁵¹ To know the story of Telugu language in connection with the formation of Andhra Pradesh see, Lisa Mitchell (2009).

⁵² For more information on the history and mission of *Idāra-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdu* see, Kavita Datla (2013, pp. 124- 129).

reference to write the sixth chapter of the thesis. Apart from this, digital archives were also highly resourceful. Hence the thesis is a product of dialogue and engagement between a variety of archival sources and historical documents. Select individuals, institutions and discourses have been descriptively examined in the thesis to understand the story of print.

The relationship between various elements has been established in the previous sections of this study to comprehend the context of print culture in the Deccan. The surface of the emergence of print and Urdu press in the Hyderabad princely state is mapped in the fourth chapter of the study. Different authorities, including the Nizams, the nobles, reformers, intellectuals, bureaucrats and the British, created the material conditions for the formation of print and press. The relations between different elements created the condition for the formation of objects of the study.

Material conditions of the print, governmental, educational, and intellectual concerns regarding the technology were necessary for the emergence and the growth of the object of discourse. Individual intellectuals, administrators, institutions such as *Madrassa-e-Faḳhria*, Hyderabad Medical College, *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif*, *Dar-u-Tarjuma* (Translation Bureau), and the Osmania University made various contributions toward the growth of Urdu print and press in Hyderabad. The relations between these various surfaces of objects will help us to analyze and specify the events of the press. Hyderabad as a princely state consisting of multilingual groups such as Urdu, Telugu, Kannada, and Maratha had print media in all these languages. It is imperative to identify the relations and engagements between these various presses as well.

The present study also often connects and compares the princely state of Hyderabad with other princely spaces and British India. In a nutshell, the thesis is moving through making sense of the relationship between the state archive, educational archive, media/press archive, library, and secondary materials. By contextualizing and connecting numerous socio-

political and cultural elements, numerous materials have been analyzed to explore the specificity of Urdu print in Hyderabad. Questions of audience/readership, circulation, and commerce are hardly touched. The major printed and journalistic materials, state documents, educational materials, and academic literature have been examined and thematic categories have been identified to further the study. Methodologically, the thesis follows the archival method coupled with the historical method and textual analysis, to intensively read and interpret the materials.

Chapter IV

Printing Science:

Nawab Faḡhruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara's Epistemological Interventions

Mapping the pre-print communication system and information order is inevitable before tracing the historical traverse of the print and press in the princely state of Hyderabad. The continuity, rupture, and interconnectedness of the early modes and uses of information and new techniques of communication are anchored within these pre-print communication and information order. This chapter looks at practices and methods of news gathering and documentation that could be considered the roots of modern Indian journalistic principles and conventions. . The Indo-Muslim postal and political reporting system of the Deccan had predated the Mughals (Nayeem, 1970). This was continued through the decentralizing of political power in eighteenth-century South Asia. Mughals had a powerful intelligence and official political reporting system which was gradually introduced after 1200 AD.

Early Modes of Communication and Information Order

The *Vaqai'navis*, or news writer, was an important agency in the Mughal administrative system. Abul Fazl in *Ain-e-Akbari* has enumerated the duties of the *vaqai'navis* as “recording the words and activities of the Emperor in their diaries, including recording all matters concerned with the court, like the king's daily routines, holding general and private assemblies, hunting parties, granting of rent-free lands and so on” (as cited in Khan, 1954, p. 460). Michael H. Fisher (1993) argues that “the salient feature of the court diary, like that of so much of Mughal culture, was the centrality of the Emperor” (p. 47). During the period of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), every provincial headquarters had its *vaqai' nigars* (recorders of events), and they were mainly concerned with revenue matters. They noted the events of the week and sent the reports to the Emperor through runners known

as *harkaras*. The head post master who was responsible for the safety of royal letters had to dispatch the reports. Emperor was not interested in the emergence of private *daks* (post offices). These weekly reports were read out to the emperor at night.

The weekly reports were supplemented with the reports from secret agents (*sawanih nigars or khufia navis*) who moved around the countryside, listening to at bazaars and checking the reports of governors and news writers. They did not disclose their identity and transmitted news directly to the Emperor. They were appointed to report on the activities of the government functionaries without any partiality and to serve as spies on the *vaqai'navis* (Bayly, 2007).

Authors considered writing to, or about, the emperor as a pious act. Some news writers had a literary background, and there were historians among them. There was a close relationship between history writing and news writing in the earlier period. An example of this is the family of Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, a famous eighteenth-century Indian writer. His maternal grandfather Abdul Jaleel Bilgrami (d.1725); served Aurangzeb's court, then newswriter in Gujarat, and later in Sind. He was a versatile poet in Arabic who knew how to use intelligently every conceivable rhetorical possibility. He was famous for skillful chronograms⁵³ of historical events- a poetic form that reflects the main trend in 18th-century Muslim intellectual games. Besides Arabic and Persian, he mastered Hindi and Turkish (Schimmel, 1973).

News writers were selected and appointed based on credibility and honesty. Even the princes were afraid of these reporters. The *Vaqai'navis* of Burhanpur had reported to Shahjahan against Aurangzeb when he was Subedar (Governor) of the Deccan regarding the

⁵³ Chronogram is a sentence or inscription in which specific letters, interpreted as numerals, stand for a particular date when rearranged. Chronograms are found in Islamic, Jewish, and Roman traditions.

neglect of imperial *Karḡhana* (workshop/factory) and later Aurangzeb had to clarify the same.

A brief examination of Aurangzeb's information gathering system is required to understand the information order in Deccan. S.C. Sanial (1928), (who published a series of articles in *Calcutta Review*, vols. 124 to 130, 1907-1912) writes:

The earliest mention of typographic newspapers that I have discovered in the annals of Mahomedan in India, so rich in historic literature, is in the times of Alamgir I, notwithstanding the emperor's prohibition, a hereditary historian Muhammad Hashim, known in the literature as the celebrated Khafi Khan, managed to record in secret the occurrences of that eventful period (p. 122).

Further he argues that:

The newsletters of that time were in its very sense newspapers, which are public vehicles for the dissemination of everyday news. The common soldiers in Aurangzeb's camp were supplied with these newspapers. The *Waqā'navis* were confidential dispatches or documents, but the private newsletters (*Aḡhbārs*) were semi-public and were handed about and read out to large circles. These *Aḡhbārs* enjoyed a considerable degree of liberty (p. 123).

Niccolao Manucci (1907), the Venetian traveler, who lived in the court of Aurangzeb for a considerable period, writes:

It is a fixed rule of the Mughals that the *vaqianavis* (*vaqi'ah-navis*) and the *cofiānavis* (*khufiyah-navis*) or the public and secret news-writers of the empire, must once a week enter what is passing in a *vaqia* (*vaqi'ah*) that is to say, a sort of gazette or mercury, containing the events of most importance. These news letters are commonly read in the king's presence by women of the *mahal* at about nine o'clock in the evening so that by this means he knows what is going on in his kingdom. There are, in

addition, spies, who are also obliged to send in reports weekly about other important business, chiefly what the princes are doing, and this duty they perform through written statements. The king sits up till midnight and is unceasingly occupied with the above sort of business (pp. 331- 332).

During the period of Aurangzeb and his successors, the State Intelligence Department flourished. Seid Gholam Hussein Khan (1926) the author of “*Siyar-ul-Muthaḳḳhirīn*” writes:

The *Vacaa-naviss* or remembrancer, or Gazetteer and the *Savana-naviss*, or historiographer, and the *Harcara* or spy, were appointed for writing down the events that might happen in the respective provinces, territories, and districts of their residence. Their duty was to inhabit such cities and towns as were the seats of command and Government, to the end that they might have it in their power to write down at day-break such events as should have happened the whole day and night before and to send the paper to the Emperor. There were posts established, that carried the dispatches, with all speed, and in all weathers, to court, where a Daroga or inspector examined the same; after which he reduced to a concise exposition the substance of such as deserved the Imperial notice, presenting at the same time, the whole detail as forwarded by the provincial intelligencers. Nevertheless, whatever amongst those papers was addressed personally to the Emperor, was sacred, and could not be set open by any other hand than his own. It was perused by the Monarch himself, who alone could break the seal, and he alone ordered what he thought proper about the contents. By these means, the Emperor was informed of every private man's affairs. He knew what one had done to his neighbors at four hundred leagues from Court, and what the latter had done to others; and what such a one wanted from such another, and what this other pretended from his antagonist; he knew all that, and gave directions accordingly. Nor was it uncommon for him to be informed by such a

channel of the requests and wishes of the concerned ones; nor at all extra-ordinary to see directions arrive at the cities of their residence long before their private petitions could have reached the Court. So that the petitioners often had gained their cause in the middle of a distant province, sometimes before they had agreed upon the wording of their petitions. But all this correspondence was for the Emperor's personal inspection only; for if at any time it came to appear, that the secret Gazetteer, or the Remembrancer, of any other public officer, had himself found means to acquire the least interest with the Imperial Princes, or with the Grandness of the Court, or with the men in eminent station, or was in any connections with them; such a man was forthwith dismissed, and another appointed in his stead; (pp. 173-174).

Regarding the purpose and use of the information gathering and intelligence, the author further notes that:

In short, as amongst the art of Government, information, and knowledge of the state of the land and of its inhabitants, hold a principal rank; and the interest of the legislator's in gathering knowledge, is always to tranquillize and quite the people of God, by whose providence the princes and rulers have come to have the command and power over them; and as the happiness and ease of the subject is their main concern; so, to obtain the above end, no less four persons have been appointed to discharge the duties of this one office of intelligence, to wit, the *Vacaay-nugar* or Remembrancer, the *Sevanah-nugar* or Gazetteer, the *Qhofiah-neviss* or secret writer, and the *harcara* or spy, to the end, that should anyone or any two of them attempt to send in writing an unfaithful account, still the truth and real state of things might soon be investigated, by comparing their information with the accounts written by the two or three others ; a discovery always followed by the disgrace of the' faithless or uninformed writer, who never failed to be dismissed from a post of honor and

affluence, and to be consigned to shame and distress. Now all those offices being suppressed it comes to pass that, not only in villages, but in towns and in renowned cities, the servants, the favorites, the dependents, nay very often, the very spies and emissaries of a Zemindar, having wriggled themselves into the service of government, commit upon the inhabitants a variety of oppressions and exactions, and always with the utmost safety; nor is there found a single man to ask them what they are doing; so far from there being any one to inflict a condign chastisement upon them. It is then worth an observer's while to examine what kind of Government existed then, and how matters stand now; and what were the circumstances of the subject then, and what they are today (pp. 174-175).

Mirza Ali Beg was one of the pioneers of the intelligencers during Aurangzeb's reign. He was an imperial gazetteer throughout the Empire and had actively participated with the Emperor through all his campaigns in South India. Sayyid Abdul Jaleel Bilgrami, whom we had talked about earlier was also an important figure. S.C. Sanial (1928) opines that "Asaf Jah's minister, Azimul Omrah was originally a gentleman of the Press but rose in time to be the Prime Minister of Asaf Jah" (p. 183). The intelligence services had great prominence in Hyderabad during the reign of the first Nizam. Emperor Aurangzeb achieved more power through good intelligence and the diplomatic arts than by throwing his massive armies against his enemies. The Nizam also learned much from his close connection with the Sufi orders (C.A. Bayly, 2007).

Domestic espionage was also active in Hyderabad. The Nizam had inherited some of the moral codes from the Aurangzebian period. Officials had the job of reporting on illicit parties among the nobles during the fasting month of Muharram. During the reign of Nizam Ali Khan, newsletters/newspapers (*Akḥbārat*) had a very important role to play. They were written in the Hindvi language and were translated to Persian at *Dar-ul-Insha*. Marathi,

Kannada, and Telugu languages had a good influence on the newsletters. There were specific newsletters related to the court and private matters of the nobles⁵⁴. The news writers reported the events based on what they heard and saw. The newsletters contained socio-political, economic, and religious information aimed at the common good (S. C. Sanial, 1928).

These newsletters provide details about religious festivals and other social functions. Names and details of the people who visited the royal courts are also available in them. Information regarding the political relations of the Nizam with Mysore, Maratha, French, and British were also present in the newsletters. The methods of collecting news were systematic during the reign of Nizam Ali Khan. *Vaqai'* (news) from six districts are large in numbers⁵⁵. The information contained in these sources could not be ascertained from any other materials (Hyder, 1993).

Regional courts became the center of political and social information during and after the Mughal period. One of the best-preserved regional collections of *Ak̤hbārāt* about the Mughal imperial court in the late eighteenth century is that of the Marathas. Michael. H. Fisher (1993) observes that “The Peshwa's *Ak̤hbār Nawis* belonged to the Islamicized North Indian Hindu scribal elite—mostly Kayastha or Khattri jati ('caste') members—writing in Persian, often with the highly formal language of court, and using Hijri (Islamic) dates” (pp.53-54). Almost all regional powers had networks of communication and political agents posted in several places to report the events and keep the ruler updated. Oudh, Rajput, and

⁵⁴ *Akhbar Darbār-e-Mualla, Siyah-e-Huzoor, Roznamach-e-Huzoor, Akhbar Devadi Asif-ul-Daula va Sa'adath Ali Khan, Akhbar Likhvaji va Ali Bahadur* are the major examples. Newsletters of different genres were coming from different locations. They included *Akhbarat-e-Aurangabad, Ak̤hbarat-e-Suba-e-Berar, and Ak̤hbarat-e-Beja Nagar, and Ak̤hbarat-e-Chana Patan* etc. (S. C. Sanial, 1928)

⁵⁵ Those are *Waqai' Aurangabad, Waqai' Berar, Waqai' Bidar, Waqai' Karimungi, Waqai' Bethalbadi, Waqai' Bhalki, Waqai' Chancholi, Waqai' Chittur, Waqai' Alwar, Waqai' Dongal, Waqai' Hyderabad, Waqai' Bhongir, Waqai' Nalgonda, Waqai' Devarkunda, Waqai' Vellore, Waqai' Dolgiri, Waqai' Tarikonda Pangal*. The names of the reporters/writers were also available. Gulam Muhammad Khan (Aurangabad), Aqeedat Jung (Karimongi and Bidar), Kaseer Ganga (Bhalki), Barakathulla (Chanoli), Muhammd Asad Ali (Chiptapur), Husain Ali Khan, Muhammad Ihsan Khan, Muhammad Sher Khan, and Khwaja Bhahauddin Khan (Muhammad Nagar), Khwaja Muhammad Daim Khan and Qadir Ali Khan (Bhongir) Qurban Ali (Nalgonda, Aiwargonda and Vellore) Murad Ali Khan (Udgir), and Mir Najm Khan (Tarikonda) were the main news writers of the time (S. C. Sanial, 1928).

Sikh courts also had their news writers. The war, peace, and all other developments had a greater dependency on the news sent by news writers. Historians assume that the false reports of news writers caused the failure of Aurangzeb in Deccan (Natarajan, 1955).

The courts had published manuscript gazettes as well. The publication of the Mughal Court Gazette, the *Siraj-ul-Akḥbār* of Sirajuddin Bahadur Shah was started in 1841. It was the first and the last published court newspaper and was written in Persian language and characters. The *Akḥbār-e-Delhi* (est. 1837), the *Nūr-e-Mashraqi* (est. 1853), and *Nūr-e-Maḡhrabi* were some of the pre-mutiny Delhi newspapers which pointed a way to the early Persian and Urdu journalisms. Persian journalism was flourishing at the end of the eighteenth century. Persian was the lingua franca of the educated classes and a language of the court and the Darbār. Over the nineteenth century, the medium of printed newspapers merged with the manuscript *Akḥbār* tradition due to changes in the socio-political scenario.

While S.C. Sanial (1907), in his article “The History of Journalism in India”, traces the origin of journalism to the ancient postal system of Europe and Western Asia; and the ancient spy system of India, Michael H. Fisher (1993) finds four parallels between *Akḥbār* tradition and print. “First, many early Indian-owned newspapers reflected the *Akḥbār* tradition in the content of some of their articles” (p. 80). Some of them were recounting the Mughal ruler’s doings. “Second, Indian or Persian-language newspapers retained the term ‘*Akḥbār*’ but broadened its scope to include a wide range of sources and types of information” (p. 80). The use of the Persian language and Persian terminologies was the third parallel. Publishing a newspaper in Persian was considered to evoke Islamic court traditions and a ‘high’ literary culture of manuscript *Akḥbārat*. Some publishers located themselves in the *Akḥbārat* tradition. Persian and Urdu newspapers added the word *Akḥbār* in their titles. Megan Eaton Robb (2021) also locates colonial North Indian in the Mughal traditions of news writing.

Deccan witnessed the coming of print in the first quarter of the nineteenth century after undergoing several debates, confusions, and doubts. The state had to welcome the new communication and information technology due to number of factors shown in the next section. The print in Hyderabad always aspired to follow the older traditions of orality and calligraphy. Printing technology in the beginning used for book production not for recording or documenting.

The Journey of Print in Hyderabad State

The history of the origin of printing and its arrival in India has been connected with the Christian missionaries from Europe and their activities. Colonial powers used it to perpetuate and sustain their authority and control over the people, especially in British India. From 1780 to 1826, the history of the Indian press is predominantly Anglo-Indian. *Bengal Gazette* which was started by Gangadhar Bhattacharya in 1816, was the first native English press.⁵⁶

The adoption of printing technology in India was a slow process. The Baptists in Serampore (Bengal) alone printed 212,000 volumes in 40 languages between 1801 and 1832. The rulers of western India showed little enthusiasm for the art of printing even after 200 years of Portuguese arrival (Gupta & Chakravorthy, 2004).

There is a different and interesting story regarding the arrival of the printing press in Hyderabad. When Captain Sydenham, who was the Resident at Hyderabad from 1805 to 1810 (Lord Minto was the British viceroy of India, 1807-1813) displayed the model of a man of war, an air pump, and a printing press to the Nizam Mir Akbar Ali Khan Sikander Jah III who was the ruler of the state from 1803 to 1829 as specimens of the ‘appliances of European science’. The ruler showed “so little interest in the Press; that he had not even made a present

⁵⁶ For a systematic description of early printing in India, see Ram Ratan Bhatnagar (1947).

to the compositors who had come round from Madras to exhibit the application to practical purposes of the implements of their craft” (Gupta & Chakravorthy, 2004, p. 11).

A similar story also has been told regarding the Mughal’s approach to print. When Mughal emperor Jahangir (1605–1627); was shown a copy of the Bible in Arabic script, printed in Italy by the Jesuits, Jahangir discussed with them the possibilities of converting it into the Nasta’liq script. On the other hand, when Sa’dullah Khan (d. 1656), a minister of Jahangir’s successor Shah Jahan (1628–1657), was gifted a printed Arabic book in 1651, he refused to accept it (Aqeel, 2009). The event of the Nizam showing no interest in the printing press is helpful to understanding the colonial approach to the native princes and Nizam’s approach toward technology.

British authorities, in the beginning, were not interested in native rulers/Indians establishing and benefitting the printing technology. The periodical press in India sprung up during the period of Warren Hastings (term of office: 1773-1785). At the time of Lord Wellesley (1798- 1805), censor was appointed due to the Anglo-French war. The intention of this struggle was political domination. Every paper was obliged to submit the news first for censorship before publishing. There were many regulations to keep the press thoroughly monitored and precisely identified. In a nutshell, the British Government had feared free press at the end of the eighteenth century. This caused the slow growth in the newspaper-press from the days of Lord Wellesley to those of Lord Minto (1810-1813). The British had an agenda to keep Indians away from technology to sustain their power and authority. The complete story regarding the gifting of the printing press to the Nizam reveals the colonial agenda. The following lines from John William Kaye’s biography (1854) of Charles Metcalfe reveal the intention of the British authority:

During the administration of Lord Minto this dread of the free diffusion of knowledge became a chronic disease, which was continually afflicting the members of

Government with all sorts of hypochondriacal day-fears and night-mares, in which visions of the Printing Press and the Bible were ever making their flesh to creep, and their hair to stand erect with horror. It was our policy in those days to keep the natives of India in the profoundest possible state of Barbarism and darkness, and every attempt to diffuse the light of knowledge among the people, either of our own or the independent states, was vehemently opposed and resented... (p. 247).

As an instance, the story of the Nizam also has been mentioned in John William Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe* (1854). It has been narrated that:

Having mentioned this in his demi-official correspondence, he (Captain Sydenham) was censured for having placed in the hands of a native Prince so dangerous an instrument as the printing press. Upon this, the Resident wrote back that the Government need be under no apprehensions, for that the Nizam had taken so little interest in the Press... but he added, that if the government still felt any uneasiness about the presence of this dangerous of an instrument of civilization at the court of the Nizam, he could easily obtain admission to the *Tosha-Khana* (or Treasure-House), and there so cripple the press as to ensure its never being in a fit state to do duty again! (p. 248).

Even though the claim that the printing press is a device of civilization as Elizabeth Eisenstein (1979) held, print as a revolutionary force and an agent of change have to be examined separately. The elements of curiosity and wonder towards new technologies can also be seen in this context. The fear of technology has two aspects. First of all, the British were not interested in the Nizam using the press and the Nizam must have been not interested in his subjects using the press as printing activities could not be traced in Hyderabad in the first half of the nineteenth century, specifically by the Nizam's government.

There are multiple opinions regarding the practical introduction of the print in the princely state of Hyderabad. Muhammed Anvaruddin (1997) suggests that the first printing press in Hyderabad was started in 1835. Nawab Muhammad Faḵruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara II who started a *Dar-u-Tarjuma* (translation bureau) in 1834 brought a printing press to Hyderabad. Its name was Shams-ul-Umara lithography press.

Zeenat Sajida claims that the printing press was brought by Shams-ul-Umara in 1825 but the printing activity was started only in 1835 (Anvaruddin, 1997, p. 76). Fifty books were printed from this press. The Government started a printing press in 1858. In the beginning, it published government reports and circulars. The printing venture of Faḵruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara has global and local aspects.

A human agent is an inevitable prerequisite to introduce and execute/operate the printing press. By the 1820s, Muslim-owned printing presses were established in India, Iran, and Egypt indicating the real beginning of printing in the Islamic world. As an isolated event printing was initiated by the Hungarian Muslim convert Ibrahim Müteferrika⁵⁷ (1674-1745, he is being called Muslim Gutenberg) in Istanbul (to where he was migrated) in 1729. The press was in operation up to 1742. Nile Green (2009) notes that “Müteferrika’s Istanbul press therefore represented the Mediterranean prologue for the global expansion of Muslim printing around 1820, in which other journeymen and middlemen played key roles” (p. 204). Müteferrika’s press mainly published historical and generically science works.

Mirza Salih Shirazi played a significant role in establishing the printing industry in Iran. He is the founder of Iran’s first newspaper. He was born around 1790 and was attracted to the court of the modernizing Qajar Prince Abbas Mirza. He traveled to England to learn about technologies. The knowledge circulation and social circles in England influenced Mirza

⁵⁷ He was a diplomatic agent in the Ottoman Khilafat. He made contact with many Europeans and eventually became interested in European renaissance and the emergence of Protestantism. He imported his own press from France. He played the role of middlemen who connected the Muslim world with printing technology.

Salih Shirazi. He functioned as a journeyman/middleman in introducing print in Iran (Green, 2009).

In the case of Southeast Asia, in 1854 Muhammad Azhari, an Indonesian Muslim established a lithographic press to print the Qur'an with Malay notes. He brought the press to Singapore where missionary activities were successful. He had traveled to Mecca, Cairo, and India. While in Cairo and in India, Azhari had first-hand exposure to Muslim printing (Proudfoot, 1995).

In India, Ghazi-ud- Din Haidar, Nawab of Awadh established the first Muslim printing press in Lucknow in 1820. In 1801, Mirza Abu Taleb who was a tax collector and administrator in North India had traveled to London and described its printers and newspapers in his Persian travelogue. Nile Green (2009) argues that:

In the Anglicized munshis and English technicians at work in Lucknow in the 1820s and 1830s, as in Roy's connections to the Baptist missionary printers of Serampore and his travels in the service of the nawab of Awadh to England (where he met several of Salih's associates), we see the same pattern of travel, transculturism, and government service (p. 217).

Nawab Muhammad Faḡhruddin Khan of Hyderabad state played a significant role in introducing the printing press in the state. He was coming from the noble *Pāigāh* family that existed as the major power holder from the first Nizam (Dynasty was formed in 1724) to the integration of the state in 1948. *Pāigāh* was the senior aristocracy of Hyderabad state and each maintained his own court, individual palaces, and standing army to protect the Nizam. Bahseer Bagh palace and Falknuma palace belonged to the *Pāigāhs*. They had enjoyed a good place in the hearts of common people due to their political, educational, and social services (Adeeb, 2005).

The *Pāigāh* nobles claim their descent through Baba Fariduddin Ganjshakar, one of the greatest Islamic Sufi saints in India whose descent has been traced back to the second Caliph of Islam, Umar ibn al-Khattab through his son Abdullah. They were granted large territories and vast lands in Hyderabad. There were three big *Pāigāh* families in the Asafia dynasty: *Pāigāh Asman Jahi*, *Pāigāh Waqar-ul-Umra*, and *Pāigāh Khurshid Jahi*.

Abdul Fateh Khan Taigh Jung was the first *Pāigāh* nobleman who had the title of Shams-ul-Umara I. On his death, his son Faḵruddin Khan (1780-1863) inherited the estates, dignities, and titles as Taigh Jung III, Shams-ul-Umara II, and to these, the title of ‘Amir-e-Kabir’ was added. He had survived three successive Nizams, Nizam Ali Khan, Sikander Jah, and Nasir-u-Doula. The bond between the Nizams, and the *Pāigāh* nobility strengthened with the marriage of Faḵruddin Khan with the daughter of Mir Nizam Ali Khan, Asaf Jah II, Sahebzadi Bashirunnisa Begum in 1797. Henceforth, his descendants married the daughters of other Nizams and consequently, in the protocol, the *Pāigāhs* were considered next only to the Nizams. *Pāigāhs* could be seen as “a state within a state” with its distinctiveness. The estates were in theory, subject only to the burden of maintaining troops and family of the estate-holder.

Later on, Faḵruddin Khan was appointed as ‘Madar-ul-Maham’ (Prime Minister). It was a prestigious and most influential position in the government, but after some time, he resigned from this position to pursue his intellectual hobbies, chiefly the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge. Nizam was not interested in his ministership since the British favoured his claims. Captain Sydenham’s words (as cited in Briggs, 1861) throw good light on the personality of Faḵruddin Khan. He said:

Shums-ool- Oomrah is a young man about twenty-e- ight years old, fair, handsome, of mild disposition and manners. His understanding is said to be weak, and there is a vacancy in the expression of the countenance which confirms that report. He has a

difficult of utterance, and seldom speaks. He is curious in all articles of European manufacture, and is ambitious of having his house furniture and equipage as much as possible according to the European fashion. He takes great delight in mechanics, handicraft, and the popular experiments of natural philosophy. The whole of his time is devoted to these pursuits, and he leaves the management of his affairs and the command of his party to his maternal uncle Umjud-ool-Mulk. In both these Oomrahs I have always observed considerable dignity and steadiness of character and conduct, - a pride which renders them much above all petty intrigues and all jealousy of the advancement and good fortune of other persons. They seem too conscious of the superiority of their rank and station to fear any competitors. They confine themselves to their own business, and appear to take no interest in other people's concerns (pp. 145-146).

Resident Captain Sydenham goes on to praise Faḵhruddin Khan because of his interest in British alliance and European knowledge. Faḵhruddin Khan's thirst for knowledge and technology has been recognized only when it conforms the European standards and criteria. Anyhow Captain Sydenham's comments provide a biographic picture of Faḵhruddin Khan. But Henry George Briggs (1861) notes that:

After the death of Umjud-ool-Umrah in 1813, he was Faḵhruddin Khan's valuable friend and advisor with commanding intellect. He adds that "for a short time after this he was surrounded by men of low, dissolute habits, and he seems to have yielded to that senseless, vulgar clamor against Europeans, so prevalent even at the present among the worst description of Mahommedans (p. 146).

For some period in the 1810s, he was not satisfied with the alliance and Nizam's connection with the British. Sir Henry Russell writes about Shams-ul-Umara in the following

manner, very different from the high characters which were attributed to him after forty years of that writing:

He is capricious in his temper, frivolous in his pursuits, faithless in his promises, and oppressive, rapacious, and unjust in all his dealings. No reliance could be placed upon him in any crisis connected with the interests of our alliance with the Nizam (p. 146-147).

Faḡhruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara did not care about personal dislikes.

As he resigned from the post of Prime Minister, he engaged in educational and knowledge production endeavors. He acted as the middleman of knowledge and technology. He was earnestly immersed in Western arts and knowledge especially science and mathematics. He was busy with writing, translating, and authoring books. In 1834, he established an academy and printing press where books mainly on science and mathematics were written and translated from foreign languages.



Figure 1, Faḡhruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara, Shahid. K.H. (1969). Science me Urdu Adab: 1591- 1900, p. 61

This was the first printing press of the Hyderabad state and was private in function. He focused on printing and publishing recent works in science. For this purpose, books were brought from England, France, and elsewhere. The books were translated into courtly languages like Urdu and Persian, printed, and made available to the people. He founded *Madrasa-e-Faḥria*, a school where science, mathematics, and other subjects have been taught. Faḥruddin Khan was a prolific writer of science books. He was an expert in the French language. His educational background and how he acquired all these skills are not known.

Khwaja Hamiduddin Shahid (1969) has listed 21 books that have been translated/written, printed, and published by Faḥruddin Khan (pp. 66-67).

Table 1

List of books prepared and published by Faḥruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara

Name of the Book	Year of Publication
1. <i>Tarjuma-e-Sharḥ-e-Chagmani</i> (Manuscript)	1834
2. <i>Usool F'lm-e-ḥisab</i>	1836
3. <i>Risala-e-Mukthasar Jar thakeel</i>	Unknown
4. <i>Tharjuma-e-Shams-ul-Handasa</i>	1839
5. <i>Risala-e- Kusoorat-e-I'shariyya</i>	1836
6. <i>F'lm-e-Jar ṣakeel (Sitha Shamsiyya,</i> Vol. 1)	1840
7. <i>F'lm-e-Saḥiyath</i>	1840
8. <i>F'lm-e-Aab</i>	1840

9. <i>I'lm-e-Hawa</i>	1840
10. <i>I'lm-e-Manazir</i>	1840
11. <i>I'lm-e-Barqak</i>	1840
12. <i>Risala-e-I'lm va A'mal Kure ke Bayan me</i>	1841
13. <i>Munthakhab-ul-Basar (doornama)</i>	1841
14. <i>Chemistry ka Mukhthasar Risala</i>	1843
15. <i>Risala-e-Mifihāh-ul-Aflāk</i>	1844
16. <i>Risala-e-Chemistry</i>	1845
17. <i>khulasath-ul-Adviya</i>	1846
18. <i>Nafi-ul-Amraz</i>	1846
19. <i>Tharkeeb-e-Adviya</i>	1846
20. <i>Risala-e- Hayawanat-e-Mutlaq</i>	1848
21. <i>Muraqqa-e-Thasweer-e-Hayawanath</i>	1850

Fakhruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara is the first among those who engaged with western science in the colonial/semi-colonial setup. He introduced systematic education and organized knowledge in the Hyderabad state. But his knowledge production and dissemination activities have been neglected in the writings on the history of religion, science, education, and technology in the South Asian context.

Fakhruddin Khan was performing multiple roles through his various activities in the first half of the nineteenth century. His political and cultural capital enabled him to play various roles as an author, translator, and educationist. He practiced writing and translation as

a method not just to disseminate and spread knowledge but to engage with the western philosophical and ethical traditions. He made maps, founded the first observatory, and introduced photography in Hyderabad state. In order to understand his engagement with western science, a brief examination of his writings/translations is needed.⁵⁸ He was one of the early personalities who wrote/translated or made written/made translated works on science, engineering, and mathematics in the Indian context.

In some of the Urdu works, the name of the author was not mentioned. But in Persian books, Faḫruddin Khan's name has been written. His family is also associated with the process of knowledge production and literature. His son Muhammad Rafiuddin Khan was also passionate about knowledge and science. Some of the books were written/translated at his request and printed at Shams-ul-Umara press. He was famous in the Indian subcontinent due to his educational activities. He has also written books on science. Some of them are (1) *Risala-e- I'lm-e-Handasa*, printed in 1835, 2) *Rafi'-ul-Hisab*, printed in 1836, (3) *Takmila-e-Rafi'-ul-hisab*, printed in 1838, (4) *Rafi'-ul-Basar*, printed in 1841, (5) *Rafi'-u-San'at*, printed in 1852, (6) *Rafi'-u-Tharkeeb*, printed in 1867, (7) *Thaḫhta-e-Girdān*, printed in 1875.

Faḫruddin Khan's other son Muhammad Badruddin Khan was also fond of arts, science, and poetry. There is no information about his books in the Urdu language on science. There is one manuscript titled "*Anvar-e-Badriyya*" (1842) that deals with Geometry.

Faḫruddin Khan's period is very important in the history of the Urdu language as well. As there was no similar attempt of producing systematic knowledge in the country, the art of translation helped to coin and create new scientific terminologies in Urdu language. It helped to make the language compatible with the modern requirements of producing and institutionalizing knowledge. It shows the importance of the Urdu language in Hyderabad despite Persian being the court/official language. Persian was an elite language in the Deccan.

⁵⁸ For this, I depend mainly on Shahid (1969).

Fakhruddin Khan's activities played a significant role in making the Urdu language intellectually and practically popular in Hyderabad.

The scholars in North India were not much aware of the translation works in the Deccan. While Shams-ul-Umara was translating from English to Urdu by creating new terminologies in the language, the North Indian scholars were doing transliteration of English words. He made simple words that could be quickly grasped by the common people. North Indian words were difficult to learn. There is a high influence of the Arabic language on the North Indian Urdu language. For example, they translated Hydrostatics as *I'lm-ul-Ma'* (Ma' is an Arabic word that means water), but in Deccan, it was translated as *I'lm-e-Aab*. He used the *Nast'aliq* script for writing in Urdu. The influence of Hindi is also present in his works. Books were written in the model of question answer system between a teacher and pupil. Some books were printed in the Urdu type of Fort William College, Calcutta.

Language and translation had to play a critical role in enabling science and knowledge to travel. Similar to the deliberation concerning the translation of science terminologies to Urdu from various European languages in Hyderabad, discussion around translating science to Arabic in the late nineteenth century Egypt is also noteworthy. Marwa S. Elshakry (2008) contends that instead of acting as suppliers of "universal truths", science translations became central instruments in epistemological transformation and mediation. Here translation does not function merely as a technical process rather it has epistemological, political and cultural dimensions. Translation involves significant epistemological, authorial, and literary shifts. Elshakry theorizes translations as "discursive engagements, as forms of syncretic knowledge, overlapping authorships, and intertwined sources of sociocultural authority" (p. 704).

The books produced by Fakhruddin Khan provide great detail on the nature of and the approach to knowledge prevalent in those days. Shams-ul-Umara's book series called "*Sitta Shamsiyyah*", (a series of six books on various science subjects, translated from English) is

helpful to understand how knowledge was produced. The preface of the sixth book, printed in 1840 at Shams-ul-Umara press), on the science of Electricity begins with praising Allah. The practice of praising the Lord and praying for God's blessing on the prophet Muhammad could be seen in other works as well. Then it suggests that the human intellect is having limitations to fully grasp the universe as the Lord is the only one who has the ultimate and unlimited knowledge. Then it notes that the human language is insufficient to explain the Lord's creativities. The authors/translators of the books printed by Shams-ul-Umara, states in the preface that they could complete the work because of Allah's blessings hence they attribute knowledge and its making to the divine.

Through this Shams-ul-Umara's works attempted to make Islam compatible with science and vice versa. The moment of culmination of tradition and modernity also happens in the practice of writing books and the approach toward knowledge and science. While the author praises the West because of their interest in knowledge, he laments the ignorance of the local people who did not have the opportunity to "even hear the names of some science subjects in their life" (p. 83). Umara's statement is a lamentation about the social state of affairs and at the same time it is a critique of the state. The process and goal of translation move toward local embeddedness of knowledge production where fidelity is not a major concern (Elshakry, 2008).

Employing linguistic accretions and literary schemes such as introductions, commentaries, footnotes, marginalia, paraphrases, substitutions, etc., translators rescript the denotations and connotations of the original works. Translators prefer the epistemological orientations of readers than the original contexts of production (Elshakry, 2008). By adding an introduction to the translated Umara also refashions the goal of knowing.

The books printed at Shams-ul-Umara Press dealt with astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, physics, and other science subjects. In the beginning, they described the

importance and benefits of achieving specific knowledge and make the subjects clear to the students. Old Urdu has been used widely in those works. They considered mathematics as a rare knowledge as it helps the engineers effectively.

In the book titled *Rafi-ul-Hisab*, Shams-ul-Umara's brother Muhammed Rafiuddin Khan is discussing the Muslim mathematician and astronomer Al-Khāwrizmi (c. 780 – c. 850), from Persia. Earlier mathematics was known as *Khawarizm*. The author notes that Europeans distorted *Khawārizm* as algorithm. Al-Khwarizmi's was formerly Latinized as *Algoritmi*. This instance reveals that Faḵruddin Khan and others did not take European knowledge for granted and questioned the notion of Europe as the originator of knowledge. Instead, they traced certain roots of the modern disciplines within the Muslim civilization and Islamic history. George Saliba (2007) in his book "Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance" substantiates that the foundations of Islamic science were laid before the Greek books were translated into the Arabic in the ninth century.

The book titled *Mifthāh-ul-Aflāk* was translated from French to Urdu by Abdussalam Lakhnavi and it was first printed at Calcutta in 1833. After realizing the benefit and importance of the book, Shams-ul-Umara also printed *Mifthāh-ul-Aflāk* in his press in 1844. This instance shows the movement of the book from one place to another and the acknowledgment and recognition given to the translator who hails from northern India. Some books were translated to Hindi as well and there is no information available regarding the script.

The historical mission carried out by Faḵruddin Khan in Hyderabad is a crucial vantage point to look at the processing of modernity, the configuration of knowledge, and education and instrumentality of technology. Shams-ul-Umara was redirecting western science to a new dimension against its use as an instrument of imperial control and exploitation. Most importantly, he viewed science as a medium to shape ethical life and

explore the secrets of nature. It has been noted that the development of astronomy, cartography, geography, meteorology, natural history, and oceanography as bodies of knowledge has been overlapped with the early expansion of Europe (Bennet & Hodge, 2011). Shams-ul-Umara's endeavors also challenge diffusionist and instrumentalist reading of science by suggesting mutually constitutive elements between science and religion and Europe and the rest.

Shams-ul-Umara's approach emphasized the importance of seeing the world of science as being formulated by multiple sets of entangled knowledge traditions and he challenged the colonial civilizing mission. By connecting science with theological and ethical debates, he ventured to question Euro-centric epistemic hierarchies even though the imperial networks have played a big role in knowledge production. To comprehend this point deeply, theoretical debates on science and West or 'European Science' should be explored in detail.

The mutuality and connectedness in the knowledge production are visible in many areas including culture and state administration practices. Bernard Cohen (as cited in Bennet & Hodge, 2011) points out that:

it is not just that the personnel who governed India were British, but the projects of state-building in both countries – documentation, legitimation, classification, and bounding, and the institutions therewith – often reflected theories, experiences, and practices worked out originally in India and then applied in Great Britain, as well as vice versa (p. 16).

The knowledge flow was not merely transnational, transregional, and trans-imperial, but also the travelled knowledge was contested, questioned, and reshaped in this context. Colonial knowledge has been theorized "as much as the product of 'dialogic encounters' with indigenous cultures, as it was imposed or transplanted, *sui generis*, from Europe" (Bennet & Hodge, 2011, p. 21). In Kapil Raj's view:

South Asia was not a space for the simple application of European knowledge, nor a vast site for the collection of diverse information to be processed in the metropolis, nor indeed ‘of complicated and complex knowledge created by Indians, but codified and transmitted by Europeans’. On the contrary, South Asia was an active, although unequal, participant in an emerging world order of knowledge (as cited in Bennet & Hodge, 2011, pp. 21-22).

Kapil Raj also argues that the scientific knowledge and culture were coproduced by indigenous groups and colonial scientists. That is why Sujit Sivasundaram suggests ‘cross contextualization’ which requires ‘reading across genres and cultures’ for the creation of new knowledge (Bennet & Hodge, 2011). The idea of “entangled knowledges” is advantageous to grapple with the world of science (Savary, 2016, p. 13). Diffusionist interpretation of science is insufficient to capture the variety of ways in which science was produced, accepted, rejected, and modified by local thinkers. In the Indian context as well science was both rejected and incorporated into existing religious and local knowledge systems.

The major colonial centers of India also witnessed mutuality and interconnectedness in knowledge production. David Arnold (2004) argues that:

although colonial science might crudely serve to underline the cultural, commercial and political importance of the rise of the three coastal metropolises – Calcutta, Bombay, Madras – this would be to overlook the contribution made to their evolution by the artisans and intellectuals who flocked to them from older centers of manufacturing and scholarship (p. 7).

Princely states also played a noteworthy role in engaging with modern science and technology. During the Mughal period, Ayurveda and Unani *Tibb* coexisted as a synthesis. The Mughal court patronized science and technology from the early sixteenth century as manuscripts were produced in Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. Interest in science flourished in

the royal courts of India afterwards. Raja Jai Singh between 1722 and 1739 built astronomical observatories at Jaipur, Delhi, Mathura, Ujjain, and Benares. Serfoji, the last Maratha ruler of Tanjore also assembled a library of Indian and western medical texts during his reign (Arnold, 2004).

Hyderabad under the Nizams and Lucknow under the Nawabs of Awadh, emerged as new centers of learning specializing in Islamic science and Unani medicine was constructed in The princely state of Mysore constructed India's first major hydroelectric scheme in 1898 and t Bangalore became the site for the Indian Institute of Science ten years later. Alongside British Indian elites, the rulers of the princely states, notably Baroda, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore, showed interest in encouraging the scientific projects and in promoting technical education, like Baroda's Kalabhavan Technical Institute (1890) which was the first and biggest institute established by the native rulers.

"In light of the relative openness and adaptability of India's pre-colonial scientific and technological tradition", David Arnold (2004) argues that "the view that an interactive model might be more appropriate for the colonial period rather than one that depicts either outright confrontation between two intransigent forces or an automatic unassailable Western ascendancy" (p. 9).

Goerge Basalla was one of the important figures to promote the diffusionist model of western science. He proposed three stages to understand the process of diffusion:

In the first phase, Europeans made contact with other places through trade, conquest, and colonization. They collected data for science through maps, surveys and minerals, and plant and animal specimens. In the second phase, 'colonial science' was born as locals and Europeans started to participate in scientific activities and local scientific institutions began to appear. The third phase witnessed extra-e- uropeans trying to

establish an ‘independent scientific tradition’ and a ‘national science’ (Arnold, 2004, p. 10).

Basalla’s arguments clearly neglect and ignore the history of science in the rest of the world and his views are violently euro-centric. He believed that it is inevitable to spread western science to the rest of the world. Historically, India, China, and Muslim civilizations have been into science and technology. Science was never a property of one single society. Rather it was cosmopolitan and diverse as it benefitted from a wide variety of sources and locations. Basalla’s theory has other limitations and it is not valid for non-colonial spaces like Ottoman Turkey since there is no center-periphery and colonial power recipient pattern (Ihsanoglu, 2020). Translation, personal observation, and educational institutions were the three channels of circulation of science in the Ottoman Empire.

The purpose of colonial science was to serve the interests of the empire. Shams-ul-Umara directed science toward an ethical reconstruction of individuals and society and he did not use it as a tool of conquest and domination. His approach to science was not based on mere instrumental rationality rather it was ideological. Like David Arnold (2004) suggests:

The more historians take into account the ideological dimensions of science, technology, and medicine, the more we move from seeing them as ‘tools of empire’ to explore their social, cultural and political dimensions, the more apparent it becomes that there was no simple, one-directional process of scientific and technological ‘transfer’, but rather a series of cross-cultural exchanges and interactions (p. 211).

The idea of the ‘life-world’ contributed by Edmund Husserl is also relevant in this context. Life-world can be defined as an “immediately given world of pre-scientific experience” (Stroker, 1997, p. 305). Life-world deals with values, emotions, practical interests, and cultural predispositions. Husserl considers the connection between the life-world and the world of science as one of the most important issues in modern philosophy.

Husserl examines Galileo's experiments and explorations in geometry to theorize the concept of the life-world.⁵⁹ In Husserl's view "the life-world is always already presupposed as a "meaning-fundament" (Husserl, 1970, pp. 48-49). According to him, both geometry and the life-world "are intimately related because the former originates in the latter. As geometry is founded on basic experiences of physical bodies and their inexact shapes, its rootedness in the Life-world is essential to the very meaning of geometry" (Wiltzsche, 2016, p. 153).

Likewise, Faḵhruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara attempts to establish a connection between science and everyday life. He foregrounds ethical life as the purpose of scientific inquiries and discoveries. He ascertains that there is a "meaning-fundament" in all scientific explorations. Theological basis has been attributed to his writings on science. This also converses with the ideas contributed by Bruno Latour. He demonstrated in many of his early studies that science is a social construction by examining laboratory practices. According to him, science is influenced by the personal values of scientists and social values (Latour, 1979, 1999). It is evident that Shams-ul-Umara's endeavors also fit into Latour's perceptions.

Political interests also had greater influences on science. British officials attempted to undermine traditional medical practices like Unani in Hyderabad and they vernacularized European medical concepts and practices. This is visible in the establishment of Hyderabad Medical School and the publishing of *Risala-e-Tababat*, first Urdu journal published in the state.

Hyderabad Medical School and *Risala-e-Tababat*

Risala-e- Tababat, an Urdu journal has been considered as the first Urdu magazine in Hyderabad state and India. Its publication was started in 1855 as the magazine marked the

⁵⁹ Husserl notes that Galileo did not reflect seriously enough on the "how" of geometry's applicability to empirical nature. Galileo ignored questions concerning the meaning and origin of geometry and thus remained unaware of its constructive nature and its groundedness in the Life-world of pre-scientific experience (Wiltzsche, 2017, p. 155)

beginning of Urdu journalism in the Hyderabad state. The contents of the journal dealt with medicine and science (Ansari, 1980). The context of publishing this journal was connected with the Hyderabad Medical School, the forerunner of the Osmania Medical College.

The medical school was founded by General Fraser (officiating resident in Hyderabad) and it was intended for the instruction in surgery and medicine of educated natives of Hyderabad. The medical school aimed to train medical practitioners to undertake private practice in the city. The Unani medicine and Unani education were prevalent in Hyderabad and the Nizams played a major part in institutionalizing it (Speziale, 2012). According to the British sources, the Hakeems (Doctors) were not professionally trained or systematically educated. They had no dispensaries or hospitals and they had nothing to do with surgery (Savielle & Cranenburgh, 1861).

This school was approved by the Nizam government and opened in 1846 under the superintendence of Dr. Maclean. It grew slowly and produced excellent doctors in Hyderabad. In the beginning, no one came forward to study. As per the Nizam's order, Shams-ul-Umara sent ten candidates to the medical school in 1847. The institution could function systematically with lectures and examinations. The elite strata of the natives only could acquire education from this institution. Urdu was the language of instruction (Ali & Ramachari, 1996).

The reason behind the medical school is narrated as follows:

the fourth Nizam of Hyderabad Nawab Nasir-u-Daula fell ill (probably he was suffering from diabetes) in 1842/43 A.D. and he did not recover by the treatment of Unani Hakeems, as all the people had depended on Unani medicine, and there was no allopathic medicine in Hyderabad before 1846 A.D (Ali & Ramachari, 1996, p. 121).

Mr. Fraser, then the British resident recommended the treatment of Nizam by the resident surgeon Dr. William Campbell Maclean. He treated Nizam by changing his diet and

without medicine as the Nizam wished. The Nizam was cured within three months.

Impressed by the western system of medicine, the Nizam ordered the establishment of a medical school in Hyderabad.

Western medicine was not introduced as an addition to the already existing Unani medicine, instead, it was a replacement of a prolonged tradition with modernity. It was making the state march towards a singular approach to medical practice. As British authorities realized the importance of communication to sustain their project they formulated a plan for starting the print journal *Risala-e-Tababat*. In this case, print and modern institutions were not just initiating/creating modernity, but attempting to sideline the tradition by attaching less value and least usefulness to it.

Dr. Maclean was an excellent teacher and lecturer. He had to teach, translate and design the textbooks and encourage students. When he returned to England, assistant surgeon Dr. George Smith succeeded him in 1854 and started the session in 1855. He used the printed syllabus, and subjects of physiology and chemistry have been added. He taught anatomy, physiology, surgery, theoretical and practical medicine, etc.

The official reason for starting the Urdu monthly journal *Risala-e-Tababat* has been stated as “to keep up a connection between the medical school and the passed Hakeems (Doctors) and for stimulating them for learning and observation” (Ali & Ramachari, 1996, p. 122). Dr. George Smith started the journal in 1855⁶⁰. Its contents were largely dealing with surgery, recovery, and medicine. Normally it contained 70 pages. George Smith continued to be the editor of the *Risala-e-Tababat* up to 1861. Then Dr. Fleming became the editor. Later in 1863, Dr. Pamberton was appointed as the editor and the journal stopped publishing after the death of Dr. Pamberton in 1867.

⁶⁰ Some of the editions are available at the archives of *Idāra-e-Adabiyāt-e-Urdu*, Panjagutta and some editions are digitized by rekhta.org, see the link <https://www.rekhta.org/ebooks/detail/risala-tibaabat-e-hyderabad-shumara-number-002-george-smith-magazines>

Copies of the journal were regularly sent to each Hakeem (Doctor), and student, while 50 copies of every issue were forwarded to the Government of Calcutta, Madras and Agra and 25 to the Government of Bombay. The issue was numbering 300 copies of which, the expenses of 100 copies were borne by the Prime Minister Nawab Mukhtar-ul-Mulk Bahadur Salar Jung I who also granted the use of his lithographic press and the remaining 200 copies were financed by the subscriptions of various governments mentioned above (Ali & Ramachari, 1996).

The young doctors were asked to contribute articles to the journal. Sir Salar Jung I provided employment for medical graduates, created the medical department, and established a public hospital (1866) at Afzalgunj, which was later, converted to a medical college in 1926.

Since students were not acquainted with the English language, teaching of medicine was carried out in the Hindustani (Urdu) language. There was a recommendation from Dr. George Smith to introduce English in the Medical School. This school also played a great part in making the Urdu language as rich and sufficient for modern needs. *Risala-e-Tababat* also played a big role in boosting the improvement of the Urdu language. More Urdu words other than the contributions of Faḫruddin Khan were coined for English terminologies used in the journal.

The theoretical and conceptual background of the medical school may have to be traced to the educational and print activities of Faḫruddin Khan, Shams-ul-Umara II. Neither the British nor the native ruler the Nizam were the introducers of European science and modern knowledge in Hyderabad, but it was pushed through the private mission of Faḫruddin Khan who was attached to the state and patronized by the Government. The Hyderabad Medical School and *Risala-e-Tababat* also had individualistic dimensions.

The journal marks a shift from Shams-ul-Umara's approach by focusing on English medicine and its practice. The journals published afterwards focused more on new technological devices and instruments. Along with technology and science, the 1980s witnessed discourses on social reform in the print arena. The period is the next moment the present study deals with to understand how *Mua'llim-e-Shafiq* journal addressed the question of reform, a major discourse of the time.

Chapter V

Printing Social Reform: *Mua'llim-e Shafiq*, Muhib Husain and Jamaluddin Al-Afghani

This chapter attempts to understand reformist trends and their nuances in Hyderabad during the nineteenth century by examining the journalistic missions of Muhib Husain and Jamaluddin al-Afghani. To set the context, the chapter begins with analyzing the larger context of reform in India and early reformist and rebellious moments in the Hyderabad state and traverses through Husain's writing then moves on to elaborately explore Afghani's views on numerous issues related to Hyderabad, British India and the larger Muslim world in the backdrop of colonialism, reform, science, etc.

The nineteenth century is marked in history as a crucial period for global Muslims in general and Indian Muslims in particular. The colonial occupation of the Muslim lands and the loss of their traditional political power and authority exercised by kings and nobles created various challenges for the community as a whole. The 'civilizing mission' of the west on eastern societies had gained momentum by the half of the century. The Indian rebellion of 1857 dislocated the community from the state patronage and power structures. The Muslim Ulama⁶¹ were compelled to reinterpret the tradition to accustom to modern trends. Institutional and infrastructural changes started taking place in all locations. Individual and collective efforts were made to regain the lost heritage and to resist foreign domination. Social reform movements with multiple agendas created nationalist and modernist effects in society. Barbara D. Metcalf (1982) argues that "throughout Muslim history, religious reform

⁶¹ The word *ulama* (*alim* singular), historically, has come to mean those versed in the legacy of religious knowledge. *Ulama* are religious scholars with intensive training in religious texts, *Quran* and *Hadith*. They are accredited with the power of interpreting Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) by the Islamic society. They have long sustained widespread respect as the guardians of the Islamic religious tradition. For details, see Esposito & Voll (1996).

movements have transformed not only belief but also political and social life” (p. 3). Unity among the community was a major theme of most of the reformist movements.

The destruction and decline of the Mughal Empire, the emergence and penetration of colonialism, and competition between communities in the field of the trade-e- conomy have been suggested as some of the vital reasons for the emergence of diverse socio-political reform movements in South Asia (Metcalf, 1982, pp. 7-8). Terminologies like *Tajdid* (Renewal of the community) and *Jihad* (both inner struggle and holy war) could be seen as widely used in reformist texts and literature. Briefly, to embody these values was the basic aspiration of reform. Globally, modern Muslim reformist movements have been understood as initiated by Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahhab (1703-1792) and locally by Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi (1786-1831) who called themselves as *Tariqa-e-Muḥammadiyya* (order of the prophet Muhammad). In the Indian context, the reformist project has also been attributed to the sons and heirs of Shah Waliullah of Delhi (1703-1762). In the 1820s and 1830s, some North Indian groups believed that the society had to be reconstructed and a new Islamic community had to be created through *Jihad* as they fought both against the Sikhs and the British. By the 1860s, the struggle culminated in the community’s loss of power and prestige.

The Muslim responses to British colonialism came from not only the so-called ‘Wahhabis’ but also Sufis and saints. To characterize reformist endeavors as “scripturalist”, ‘puritanical’ and ‘textual’ (returning to the Qur’an and the prophetic tradition) would not help one to comprehend the variety of ways through which the modern trends were dealt with by Muslims.

The impact of global and local reformist discourses and rebellious interventions could be found in South India, especially in the princely state of Hyderabad. It has been characterized as one of the richest and most powerful indirectly ruled states which existed as such up to the integration of it into the Indian union in 1948. The British expansion in India

had economic, political, and trade interests. British used various strategies to expand their power in 'native states'. They annexed some of the states while leaving the princes with titles and pensions, and gave subsidiary alliances in return for revenues and control over the territories. When Hyderabad entered an alliance with the British in 1798, and it culminated in more control by the nineteenth century, some gestures of reaction and resistance against them had emerged in the state.

The Anglo-Afghan war of 1839-42 created a sense of threat among the British officials of India. Information regarding the Muslim uprising was circulated among many people. The investigation was centered on Deccan. British officials instructed the local authorities to be aware of the presence of 'foreign people' with anti-British messages. Among the accused was prince Mubariz-ud-Daula, the younger brother of the then Nizam of Hyderabad. This event was known as the 'Wahhabi conspiracy'.⁶² It was a well-planned event to revolt against the British. But it did not materialize as the conspirators were arrested and interrogated by the authorities. The incident had international and local aspects. Transnational networks of Mubariz and his associates provided ideological thrust to conspire a revolt. The travelers who came to Hyderabad for patronage realized the British threat in the state and joined with Mubariz to oppose the British and gain control over the local affairs. Through the Indian Ocean and Bombay, many travelers had come to Hyderabad and circulated global Islamic trends, and they had a good intelligence system (Mallampalli, 2018).

⁶² For an excellent analysis of this event, see Chandra Mallampalli (2018). He argues that "local factors, not the transnational Muslim operative, became the driving force behind events", (p. 7). Because Mubariz-ud-Daula wanted to throw his older brother Nazir-ud-Daula from the power and rule the state.

Due to this threat in the 1830s, the British had applied the term 'Wahhabi' to various people whom they thought as potential threats. Wandering Arabs and Afghans who came in search of employment were often labeled as Wahhabis. Chandra Mallampalli argues that "developments in the Dekan during the 1830s clearly demonstrate an intentional deployment of the Wahhabi label in order to distinguish loyal Muslims from those who were inclined toward rebellion" (p. 21).

Seema Alavi (2015) argues that “the itinerant Arabs wanted to forge an alternative “Arabacist” imperium which called for the global unity of Muslims” (p. 7). Alavi characterizes them not only as religious personalities but also as traders, warriors, and preachers. She also adds, “They reinvented the Arabacist tradition with a range of motivations, and challenged the older Persianate encasements of knowledge and power” (p. 47). But Chandra Mallampalli challenges Alavi’s notion of “Arabicism” by situating Mubariz and his associates in a local context and one among them was declared that India would become a tributary to Persia. Mallampalli (2018) observes that “Alavi appears to have read anachronistically the pan-Islamist ideology of the late nineteenth century into the politics of the 1830s of Deccan” (pp. 43-44).

Print technology played a vital role in creating reformist networks⁶³. Reform messages were disseminated in India, particularly through printed Urdu texts. Muslim reformers distributed their printed materials in Urdu or read them aloud in mosques. Hyderabad and Nellore were the major centers of reformist activity in Deccan. Several Arabs preached reformist doctrines to Muslim troops at Secunderabad as well. They distributed pamphlets and poems to inspire the people to fight against the British. Since Hyderabad was one of the major centers of Muslim rule in India, many people from various parts of the world moved to this place and were involved in educational, professional, and military activities. They used modern technologies to advance their plan and circulate their ideas.

The alliance of the Nizam with the British was a strong reason to suppress any activity against the British power. The repercussions of rebellion worsened the situation of the Muslims, especially in North India and it made socio-political impacts in Hyderabad. It forced the Muslims of other parts of India to move to a secure place which could protect them

⁶³ For more information on how print helped Islamic reformist projects of Muhammad Abduh, Rasheed Rida, and Jamaluddin al-Afghani, see Cole 2002; and Robinson 1993. Nile Green (2009, 2015) has written widely on Islamic reform and print. Some literature on the connection between print and Islamic reform in different contexts has been discussed in the literature review chapter of this thesis.

and give them employment. Hyderabad, as a Muslim-ruled state, was the major destination of such people (Roosa, 1998). People who were suspected of being part of the rebellion and who found it difficult to get jobs turned to Hyderabad to be recruited into the civil administration.

Salar Jung played a big role in bringing educated people from North India, especially from Aligarh and Lucknow, to serve the Hyderabad administration. Several officials were recruited from the associates of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Sayyid Husain Bilgrami left for Hyderabad due to pressure from the British as he criticized the Sarda Canal project in 1870-71 in *Lucknow Times*, for which he was the editor. He became the director of public instruction in Hyderabad in 1884. Hyderabad also funded Sir Sayyid's Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College to make it a training center for its officialdom.

Throughout the nineteenth century, it could be seen that there were various kinds of engagements between the people of Hyderabad and the Colonial authority. During the period, there were constant attempts to 'modernize' the state through diverse policies, including educational plans. The government was distrustful of public education due to the worry that it may cause Muslims to lose an understanding of their heritage (Roosa, 1998, p. 149). Traditional values were contested and challenged by new concepts and policies. Religion was also redefined and reinterpreted in many ways. The global networks and transnational connective tissues were imperative for the engagement between old and new. Transnational connections and revisiting of tradition did not happen just as a response to imperialism rather they developed a different worldview.

British, Ottoman, and other networks had played a big role in creating a new public sphere. Seema Alavi (2015) calls it the 'new Muslim Cosmopolis':

Formed at the crossroad of empires". This cosmopolis had a scripture-oriented core and a politically reformist structure inspired by Ottoman *tān'zēmāt* - the administrative and constitutional reforms introduced between 1839 and 1876 to

modernize the empire. Modern technological tools like steamships, the telegraph, and the printing press made possible the quick circulation of ideas within the Muslim cosmopolis (Preface: X).

In the context of Hyderabad and especially in the case of Muslim reformist Jamaluddin al-Afghani, the scripture-oriented dimension is less visible rather, it was a civilizational argument of reform.⁶⁴ Rather than talking about canonical texts, Afghani focused on the larger historical, intellectual cultural, and civilizational legacy of Islam and diverse Muslim societies.

Alavi further (2015) points out that “the Muslim transnational networks were intellectual and civilizational zones that transcended political borders, territorial confines, and cultural particularities” (p. 6). To capture the historical meaning of Muslim reform, the analytical frameworks of liberal humanism and modern/western essentialism need a shift to a more nuanced conceptualization of tradition and modernity (Haj, 2009). Reformist projects in nineteenth-century Hyderabad were entangled in multiple rubrics such as nationalism, universalism/internationalism, tradition, and modernity. As it traversed through diverse trajectories, the contextualization of the reformist thoughts in Hyderabad is inevitable.

Making of Modern Hyderabad

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the state was undergoing a desperate financial crisis. The British Indian government was threatening Hyderabad to take over the state through loans, cession of lands, and direct rule. To protect Hyderabad’s sovereignty, the prime minister Nawab Salar Jung Mir Turab Ali Khan⁶⁵ initiated various reforms in the state between 1853 and 1883.

⁶⁴ This will be examined in detail later in this chapter.

⁶⁵ He was born in Bijapur in 1829. His family served the Adil Shahi dynasty and the Mughal Empire. He was educated privately.

His administrative skills enabled him to make many changes in the systems of the state. The major reform happened in the revenue administration. He initiated a complete survey and settlement of the land. *Taluqdar* was given a salary instead of paid out of proportion. He established new courts of justice in the city and appointed *munsifs* with civil and criminal powers. A Police force was set up with gradual regularization. The reform was mainly focused on administrative, bureaucratic, and financial departments. Government treasury was established and the land revenue and customs were systematized by Salar Jung (Ali. M, 1885).

Post-1857, residents in Hyderabad also made all their policies according to the principle of reforming the Nizam's government for long-term sustainability. In the first stage, Salar Jung established basic institutions and organized them into the Board of Revenue in 1864, the centralized department in 1866, and the minister with greater powers in 1868. In this period, the power was centralized in the hands of the *dīvān* and the administration was divided into 14 departments.⁶⁶

Salar Jung modeled some of his reforms on the Bombay and Madras Presidencies' *ra'iyatwari* (land revenue) and revenue system. His prior experience working in the late 1840s with a British official employed by Hyderabad state had given him some practical knowledge about these systems. His accomplishment was different from other princely states such as Mysore, Baroda, and so on. He carried out the reforms without much involvement from the British except as a subordinate officer. The second most populous native state in India, Mysore, was under direct British rule from 1831 to 1881, and it was returned to the royal family after civil bureaucracy was established. Baroda state in Gujarat, known as a

⁶⁶ 1. Judicial, 2. Revenue, 3. Police, 4. Public Works, 5. Education, 6. Medical, 7. Municipalities, 8. Military, 9. Finance, 10. Post, 11. Railway and Telegraph, 12. *Sarf-e khas* or His Highness Privy Purse Estate, 13. Political, and 14. Legal. The first seven of the 14 departments were under separate ministers who communicated with the Prime Minister through the secretaries to the government (Ali. M, 1885).

model of modernizing princely state, owed its bureaucracy to the British intervention in 1875. The British had greater control over Travancore princely state until the 1890s (Roosa, 1998).

When the fifth Nizam Afzal-ud-Daula died in 1869, his eldest son was only two years old. The sixth Nizam came into power in 1884, one year after Salar Jung's death. For fourteen years, Salar Jung operated the state without any interference from the Nizam. In other princely states, the British "often used a period of minority of the ruler to place the state under handpicked reformers," this was not done in Hyderabad (Hardiman, 1978).

The reforms initiated by Salar Jung have been interpreted as a transition from medievalism to modernism. (Raj, 1987). Salar Jung's mission can be viewed as shaped by the Weberian-defined modern state which is based on bureaucracy and legal authority. He had created a centralized standing army, introduced a unified system of taxation, and set up a permanent bureaucracy. But he always wanted to preserve the Hyderabad nobility. The Hyderabad state enjoyed some amount of independence as it could operate its courts, mint its currency and print its stamps. John Roosa (1998) argues that "the Hyderabad state was independent within bounds and those bounds were vague, shifting and contested" (p. 69).

Instead of looking at the reform as an ideological shift, Eric Lewis Beverly (2016) connects modern reforms in Hyderabad with Muslim internationalism, Ottoman *tân'zēmāt* (reorganization) reforms, and changes in Europe and the larger Islamic world. He argues that the reformation and bureaucratization in Hyderabad also attracted people who are bilingual in Persian and Urdu. Beverly writes, "Hyderabad became a destination for elite labor migration, primarily of British Indian administrators (of diverse British, South Asian or European backgrounds), or South Asian Muslims schooled in Europe or British India" (p. 110).

Salar Jung wanted to keep the state's traditional foundations and cultural symbols intact. He understood that it was necessary to create a powerful state structure to prevent the British from intervening and restricting the power possessed by the traditional rulers. Modern

ideas and practices were received and implemented with meticulous care. During this period, Hyderabad witnessed vigorous tension between new practices and old ideas through their engagement, interaction, and contestation. There was always a quest for an ethical foundation for the state. Religion was operated and refashioned with new idioms to make it compatible with the modern. Educational changes were the major field through which new ideas and practices were introduced in Hyderabad.

Establishing Educational Institutions

Literacy, book production, printing activities, and reading habits have been deeply connected with education. In most of the cases, be it in British India or princely states the basic instrumental objective of the education was to man the government/bureaucratic services though it may have had many other purposes. When Salar Jung became the prime minister in 1853, the condition of education had deteriorated due to the lack of government patronage as they were more interested in ‘soldier than the scholar’ (Bilgrami & Willmott, 1884)).

Learning was confined to elite classes. They appointed teachers and tutors to instruct their children at home. Education took a long time to become public. Once it became popularized, many other changes started taking place in various spheres of life. In 1853-1854 Salar Jung started *Dār-ul-’U lūm* (Centre of Oriental Learning), hoping that it would produce educated men for government service. The instruction was given in Arabic, Persian, English, Telugu, and Marathi as well. A school was opened in each district headquarters and Taluq headquarters in 1860. Education was placed under the miscellaneous minister when departmental ministers were appointed in 1868. Earlier it was under the revenue department. The 1870s witnessed the opening of many schools and educational institutions in the state especially for teaching English and imparting western education. The city high school and

Chaderghat high school were established in 1870 and 1872 respectively. Hyderabad College was affiliated to Madras University in 1884.

To man the staff of the public works department, the engineering college was established in 1870. *Madrasa-e- 'Aliya* was established for the education of the children of the nobles. In 1876, Salar Jung set up a school at Koti known as the *Madrasa-e-A 'izza* for the education of his children and the other noble families in the city⁶⁷. A large number of Persian schools indicates that Salar Jung was a promoter of *Mughlai* tradition and the Persian language. He was strongly against the change of official language from Persian to Urdu. He insisted the Persian language remain the official language of Hyderabad and paid special attention to the education of Nizam and nobles (Ali. M, 1886).

Even though there were a number of educational institutions, Salar Jung wanted men trained in British India to modernize the administration. The recruited people and those who came from outside were known as non-*Mulkīs*, and the natives of Hyderabad were known as *Mulkīs* (natives). From 1853 to 1883, the non-*Mulkīs* were not promoted to political power. Later they could seize political power (Leonard, 1978).

While creating a new *dīvāni* administration, Salar Jung preserved *Mughlai* institutions, their personnel, and the nobility of Hyderabad state. They were recruited primarily after the death of the Nizam Afzal-u-Daula, and the minority status of the heir gave Salar Jung more power to initiate administrative changes. Most of the recruited persons were English-e- ducated. Among them, there were Hindus, Parsis, and Europeans as well, but most of them were Muslims from North India. Some of the Muslim newcomers were associated with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his newly founded Aligarh Muslim University. In the

⁶⁷ 1860s mark the beginning of public education in Hyderabad. There was one college in Hyderabad city and twelve other schools. The number of the schools in the districts in 1884 was 149, making a total of 162 for the whole Divani territory. Out of the above 162 institutions, there was one college; 3 English, 19 Telugu, 35 Marathi, and 105 Persian schools (M. Cheragh Ali, 1886).

1870s, Aligarh University was the major recruitment source for Hyderabad state (Leonard, 1978).

Muhib Husain was one of the major personalities who used print/press to propagate his ideas in Hyderabad. Before examining his journalism, a general picture of publishing activities between 1850 and 1900 will be helpful to understand the evolving print culture in the state.

Print Culture and the Beginning of Urdu Journalism

By 1850, Lucknow-Cawnpore, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, and Hyderabad (Deccan) became well-established centers of Muslim publishing. Lucknow alone had more than a dozen Muslim-owned lithographic presses. The presses of Lucknow Cawnpore alone had turned out about 700 titles, some of them up to 10 editions. The books mainly comprised elementary religious instruction, tracts, and polemics. All the important towns in northern India had their printing presses. There were around 112 such presses in different parts of the country (Proudfoot, 1995).

Urdu newspapers from the princely states have been published especially after the mutiny of 1857. The rulers did not support the press because of the possible threat those newspapers contained. By the end of the nineteenth century, a storm of publications could be seen in princely states and British India. Hyderabad state also showed interest in launching newspapers during the same period (Masood, 2009).

The latter half of the nineteenth-century marks more sophisticated printing and journalistic endeavors in Hyderabad state. Educational, socio-political, linguistic, and cultural transformations that took place in the state encouraging printing and publishing to become gradually popular. It had its limitations as well due to various reasons.

K. Sadanandam (2002) observes that the printing in Urdu in Telangana is governed by six factors. Firstly, Hyderabad state being a Muslim-governed dominion, the Urdu language gained precedence over the other languages. Secondly, during the period of Maḥbūb Ali khan, the sixth Nizam, Persian was replaced by Urdu as the state's official language. Thirdly, the Urdu press resisted the repressions from the Nizam Government. Educational development in the state promoted Urdu printing. Osmania University made Urdu the medium of instruction. Fifthly, several institutions and associations undertook publication activities in Urdu. The sixth point is not mentioned clearly in the text. It must be the translation activities that took place in the *Dar-u-Tarjuma* (Translation Bureau).

During the period of Salar Jung, under the revenue secretary, a Government Press for printing the Government Gazette, Rules, Circulars, and official orders, has existed since 1867 (1277 Fasli⁶⁸). In 1875, the Government Press was placed under the *Daftar-e-Mulkī*, but towards the end of 1876, it was placed under the supervision of the Secretary to the Prime Minister in the Miscellaneous Department. Salar Jung had a personal printing press.

Indian press of the 1870s and 1880s, in general was “a small world of journalism” (Gupta, 1977). Uma Das Gupta, in her essay on the press, looks at the Presidencies- Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. They printed some other vernacular papers along with regional newspapers. In Bengal, besides several journals, there were three Hindi weeklies, a Persian weekly, and an Anglo-Urdu weekly. Other than Gujarati and Marathi newspapers, there was an Urdu, a Hindi, and a Persian newspaper. Uma Das Gupta (1977) notes that:

Kushful Akhbār, an Urdu journal, was specifically intended for “the information and benefit of the Urdu reading Muslims of the presidency”. In upper India, in 1877, there

⁶⁸ According to D.C. Sircar (Indian Epigraphy, 1996), “The months of the Hijri era which was introduced in the dominions of the Muslim rulers of India were not linked with the crop seasons. As it was easy to collect revenue from the tenants during the seasons of the Rabi and Kharif crops, the Mughal emperor Akbar introduced the era called Fasli, that is related to fast or crop, by solarizing the lunar Hijri year 971 (1563A.D. = Vikrama 1620). Unlike the Hijri, the years and the months of the Fasli are solar (Uni-Solar). The Fasli is another solar modification of the Hijri like the Suhur era” (p. 310).

were four Marathi papers, one in Bengali and one in Arabic. In the Madras presidency, there were eight Urdu language newspapers in 1878. The local Muslims owned all these presses, and they engaged in publishing (p. 214).

The majority of these were weeklies or monthlies, not dailies. In 1872-77, there were four dailies in Bombay, four in Bengal, one in Upper India, and none in south India. But around the same time, there were Urdu dailies published from Hyderabad, and one was started in 1860 as well.⁶⁹ Most newspapers were city/town based especially published from the capital, which is true in the case of Hyderabad as well. Editors were playing multiple roles as proprietor, editor, reporter, writer, etc. Local rajas and philanthropic citizens financed most of the newspapers. Local governments were the main subscribers of the newspapers.

Editors of the Urdu presses in Madras in the 1870s managed to bring lithographic presses and print newspapers. Some of them were Sayyid Abdul Gaffur, Sayyid Murtuzu Kedari, Mohammed Anwar and Sayyid Mohammad A.H Kedari. Each of them owned a press and they had no knowledge of the English language. The editors of the *Shams-ul-Akḥbār*, *Tilism-e-Hairat*, *Umdat-ul-Akḥbār-e-Shāhi*, and the *Safīr-e-Madras* were the exceptions (Gupta, 1977, p. 229).

Administrative Reports and the Status of Print

Analytical data on the press and printing activities in Hyderabad state especially during the nineteenth century is less. The reports on the administration of the Nizam's dominions from the 1890s to 1940s give some details on books, newspapers, magazines, and printing presses in the state. This chapter is now moving to analyze official reports of the Nizam administration from which a clear and better picture of the print culture in Hyderabad can be drawn.

⁶⁹ The third volume of "Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad: A Connected Account (1885-1920)" (1957) provides a list of major Urdu newspapers published in Hyderabad during the period (pp. 27-30).

The report of the administration of the Nizam's dominions from 8th October 1893 to 7th October 1894 (1303 Fasli)⁷⁰ before giving details of print and publishing in Hyderabad provides a background that will help us understand the publishing scenario. As preliminary remarks in the section of Literature and the Press, it suggests that:

the spread of knowledge and material benefits of authorship depended upon the progress of knowledge in the country, and as, twenty or twenty-five years ago, education here, was at its lowest ebb, it can readily be conceived that, though at that time there were two or three English presses within the residency limit, there were no Vernacular presses except *Dar-ul-Taba* (Government Press) within His Highness the Nizam's dominions. The reason for this was not far to seek; for, first of all, few here ever aspired to write books, and those who had any such ambition naturally turned their eyes towards Northern India or Madras, where they used to have their books printed and published, for want of sufficient appreciation here (p. 205).

This observation is partially true, but there were private vernacular presses of Faḡhruddin Khan started in the first half of the century and the press of Salar Jung I, started in the second half of the same century. The reason for this could be attributed both to a lack of intellectual culture and regulation of ideas. Further, the report points out that:

The education in British India had its effects on Hyderabad. During the administration of late Salar Jung II, particular attention was directed to the codification of existing laws, the regulation of the legal profession, and the spread of western science and literature, the result of which was that numerous printing presses sprang up throughout the country and many books on Law and other subjects printed and

⁷⁰ Report on the Administration of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions for 1303 Faşli (8th October 1893 to 7th October 1894), (Hyderabad: H. H The Nizam's Printers, 1895). The administration reports of select years were not available in the Telangana State Archive.

published here.⁷¹ Subsequently, the growing desire to be authors was stimulated by the passing of competitive examinations being imposed as a condition for entering the public service, and the profession gradually became so lucrative that many literary productions, came to be looked upon as valuable property. This is the reason why those engaged in the compilation of works on law and procedure were the first to feel the want of a law of copyright (p. 206).

The report states the reason for introducing the copyright act in the state as follows:

In 1298 Fasli (A.D. 1891), the author of a Handbook of Revenue Circulars of Government, had his rights of compilation secured by the publication of a notification in the *Jarīda* (the Government Gazette). This led to the presentation of several other applications also, but there is no particular law in force, the reservation of rights in this way was practically useless, and the procedure which was to have governed such cases had not been settled. For this reason in 1892 (1299 Fasli) copyright rules were introduced and published under Home Department Resolution dated 24th June 1890, which are still in force. But as these rules were not accompanied by a complete Act for the control of printing presses, there were no means of ascertaining the rate at which the intellectual development of the country proceeds, the number of new books published, the number of new editions issued and the quality and amount of work done in the various presses in the country. The passing of a complete Press Act by the Legislative Council will, it is hoped, remedy this defect (p. 209).

Since there was no rule for registering publications in the state before this, we do not have reliable sources to ascertain the details of the books and other printed items. The below tables

⁷¹ Though the modern bureaucracy is based on writing and documenting the manuscript culture was prevalent, especially during the Nizam Shahis (1490-1636) in Ahmed Nagar, Adil Shahis (1489- 1686) in Bijapur, Qutb Shahis (1512- 1687) in Golconda and Hyderabad. Manuscript culture during nineteenth century was not prominent as earlier.

and descriptions provide information on the numbers and categories of books published during the nineteenth century.

From 1890 to 1894, 41 books were registered. Details are given below.

Table 2

List of publications during 1890-1894

Subject	Law	Education	Drama	Poetry	Fiction	Sanitation and Medicine	History	Miscellaneous
Number of books	8	14	1	4	2	5	2	5

The report suggests that 26 books were in Urdu, eight were in Persian, six in English, and one in Telugu. Urdu was the prominent language in the print arena. 39 books were unilingual and only two were bi-lingual, being both in English and Urdu. Then the report gives details regarding the subjects of the books published. This description provides the aspiration and taste of the people and the project of the state regarding printing and publishing.

Of the eight law books registered during the past five years, one was in English and the rest in Urdu. Of the Urdu law books, two were periodicals giving reports of cases decided by the British Indian and the local High Courts, two were compilations of Revenue Circulars, one was a translation of a work on Jurisprudence, one was a commentary on the local Civil Procedure Code, and only one book on Hindu Law was based on research. The English work registered under this head was Gribble and Hehir's Medical Jurisprudence, a work originally printed and published in British India.

Altogether 14 books relating to education were registered during the past five years. Of these, eight were in Urdu, five in Persian, and one was bi-lingual, being both in English

and Urdu. Viewed according to subjects, ten were Elementary Readers, meant for use in the lower classes of Primary schools, two were books on morals and two on instruction in Military drills. Of the two books on Morals, one, called "*Bagh-e-Islam*" or "The Garden of Islam", contains moral tales and parables drawn from the lives of the ancient prophets and prophet Mohammed and his companions; the other, named "*Akhlāq-e-Zai*," is a feeble attempt to define ethics and the various virtues and vices, according to the precepts of ancient Arabian philosophy.

Under the head of poetry, only four books were registered during the period. Of these, three were in Urdu and one in Persian. Of the Urdu works, two were compilations of fugitive pieces of amorous poetry, and one was a heroic poem of inferior merit. The former include the *dīvān* of the famous poet *Dāgh* of Delhi, now attached to the court of His Highness the Nizam, and who is said to command a singular felicity of language and poetical ideas, the other being the *dīvān* of a less known poet named Lall, who gives expression to his sophic aspirations in verses which are not held to be of any high merit, the report suggests. There was only one drama registered, which is in Urdu and deals with the supernatural but is of no appreciable merit, according to the report.

Only two works falling under the head of Fiction were registered during the period referred to; one, called "*Sacha Ishq*," or "True Love," eulogized the *pardah* system and exposed the evils attendant on its abolition; the other, named "*Pardah-e-Ismat*" (The Curtain of Chastity) dealt with the cases of maternity and the treatment of female disorders in the form of a simple story.

Five books on sanitation and medicine were registered, 3 in English being the production of Dr. Hehir, the Health Officer to the Chaderghat Municipality, which deal in simple language with sanitation, the evils of intemperance, and the necessity for moral and physical exercise; and the other two represent but one book in two languages, being

separately published and registered both in Urdu and Telugu. It is a work of research dealing with the medicinal properties of certain herbs and plants to be found in His Highness' Dominions.

Of the two books registered under the head of History, both were in Persian. One of these is a history of the Muslim rulers of India, by the Nawab Daulat Yar Jung Bahadur, written in the chaste and elegant language and beautifully printed and bound; the other is a comprehensive history of the Asaf Jah dynasty, represented by his highness, and as the author describes, most of the events, that took place in his lifetime, the work is of considerable merit.

Of the five miscellaneous works that were registered, four were almanacs, one of which gives corresponding Fasli, Hijri, Hindu, and Christian dates for fifty years. The one other book registered was a work on Sport, dealing with tracking big games in India.

At the end of 1893, there were 24 presses, of which twenty were in the city of Hyderabad and two in the mofussil, one being in Gulbarga and the other in Aurangabad. Of these, 23 were lithographic presses, in 22 of which work was done in Urdu and Persian, and the remaining one in Telugu and Marathi, besides Urdu and Persian; one was a type press printing both in Urdu and English. During the year 1894, three more presses were licensed to print in Persian and Urdu, thus raising the number of presses at the end of the year to 27.

A Government Press for printing *Jarīda* (Government Gazette), and other official publications was established since 1868, but during the year under report, it was decided to transfer the press to the Central Jail. As this arrangement did not come into force till about the beginning of the last quarter of the year, the results of the transfer cannot be fully seen in the returns of the year under report.⁷²

⁷² The expenditure amounted to Rs. 33,186 as against Rs. 35,427 in the preceding year. In consequence of the removal of the press to the Central Jail, considerable reductions have been made, the cost of the permanent establishment having been reduced from Rs. 2,273 to 1,206 per mensem, while the charge for house rent has been altogether done away with. The receipts amounted to Rs. 1,974 as against Rs. 1,900 in the preceding year.

In 1890 (1300 Fasli), a form of agreement was prescribed, which had to be signed by the proprietors of newspapers and periodicals, which met with much adverse criticism at first, but later it worked out. A paper called "*Hasan*" dealing with history, general literature, politics, and archaeology, by Nawab Imad Nawaz Jung Bahadur, the then Commissioner of Customs; the "*Mukanin-e-Deccan*," or the Deccan Jurist, which deals with purely legal questions and Law Reports; the "*Makhzan-ul-Quanin*" which, besides reproducing the Indian Law Reports, gives reports of cases decided by the High Court; and the "*Muallim-e-Shafiq*," (Kind Teacher), which is educational dealing more particularly with the emancipation of women, are all published monthly. There are only three newspapers published in the Nizam's dominions, viz; the "*Mushir-e-Deccan*," published in Hyderabad, the "*Gulbarga Samāchār*," a bilingual paper in Urdu and Mahratti, published at Gulbarga, and the "*Khabir-e-Deccan*," an Urdu paper published at Aurangabad. The "*Mushir-e-Deccan*," is supposed to be conducted with a little independence and ability, and the other two papers have but little circulation outside the towns in which they are published.

The report from 8th October 1894 to 7th October 1898 (1304 to 1307 Fasli) suggests that a total of 95 books were published during the period.

Table 3

List of publications during 1894-1898

Subject	Law	Education	Poetry	Drama	History
Number of books	42	12	3	3	2

Of the 42 law books printed during the last four years, only one was printed in English, three were in Persian, and one was in Marathi. The rest were all in Urdu. Of these, 15 were compilations of criminal, civil and revenue circulars, the revenue circulars alone forming six books. Twelve books dealt with Islamic law, and two related to the *Dharma Shastras* of the Hindus.

Out of 12 books on education, eight were in Urdu, three in Persian, and one in Arabic. By subjects, four were elementary readers, four treatises on arithmetic, three on grammar, and one was on Persian letter writing.

All registered poetry books were in Urdu. Of the two historical books registered in 1895 (1305 Fasli), one named “*Sirat-ul-Mahmud*” was compiled by Mr. Muhammad Aziz Mirza, officiating secretary, judicial, police, and general departments; and the other, “*Mirat-e-Uṣmani*”, is a history of the Deccan, by Muhammad Burhaudeen of Gadwal in the Raichur District.

During the last four years, 31 new presses were established, of which 28 were in the city of Hyderabad and three in the districts, namely one at Kopbal (the jagir of the late Salar Jung) and two at Aurangabad. They are all lithographic presses, in 29 of which both Urdu and Persian printing was done, and in the remaining two, only Marathi printing. Including 27 presses at the close of 1893, the total number at the close of 1897 was 58.

During the four years under report, five newspapers were started, four in Hyderabad and one (in Marathi) at Bir. The *Shaukat-ul-Islam*, which was prohibited in 1893, was allowed to be republished in 1898. The *Mushīr-e-Deccan* was suspended for six months from 1898. The proprietor of the *Akḥbār-e-Mulk-o-Millat* was strongly reprimanded for writing some ‘mischievous’ and ‘seditious’ article on the plague administration.

Within the last four years, 11 new periodicals were licensed, but only seven are currently issued. These periodicals are (1) *Mukanin-e-Deccan*, which treats legal matters and contains the rulings of courts; (2) *Ain-e-Deccan*, which contains the rulings of the High Court and circular orders of Government; (3) *Payan-e-Maḥbūb*, which contains *ghazals*, (songs); (4) *Dabdab-e-Asafīa* which deals in moral and scientific subjects; (5) *Risāla-e-Afsar*, which deals with military matters; (6) *Sharada-Vilas*, which treats of scientific and historical

subjects; and (7) *Muallim-e-Nisvān*, which deals with the emancipation of women, and the doing away with the *parda* system.

The government press, in which the *Jarīda* and other official Urdu works are done, was transferred to the Central Jail in 1893 and placed under the superintendent of the jail, who was given an extra allowance for the work. By these means, the salary of a separate superintendent for the press, as well as house rent, was saved.⁷³

The report suggests that the working of the press is generally satisfactory, but there are complaints of delays in the disposal of work, and it has been represented to the Government that these cannot be avoided until the number of presses is increased. The official English printing of the Government has been done under contract with the Gallagher press. The agreement under which this arrangement was made will terminate next year.

Between 1858 and 1900, Hyderabad was the only state where the largest number of Urdu newspapers were published. The number of newspapers from Hyderabad was 14, Rampur: 4, Bangalore: 3, Bhopal: 3, Tonk 3. Most of the newspapers acted as the mouthpiece of the rulers (Masood, 2009).

Beginning of Urdu Journalism

Khurshīd-e-Deccan which was started in 1877 under the editorship of Mirza Qasim Gazi has been counted as the first newspaper of Hyderabad. Tayyib Ansari opines that *Hazār Dāstān* is the first daily newspaper in Hyderabad. It was started by Muhammed Sultan Aqil Dahlavi in 1883 and it existed for 5 years. Narain Rao's *Asaf-ul-Akḥbār* (1878) is considered

⁷³ The total value of work turned out by the press has increased by 113 percent from Rs. 43,028 in 1893 to Rs. 91,951 in 1898, while the total expenditure shows a decrease. The *jarida* has almost doubled in size in the period under report, and the cost of paper has therefore naturally increased from Rs. 5,374 to Rs. 10,535. It has also been necessary to provide more plant in the shape of lithographic stones and type, but the establishment and contingencies charges, excluding purchases of stock and plant, shows a saving of Rs. 19,941 in 1898 as against Rs. 27,962 in 1893.

the first regular Urdu newspaper. Some scholars suggest that *Āfthāb-e-Deccan* is the first daily newspaper of Hyderabad. It was started by Qazi Muhammed Qutb in 1860.⁷⁴

During that period the *Hazār Dāstān* got financial assistance of one thousand rupees and five hundred annually from the government. *Paik-e-Asafi* was also used to receive a grant of one thousand and five hundred from the Nizam annually. *Paik-e-Asafi* was started in 1884 by Sayyid Hasan Jashan Bilgrami and it was printed from *Hazār Dāstān* press. Earlier *Hazār Dāstān* was weekly and later it became daily. Probably its publication might have stopped in 1889. Poet Shahid Siddiqi's journalistic life started with this newspaper. He was very active in the Urdu journalistic field of Hyderabad. He was deeply attached to *Mushīr-e-Deccan*, *Nizam Gazette*, *Subah-e-Deccan*, *Payām*, *Milāp*, and *Siāsat*.

Mushīr-e-Deccan was a weekly when it began in 1892. Kishan Rao Anjahani made it a daily newspaper in 1897. It existed for a very long time. 1877-1892 has been considered the beginning period of journalism. *Afthāb-e-Deccan* (1877) helped Hyderabad people to learn the basics of journalism. *Mushīr-e-Deccan* is a good source to understand the journalistic, literary, social, educational, and political history of Hyderabad. The focus of *Mushīr-e-Deccan* was on *Tharbiyyah* (the process of spiritual development). Sardar Ali (Editor of *Thajalli*), Mujeeb Ahmad Thamnai (Editor of *Sihr-ul-Bayān*) Waqar Ahmad (Editor of *Nizam Gazette*), Meer Hasan, Ahsan Ali Mirza and others had benefited much from Kishan Rao's journalistic practice. In the beginning, Kishan Rao was running the *Deccan Panch* journal started in February 1887. It contained cartoons (Khan, 1995). Later it became monthly.

The Government banned *Mushīr-e-Deccan* newspaper due to seditious contents in 1898, and Kishan Rao was exiled. Then for some time, it was published in Madras and later it started publishing in Hyderabad in 1899. The first systematic attempt to control the Press and

⁷⁴ For the history of journalism in Hyderabad, see, Ansari (1980), Muhammad Anwaruddin (1997), and Masood Ali Khan (1995).

the registration of books and newspapers in the state was initiated in 1886.⁷⁵ After the demise of Kishan Rao in 1936, *Mushīr-e-Deccan* was run by Vasudeva Rao. He died in 1973. Then Vasanth Rao took over the newspaper.

The focus of this newspaper was on history and literature emphasizing the importance of social changes. Political news was not given much space because of the state's control of the press. Religious, cultural, and literary topics were given more importance. In an editorial written on July 9, 1896, Kishan Rao wrote about the importance and necessity of a responsible, and welfare system in Hyderabad.

It used a stylistic Urdu language with coherence and flow. Thayyib Ansari (2009) observes that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's *Thahzīb-ul-Akhlāq* was published in Persian and Urdu for a long time in North India. The language and style were difficult to understand. But the language of newspapers from Hyderabad was common and simple. This simplicity of language and expression made *Mushīr-e-Deccan* popular. Other journalists also played an outstanding role in simplifying the language, and they gave a distinct identity to Hyderabad's journalistic terrain. Sardar Ali, a famous journalist of Hyderabad, was the soul of *Mushīr-e-Deccan*. He was a good writer and translator. Sardar Ali was running "*Tajalli*" monthly. He was an accomplished journalist. Many translated works were published in the newspaper. It was accepted among Hindus and Muslims.⁷⁶

The sixth Nizam Maḥbūb Ali Khan (1884-1911) was also very interested in promoting knowledge and education and patronized many newspapers and magazines. When he assumed the sovereign power of the state, he made a proclamation in the following words:

⁷⁵ Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series: Hyderabad State, (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1909, p. 78).

⁷⁶ Sayyid Hassan's *Paik-e-Asafi* (1885), and Sayyid Amjad Ali Ashraf's *Safir-e-Deccan* (1888) were the major daily Urdu newspapers of the period. Narain Rao's *Asaf-ul-Akḥbar* (1878), Sayyid Husain Razwi's *Shafiq* (1880), Haji Kartan's *Shaukat-ul-Islam* (1884), Mohammad Sultan Aqil's *Akḥbar-e-Asafi* (1885), Kishan Rao's *Deccan Punch* (1887), Abdul Salam Arsh's *Khayal-e-Maḥbūb* (1887), Abdul Salam's *Maḥbūb-ul-Qulūb* (1889) were the weekly newspapers of the period (Ansari, 2009).

Nothing will afford me greater pleasure than to see my people living in peace and prosperity, engaged in the development of their wealth, in the acquisition of knowledge and the cultivation of arts and sciences, so that by their efforts the country may rise to a high state of enlightenment and the State will derive support and benefit from their knowledge and intelligence. It is my earnest hope that the Minister and all the officers of the state relying on my protection and support, will always be zealous in the promotion of good and the suppressions of evil and will protect the rights of the people without fear or favor (Khan, 1935, pp. 75-76).

The above proclamation marks the socio-political transformations taking place in the state at the end of the nineteenth century. The print helped in setting up of modern bureaucratic state, and in the initial stages, some of the newspapers functioned as justificatory apparatus of the system.

Printing Reform: Muhib Husain's Journalistic Endeavors

Muhib Husain (1849-1929) has been credited as the father, pioneer, and founder of a new era in Urdu journalism in Hyderabad. Husain was a staunch critic of autocracy, elite culture, and luxury life in Hyderabad state. Through journals and newspapers, he strove to reform society. He came to Hyderabad from Etawah (Uttar Pradesh), the native place of his ancestors. He was appointed as a translator in the Department of Revenue of Hyderabad state in 1877. He had been part of a general migration from North India after the revolt of 1857. The local elite was not as familiarized with western education and British governance as the North Indian populace.



Figure 2, Muhib Husain, Roosa. J. (1998). *The Quandary of the Qaum: Indian Nationalism in a Muslim State, Hyderabad 1850-1948* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation) p. 202

In the beginning, Husain started a Persian-Urdu bilingual monthly magazine ‘*Mua’līm-e-Shafiq*’ in 1880, to which the Muslim reformist thinker and pan Islamist Jamal-al Din al Afghani contributed many articles. He converted this journal into a weekly in 1883. After the publication of this journal was ceased, he started another monthly called ‘*Mua’līm-e-Nisvān*’ in 1892 and an Urdu weekly ‘*I’lm-o-Amal*’ in 1904. He also edited Afsar-ul-Mulk’s paper ‘*Afsar*’ for a period of time (Khan, 1995, p. 38).

He criticized British policies in India and the Middle East and the policies of the Hyderabad government through his journalistic writings. He strongly argued for female education in Hyderabad and criticized the parda system. He was attached to Afsar-ul-Mulk’s family and was a tutor to several girls belonging to this family. He wrote poems to spread reformist messages and considered the entire Urdu poetry archive degenerate due to its

uncivilized feelings towards women (Roosa, 1998, p. 244). He also knew English and translated the famous work ‘The Confession of Thug’ by Philip Meadows Taylor into Urdu.

Muhib Husain endeavored to standardize and refine the Urdu language. He gave a new style to Urdu journalism and as there was no news agency in the state he translated much news from English to Urdu. He had a long publishing career spanning forty (Ansari, 1980).

Husain proposed a social reformist project based on Islamic texts, tradition, and civilization. Islamic revivalism was one of the major themes in his writings. In the final years of life, he turned to Sufism and wrote books on mysticism. He saw science and religion not as antagonistic but as complementary. John Roosa (1998) argues that “the manner in which he envisioned religion was not a retreat to tradition but rather a redeployment of religion as a functional element of modernity” (p. 181).⁷⁷ He conceived tradition and modernity as mutually constitutive, although they were confrontational at some point in time. He called for Hindu-Muslim unity at the political level while arguing for stricter separation between the two communities at the cultural level.

Like most social reformers of the nineteenth century, Husain also attempted to ascertain the meeting points of rationality and religion. He talked more about societal welfare than the personal interests embedded in the aristocratic culture. “Muhib’s ideas, especially in Hyderabad, attempted to make a shift in the loyalties from a courtly order of personal rule to an impersonal country (*mulk*) and nation or society (*qaum*) (Roosa, 1998, p. 185). Salar Jung’s new initiatives were matched with the contents of Husain’s journal. The journal strongly advocated for modern education.

The majority of the subscribers of the journal were government officials like judges, district collectors, and survey commissioners. Traditional noblemen had also subscribed to the publication. It was a monthly journal containing 30-40 pages, and it carried no advertising

⁷⁷ For some of the details on Muhib Husain, I depend on Roosa’s thesis (1998) unless otherwise noted.

and was financed by subscriptions and donations. The publication was located near the Musi River in the old city, which was the seat of the political power in Hyderabad. Muhib Husain advertised it in English as a “scientific and social and political journal in aid of social progress and native education in the Deccan”. The Urdu description, reads “*Mua’lлим-e-Shafiq*, in which the arts, sciences and politics are discussed- and articles on morals and beneficial matters concerning everyday affairs are presented”. Almost all the scientific subjects were published in *Mua’lлим-e-Shafiq*.

The cover page of the journal contained Arabic and Urdu language. Above the title was a prophetic saying on the importance of achieving knowledge and a saying in Arabic which suggests ‘to accept the truth from stupid and reject falsehood from intelligent’. This indicates the openness of the journal towards knowledge. Below the title, it is written that the journal contains new and old arts and sciences.

Science was the major theme of the journal. It talked to the Muslim community about the importance of studying science. Like Nawab Faḡhruddin Khan who promoted science through his translation and printing activities in the 1830s in Hyderabad, *Mua’lлим-e-Shafiq* also published articles on mathematics, natural science, theology, commerce, history, geography, literature, phrenology, agronomy, astronomy, medicine, chemistry, manufacturing of pens and pencils and seemingly mundane things like the working of the telephone, etc.

Muhib Husain was inspired by the Muslim internationalist reformist Jamaluddin al-Afghani to promote science in his journal. The first volume of the journal- twelve issues from November 1880 to October 1881- contained six articles by Afghani. Afghani’s biographer, Nikki R. Keddie (1983) argues that Muhib founded the journal with the encouragement of Afghani, whose articles in the journal laid a “stress on the benefits of philosophy and modern science” (p. 85). In the 1880s, British technologies like railway tracks and telegraph lines were established in Hyderabad. Afghani and Muhib realized that Muslims must master

modern technologies to prevent the encroachment and domination of the Europeans. They conceived modern knowledge and technology not as 'western' but as a continuation of the scientific learning which was prevalent in the Muslim world. They attached the scientific spirit to the history of Islam, and did not approach religion and science as anachronistic. They argued that the tradition is to approach science in a positive way, not to oppose it.

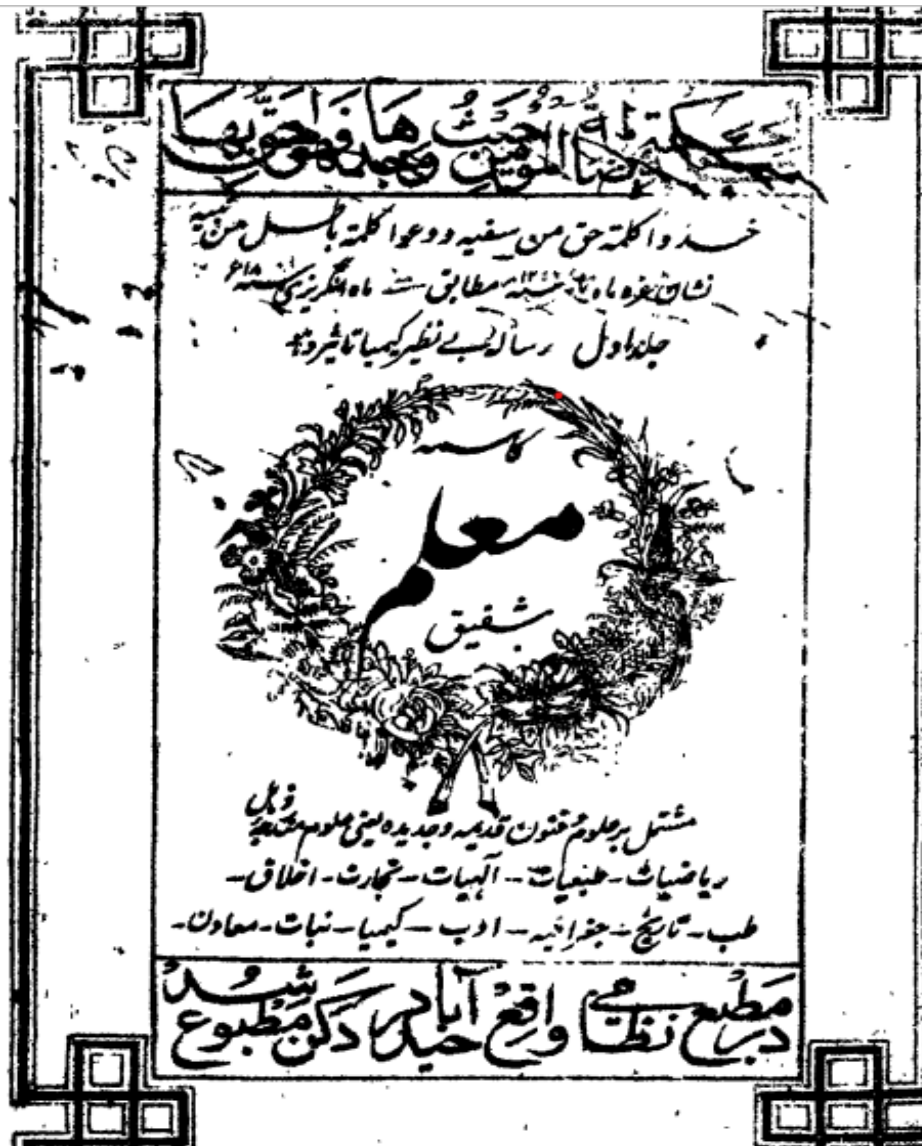


Figure 3, Cover page of *Mua'llim-e-Shafiq* journal, volume I, November 1880

Muhib Husain instructed the Muslim gentry of Hyderabad to reform their everyday life and habits. A structured and systematic lifestyle was proposed through his writings in the journal. It was a positive response to the new times and modern technologies of the self. The major intention of the journal was to create new habits and customs among the Muslim community of Hyderabad.

Jamaluddin Al-Afghani in Hyderabad

Jamaluddin al-Afghani (1838/39- 1897) was a Muslim internationalist, scholar, social, reformer and propagator of Pan-Islamism. Nikki R Keddie (1972) suggests that Afghani rejected both pure traditionalism and pure westernism. But his writings prove that he strived to make the tradition speak to modernist ideas and vice versa. W.C. Smith (1957) argues that Afghani “seems to have been the first Muslim revivalist to use the concepts 'Islam' and 'the West' as connoting correlative-and of course antagonistic- historical phenomena" (p. 49). Seda Unsar (2011) points out that “Afghani’s life revolved around two tasks: the reformation of Islam and the unification of the Islamic world” (p. 82). For this, he traveled to various places and found Hyderabad as one of the potential places to actualize his agenda.

According to Afghani’s thought, science was an important field of knowledge. He suggested that “it is the science that ruled, rules, and will rule the world” (Unsar, 2011, p. 85). He was against the division of science into western science and Muslim science. Thus he spoke the universal language of knowledge production and circulation. Afghani placed philosophy at the core of man’s intellectual activity (Unsar, 2011). His ‘Reply to Renan’ was written as a response to Earnest Renan’s lecture that characterized Islam and Arab people as backward, intolerant, and hostile to science. His reply, published in the journal *Des Debates* in 1883, disagreed with some of Renan’s analyses.



Figure 4, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, Keddie, N.R. (1972). Sayyid Jamal ad-Din “alAfghani”, A Political Biography, p. ii

Afghani described that Greek philosophy thrived in the Arab world when it disappeared from Europe. He noted that the Arabs had “developed, extended, clarified, perfected, completed and coordinated (Greek philosophy and science) with a perfect taste and rare precision and exactitude” (Kohn, 2009, p. 407). Similar to this, anthropologist Charles Hirschkind (2021) in his recent book connects present Spain to the medieval al-Andalus (Muslim Spain). He argues that an imprint of the Muslim and Jewish past could be found in contemporary Spain and largely in Europe. Historians who neglect the Iberian past assume medieval Muslim society as a vehicle through which certain elements of Greek and Roman thought entered the European civilization and Muslims contributed nothing of their own. The work also problematizes European modernity’s erasure of traditional and sensory experiences and memories through the homogenizing force of centralized state power.

Religion was conceptualized as the cause of material progress and civilization in Afghani’s thoughts. His approach is inspired by fourteenth-century Islamic philosophy.

Afghani was familiar with Ibn Khaldun's sociological and historical theories. In his famous work '*Muqaddima*', Ibn Khaldun argues that tribal and nomadic people possess the characteristic of group solidarity ('*asabiyya*') which helps them to acquire political power. Ibn Khaldun also theorizes religion as the basis of civilization. Khaldunian theory of civilization, group solidarity, and unity of the community exerted great influence on Afghani's thought and action (Margaret Kohn, 2009). Albert Hourani (1962) claims that "Afghani was attracted to the idea of civilizational progress, which was popular in nineteenth-century Europe" (p. 114).

Margaret Kohn (2009) argues that Afghani was influenced by French historian Francois Guizot who also considered religious values as the prerequisites for civilization. Kohn (2009) further points out that "He credited Christianity with the regeneration of 'moral man' and concluded that the moral and intellectual development of Europe has been theological" (p. 413). For Afghani, religion was the source of moral and intellectual progress.

He asserted language as the main constituent of the nation and education as perfection from imperfection. He approached Islam as a civilization and strived for the Islamic unification to fight against the western encroachment and to develop an effective and affective engagement with the west. Afghani popularized Pan-Islamism. Politically he was uniting Muslims to fight against colonialism and intellectually he was striving to bridge the gap between traditional Muslim thought and modern knowledge". His approach has been characterized as "modernization without Western hegemony" (Kohn, 2009, p. 400).

Afghani was a good teacher. When he arrived in Egypt in 1871, he was given a government pension and appointed as a teacher at al Azhar University. Ulama (Muslim religious scholars) was not in agreement with his introduction of rational subjects and his reformist ideas hence he was withdrawn from the university. During the 1870s, the socio-economic-political and cultural deterioration in Egypt under Khedive Ismail with the growth of western influence aroused the agitator in Afghani. "The Serbo-Turkish war of 1876 and

the Russo- Turkish war of 1877-1878 awakened the educated classes to foreign danger” (Kudsizadeh, 1972, p. 26).

Afghani was a staunch opponent of colonialism. He believed that foreign domination will weaken the imaginative capacity of the native people. He wanted to fight against British power and arouse the pride of Muslim communities, especially in India and Egypt. His Indian experiences, especially the rebellion of 1857 had a huge influence on making him anti-western/British. In Afghanistan, he had adopted some western ideas and when he was in Istanbul in 1870 he talked about the necessity of modern education for the self-strengthening of Eastern countries.

Afghani criticized Khedive Ismail of Egypt for his autocratic rule and his destructive ideas. He did this through freemasonry societies and later as an open campaign by the year 1879, the year of Ismail’s deposition. He fought for the freedom of Egyptians, and constitutional, economic, and educational reforms. British and Khedive Ismail saw Afghani as a dangerous agitator. He was no longer entertained in Egypt because of his anti-colonial and anti-autocratic ideas and practices. Then he traveled to India in 1880, stayed there for two years and in early 1883 he left for Paris where he continued his publishing and other activities.

Afghani was a great traveler who moved to many different spaces and circulated his ideas of philosophy, science, education, and social reform. He wanted to be known as someone who belonged to a specific nation or sect. Afghani wanted to be known as an Afghan Sunni not as a Shi’i from Iran. He is repoted to have said “I am like a royal falcon for whom the wide arena of the world, for all its breadth, is too narrow to flight. I am amazed that you wish to confine me in this small and narrow cage” (Keddie, 1976, p. 97).

Afghani visited India number of times; in 1854 when he was expelled from Iran, then in 1856 on his way to Mecca, then once again between 1857 and 1869 when he was expelled

from Afghanistan. During his last visit in 1879, he spent three years in Bombay, Bhopal, Calcutta, and mainly Hyderabad. Documentary evidence cataloged by Iraj Afshar proves that Afghani was already in Hyderabad from April 1880 to October November 1881 (Ahmad, 1969).

Nikki R. Keddie (1972) suggests the purpose of Afghani's last visit to India as: to meet with all nawabs and princes and ulama and grandees of that land and to explain to them one by one the results that are manifested from unity and solidarity in the whole world and the injuries that have appeared from division and disunity; and to caress their years with the mystery of the *Hadith* (prophet's saying) "the faithful are brothers"; and to express inspiring and prudent words and to attract the friendship and cooperation of the learned and the eloquent, and to breathe into thorn the new spirit of love of rationality and to rend the curtain of their neglect; to explain to them the place of the luminous sultanate in the world of Islam, and to reveal and make manifest to this group the fact that the perpetuation of religion depends on the perpetuation of this Government. And in all the Mosques of the famous cities, I shall light a flame in their inner heart by means of appealing sermons and *Hadiths* of the best of the prophets, and I shall altogether burn out their patience and long-suffering (p. 135).

The above passage points out that Afghani was deeply attached to religion and tradition and at the same time he had realized the importance of rationality. His major intentions were the unity of world Muslims and their intellectual and socio-political reformation through revisiting the traditional/civilizational values of Islam.

According to Lethbridge, during his stay in Hyderabad, "he associated chiefly with the rising generation of free thinkers, the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Khan of Aligarh" (Aziz Ahmad, 1969, p. 479). But he staunchly criticized the projects initiated by Ahmad Khan. The reason for Afghani to be attracted to Hyderabad is attributed to Hyderabad being a Muslim

center free of direct British rule (Keddie, 1972). Writing was his major activity in Hyderabad. According to Blunt, it seems Afghani has made an impression as an oral teacher. Rasul Yar Khan is quoted as saying “in all India, you would not find a teacher like Jamaluddin”. Afghani’s Calcutta disciples opined that Jamaluddin would be the best professor for Blunt’s proposed Indian Muslim university (Keddie, 1972, p. 147). Afghani was very careful to engage in politics because of the surveillance of the British and his recent bad experience in Egypt.

According to Keddie (1972), Afghani was following the trend of fighting against the encroachment of the west in Muslim countries which could strengthen the anti-western and pan-Islamic feelings among Muslims in different parts of the world. Afghani also had noticed the positive feeling of Muslims of India towards the Ottoman Sultan. Thirdly, he noted the followers of Sir Sayyid as the most rapidly westernizing group in India.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was influenced by the western concept of nature. He interpreted the Qur’an depending on the laws of nature and he made the law of nature the criterion of religious truth. The ulama also started criticizing Ahmad Khan’s views and he was called a *naychariya* (naturalist). Aziz Ahmad (1960) points out that “the disagreement between Jamaluddin al-Afghani and Sayyid Ahmad Khan consists of three cardinal points”:

1. Al-Afghani did not agree with the extremist rationalism of at least some of Sayyid Ahmad Khan's views and regarded his new '*I'lm-ul-Kalam*' (The study of Islamic doctrine) as heresy in so far as it seemed to falsify the words of the *Qur'an*.
2. He regarded Sayyid Ahmad Khan's religious views and his educational program as ancillary to his political servitude to British interests in India, whereas al-Afghani himself was bitterly anti-British.
3. As a logical consequence of the second point, he saw Sayyid Ahmad Khan as his main adversary in India, opposed to Pan-Islamism, isolating the Indian Muslims from

the rest of Dar-al Islam, especially from the Turks, and hostile to the conception of a universal Muslim Khilafat (p. 56)

During his stay in Hyderabad Afghani wrote a treatise titled *Haqiqat-e-Madhab-e-Nichariya va Bayan Hal-e-Nichariyin* (The Reality of Naturalism and the Present Condition of Naturalists) and it was translated into Urdu, Arabic, and Turkish. He called Sir Sayyid and his followers heretics and atheists in this treatise. Afghani criticized Ahmad Khan's political, educational and religious ideas in many articles. The British government gave Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan higher favor and patronized the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. Afghani was suspicious of Sir Sayyid's reformist and educational policies.

The most hostile attack by Afghani on Sayyid Ahmad Khan's group and their political loyalism was an article titled '*Sharh-e-Hal-e-Aigurin*' published in *Mua'llim-e-Shafiq* Journal in 1881 in two installments.

Afghani dreamed of a respectful existence of Muslims all over the world. He vehemently rejected all kinds of colonial tendencies and imperialist domination. Aziz Ahmad (1960) observes that "The difference between them, as always, is that the Indo-Muslim 'modernist' was always concerned with the particular, the concrete, and the detailed; while his adversary was concerned with the general, the generalized, and the emotionally surcharged abstract" (p. 58).

The encounters between Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Afghani demonstrated that among the Muslims there were multiple ways of engaging with modernity and its constituents. Sir Sayyid found the British as the sole source for the welfare of Muslims. But Afghani spoke in a different language which opposed the loyalty of Muslims towards the British and aspired for the free and independent existence of Muslims like how Hyderabad state was activating 'minor sovereign' (Beverley, 2016) ideas and practices and different temporality.

Afghani's Journalistic Activities and Writings

Afghani recognized and appreciated the technological advances in Europe. He used journalism as a tool to propagate his views and he also encouraged his disciples to publish newspapers and journals. By 1877, Afghani and his followers were at the forefront of starting newspapers critical of the government and foreign activities in Egypt. During this period his ideas received popularity and significance. The development of political journalism played a big role in molding public opinion in Egypt. The limited press freedom in Egypt under Ismail paved the way for the development of Arabic journalism from 1875 and some Syrians could write more independently in Egypt than in their country which was under Ottoman rule.

Albert Hourani (1983) points out that “Afghani taught theology, jurisprudence, mysticism, and philosophy while encouraging his disciples to write, publish newspapers, and form a public opinion which constitutes the intellectual basis of his activism” (p. 109). Nikki R. Keddie (1976) opines that:

Afghani was effective in his expression of spoken and written words. He gathered many disciples in many places who wrote down his comments and lectures. He was a mass political orator in the Near East and in the late 1870s he had a tremendous influence on the lower classes of Cairo” (p. 91).

Afghani used all possible and available media to communicate his ideas and views.

The first of these journals was *Abu Nazzāra Zarqa* founded by Afghani's Jewish disciple and Egyptian nationalist James/Yaqub Sanua (1839- 1912) and it functioned from 1878 to 1910.⁷⁸ The newspapers, edited by his Syrian Christian disciples Adib Ishaq and Salim Naqqash were directly influenced by Afghani. *Miṣr* journal, first published in Cairo and then in Alexandria, was a great success. It was the main publisher of Afghani's ideas. It

⁷⁸ For more details about the journal/newspaper see, Adam Mestyan (2014). For the Archive of the complete newspapers published by Sanua visit <http://amirmideast.blogspot.com/2015/03/open-access-journal-archive-abou.html> or <http://kjc-sv036.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de:8080/exist/apps/naddara/index.html>

is said that Afghani's articles were written by his disciples based on his oral presentation, some under his name and some under a pseudonym. Through his assistance, the *Tijāra* newspaper was issued a permit in June 1878. It began as a commercial newspaper, and later it published political news and editorials. It also signed an agreement with Reuters and became the first Egyptian newspaper to subscribe to an international news agency.

Syrian Christian émigré and writer, Salim was also influenced by Afghani. Afghani helped him to get a permit to publish the newspaper *Mira't-u-Sharq* which first appeared in 1879 in Egypt. When he returned to Syria, Afghani asked Ibrahim al-Laqqani to take over the editorship of the newspaper. When Afghani was expelled from Egypt by Khedive Thaufiq, *Mira't-u-Sharq* was in the forefront to defend him, and it was then shut down by the government order. During Afghani's Egyptian stay Muhammed Abduh contributed articles to *Al-Ahrām* and other newspapers reflecting Afghani's intellectual influence. In 1879 and 1880, to promote constitutionalism and reform, Afghani's disciple Adib Ishaq edited the Alexandrian newspaper *Miṣr-ul-Fatāt* written in both Arabic and French. According to Abduh, Afghani was running a virtual school of journalism, and it had produced good results. In the 1870s, the newspapers inspired by Afghani constituted the majority of the independent press in Egypt.

In India, Afghani wrote six articles in Persian, which were first published in the Hyderabad journal, *Mua'llim-e-Shafiq* from its first issue in December 1880, to its tenth issue in October 1881. A single letter from Afghani to an Iranian friend is also attributed to this period. The journal articles were titled⁷⁹ "The Benefits of Newspapers", "Teaching and Education", "The True Causes of Man's Happiness and Distress", "The Philosophy of

⁷⁹ For the English translations of the titles I depend on Nikki R Keddie (1972, p. 156-170).

National Unity and the Truth about Unity of Language”, “The Benefits of Philosophy”, and “A Description of the Aghuris with Pomp and Show”.⁸⁰

In India, Afghani talked about nationalism, philosophy, and science, not about Pan-Islamism/Muslim internationalism. He started writing about Pan-Islamism after he left India in 1882. His Indian essays are essential materials to understand his ideas regarding nationalism, philosophy, education, modern technology, British imperialism/colonialism, and the question of language and ethics.

“The benefits of the newspapers” was Afghani’s first article. It appeared in the very first number of *Mua’llim-e-Shafiq*. Hence it seems that he was influential in bringing about the publication of this journal. Afghani begins his article “The Benefits of Newspapers”⁸¹ by stressing the importance of the combination of facts and values in a nation to achieve wealth and peace as has been proved by the historical and biographical narratives. Ignorance and the lack of vision can lead to moral and ideological destruction. Afghani envisioned the creation of an ethical individual designed by traditional values and shaped by rational abilities. He conceived nation/community not just as a geographic area or emotional space of belonging but as an ethical space that is inhabited by morally constructed communities. He suggests that any nation without a moral basis can be destroyed quickly. He writes, “Such nations not only remain deprived of goodness, but also of good human qualities, and become like wild animals” (al-Afghani, 1934, p. 107). He depends on the Qur’anic theory of ‘propagating what is good and forbidding what is evil’ in order to justify the relevance and duty of the newspapers/journals.

⁸⁰ Afghani’s Persian language articles were compiled in a book titled as *Maqalat-e Jamaliyya* (Jamal’s Articles), published by Abd al-Ghafur Shahbaz in Calcutta in 1884. Including the six articles listed above it contained another article, “Commentary on the Commentator”, and a “Lecture on Teaching and Learning” delivered in Albert Hall, Calcutta, in November 1882. Some sections from “The Refutation of the Materialists” (Essays written in critique of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s ideas) were also included in the edition.

⁸¹ Jamaluddin al-Afghani (1934, p. 106). Article translated from Persian to English by Faseeh, MANUU, Hyderabad.

He points out that the journals must strive to improve people's lives and speak out about their rights rather than just informing. Newspapers are supposed to make people aware of harmful things around them and publish unambiguous news and clear shreds of evidence that benefit all. Afghani saw journals/newspapers as something which could satisfy the masses, not just inform them. Psychological needs have to be fulfilled more than material requirements. Seeking true knowledge has been suggested as the prerequisite for every community's success. He suggests education as the basic reason for man's prosperity. Afghani (1934) writes:

It is mandatory on man to seek necessary knowledge and education, which drives him on the path of truth—whether it is basics of geography, fundamentals of physics, basics of astronomy, history, essentials of agriculture, matters of medicine, issues of housekeeping, sanitation of cities, or problems of child-rearing. All these problems and matters which could benefit are considered and covered in newspapers and journals (p. 108).

Even though Afghani was a staunch critic of British colonialism and western imperialism he approached western science positively and encouraged the community to learn it. He stressed the role of newspapers in shaping informed everyday life. According to him, Newspapers/journals can encourage the wealthy and respected people to set up learning institutions and establish hospitals for human welfare. Developmental journalistic approaches could be seen in his writings, but the development is not imagined as material progress but spiritual growth. Afghani can be seen to be suggesting a distinct theory of producing newspapers different from conventional ideas about press and journalism, which focuses on material/secular/worldly aspects.

Journalistic endeavor is theorized as a comprehensive enterprise that could make changes in all arenas of society. Journals are supposed to demand justice from the

government and make them aware of its benefits. In Afghani's view, newspapers should play the role of mediators between the government and the public. Writing this in Hyderabad may have the intention of democratizing and reforming the Nizam rule.

He attaches many roles to the newspaper and sees it as the 'mirror of the world'. Media is conceived not just as an instrument of communication but as something which performs various roles to make everyday life comfortable and joyful. A journalist has to be a follower of truth and not money. If the journalist follows untruth, he will make the liar a truthful person and friend and enemy, he suggests.

At the end of the article, Afghani talks about India's heritage in the field of knowledge and education. He criticizes the disinterestedness of the government authorities and the public in starting newspapers and encouraging journalistic enterprises. He sees journals as sources of intellectual growth, and suggests the development of habits of reading among the masses. The period in which he wrote this article was the incipient stage of establishing educational institutions in Hyderabad state. The founding of Osmania University in 1918 was a result of Afghani's earlier proposal regarding the necessity of a university in the state.

Nationalism was a recurring theme in Afghani's writings. He perceived nationalism not as an end but as means to something bigger and larger. His article "The philosophy of National Unity and the Truth about Unity of Language"⁸² begins with an Arabic quote:

There is no happiness except in nationality, and there is no nationality except in language, and a language cannot be called as language if it is not able to contain all affairs that those in industry and manufacture need for use and explanation (Keddie, 1972, p. 75).

⁸²*Maqalat-e Jamaliyya*, Sayyid Jamaluddin Asadabadi (sometimes he is known as Asadabadi since it is found that he was born in Asadabad, Iran), compiled by Mirza Lutfullah Khan and Mirza Sifathullah Khan (1933-34, p. 75-87). The article is originally published in Persian, I depend on Nikki R Keddie for the English translation.

He argues that a common language is necessary to unite scattered individuals and groups. The basic premise of this argument lies in his anti-colonial thrust, and he preferred language as a unifying factor in a multi-religious context like India. He suggested that language is more durable than religion for unity.⁸³ The potentiality of language is considered the basis of its existence. He pointed out that if one's language lacks such words, it should be invented from one's own linguistic treasure and not borrowed from others.

This was the time when translation bureaus were being established in Hyderabad. The intellectuals and learned people of the state were developing new words and terminologies to produce textbooks for schools and colleges. Afghani suggested that teaching should be in the local language and accessible to more people. He emphasized that, "Indians should translate modern knowledge into their languages, especially, Urdu" (Keddie, 1972, p. 158). At the end of the article, he attacks those who oppose western learning and, on the other hand, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his followers. He proposes that science and learning have never been against religion; rather it strengthens religion. As a critique of Ahmad Khan, Afghani observes that if English is to be followed in everything, including language, it will undermine India's nationhood, and the English will conquer the land completely. English knowledge and arts should be circulated into one's language through translation. Afghani wanted to popularize education in a common language used by the people, as Persian was the language of power and command.

The Nizams - from Mir Qamaruddin Khan (1724-48) to a certain period of the sixth ruler Mir Mahbūb Ali Khan (1869-1911) - used Persian as their court language, though they spoke Urdu at home. Urdu replaced Persian in some arenas of power by the end of the nineteenth century. Nizams had used the indigenous languages- Marathi, Telugu, and

⁸³ This observation is not similar to the European concept of linguistic nationalism rather it was contextual as he wanted to unite the people against colonialism invoking language over religion. The contextuality is evident in Afghani's campaign for pan-Islamism just after leaving India in 1883.

Kannada- of the people at certain levels of the administration (Rahman, 2011). In Hyderabad, local languages were used as the medium of instruction in schools. For instance, “there were 162 educational institutions in 1880-81, out of which 105 were Persian, 35 Marathi, 19 Telugu, and 3 English medium schools” (Ali. M, 1885, p. 128).

Persian was considered an elite language in the state.⁸⁴ Salar Jung was a great admirer of the Persian language. In *Madrassa-e- 'Aliya* and *Madrassa-e- 'Aizza* children of the elite were taught the Persian language along with other subjects. Persian was considered a symbol of Muslim political domination and Salar Jung was against replacing Persian with Urdu. He described the Persian language as the symbol of Muslim victory and criticized North Indians for disrespecting Persian by changing the language to Urdu. He was developing a distinct Deccan/Hyderabad identity and connecting the state to earlier historical interventions of the Muslims. According to Sarwar Jung, tutor of the sixth Nizam Mir Maḥbūb Ali Khan, when he expressed his agreement with Maulvi Mushtaq Husain’s proposal that Urdu should replace Persian in all offices of the state, then Prime Minister Salar Jung reacted as follows:

‘God forbid!’ He prolonged the ‘a’ of *Khuda* so much that I was very disturbed and understood that I had made a mistake. Later he said that “you Hindustanis are not competent in Persian writing and speech. Persian is the symbol of Muslim victories and we are from the victorious nation and have conquered this country by force of arms. In your own country (North India) you have done away with this symbol and now you want to do the same here also. As long as I am alive, Persian too will remain alive (As cited in Rahman, 2011, p. 235).

⁸⁴ Muzaffar Alam argues about the Mughal decision to adopt Persian as administrative and literary language that “The non-sectarian and liberal feature of Persian made it an ideal forum through which the Mughals could effectively negotiate the diversities of the Indian society. The culture and ethos of the language matched with their vision of an over-arching empire” (as cited in Sumit Guha, 2004, p. 24). When they faced threats from regional powers the Mughals showed interest in Hindavi language.

The *Mulkī* non-*Mulkī* issue was also connected with the language discourse in the state. The increasing demand for officials trained in British India paved the way for the coming of outsiders, mostly Urdu-speaking Muslims from other parts of India to Hyderabad state. By 1835 British started using Urdu instead of Persian in Bengal and North India. In 1837, the court language of the state in North India was also officially shifted to Urdu from Persian through a government order of the Governor-General in council. Barbara D. Metcalf (1982) suggests that:

Urdu was identified as the regional vernacular in Bihar, Oudh, the North-Western Provinces, and Punjab, and hence was made the language of government across upper India. The indigenous impulse toward the cultivation of Urdu was thus stimulated by its official position and by government patronage (p. 207).

Persian was/is a language with a global origin and international connection. It seems that the shift from Persian to a local language like Urdu is a turn with nationalist dimensions which were convenient for the British to sustain their control. Bernard Cohen (1996) argues that the “language as command was not only a domestic or personal matter but a matter of state” (p. 40). The British considered command of the language of the natives as a tool of power and control. Hence they established institutions like Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800 and the College of Fort St George in Madras in 1812 to engage in scholarly and pedagogical activities like producing dictionaries, grammar, and literary books. The production of these materials is designed to establish a discursive formation, define an epistemological space, and convert vernacular forms of knowledge into European objects. Through scholarship and translation, they not only conquered territory but also invaded an epistemological space as well (Cohen, 1996).

Urdu-speaking North Indian Muslims were appointed to high and powerful positions in the princely state of Hyderabad because of their qualifications and skills⁸⁵. V.K Bawa (1992) observes that “their stay in Hyderabad, whether brief or lengthy, must have increased the salience of the Urdu language in the state” (p. 56). To promote Urdu in Hyderabad, Hindustani officials had also created a lobby in the state.

Sayyid Husain Bilgrami (Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk), the tutor of seventh Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan and the chief executive of education for thirty-two years, supported the idea of Urdu being as the medium of instruction. By issuing a notice, he opposed using English words in Urdu documents. There was an urge to use the local language in every arena of life in Hyderabad. It is also argued that even though “the pro-Urdu campaign was primarily against the Persian, it also wanted to restrict the use of local languages in the affairs of the state” (Rahman, 2011, p. 44).

In Hyderabad, the first proposal to use Urdu instead of Persian was suggested in 1871 by Bashirudaula Sir Asman Jah, who was appointed as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1869. He proffered to use Urdu in the courts of law. Prime Minister Sir Salar Jung I agreed that “the recording of statements in Urdu, that is, the language in common use, is enough’, all other writing would have to be in Persian” (as cited in Rahman, 2011, p. 45). The above statements inform that Urdu was the common and popular language in the state. At the same time, Sir Salar Jung argues that “many people do not know the skills for writing standard Urdu” (Kamal, 1990, p. 101). In 1876, he agreed that the administrators and the clerks had gained competence in Urdu. It was due to their lack of mastery of the Persian language.

⁸⁵ Among the most prominent of them were: Imad-ul-Mulk, who came to Hyderabad in 1873; Mahdi Ali Khan (1874); Waqar-ul-Mulk (1875); Chiragh Ali Yar Jung (1877); and Deputy Nazir Ahmad (1877).

In 1883, Salar Jung offered more concessions to the Urdu language two days before his death. The justification for his argument to allow Urdu was that if Marathi and Telugu are allocated for recording Urdu also has to be facilitated. The linguistic shift happened during the time of Mir Laiq Ali Khan Salar Jung II. The first order was issued in 1884. It states that: “Thus *Madarul Maham* is pleased to order that as soon as this order reaches the offices of the court, from that time all the work in those offices will be in Urdu” (Kamal, 1990, p. 117). The government asked officials to write simple Urdu. Local languages were allowed in rural offices. In urban areas such as Hyderabad, only Urdu was to be used. In 1886, the authorities ordered all offices to work in Urdu.

As Afghani argued for the translation of western knowledge to the Urdu language, the journal *Mua'llim-e-Shafiq* was also talking about the importance of the Urdu language in the context of Hyderabad. It suggests that Urdu is an open and wide language that could absorb words from Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and English as well.⁸⁶ The language has been connected with pragmatic use in everyday life. The Arabic language has religious currency in the lives of Muslims. That is how the Arabic language has existed and circulated in the Indian context. Following that Urdu language also has to be developed. *Mua'llim-e-Shafiq* (1881, Volume I, p. 12) also emphasizes the necessity of government patronage for a language to exist and thrive. It also argues for the importance of translating sciences and arts into the Urdu language from English, German, and French. The journal also has published articles on how to write Urdu words as well.

By the 1880s there started a tendency to vernacularize the educational system of the state. Urdu was taught in schools despite Persian being the official language. The rulers were also taught Urdu along with Persian and English. The seventh Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan

⁸⁶ The Growth of Urdu Language, Journal of *Mu'allim-e Shafiq*, (1881, Vol. 1, p. 11).

was taught Urdu by Sayyid Husain Bilgrami. The middle class learned Urdu to find government employment. Tariq Rahman (2011) points out that:

Urdu was promoted in the state at two levels. At the upper level, it was used for higher education, which was in English in British India; at the lower level, it was promoted at the expense of the local languages, which had a strong presence in the administration (pp. 244-245).

The idea of a vernacular university can be traced back to the time of Salar Jung I. In 1875, Shaikh Ahmad Husain Rif'at Yar Jung proposed founding an institution with the Urdu language as the medium of instruction. Salar Jung had responded positively to this plan. But it was not implemented during that time. The first proposal which proceeded for the Urdu University, was put forward by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840-1922), an English poet and retired British civil servant, who arrived in the city of Hyderabad in 1883. He had traveled extensively in the Muslim world, including Egypt, Constantinople, Persia, and Arabian Peninsula, and he was a sympathizer of Muslims.

W.S. Blunt came to Hyderabad due to his sympathy for Islamic causes and at the suggestion of Jamaluddin al-Afghani. In September 1883, Blunt had spoken to Afghani to ask about "the possibility of my being able to get the real confidence of the Muslims there (India)" (Datla, 2013, p. 23). Afghani proposed a trip to Hyderabad, where Muslims were ruled not by the British. Blunt (1909) writes:

He thought Hyderabad would be my best point, as there were refugees there from every province of India, and they were less afraid of the English Government. He said he would write me some private letters to explain my position, and to the editors of some Mohammedan newspapers (p. 13).

Afghani wrote letters to Nawab Abdul Lathif of Calcutta and Nawab Rasul Yar Khan of Hyderabad.

Blunt talked about the necessity of social reform in the Islamic world. He was interested in creating international centers of Muslim authority. He found in Hyderabad a free and joyful life of Muslims. He (1909) writes: “It is impossible they should not be happier here than in the mournful towns under English rule” (p. 60). Blunt had great veneration and reverence towards Afghani. He considered Afghani a great teacher. He credited Afghani as the true originator of liberal religious reform among the ulama of Cairo (W.S. Blunt, 1922). He also wanted to publish his writings in the Hyderabad newspaper. When he asked Nawab Rasul Yar Jung, religious scholar and disciple of Afghani, to publish his Colombo speech in Hyderabad, Rasul Yar Jung was afraid of the British dissatisfaction as it contained criticism against them (Blunt, 1909). Blunt also had contact with people like Cherag Ali, a follower of Sayyid Ahmad Khan.

Blunt proposed the idea of university when he visited Calcutta, where Afghani also had spent some time during his stay in India in 1880-1882. Calcutta was also undergoing reformation under the leadership of Amir Ali and Abdul Lathif. Many of the people of Calcutta were afraid of listening to Afghani due to the British surveillance. The followers of Abdul Lathif were unsatisfied with the educational reform of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. They were not happy with the shift from Urdu to English in Sayyid Ahmad’s educational institution. Abdul Lathif’s son Abdurrahman accused, “Religion is not taught there. Sayyid Ahmad began as a Sunni, then he adopted Wahhabism, but is now a deist” (Blunt, 1909, p. 117). Blunt discussed with Abdurrahman the idea of a university on a religious basis. He opined that “Calcutta would not be a good place because of sectarian differences, expensive living, and poverty of Bengal Mohammedans” (Blunt, 1909, p. 117). Blunt’s idea was to establish the university in Hyderabad. He observed that “it is central, it is cheap, and it is a seat of Mohammedan government. Religious thought would there be free from English and Hindu interference” (Blunt, p. 117). Salar Jung was delighted at the prospect and Muslims of

Calcutta had also agreed to condemn the Aligarh College as irreligious. Blunt wanted to make Hyderabad a center of Islamic reform and Muslim education. He urged the nobles to engage in this project not as philanthropy but as an act of religion.

When he was in Calcutta, a University student named Sayyid came to Blunt and informed him that all Muslim students would support the idea of the university if Jamaluddin al-Afghani is appointed as the professor (Blunt, 1909, p. 136). Students from Calcutta had great admiration for Afghani. Then Blunt came to Hyderabad and met Lord Ripon to discuss the proposal. He had approved it in theory and suggested that a religious basis is necessary for all education and also will encourage the Nizam to proceed. Later the Nizam also agreed to the proposal. Blunt played a big role in pushing the Hyderabad state towards educational reform. The roots of the historical Osmania University could be traced in the discourse demonstrated above.

In comparison to other princely states and British India, Print was not conspicuously active in Hyderabad. There were very few newspapers and magazines published in the state. Educational institutions were also very less compared to other places. The reason for the absence of print culture can be traced back to the oral tradition prevalent in the state and British policy. Blunt points out that in opposition to the west, “In India, the oral arguments are always the best” (Blunt, 1909, p. 255). Further, he argues that:

Mental culture is at the lowest ebb in the capitals of the native princes. They possess neither schools on any large plan, nor public libraries, nor are books printed in them nor newspapers published. I was astonished to find how in the center of busy intellectual India large flourishing towns were to be found completely isolated from all the world, absorbed in their local affairs, and intellectually asleep. At certain of the native courts, history is still represented by the reciter of oral traditions, letters by the court poet, and science by professors of astrology; while the general politics of the

Empire hardly affect, even in a remote degree, the mass of the unlettered citizens.

Last winter's storm over Lord Ripon's internal policy left the native States absolutely unmoved. There is both good and bad in this (Blunt, 1909, pp. 300-301).

At the same time, he agrees that “the best administered places in princely states are the best administered in all of India” (p. 303).

Blunt also discusses the question of language in his writings. He believed that the shift from Persian and Hindustani to English in North India had caused the decline of the Muslim community. Due to a lack of knowledge of English, they were not given civil employment. English could only be learned from secular schools to which Muslim students were not sent due to their tending to irreligiosity. This realization regarding the importance of language may have triggered Blunt to think about a vernacular University. This also could have been one of the reasons for Afghani to articulate the need to translate books on modern arts and sciences into vernacular languages, especially Urdu.

Afghani spoke and wrote contextually, and according to the audience he addressed. He argued for Hindu-Muslim unity in India to fight against the British. His pan-Islamic writings from Paris addressing the whole Muslim world made very different points. In an article published in his Paris newspaper *Al-Urvat-ul-Vuṣṣa* in 1884, titled “Nationality and the Muslim Religion”, using the same word ‘*jinsiyya*’ for nationalism, he observes nationalism as a “phase of tribalism that Muslims have overcome” (Afghani, 1884 as cited in Keddie, 1972, p. 222). He adds that Muslims need more universal ties based on their shared religion, and should not be concerned about racial and ethnic questions (Keddie, 1972).

Afghani’s approach to nationalism was more pragmatic and practical. He found nationalism as an immediate source of inspiration to unite the people against foreign encroachment and imperialism. The ultimate imagination was not to inscribe a future based on ethnic foundation but to create a transnationally networked global community.

Science and Philosophy

Science and philosophy were frequent themes that appeared in Afghani's speeches and writings. He argues that Islam is compatible with philosophy and science. European science has been viewed as an extension of Islamic heritage. Afghani theorized philosophy as the overarching science. He understood that the west could dominate the world through science and technology. Afghani attempted to contextualize science and philosophy in his writings. It has been argued that Muslim philosophers like Ibn Sina, Al Ġhazali and Ibn Khaldun had greater influence in shaping Afghani's thoughts (Keddie, 1972, p. 163). The concept of philosophy as the organizing soul of sciences has been taken from medieval philosophers.

In his 1882 lecture in Calcutta, "On Teaching and Learning"⁸⁷ he attributes the reason for the centrality of philosophy to its universality. Philosophy as a comprehensive soul must preserve the existence of other sciences. He argues that:

If a community did not have the philosophy, and all the individuals of that community were learned in the sciences with particular subjects, those sciences could not last in that community for a century.... That community without the spirit of philosophy could not deduce conclusions from these sciences (p. 164).

He argued that the philosophic spirit is a precondition for the solid existence and survival of a community (Keddie, 1972, pp. 163-165).

According to Afghani, Islamic civilization thrived tremendously due to the presence of a philosophic spirit among the earlier communities. He (1972) says:

The first Muslims had no science but, thanks to the Islamic religion, a philosophic spirit arose among them, and due to that philosophic spirit they began to discuss the general affairs of the world and human necessities. This was why they acquired in a

⁸⁷ Translated from *Maqalat-e-Jamaliyya*, in Keddie (1968, p. 101-108).

short time all the sciences with particular subjects that they translated from the Syriac, Persian, and Greek into the Arabic language at the time of Mansur (the Abbasid caliph al-Manṣūr) (p. 162).

He observed that philosophy shows how a society's decline depends on the decline of the philosophic spirit.⁸⁸ Afghani criticized traditional ulama because of their disinterestedness in science. He suggests that "science is that noble thing that has no connection with any nation, and is not distinguished by anything but itself" (Nikki R Keddie, 1968, p. 162). This argument suggests that Afghani did not believe in the classification of knowledge according to geographical space and ethnic identity. He aspired to deterritorialize knowledge primarily to encounter western dominance in the arena of knowledge production and circulation. Classical Muslim philosophers had studied Aristotle with much delight. This was not because of his charisma but because of his intellectual ability and evidential articulation. Afghani places Islam as the closest religion to science and knowledge than any other religion. To support his appeal to science, Afghani cites the great scholar of Islam, jurist, and theologian Imam al-Ghazzali (1058-1111). He concludes that no reform is possible in Muslim countries until the Muslim leaders and ulama change their attitude (Keddie, 1968, p. 107).

In Hyderabad, Afghani ventured to establish a philosophic basis for the community through his writings and engagements. In an article titled "The Benefits of Philosophy" published in *Mua'llim-e-Shafiq*, he gives utmost importance to philosophy. He viewed Islamic revelation as a step on the road toward the higher truth of philosophy. He mentions the names of classical Muslim philosophers like Farabi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Bajja, Shihabuddin Suhrawardi, Mir Baqir, and Mulla Sadra, and he points out that the special terminologies in the classic philosophic texts are unknown to most the people.

⁸⁸ Translated from *Maqalat-e-Jamaliyya*, in Keddie (1968, p. 104- 105).

Afghani's endeavor in Hyderabad was to bring philosophy from its epistemological terrain to the ontological arena. The period in which he wrote this article was the initial stage of institutionalizing education and imagining a distinctive future for the princely Hyderabad. A firm philosophical foundation has been theorized as the precondition to create an intellectually enriched and practically experienced community. The absence of intellectual awakening in the state is connected with the result of philosophical inertia. In his opinion, the cause for the distress of the Muslims was the inattentiveness of the Ulama to the everyday problems of the community. In Afghani's view, the qualification for one to be called a philosopher was his knowledge of the essential condition of being (Keddie, 1968, p. 165).

Primarily and fundamentally, Afghani was inventing the roots of modern virtues in Islamic history and tradition. He emphatically opposed the physical encroachment of the west in the Muslim world and their cultural imperialism and dominance, unlike Sayyid Ahmad Khan. On the one hand, he was generally addressing the larger community of Indian Muslims and on the other hand, he was specifically speaking to the Muslims of Hyderabad.

The article titled "The True Causes of Man's Happiness and Distress" also emphasizes the significance of learning science. He criticizes Indian Muslims for not showing more interest in science and technology. He (1972) writes:

For they have carried zeal, through misuse, to a point where it has become a cause of hatred for knowledge and the sciences, and a reason for aversion from industries and innovation. They believed they must, out of religious zeal, hate and abominate what was connected with the opponents of faith, even though these things were sciences and arts (p. 166).

He finds a middle path between dismissive rejection of science and submissive acceptance of the imperialistic culture associated with modern science.

It seems that Afghani's approach to knowledge inspired the motto of the journal *Mua'llim-e-Shafiq*. The motto is Prophet Muhammad's tradition (*Ḥadīṣ*) in Arabic, which could be translated as "The word/statement of wisdom is the lost property of the believer, so wherever he finds it then he is more deserving of it".⁸⁹ A statement which is very much similar to the prophet's saying could be seen in the article when Afghani talks about the responsibility of Muslims. He (1972) writes:

Whereas, what was incumbent upon them from a religious zeal was, whenever they saw a virtue, an accomplishment, a science, or a piece of knowledge, knowing themselves to be the first and rightest, to strive and make efforts to acquire it, and not to allow the opponents of the Islamic true religion to take precedence over them in any one among the virtues and accomplishments (p. 166).

Afghani's perspective regarding the acquisition of knowledge and mastering the science has been extrapolated from a solid religious basis. He hoped to make the Muslim community the torch bearer of wisdom and civilization.

In Islamic tradition, there is a long discussion around the concept of '*Ḥikma*', the Arabic word for wisdom that has been used in the above-cited *Ḥadīth*.⁹⁰ Mainly it has been used in Muslim philosophical and mystical texts. Muslim philosophers have replaced *falsafa* (philosophy) with *ḥikma*. *Ḥikma* is primarily about the knowledge of things as they are and putting them in their own places. William C. Chittick (2001) points out that:

"Wisdom" is not just knowledge, not even an exalted knowledge of the truth itself. The word also denotes putting knowledge into practice in the appropriate way. *Ḥikma* is differentiated from knowledge by the activity that it demands, or the fact that it demands knowing how things truly are and then acting in a way that coincides exactly

⁸⁹ *Sunanu Thirmidi*, The book of knowledge, *ḥadīth* number: 2687

⁹⁰ For an excellent discussion about *ḥikma*, See Hikmet Yaman (2011) and Shahab Ahmed (2016, p. 15-17).

with how they are. In Islamic texts, it is understood to be closely allied with justice ('*adl*, '*adala*), which is often defined as putting things where they belong and ensuring that everything has its proper place, the supreme virtue in philosophical ethics (p. 70).

Ibn Sina defined *ḥikma* as “a real true philosophy” (Chittick, 2001, p. 15). Afghani’s application of *ḥikma* in the practical approach toward knowledge and science is visible in Mulla Sadra’s definition of *ḥikma*. Mulla Sadra (as cited in Ahmed, 2016) writes:

And whereas the human emerges as a knead of two ingredients – a spiritual form (from the world) of command and a sensible matter (from the world) of creation- and thereupon possesses in his soul both the aspect of attachment (to the body) and the aspect of abstraction (from it) - it is certainly the case that *ḥikma* is made more capacious in measure of building up the two potentials by cultivating the two capacities towards two skills: theoretical abstraction and practical attachment.

The goal of theoretical art is the coloring of the soul in the image of existence as it is ordered in its perfection and its completion – and it’s becoming a rational world resembling the source-world-itself... This art of *ḥikma* is that sought and requested by the master of the messengers- preservation and peace be upon him and his family- in his supplication “O My Lord, Show us things as they are! (p. 17).

In Afghani’s view, Knowledge of arts and sciences is a crucial part and parcel of the practical life in the world. He developed a somewhat complex but practical methodology to negotiate with modernity and its containers. The positive and pragmatic interpretation of religion and wise engagement with innovation are the significant contributions made by Afghani through his writings and speeches. He intended to develop a pragmatic philosophy of life. *Mua'llim-e-Shafiq* journal in general taught practical things related to everyday life.

Against Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

Afghani attacked Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his thoughts relentlessly through his writings. His longest Persian article against Sayyid Ahmad Khan was titled “A Description of the Aghuris with Pomp and Show”. The Aghuris were a small and despised group of people in Hyderabad with special religious practices. As an invective, Afghani used this name to critique the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Afghani viewed Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his followers as the agents of the British. “Why someone who destroys the life spirit of a people should be called their well-wisher; why should a person who works for the decline of his faith be considered a sage? What ignorance is this?” He asks (al-Afghani, 1934, p. 167).

The attack on Sayyid Ahmad Khan had a theological color as well. He (1937) writes: “someone who embraces the killers of his brothers is the worst type of man. Such men put out great efforts to strengthen the Christians by confirming the truth of the Torah and Gospel” (p. 167). This is a response to Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s argument that Bible was not falsified, as Muslim doctrine stated. He criticizes Aghuris because “they teach slavery instead of freedom, and hence are obstacles to the progress of their people”. Afghani accuses irreligiosity of Ahmad Khan and his followers and characterizes them as “materialists”.

In the article, the reason for the weakening of society, corruption, and division was connected to the disunity of the community. The foreign people can conquer the community if disunity prevails among them. He opines that the one who creates disunity must be dealt with harshly. This opinion may not be only about Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his followers. It may have to criticize the *mulkī* non-*Mulkī* conflict which was emerging in the state while Afghani was there.

To cultivate virtues in a community, prolonged and continuous education is inevitable⁹¹, he argues. He adds that foreign ways of education will not be productive but disruptive. Afghani intended to develop local ways and distinctive methodologies in the realm of education without the interruption of imperialistic powers.

The article titled “Commentary on the Commentator” targets Sayyid Ahmad Khan rather than his followers. In the article, Afghani emphasizes the requirement of a reformer/sage to save the Muslim community from decline. He desperately wanted to free the community from the colonial chains. He writes:

There is no doubt that in the present age, distress, misfortune, and weakness besiege all classes of Muslims from every side. Therefore every Muslim keeps his eyes and ears open in expectation- to the East, West, North, and South- to see from what corner of the earth the sage will appear and will reform the minds and souls of the Muslims, repel the unforeseen corruption, and again educate them with a virtuous education. Perhaps through that good education, they may return to their former joyful condition (Keddie, 1972, p. 169).

Here also Afghani gives prime importance to education whether formal or informal. Knowledge is attributed here as the basic foundation of Islamic civilization. It is also noticeable that he is talking about the whole of *umma* (Global Muslim Community), not about the part. “Afghani is no doubt being frank when he then objects to Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s high evaluation of human nature; Afghani stands here with the Muslim philosophical tradition” (Keddie, 1972, p. 170). He never wished Muslims to be associated with the conquerors; instead, he used all means and rhetoric to weaken and discredit Sayyid Ahmad Khan and his followers. He further writes in the same article:

⁹¹ Gadamer uses the complex word *Bildung* to denote this kind of education/cultivation. He points out that “Now, *Bildung* is intimately associated with the idea of culture and designates primarily the properly human way of developing one’s natural talents and capacities” in Hans-Georg Gadamer (2006, p. 9).

Even stranger is the fact that this commentator has lowered the divine, holy rank of prophecy and placed it on the level of the reformer. He has considered the prophets to be men like Washington, Napoleon, Palmerston, Garibaldi, Mister Gladstone, and Monsieur Gambetta....

Does he not understand that if the Muslims, in their current state of weakness and misery, did not believe in miracles and hell-fire, and considered the prophet to be like Gladstone, they undoubtedly would soon abandon their own weak and conquered camp, and attach themselves to the powerful conqueror. For in that case there would no longer remain anything to prevent this, nor any fear or anxiety. And from another standpoint, the prerequisites for changing religion now exist, since being like the conqueror and having the same religion as he is attractive to everyone (Keddie, 1972, p. 170).

Afghani's writings and speeches in India perceived a space for the community filled with freedom and happiness. His philosophy regarding the concept *hikma* (wisdom) in Islamic tradition must have inspired him to take a positive stance toward modern technology. The imagination was to make a Muslim community self that is as much traditional as modern.

Legacy and Later Connections

The connection between Afghani and Hyderabad state did not end when he left the place in 1882. He went to Paris to work and propagandize freely against British colonialism in Egypt and other places in the Muslim East. There was constant pressure from the British on officials of Hyderabad to make Afghani leave the state. He was under British surveillance, especially when he visited Calcutta. Afghani had a friendship with Sultan Nawaz Jung (captain in the Nizam's irregular Arab force) through he had an interview with Salar Jung, who gave him rupees 5000, and Afghani received money from noblemen of Hyderabad as

well. With this, Afghani left the state. According to Qadi Abdul Gaffar, Salar Jung not only gave Afghani Rupees 5000 but sent a message through "the Nizam's teacher" Masih Al-zaman Khan, offering to employ him in the Nizam's state service and to bestow upon him a mansab. Afghani declined this for fear that this might arouse jealousy in others as there was *Mulkī* non-*Mulkī* conflict going on between Hyderabadī people and outsiders.

From Paris, he wrote letters to his friends and disciples in Egypt and India. His activity in Paris in 1883 and 1884 was centered on journalism. He wrote for many Arabic and French newspapers. He played a big role in expanding the distribution of *Abu Nazzara* newspaper to India. He sent journals, including *Al-Urvat-ul-Vuṣqa*, *Annahla*, *Ittiḥad-ul-Arabi*, and *Abu Nazzara* to his friends in Hyderabad.

The Arabic journal *Al-Urvat-ul-Vuṣqa* was also sent to other parts of India. Aziz Ahmad (1960) argues that “In al-Afghani’s articles in *Al-Urvat-ul-Vuṣqa*, one finds those basic ideas which were later developed by the leaders of the Indian Khilafat movement” (p. 69). Afghani’s thoughts had a role to play in shaping later Muslim socio-political initiatives and interventions in Hyderabad too.

Pan-Islamic thoughts started getting circulated in India in the 1870s. The Urdu press of the period also reveals pan-Islamic and pro-Ottoman trends. The document found by Aziz Ahmad⁹² catalogs three letters of Rasul Yar Khan, Afghani’s host in Hyderabad. He had requested Afghani to prepare a dictionary which was not completed. Blunt met Rasul Yar Khan in 1883 and described him as an *alim* “of the Azhar type, liberal, socialistic and a disciple of Jemal-e- d-Din” (p. 484). Rasul Yar Khan was an admirer of Afghani. Due to his personal devotion, he addresses Afghani in the letter as “*Sayyidi* (my lord), *Maliki* (my master), *Murshidi* (my guide), *Fidak Ruhi* (let my soul an offering to thee)” (p. 484).

⁹² For details on the later connection of Afghani with Hyderabad in particular and India in general I depend on Ahmad (1969, p. 476-504).

Afghani's next correspondent from Hyderabad is Maulavi Muhammad Vasil. He was a school teacher, and "The Refutation of the Materialists" was written as an answer to his query. In his letter to Afghani, he complains that he got only one issue of the *Al-Urvat-ul-Vusqa* while others in Hyderabad received three or four issues. He promises that he will translate Afghani's articles into Urdu, and he plans to start an Urdu journal to publish Afghani's writings. He also adds that he is trying to find out more subscribers for the journal in the state. The cheapness of the price for the journal has been stated as the reason for the possible increase in the subscription. Maulvi Vasil also provides a list of subscribers. Three among the twenty-two subscribers were noblemen, eight were Arabs, one was a school teacher of Persian origin, some members from an irregular force, one from Baroda, outside Hyderabad, and some middle-class professional men.

Some correspondents were from Calcutta. One is his editor and translator, Abdul Gafir Shahbaz, and the other one is his publisher Abdul Din. Shahbaz was a great journalist who ran many periodicals in Urdu in Calcutta and disseminated Afghani's ideas through Urdu translation from *Al-Urvat-ul-Vusqa*. In the letter, Shahbaz informs Afghani that he has completed the half translation of his '*Fawaid-ul-Falsafa*' (The Benefits of Philosophy), which he wrote in *Mua'llim-e-Shafiq* in August 1881. Afghani had great charisma, and he was admired by his disciples and friends in India. Mir Turab Ali Khan's devotional address to Afghani denotes that he had a mystical influence. Shahbaz also recalls Afghani's question about whether he had any spiritual preceptor and his reply that if he needed any spiritual guide, that would be Afghani. Nusrat Ali Khan, author, editor, and publisher from Delhi, had correspondence with Afghani. He was also against Sayyid Ahmad Khan. He sent his book *Tanqīh-ul-Bayani fī Raddi Tafṣīr-il-Qur'ani li Sayyid Aḥmad Addahri* (Uncovering the Facts in Refuting the *Tafṣīr-il-Qur'an* by Sir Sayyid Ahmad, the Naturalist) against Sayyid Ahmad Khan and a grammar book of English and Urdu to Afghani. All these letters corresponded in

1883 and 1884. There is no data available about Afghani's contact with his Indian friends and admirers after 1885.

Most of Afghani's Indian admirers and friends were active in the field of printing and publishing journals, periodicals, newspapers, and books. They endeavored to revitalize the Muslim civilizational heritage through writing, translating, and publicizing various materials. The print, railway, and other technologies enabled them to imagine an interconnected Muslim world through which they could resist Western encroachment and materialist interpretation of Islam. Hyderabad's place was central in creating connective tissue as it enjoyed a specific cultural temporality and socio-political spatiality. Discourses of reform and education continued in the decades to come. Discussions about institutional changes and infrastructural developments were prevalent in the first half of the twentieth century. Nineteenth-century print culture and journalism found new and multiple nuances and expressions in the twentieth century which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter VI

Printing Infrastructure: *Rahbar-e Deccan* as a Mediator

As a continuation of the examination of administrative reports, this chapter begins with analyzing reports prepared and published in the twentieth century. After providing a broader picture of the publishing culture, and trends the chapter will move on to examine the contents of *Rahbar-e-Deccan* newspaper and their contexts. During the first half of the century, there was a proliferation of a variety of publications. In the first decade⁹³ 698 books were published, and of these only 86 were registered under copyright rules.

Table 4

List of publications during 1906-1910

Subject	Law	Poetry	Education	Religion	History	Romance	Medicine
				and Ethics			
Number of publications	168	142	62	53	33	38	19

The categories used in the report are not clearly defined, and the contents and other details of the publication are not mentioned. Fiction and non-fiction literature were widely produced. More legal publications indicate the political reforms and shifts in the state. Most of the books were published in Urdu as it was the language of power and instruction.

⁹³ Report on the Administration of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1316 to 1319 Faşli (6th October 1906 to 5th October 1910), (1911 p. 107).

Table 5*Language and number of publications during 1906-1910*

Language of publication	Urdu	Persian	Arabic	Telugu	Marathi	Kannada (Canarese)	English	Gujrati
Number	611	20	30	19	7	8	2	1

Urdu books, magazines, and newspapers were also published in British India and other princely states. Telugu literature was also published from Madras presidency, Maratha literature from Bombay presidency, and Kannada literature from Mysore state.⁹⁴ Most of the Arabic publications were issued by the *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif*, a government literary institution engaged in publishing rare manuscripts on Arabic literature and science. It was a pioneer institution in publishing manuscripts (Khalidi, 2007). According to the report, among the authors, 588 were Muslims, 43 Hindus, two Parsis, and one English man. The criterion for categorizing the authors is not mentioned in the report.

By the end of 1906, there were 26 printing and lithographic presses in the state. In the following four years, 58 lithographic presses were newly opened while seven of the old ones were closed, leaving 77 presses by the end of 1910. Lithographic printing was more prevalent as it did justice to aesthetic and practical needs.

There were four newspapers and nine monthly magazines at the close of 1906. During the four years ending in 1910, one weekly newspaper and five magazines started publishing,

⁹⁴ See South Asia Open Archives available on Jstor for more information on native publishing especially newspapers <https://www.jstor.org/site/south-asia-open-archives/saoa/nativenewspaperreports-30733931/?searchkey=1651988142317>

while two newspapers and eight magazines stopped their publication. Of the existing newspapers, one was published daily and three weekly; of the magazines, three were literary and five legal.⁹⁵

In the next report on the administration of Nizam for 1910-1912,⁹⁶ it is said that 364 books were published during the two years, and of these only 35 were registered under copyright rules.

Table 6

List of publications during 1910-1912

Subject	Law	Poetry	History and Biography	Religion	Miscellaneous
Number of publications	61	73	19	34	177

At the end of 1912, there were 77 lithographic presses in the state. During this period, 14 presses were opened. There were nine newspapers and magazines at the close of 1909 and 12 at the end of the period under report.

As per the report for the year 1912- 1913,⁹⁷ 159 books were published, of which only 17 were registered under the copyright rules.

⁹⁵ The 1911 census of India on Hyderabad suggests that the ten years ending 1910 show a very remarkable increase in the number of books published in the state. As against 3 and 169 respectively in the two previous decades there were 933 books issued. 883 of them were in Urdu and all were published during the last three years of the decade. Arabic claimed the next largest number of publications, namely, 25, and Telugu came third with 14 books; 6 books in Persian, 2 each in English and in Marathi and one in Canarese make up the rest.

⁹⁶ Report on the Administration of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions 1320 to 1321 Faşli, (6th October 1910 to 5th October 1912) (1913, p. 78).

⁹⁷ Report on the Administration of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1322 Faşli, (6th October 1912 to 5th October 1913), (1914, p. 65).

Table 7*List of publications during 1912-1913*

Subject	Law	Poetry	Religion	History and Biography	Miscellaneous
Number of publications	21	43	26	5	64

This period marks a slight decrease in the publication. Persian and Arabic publications also went down.

Table 8*Language and number of publications 1912-1913*

Language of publication	Urdu	Persian	Arabic	Telugu	Marathi
Number	142	2	3	6	6

At the end of 1912, there were 99 lithographic presses in the state. It included one daily, three weekly, and five monthly papers that were started during the year, and at the close of 1914, and there were 21 newspapers and magazines

The next report⁹⁸ suggests that 325 books were published during this period. Out of it only 12 were registered under the copyright rules.

⁹⁸ Report on the Administration of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1325 Faşli – 1326 Faşli (7th October 1915 to 5th October 1916), (1917, pp. 37-38).

Table 9*List of publications during 1915-1916*

Subject	Law	Poetry and Drama	Theology and Ethics	History	Miscellaneous
Number of publications	94	48	61	8	Number not available

Law literature is abundant in almost all the periods as the state was undergoing political reforms and legal transformations. The codification of modern law and demand for responsible government started to take place during this period. Although most of the books were published in Urdu, there were a good number of Persian publication as well during this period. Several books were prepared for Osmania University, which was inaugurated in 1918.

Table 10*Language and number of publications during 1915-1916*

Language of publication	Urdu	Persian	Arabic	Telugu	English	Marathi	Hindi
Number	256	16	13	12	14	3	1

Eight new lithographic presses were started during the year under report. One Urdu periodical devoted to educational matters started during the same year. This period also indicates a wider acceptability of lithographic technology for printing.

In 1917,⁹⁹ including reprints, 186 books were published; of which only 24 were registered under the copy-right rules.

Table 11

List of publications during 1917-1918

Subject	Law	Poetry and Drama	Theology and Ethics	History	Education	Fiction	Miscellaneous
Number of publications	35	37	37	3	27	1	46

Eleven new presses were opened and licenses were given for the publication of six periodicals during the year. Information about the language of publication is not available in the report.

In 1918-1919,¹⁰⁰ 170 books were published. Subjects of the publication are added below:

Table 12

List of publications during 1918-1919

Subject	Law	Poetry and Drama	Theology and Ethics	History	Education	Fiction	Hygiene	Miscellaneous
Number of publications	25	14	43	11	17	4	5	41

⁹⁹ Report on the Administration of His Highness the Nizam's Dominion, 1327 Faşli, (6th October 1917 to 5th October 1918), (1919, p. 40).

¹⁰⁰ Report on the Administration of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1328 Faşli, (6th October 1918 to 6th October 1919), (1920, p. 39).

Hygiene appears as a new category in the report. This period witnessed the spread of Spanish flu in the state. Earlier the state had to fight the plague, flood-related diseases, and cholera. Health was a major concern for the government, and later, *Rahbar-e-Deccan* daily also wrote editorials on the importance of hygiene.

Four new presses were opened during the year under report. The license was given for the publication of one periodical during the year. During the year 1919-1920,¹⁰¹ 112 books were published, of which only seven were registered under the copyright rules. Copyright law was not restrictively implemented in Hyderabad. Publication of this period dealt with the subjects given in the table 13 below:

Table 13

List of publications during 1919-1920

Subject	Law	Poetry and Drama	Theology and Ethics	History	Educa- tion	Fiction	Hygiene	Miscellaneous
Number of publicatons	21	11	31	6	14	2	3	24

Five new presses were opened during the year under the report. License was given for the publication of two newspapers and three magazines. In the report's preface, it has been pointed out that the Literature and Press section would be more interesting if it included a brief indication of the contents of the more notable books published during the year and a review of the tendency of the periodical press.

¹⁰¹ Report on the Administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1329 Faşli, (7th October 1919 to 5th October 1920), (1921, p. 40).

In 1921-1922,¹⁰² 165 books were published against 156 in 1920. They dealt with various subjects:

Table 14

List of publications during 1921-1922

Subject	Law	Poetry and Drama	Theology and Ethics	History	Education	Fiction	Hygiene	Miscellaneous
Number of publications	35	14	8	15	28	7	13	15

Besides this, 45 books dealing with various Sciences and Arts, History, Philosophy, etc., were translated by the Translation Bureau. Of these, 21 were under print; 24 have been printed, and ten have been published.

Six new presses were opened during the year under report. License was given for the publication of five periodicals against one newspaper and four periodicals in the previous year. Twenty-two applications for registration of books were sanctioned during the year against 23 in the previous period.

In 1922-1923¹⁰³ there was a noteworthy increase in the number of books published that is 258 as against 165 in the previous year.

¹⁰² Report on the Administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1331 Faşli, (6th October 1921 to 5th October 1922 A.D.), (1923, pp. 44-45).

¹⁰³ Report on the Administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1332 Faşli, (6th October 1922 to 5th October 1923 A.D.), (1924).

Table 15*List of publications during 1922-1923*

Subject	Law	Poetry and Drama	Theology and Ethics	History	Education	Fiction	Miscellaneous
Number of publications	30	28	41	16	Number not available	Number not available	Number not available

Besides these, 16 books dealing with various sciences and Arts, History and Philosophy were also published by the Translation Bureau. Eight new presses were opened, and licenses were given for the publication of six periodicals.

In 1923-1924¹⁰⁴ the number of books published was 268.

Table 16*List of publications during 1923-1924*

Subject	Law	Poetry and Drama	Theology and Ethics	History	Education	Fiction	Hygiene	Miscellaneous
Number of publications	53	6	107	9	15	4	21	53

Besides these, 15 books dealing with various Sciences and Arts, History, Philosophy, etc., were translated by the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University. Of the 38 books that are under print, 11 have been printed. The *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif* Press printed the third and

¹⁰⁴ Report on the Administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1333 Faṣli, (6th October 1923 to 5th October 1924 A.D.), (1925).

fourth Volumes of the famous book “*Mustadrik*” (dealing with prophetic tradition) and also published three other famous Arabic books, viz., *Masael Mutafariqa* (relating to Medicine, etc.) *Istahasān-ul-ḵhouz* (relating to Muslim Theology) and *Masafat-ush-Sharqiyya* relating to Astronomy during the year.

Six new presses were opened during the year under the report, and the total number of presses at the end of the period was 82. The license was given for the publication of three periodicals. 28 applications for the registration of books were sanctioned during the year.

In 1924-1925¹⁰⁵ there was a decrease in the number of books published, during the year, as 257 against 268 in the preceding year.

Table 17

List of publications during 1924-1925

Subject	Law	Poetry and Drama	Theology and Ethics	History
Number of publications	35	9	95	8

The remainder with Education, Fiction, Hygiene, etc., Altogether ten books on Science and Arts, History, and Philosophy were also published by the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University. Five new presses were opened, and the total number of presses at the end of this period was 105. As in the previous year, licenses were given for the publication of three periodicals. Twelve books were registered under the Hyderabad copyright act during the year.

¹⁰⁵ Report on the Administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam’s Dominions, 1334 Faṣli, (6th October 1924 to 5th October 1925 A.D.), (1926, p. 63).

In 1925¹⁰⁶ twenty new presses were opened. There were 257 books published.

Table 18

List of publications during 1925-1926

Subject	Law	Poetry and Drama	Theology and Ethics	History	Education	Fiction	Hygiene	Miscellaneous
Number of publications	43	15	62	5	30	2	8	47

In addition, 14 translations of various works on the arts and science, history, and philosophy were published by the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University, while six Arabic books dealing with theology and ethics were issued by the *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif* Press. Eighteen books were registered under the Hyderabad Copyright Act. Licenses were given for the publication of nine periodicals and one newspaper.

Table 19

List of publications during 1926-1927

Subject	Law	Poetry and Drama	Theology and Ethics	History	Education	Fiction	Hygiene	Miscellaneous
Number of publications	60	18	63	11	39	9	15	140

¹⁰⁶ Report on the Administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1335 Faşli, (6th October 1925 A.D. to 5th October 1926 A.D.), (1927, p. 52).

In 1926¹⁰⁷ fourteen new presses were opened. Altogether 355 books were published, which was an increase of 98 over the figure of the preceding year. The reason for this increase is said to be the growing desire among the educated for authorship and compilation with the expansion of education. The publications dealt with various subjects:

In addition, 17 translations of various works on arts and science, history, and philosophy were published by the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University, while three Arabic books dealing with theology and ethics were issued by *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif* Press. Twenty-e- ight books were registered under the Hyderabad Copyright Act. Licenses were given for the publication of nine periodicals and six newspapers.

During 1927 to 1928,¹⁰⁸ eight new printing presses were opened, making the total number of presses at work in the Dominions 104. The number of publications, however decreased as compared with the previous year that is 258 in the current year against 355 in the previous. Judging by the number of books published, subjects like theology and ethics were most popular (with 74 books), followed by law (30 books), education (27), literature (26, including 22 poems and plays and four novels), and history (12). Two were on hygiene, and the rest were miscellaneous.

The publication of learned books on scientific subjects was confined to the Osmania University which published 14 books through its Translation Bureau. The *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif* Press published three scholarly Arabic works on theology and ethics. Classified according to languages 230 out of 279 books were in Urdu, indicating the popularity of that language as a literary medium. 21 books were in Telugu, eight in Marathi, seven in Arabic, four in Persian, one in Hindi, and one in Canarese (Kannada). Registration being permissive, the number of

¹⁰⁷ Report on the Administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1336 Faşli, (6th October 1926 A.D. to 5th October 1927 A.D.), (1928, p. 62).

¹⁰⁸ Report on the Administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1337 Faşli, (6th October 1927 to 5th October 1928 A.D.), (1929).

books registered under the Copyright Act was 24. Licenses were given for the publication of seven newspapers – five in Urdu and two in English. There was no prosecution or suppression of newspapers during this time.

During the end of the period between 1931 and 1932¹⁰⁹ the number of presses were 145 with sanction accorded to the opening of 16 new presses in the dominion. The total number of books published on different subjects was 559. Biography, sanitation, culture, and theosophy are added here as new categories. Subject details of publication are given below.

The Translation Bureau of the Osmania University published 28 books on different arts and sciences against 27 in the preceding year. Two Arabic works on Theology and Ethics were published by the *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif* Press.

Table 20

List of publications during 1931-1932

Subject	Law	Poetry	Theology and Ethics	History	Education	Novel and Drama	Hygiene	culture	Biography	Science	Theosophy	Medicine	Sanitation
Number of publications	66	46	194		44	18	15	6	5	4	2	2	10

Classified according to different languages, 313 out of 559 publications were in Urdu, 101 were in Urdu and Arabic, 44 were in Telugu, 10 were in English, 26 each were in Hindi and Marathi, six each were in Marwadi, Urdu and English, and Canarese, four each was in Urdu and Persian and Balbodh¹¹⁰, three were in Persian, two were in Urdu and Hindi and one

¹⁰⁹ Report on the Administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1341 Faṣḥi, (6th October 1931 A.D. to 5th October 1932 A.D.), (1933, pp. 90-91).

¹¹⁰ Balbodh is a slightly modified style of Devanagari script used to write Marathi language.

each was in Hindi and Sanskrit, Telugu and Hindi, Arabic and Persian, English and Urdu, English and Marathi, English, Urdu and Marathi, Urdu, Telugu, and Sanskrit. Various bilingual publications are seen in this period. The number of books registered under the Copyright Act was 39, the corresponding figure for the preceding year being 18. The Government issued the license for the publication of eight journals.

In 1932-1933¹¹¹ sanction was accorded to the opening of 8 new presses in the dominion the total number of working presses in the dominion at the end being 123. There was practically no increase in the total number of books published in this period which stood at 560 against 559. As usual, the majority of these publications numbering 175, dealt with ethics and theology. Law ranked next in order, with 105 publications to its credit. The next in order were those on education with 52, poetry 23, history and science with 12 each, economics and biography with eight each, stories and calendars with seven each, drama with four, sanitation and medicine with three each, music with two and Commerce and Industries with one. The miscellaneous publications numbered 138. Economics, calendars, stories, music, commerce, and industries appear as new categories in the present report.

Table 21

Language and number of publications during 1932-1933

Language of publication	Urdu	Persian and English	Urdu and Arabic	Arabic	Telugu	English and Urdu	Marathi	Hindi	Arabic and Marwadi
Number	69	5	74	4	39	6	19	18	4

¹¹¹ Report on the Administration of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, 1342 Faşli, (6th October 1932 A.D to 5th October 1933 A.D.), (1934, p. 116).

The Translation Bureau of the Osmania University published books comprising three on mathematics, one on law, two on history, one on economics, one on Geography, and one on sociology. The *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif* Press published four Arabic works on theology and ethics. Classified according to different languages:

The remaining three each were in Urdu and Persian, Telugu and Urdu, two each were in Persian, Urdu, and Arabic, Hindi and Marathi, and Sanskrit, and one each was in Marathi, Telugu and Urdu, Sanskrit and Telugu, English and Telugu, Sanskrit and Hindi, and in Canarese. This report and some of the earlier ones suggest that Hindi publications also had a good stake in the print sphere of the state.

The number of books registered under the Copyright Act was 18. Licenses were given for the publication of two weekly newspapers in Urdu and eight journals- five in Urdu, one in English, one in Marathi, and one in Hindi.

The above-mentioned tables and statistics provide information regarding the subject and language of publication. Law and theology, and ethics are identified as the main categories. Religious propagation, the coming of Hindu reformist movements to Hyderabad, controversies related to educational institutions, etc might have triggered the proliferation of publication of theological works.

To summarize the reports from 1933 to 1942, the total publications were mostly between 500 and 700. The majority of them were published from the capital city of Hyderabad and a few from other districts. They dealt with fiction and nonfiction subjects, as mentioned in the tables. Agriculture, painting, astronomy, mathematics, pedagogy, psychology, philosophy and logic, calligraphy, algebra, almanacs, mineralogy, public health, and dictionary emerged as new categories. From 1935 to 1936, the popular tendency for producing literary and scientific works maintained steady progress. Religious literature like Tafsīr (Qur'anic Exegesis), Ḥadīṣ (Sayings and doings of the prophet Muhammad), Prophet's

biography, Sufism, Tajvīd (rules of Qur'an recitation), and Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence) are specifically mentioned in some reports.

The Translation Bureau of the Osmania University published books on various science subjects including medicine and, engineering, as well as social science, and humanities subjects. The *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif* Press published numerous classical Arabic books on theology and ethics. The government press also published educational books, departmental reports, and budgets. As the time changed new subjects were added.

Classified according to different languages, the majority of the books were in Urdu. Bilingual publications in various languages like Urdu and English, English and Telugu, etc. is a major feature of this period. Apart from Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, and Hindi, books were published in Latin, Sanskrit, Marwari, Gujarati, and Pashtu as well.

Several new presses were opened in the Capital, in districts, and some of them were closed down either voluntarily or forcefully under the orders of the government. The number of works registered under the Copyright Act was always less than the actual number of publications. The license was issued for the publication of various newspapers, periodicals, journals, and magazines during the period, and they were published daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, three-monthly, and six-monthly.¹¹²

The above-presented reports¹¹³ on the administration of the state establish a certain connection between education and printing. Production of textbooks and educational materials was the major features of this period. The historical emergence of print in Hyderabad also had educational purposes though it was not the case throughout the time. The

¹¹² Major presses operated in the princely Hyderabad were *Fakhr Nizami* press, *Muallim-e-Shafiq* Press, *Mahbūb* Press, Art and Science Press, Islamic press, *Azami* Steam Press, *Shams-ul-Islam* Press, *Taj* Press, *Ammar* press, *Raheem* Press, *Nazair* Press, *Shams* Press, *Muzaffari* Press, Nizam Silver Jubilee Press, *Akhtar Deccan* Press, *Amarnath* Press, *Masood Deccan* Press, *Ahd-e-Afreen* Press, *Maktab e Ibrahimiyya* Press, Marwadi Press, *Mushir-e-Deccan* Press, *Muallim-ul-Uloom* Press, *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif* Press, *Sahifa* Press, *Chishtiya* Press, *Zinda-e-Taslimat* Fine Arts Press. (Anvaruddin, 1997, p. 78).

¹¹³ Reports of 1942-1950 have not been published.

administration reports do not talk descriptively about the content of books or newspapers. A large number of books on education suggests the demand for books in the state. Institutions like Osmania University, its Translation Bureau¹¹⁴, the State Central Press, and *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif* made remarkable contributions toward the development of print culture in Hyderabad. Osmania University played a huge role in the emergence of newspapers and periodicals and in producing talented journalists and writers in Hyderabad.

Gradually Urdu was proliferating in Hyderabad through the production of various books on multiple subjects and also through newspapers and magazines. Mainly works from English were translated to Urdu, and slowly, it became the language of public discourse. Persian, which was replaced by Urdu as the official language in 1886, was gradually shrinking into the corner in the first half of the twentieth century. Telugu, Maratha, and Kannada were making slow growth in the printing arena. Arabic was sustained through the publication of rare books by *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif*. Various other languages also marked their presence in the state.

The print was also used mainly as a tool to meet the bureaucratic and statist needs of Hyderabad. Many books were published on Law, Medicine, and Sanitation, and reports on budgets were also printed. It paved the way for the creation of new discourses on a variety of topics dealing with socio-political and cultural settings of the state. State also wanted to produce books on the history of its earlier rulers and their stories. Through this, it wanted to create its own different identity and a particular kind of regional existence. Kavita Datla (2013) in one of the chapters of her work examines “two series of textbooks commissioned by Osmania University that discussed the importance of Islam to the history of civilization

¹¹⁴ In the thirty years from 1917 to 1947, the Translation Bureau translated, compiled, and wrote a total of 457 books. Of the volumes produced, 426 books were translations and 31 were original compositions. For details, See Datla (2013, p. 65).

and the importance of Muslims to the history of India” (p. 17). She argues that this approach to history has nationalistic and secular undertones.

Religion, Theology, and Ethics were also given great importance in the printing arena. Books on Islamic jurisprudence, Arabic Philosophy, Prophetic tradition, and other topics related specifically to Islam and the Muslim community have been extensively written, translated, and published. This indicates that the state wanted to keep its Muslimness and Islamic classical and civilizational tradition intact through print and related activities.

The number of books published in poetry and fiction indicates the burgeoning of creativity in the state and the thriving of the imaginative capacity of the people. The number of books on fiction is less compared to other categories. Poetry was the dominant literary form in Hyderabad as in any other Urdu community.

Most of the authors were Muslims. The ten years till 1910 show a remarkable increase in the printing activities. This might be due to the vigorous educational activities and debates taking place in the state during this period. The first half of the twentieth century also marks the increase in the number of presses, especially lithographic, and substantial growth in the number of newspapers and magazines.

Due to the presence of the majority of the presses, printing activities were mainly concentrated in the capital city of Hyderabad. Some district presses were opened in Aurangabad and Gulbarga, the earlier centers of Muslim power. People from North India and other parts of the country played a big role in promoting educational and journalistic activities in the state. Cosmopolitan trends also could be seen in the field of knowledge production. Along with this Urdu type was also developed. Andrew Amstutz (2017) argues that “Urdu promoters in the city of Hyderabad emphasized the Muslim princely ruler’s royal lineage and classical Islamic references, whereas, in Aurangabad, the *Anjuman* underlined technical skills from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries” (p. 24). Osmania University

developed its types which were influenced by calligraphy. *Nast'aliq* script (the predominant style of Persian calligraphy and is a cursive script featuring elongated horizontal strokes and exaggerated rounded forms) was promoted in Hyderabad city to sustain Persian tradition and the legacy of classical Islam.

Multiple agents and plenty of projects shaped the trajectory of print in the princely Hyderabad. The socio-political, economic, and cultural capital of the individuals and groups made print culture possible. The print had a role to play besides engaging various social actors and contesting different ideas. The community configured by the print was oscillating between tradition and modernity simultaneously. Civilizational knowledge reproduction, community-based and regional/nationalist political processing and linguistic modernity have been invigorated by multiple print cultures in the state.

Newspapers and magazines engaged with the everyday life of the public and participated in the socio-political and cultural life of the people and vice versa. Urdu press represented and promoted different ideological dispositions. *Rahbar-e-Deccan* was one such newspapers which existed since 1920 and prevailed until the forceful annexation of the state. It dealt with various socio-political issues at the global and local levels. The daily became a productive site to analyze and understand the cultural and infrastructural engagements and transformations of Deccan. As an extension of the phenomenon of negotiation between modernity and tradition ascertained in the printing ventures of Faḵruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara, Muhib Husain, and the writings of Afghani, *Rahbar* acted as a mediator between the state and people and past and presented through its editorials and other contents.

The Story of Rahbar-e-Deccan

Rahbar-e-Deccan (henceforth *Rahbar*, meaning: Guide of Deccan) daily newspaper was started in June 1920 in *Dar-ul-saltanat* (capital) of the Hyderabad state and published

until the integration of the state into India in 1948. Initially, it had four pages of small size, printed on a small size lithographic press. It used to publish Urdu ghazals on the first page. In the beginning, most of the news items were local and later, the newspaper contained 6-8 pages with more international news. It translated many news stories from English newspapers and news agencies. The daily was professional in selecting, arranging, and publishing news. *Rahbar* was meticulously careful to be free from errors and mistakes. Editing was done at every stage of production of the newspaper.



Figure 5, *Rahbar-e-Deccan newspaper, February 12, 1925*

This was the first publication to use an electrical press and it carried the photos of prominent personalities and functions of local and global importance. The photos helped to make the design attractive. *Rahbar* had the credit of the first newspaper of Hyderabad to appoint correspondents in Delhi, London, and Beirut and sent news reports through the wire. The reports about the Second World War were published under the title of “war”, and they attracted many readers through this. After the end of the war in 1945, it published a special

issue with photos of the war. The newspaper published international advertisements along with local ones. The proofreading was done by a unique technique of reading and hearing.

Rahbar utilized the possibility of lithography beautifully. It had excellent calligraphers with tremendous journalistic skills. Through this practice, they endeavored to keep the culture and aesthetics of calligraphy alive. There is a popular story about the expertise of a calligrapher having a nose for news who published a very important news story in the paper. During the Salt Satyagraha event, people were curious to know about the British government's possible arrest of M.K. Gandhi. Delhi correspondent sent the news of Gandhi's arrest through the wire, and the telegram, reached the *Rahbar* office very late in the night when most of the editorial staff left the place. The calligrapher who was going for the final print of the newspaper saw this telegram and he had a little knowledge of English. He understood the significance of this news, then he removed some news from the first page and included the story about Gandhi's arrest on the first page. The next day, this news was not covered by any Urdu newspaper besides *Rahbar*. This news became the topic of discussion in and around the city. After an inquiry, it was found that the news was prepared by the calligrapher Abdul Ahad and he was awarded rupees 100 for using his skill and enhancing the reputation of the newspaper (Ansari, 1980, p. 50).

Rahbar had a good reception among government circles, and it was subscribed by many government officials. It is suggested that the Nizam Mir Osman Ali Khan used to go through this newspaper every day to know the general condition of the people (Ansari, 1980). Sometimes Nizam's poetry and *ghazals* by reputed poets were published on the first page of the daily. Nizam's patronization made it an allegiant to the Hyderabad princely rule. The relationship between the *Rahbar* and the Nizam was critical, and the publication was not just an organ that uncritically praised the state and its rulers. It attempted to creatively and constructively critique the government and transform the incipient public.

Maulvi Sayyid Ahmad Muhiuddin was the first editor of *Rahbar*. He studied at the Nizam College in Hyderabad and did his graduation from Aligarh Muslim University. Since he was not interested in a government job, he turned to journalism. His old friend Maulana Abdullah Khan was his joint partner. His elder brother Muhammad Yusufuddin was the superintendent of the newspaper. Many writers and translators did associate with *Rahbar*. The death of Ahmad Muhiuddin and Yusufuddin affected the internal functioning and structure of the paper. The management was transferred to Sayyid Hamid Muinuddin, and later, Muhammad Manzoor Hassan became the editor. Muhammad Waheeduddin, the second son of Ahmad Muhiuddin, was appointed as the managing editor of the newspaper.

Most of the translators appointed in the newspaper were graduates of the Osmania University. Articles were contributed by renowned figures like Allama Imadi, Manazir Ahsan Geelani, and Dr. Hamidullah. Abul Khair Siddiqui's column "Science ki Dunya" (The World of Science) was passionately read by people (Ansari, 1980).

Journalists and other staff enjoyed good respect from the management of the *Rahbar*. They were given maximum freedom and there were no unnecessary restrictions upon them. Their concern for the employees reached the extent that even when an employee dies, his burial expenses were carried out by the newspaper. The widow of the deceased received a pension from the management. Loans were sanctioned for the employees to be repaid in easy installments (Ansari, 1980, p. 53).

The vision of *Rahbar* was reformative and it criticized and opposed any movement against religion and ethics. The designing of an independent and sovereign Hyderabad was one of the main objectives of the newspaper. The police action of 1948 and the integration of Hyderabad into the Indian union caused the end of *Rahbar*.¹¹⁵ It imagined a productive space

¹¹⁵ After 1948, it changed its name to *Rahnuma-e-Deccan* and is still running.

for the people of Hyderabad state. By registering complaints, raising objections, and suggesting corrective measures to the state, the daily acted as a 'critical insider'.

Rahbar endeavored to propose new ideas and practices in the field of education, development, industry, and infrastructure. Many of its editorials were responses to the complaints raised and problems faced by the people of the state. It suggested its resolutions and sought the government to address the issues raised by the public. Hence *Rahbar* performed as a mediator between the state and the public. To comprehend this phenomenon *Rahbar*'s editorials have to be closely examined and interconnected.

The objectives of media have been clearly described in one of the editorials published in *Rahbar* titled "Difference between News and Views" (1922, October 28). The editorial was written in the context of a protest happening at Osmania University. *Mushīr-e-Deccan*, an Urdu daily argued that there is no need for many professors in the department of religion at Osmania since there are only three or four students. *Rahbar* accused *Mushīr-e-Deccan* of intentionally propagating lies; in reality, the department consisted of 13-14 students. *Rahbar* argued that a baseless allegation against the government to create misunderstanding among the public would make a black spot in journalism. Here criticism is not considered a crime, but it was suggested that repetition of mistakes is not good for the reputation of the media. *Rahbar* pointed out that the press is meant for internal and external, governmental and non-governmental life, and it should not be partial. In this instance, an idea of a mutual relationship between the press and government was forcefully put forward by the daily.

Rahbar took a firm stand against propaganda and negative campaigning by the media. In the context of Ali Imam's resignation,¹¹⁶ people in North and South India started speculating many things. Newspapers also propagated negative opinions. The Hindu daily

¹¹⁶ He was the first non-*mulki* (non-native) to be appointed to the office of the prime minister. There was opposition from the *mulkis* against this appointment. He had to resign from the post in a few days after taking over the duty. He is also known as progressive prime minister as he tried to establish executive council that Nizam opposed.

wrote that Kishen Pershad would replace Ali Imam. *Ahram-e-Istiqlal* daily of Kanpur and *Dul Qarnain* also wrote the same thing. *Rahbar* suggests that even though newspapers can influence people to form opinions, they cannot endorse these assumptions without evidence (1922, October 16). Ali Imam is a highly respected man, and the Nizam will choose the right person to deal with the issues of the state, it suggested.

The role of the press in society is viewed here as critical. Negativity and harm to development have been strongly discouraged by *Rahbar*. It writes that the “press should guide the country to differentiate between profit and loss. Press should be the voice of the country, advisor of wealth and maintainer of prosperity” (1922, October 16). Even though *Rahbar* supported the government, it stood for productive freedom of the press in the state and suggested that the betterment of a country can be measured by the freedom of the press exercised over there. Every event is considered free and external, and opinion is internal/subjective and selective.

Producing Knowledge and Infrastructuring Education

Knowledge production and infrastructural development in the field of education were major driving forces for *Rahbar* newspaper. It promoted modern education with a moral basis attached to it. They pushed for reform, popularization, and systematization of the education at the Osmania University through intellectual experiments and structural changes.

The roots of the twentieth-century educational vision of Hyderabad state could be found in the endeavors of Sayyid Ross Mas’ood.¹¹⁷ Editorials published in the daily on education correspond to the ideas proposed by Ross Masood. On the one hand, his concept of

¹¹⁷ He was the grandson of Muslim Modernist Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. His early schooling was done at Aligarh, in 1910 he got his BA (Honors) from the Oxford University and he completed his Bar at Law from London in 1912. From 1913 he engaged in educational activities in Bihar and Orissa. His reputation as a brilliant educationist reached Hyderabad and he was appointed as the director of public instruction in 1916-1928. He played a very important role in the foundation Osmania University in Hyderabad in 1918. He established a considerable number of schools in the state and it caused increase in literacy. Due to his efforts the basic education made free in the state in 1921.

education was transnational/trans-Islamic; on the other, he was influenced by alter nationalist tendencies.¹¹⁸ His image of a future Hyderabad was in tandem with the vision of the then ruler Mir Osman Ali Khan (seventh Nizam) about education, intellectual progress, and socio-material development. Making Hyderabad a civilizational and intellectual hub was envisioned by many intellectuals during various points of time and this period was no exception.

Sayyid Ross Mas'ood traveled to Japan in 1922 to study the model of educational system envisioned and implemented there. The Hyderabad state bore the entire expense of the journey. He wanted to develop an educational system based on eastern (*Mashriqi*) values, not western ones. He clearly stated that his intention is to make Hyderabad a center of knowledge-making like the early and medieval Muslim locations of knowledge production. He writes: "I feel that the day is near when, under his benign rule, Hyderabad will see as great an intellectual awakening as was witnessed by the Islamic world in the days of the great Caliphs of Bagdad" (Masood, 1923, Preface, p. I).¹¹⁹ This aspiration could be seen as an attempt to make the old engage with the new, tradition with modernity and east with west.

In his lecture on the occasion of his farewell at the Osmania University, he identified the combination of east and west as one of the four qualities exclusively achieved by Japan (Aqeel, 2010). Indian intellectuals who traveled to Japan also found in Japan a model of how

¹¹⁸ I use the term trans-Islamic as it was defined by Nile Green. The term 'distinguishes a set of parallel and contemporaneous aspirations and activities of Muslims in various regions of the world that in contrast to "Pan-Islamist" ideologies, were neither unified as a single movement nor aimed at common or collective goals. They were usually aimed at the achievement of discrete and geographically localized agendas.'

"Alter-national is employed as a label for aspirations and activities promoting either communitarian interests (particularly the Muslims of India) or the interests of small, short-lived or otherwise forgotten states that are usually subsumed in discussions of nationalism (particularly the Indian Princely States)."

The term "Alter-national" in this way draws attention to the alternative and largely forgotten nationalisms that spread between the two World Wars in the name of such never-realized independent nations as Tatarstan and such vanquished nations as Hyderabad, as well as other princely or would-be states in South, Southeast, and Central Asia." Nile Green (2013, pp. 611-631).

¹¹⁹ Besides this book there is a travel diary of Ross Mas'ood and a book titled "*Rooh-e-Japan*". The invocation of Bagdad can also be seen in the context of Osmania type foundry and medical education. See Andrew Amstutz, 2017, p. 91

to industrialize a society while at the same time maintaining religious tradition or how modernization can be done without westernization. Nile Green (2013) points out that “Japan, then, provided a model of conservatism as much as progress and one that was all the more attractive for religious Muslims facing the secular nationalisms spreading in Turkey, India, and Iran by the 1900s” (p. 613).

Japan was an attractive destination for transnational intellectuals, especially during the end of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century. New communication systems, printing press, and shipping routes helped them to move, document, and communicate what they learned and experienced in foreign spaces. Japan’s victory in the Japan-Russia war in 1905 was a thunderbolt for the South Asian people as they were victims of European colonialism. In the same year, the publication of reputed Muslim politician, journalist, and Urdu poet Zafar Ali Khan’s (1873-1956) Urdu book ‘*Jang-e-Roos vo Japan*’ (Russia-Japan War) encouraged the people of South Asia to fight against colonialism.¹²⁰ In British India, Swami Vivekananda, Lala Lajpat Rai, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and M. K. Gandhi were the prominent political leaders who appreciated the education system in Japan and found it suitable for India, but they were not successful in implementing it. Rabindranath Tagore went further and had discussions about women’s education. He compared India and Japan in his published lectures, and he authored a Bengali travelogue titled *Japan Yatri* in 1919. Tagore tried to “include Japanese Judo games and Ikebana in the courses of his institution *Viswa Bharati* in Bengal” (Aqeel, 2010, p. 203). The travels from British India were considered an engagement between nationalist and imperial spaces but the travel of some Muslim intellectuals could be seen as a gesture of trans-Islamic gaze (Green, 2013).

¹²⁰ The book was written as a stage drama, consists of four acts and 39 scenes, and first published in four parts in monthly Deccan Review 9,10,11,12 (1905) and later as a book in the same year in Hyderabad but became popular when the second/third edition was published in Lahore in 1914.

Educated common people of South Asia also viewed Japan as a courageous, civilized, developed, and model country. The printing press, especially newspapers and magazines in British India and Princely states, published articles and features about Japan's victory in war, its economic growth, and its education system as exemplary. This also contributed to the popularity of Japan among South Asian people. Travel writing, especially in Urdu by mobile intellectuals also played a big part in publicizing the educational and economic achievements of Japan.¹²¹

Indian Muslims found Japan as a fellow eastern nation which followed the ideas of Pan-Asianism (Cemil Aydin, 2019). The early account of travel to Japan was written in Urdu in 1896 by Nawab Hamid Ali Khan (1875-1930), the modernizing ruler of the Princely State of Rampur. His book was titled "*Musīr-e-Hamidi*". Travelogues were written by many anti-Russian and anti-British intellectuals like Tatar Abd al-Rashid Ibrahim (1857-1944), and Muhammad Barakathullah (1854-1927), who resided in Tokyo and co-edited the journal "Islamic Fraternity" from there. Barakthullah traveled widely in Japan, the United States, Afghanistan, and the Soviet Union. Ottoman reformists were also great Japanophiles. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1924, Japan was the only surviving Asian empire to which Muslims from colonized locations turned for inspiration (Green, 2013, pp. 616-617).

There are two important accounts of Japan written during this period, one is by Sayyid Ross Masood, and the other one is by Muhammad Badr al-Islam Fazli, author of *Haqīqat-e-Japān*, a four-hundred-page description. A detailed examination of Sayyid Ross Masood's writing would shed light on Japan's influence on the educational reforms and policies in Hyderabad. The reverberation of this process can also be ascertained in the contents of *Rahabr* daily.

¹²¹ Travelogues were written in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Malay language as well. Nile Green (2013) observes that the travel writings "were transformed into more deliberately "scientific" documents that sought to accurately describe industrial techniques, educational institutions, and constitutional systems, and to objectify cultural and religious practices" (p. 614).

Sayyid Ross Masood's account was originally published in English in 1923, and Muhammad Inayathullah translated it into Urdu as "*Japān aur uska T'alīmi Nazm-o-Nasq*" (Japan and its Educational Order and Administration) in 1925 and published by *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Urdu*¹²². He begins the book by praising the Nizam and acknowledging the prominent personalities who helped and encouraged him in Hyderabad and Japan. Masood (1923) realized that to understand the educational activities, it is necessary to understand the political history, and he suggests that "the latter could not be separated from the former" (Preface, p. II). His visit to Japan had a deep influence on the educational, linguistic, and political policies of the princely state of Hyderabad. He also traveled to the Soviet Union, and Germany, and discussed what he could see in Japan with Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hashim Khan and members of the Afghan reformist intelligentsia. Just a year earlier first batch of students from Afghan were dispatched to Japan. His interest in Japan also echoed the concerns of princely states of Southeast Asia, such as Riau, Serdang, Johor, Aceh, and Deli. They turned toward Japan for help to resist their Dutch and British overlords (Green, 2013).¹²³

The book discusses the characteristics of the people of Japan such as; their religion, the first encounter of Japan with Europe through the Portuguese missions of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the expulsion of Christian missions by the early modern state-unifiers Hide Yoshi Toyotomi and Tokugawa Leyasu, the author then moves to look at how Japan acquired western knowledge and who were the major educationists in the country. He then turns to the unification of the country, the process of Japan becoming a world power,

¹²² Maulvi Inayathullah Dehlvi was a renowned translator engaged in the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University and *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Urdu* (Association for the advancement of Urdu) was an Urdu publisher of learned books. For an excellent analysis of *Anjuman*, See Amstutz (2017).

¹²³ He suggests that this agenda was also seen in India's non-Muslim Princely States. For example, in 1898, Mokshyagundam Visvesvaraya (1860-1962), an engineer and subsequent chief minister of the state of Mysore, had traveled to Japan to inspect its educational and industrial development; he published an account of his observations in 1920. As in the case of Mas'ud, for Visvesvaraya Japan was a model for an independent princely India rather than a collective Indian nation.

features of the constitution, and the system of administration. After this, the book focuses on discussing the Japanese language, the establishment of educational equality, elementary schools, middle schools, high schools, special schools, and technical education. In conclusion, the author proposes many policies and agendas for the educational transformation in Hyderabad. The purposes of the visit were explained by Ross Masood (1923) as:

1. To observe what difficulties the Japanese had to face in giving technical and scientific education in the Japanese language, as Japan had translated various technical and scientific books into the Japanese language during the last century. And also to look into the ways and means they adopted to surmount those difficulties.
2. To study Japan's current strategy and tactics to find a way out of such problems.
3. To look out the ways and means adopted by the Japanese Education Department to promote and develop trade, agriculture, and industry through basic education.
4. To conceive the planning and efforts made by the Japanese nation to keep its education intact despite having adopted the western educational methods, the western sciences, and the branches of knowledge developed in the West.
5. To evaluate the scale and depth of the help provided to the nation by establishing the industrial and educational institutions (p. 206).

Sayyid Ross Masood found the sovereignty of the state as the fundamental prerequisite for social development and educational growth. The loyalty of the people to the Nizam in Hyderabad was suggested as a tool to manage the racial and linguistic differences of the dominion since Hyderabad was not a homogenous space like Japan. He writes (1923) in the conclusion of the book that "Thus for all practical purposes, the administration of our

Educational Department has to be conducted as if it were concerned not only with one country but with a collection of different countries each with a language and people of its own” (p. 340).

To inculcate loyalty to the ruler of the state in students, he proposed a practical method of supplying a photograph of the Nizam to all departmental schools and a printed message of encouragement by the Nizam. Besides loyalty to the ruler, love for the country was proposed as the second tool to unify the new generation. He identified two unprecedented characteristics which made Japan unique and different. Firstly they admired their ruler, and secondly, every attempt to conquer Japan was defeated because they had extreme sincerity for the cause of their country and unflinching good wishes for fellow countrymen. He noted that the Japanese people considered their nation as one family and the Emperor as its head (p. 209). The technology of print and photography is conceived here as an instrument of sovereignty.

To enhance a sense of belongingness to the state among students, Ross Mas’ood pointed out that the Educational Department should at once prepare suitable textbooks to be taught in primary schools. All those books are supposed to stress the beneficence of the House of Hyderabad and apart from imparting useful knowledge to the students, “all subjects would make them feel that their ruler has the best interests of all classes of his subjects alike” (pp. 345-346). Masood suggested that patriotic lessons should be included in the syllabus. He opined that the historical events that took place in Hyderabad state might be presented in the books, which would highlight the greatness and bravery of all indigenous people. After making this point, Ross Mas’ood moves to the question of language, which is considered to be the major device to keep the people of the state united.

Since it was not possible to make all the vernaculars medium of instruction in schools, Urdu as the official language was pushed by Ross Masood as the instructive language which

is ‘universally known’ in the state. He compares the situation with England, where one who wants to study advanced Chemistry should also know German. Similarly, in the scheme of studies laid down by the Osmania University, the English language was made compulsory from the school classes onward. The experiment on mother tongue (Urdu) in various subjects in Osmania proved that the students of Hyderabad could grasp the subjects like Mathematics, History, and Economics more firmly than the students of universities in British India (Masood, 1923).

He believed that a vernacular language is inevitable to achieve development. Intending to render technical and scientific terminologies to Urdu, he compiled a brief vocabulary of Japanese-English technical terms with the assistance of a Japanese friend while he was there. To achieve this, the first task was to coin equivalents for western scientific terms with the help of scholars. The system they adopted was to borrow a root from the Chinese language to denote the general idea and combine other roots with it till the exact idea was obtained. He wanted to develop Jamia Osmania further, where Urdu was the medium of instruction and establish a bureau there to prepare useful books for students or get them translated and published.

Masood found that the positive aspect of the Japanese educational system was that it was based on equality. The emphasis is also given to the ethical aspect of education. The aim of education is to improve morals, sharpen wisdom and achieve expertise in arts and industriousness. The chapter on Faḵruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara and the first printing press in Hyderabad also talked about how ethics and morals were fundamental in the beginning phase of education in the state. Faḵruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara emphasized ethics as the basis and aim of education/knowledge. Muhib Husain attributed Japan’s success and progress to mass education (Roosa, 1998).

Ross Masood realized that education was the foundational principle of any setting. He cites the examples of Great Britain and Germany, where after the destruction, preference was given to education, and a huge amount of money was spent on it. He thought that the government in Hyderabad should also spend a good amount of money on education. He (1923) writes:

From this it follows that it should be understood by the government that no amount of money, however large that is spent on the education of the people provided the activities of the Educational Department be conducted on sound lines, should ever be deemed excessive (pp. 340-341).

The proposals put forward by Masood were pragmatic and psychological. He intended to utilize education for the overall development of Hyderabad state. He pointed out that to create unity in the state's social life, the gap between educated and uneducated should be reduced as much as possible. He also believed that to acquire happiness, the gulf which divides the intellectual life of men from women should be bridged as quickly as possible. He recommended that "not only should every encouragement be given to the rational scheme of education inaugurated in this State by the foundation of the Osmania University, but that the scope of its activities should be made wider" (pp. 352, 353, 359). As a practical step, he advised dividing the Translation Bureau at the Osmania University into two sections: one to devote to the translation of books required by the University students and the other to produce useful books for popular use (p. 360).

He suggested that agricultural training should be given to the primary level students of schools located in rural areas as the people of rural areas were engaged in agriculture for a living. He suggested opening a faculty of agricultural sciences at the Osmania University for training and appointing teachers to such schools. His recommendations also included

founding a small and highly efficient agricultural college in those regions. His model did not ignore rural life, but considered the urban as complementary to the rural.

At the primary level, he also advocated the idea of introducing industrial and craft education, especially in schools situated in urban areas where the teachers trained in Osmania technical school can teach. Osmania technical school was opened in connection with the Mint workshop. The establishment of faculty of education, setting up of a college of trade and commerce, and sending teachers and officials abroad for training and studying about their systems of education to get new ideas for the improvement of their work were other ideas put forward by him. Following the Japanese model, he suggested organizing annual industrial exhibitions, awarding prizes to artisans and workmen, and introducing their work all over India and abroad (Aqeel, 2010, pp. 212-213).

He also realized the benefit and scope of science and technology in improving the lives of the people of Hyderabad. To improve the state's industries, he opined that the study of science should be vigorously encouraged. He recommended introducing audio-visual means to create awareness among the general public about basic concepts of health and hygiene. Masood encouraged the use of innovative technologies. During this period, cinema was an emerging medium. Even that was considered by him as an effective tool. His approach to technology and mass media was pragmatic, and he considered them useful means to achieve greater ends for the development of the state of Hyderabad.

“The early accounts of Japan in Urdu were aimed at strengthening the existing princely polities rather than resisting colonialism in favor of a unified Indian nation” (Green, 2013, p. 621). It seems that Masood's writing and views on Japanese education and administration must have influenced and informed the intellectuals, educationists, administrators of Hyderabad, and the newspapers and journals of the period. His findings and

suggestions had greater resonance and reverberations in the Urdu press of the time. An examination of select editorials of *Rahbar* daily would provide much evidence for the same.

In an editorial titled “The Deficiencies of Current Education” (1922, October 12) *Rahbar* argues that the state must impart education to people, and the purpose of education should be service to the community (*Qaum*). Here the formation of the community and imparting of education can be understood as a reciprocal process. The community was not conceived as a given entity, rather, it was constituted through numerous processes.

The newspaper envisioned a localized form of education and not an imitation of English. The modern/British model of education has been criticized in the same editorial as something which could not comprehend the local tradition and conventional educational practices. Foreign lifestyle was also questioned as it is unable to teach local life experiences. As resistance to foreign education, a localized imagination of education gained currency in Hyderabad in the first half of the twentieth century.¹²⁴ The promotion of Urdu language as the language of learning was to resist the colonial language and culture, unlike North India where Hindi-Urdu controversy was prevalent.

Rahbar asserted vernacular language as the main characteristic of Osmania University. It suggested that education should not only be about rituals but also about politics, nation, and courage. Jamia Millia Islamia was mentioned as an example of how education should be used to serve the community/nation. M. K. Gandhi and Tagore were presented as models for students. In *Rahbar*’s view, religious studies must be compulsory at the Osmania University, along with English literature, Arabic, and Persian. The technical education provided at Jamia Millia was suggested as a model for Osmania University. *Rahbar* used to write editorials on the necessity of technical education for the development of the state.

¹²⁴ For an excellent study on this aspect see, Datla (2013).

The state's educational progress was one of the major concerns of the newspaper. It urged the authorities to accommodate maximum people to educational institutions. In a sense journalism was conceived as a resolution mechanism at some points in time. When a student who got third class in the metric exam was denied admission at the Osmania University due to the unavailability of a seat, *Rahbar* wrote an editorial suggesting a practical solution (1922, October 19).

The student was not interested in studying mathematics and physics and could not get admission to Nizam College. Maulvi Abdu Rauf, advisor of the government wrote a letter to the authorities regarding the matter. A copy of the letter was sent to *Rahbar* too. It was observed that as Jamia Millia Islamia allows third-class students for intermediate courses and Aligarh Muslim University has approved the courses of Jamia Osmania, students of Hyderabad need not worry about higher studies and their future.

The admission also had something to do with the capacity of the professor. The number of students studying at Osmania was very high; hence a professor will not be able to manage the class. At the end of the editorial, *Rahbar* observes that the passion for knowledge is less in the state. Hence the thirst for knowledge should be cultivated. If the admission issue is solved, it will benefit not one student but many, the daily pointed out.

The students of Hyderabad were encouraged to move to different places for education. *Rahbar* wrote an editorial (1922, November 6) about financial expenses for education in Germany as a response to the letters from readers. It shows the vision of the newspaper on gaining education from different locations and sources.

Education in Hyderabad was accessible only to the elite classes for a long time, especially in the nineteenth century. Setting up schools and colleges at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century made small scale transformation in the education arena. The education of *Jagirdārs*' (who collected taxes and revenue and

maintained a standing army) children was a major concern for the Nizam. The Nizam decided to use two percent of the *Jagirdār*'s assets for the education of their children. *Rahbar* (1923, July 18), in an editorial, suggests that *Jagirdārs* will be able to understand the value and benefit of education once their children are educated. They were also encouraged to go to Europe for higher studies. The newspaper also raised many questions like how can a *Jagirdār* pay tax if he has a low income and has many children? and what is the policy of the government if he is not able to continue his children's education?

The Hyderabad state gave importance to all branches of knowledge specifically medicine and engineering. It seems that the aim of establishing various educational institutions was to equip the state to be self-sufficient and competent with other princely states and British India. The formation of new subjects also must have been the driving force behind these endeavors. Students could enjoy the freedom to criticize the quality of education, and they could raise complaints. Engineering education was not high in standard, and teachers did not have thorough knowledge in the respective field. The daily (1922, October 22) highlighted the complaints of students about the quality of engineering courses. It proposed to make sure that quality and best education is offered in the field of engineering.

It was not only for the intellectual and mental growth that were given importance, to but also physical development was considered an essential part of education. It was urged that the participation of students in sports activities must be ensured, and programs for physical development should be conducted in schools (1922, November 21). Education was considered a means to achieve the comprehensive development of an individual.

The *Rahbar* perceived the Nizam government as a shelter for the people (1922, December 7). It compared the government with rain which waters both dry and wet fields, and the sun, which lights large houses and small huts. It argues that a state is not for a few but for all, and everyone must get benefit from it. This editorial was written to inform the people

about the extension of the last date of fee payment for judicial examination. At the end of the editorial, the newspaper suggests that the students from the villages will not be able to know about the extension of the date since educational establishments, press, and other institutions were centered in the city of Hyderabad. Hence *Rahbar* pushed the authorities to give special consideration to the students from rural areas.

A different editorial (1922, December 28), suggested establishing a new law department at the Osmania University. In the case of the judicial exams, some students complained that the fee is high to apply for the course. *Rahbar* (1922, November 30) argued that students should not be charged high fees. The newspaper focused on the demands of the students and talked in favor of them. This shows the critical and corrective position of the daily and how it acted to support the poor and rural subjects.

The newspaper also attempted to combat rumors against the government (1922, December 17). There was a rumor about judicial exam that if someone fails in one subject in the first year, they will have to attend classes for two years again. According to the government authorities, this year's exam is the last exam for the law certificate course. From next year onwards, there will be one more chance to clear the subjects for those who failed the exam.

In another instance of a controversy during the period about notifying the timetable of the second-year medical exam without publishing the results of the first-year examination. *Rahbar* accused that the examination committee's careless attitude caused students hardships. Because of this issue, students refused to write the second-year exam. The newspaper wanted to bring the notice of the authorities to solve students' problems, and it highlighted the international popularity of medical education in general (1922, October 22).

The state considered informal education and training as tools of development and self-sufficiency. The state authorities were urged by the daily to produce its goods for regular use

(1922, October 30). The Hyderabad state used to suffer from droughts every year during this period hence industrial and agricultural development was inevitable for survival. The majority of the people depended on agriculture. *Rahbar* proposed to the state that farmers should be given industrial training and the domestic production must be encouraged. Institute of Commerce and Industries at the Osmania University organized an exhibition of domestic products during this period and the exhibition was appreciated by the daily (1922, December 3).

Rahbar has shown keen interest in the educational experiments and experiences in Jamia Millia Islamia and Aligarh Muslim University. It praised the industrial education in Aligarh and presiding of a woman in convocation as the first time event in world history. The daily (1923, January 2) pointed out that the Begum of Bhopal supported women's education in Aligarh. It seems that the daily envisaged creating Muslim educational solidarity and cooperation. Since the editor of *Rahbar* graduated from Aligarh, he had a first-hand experience with its educational system.

It also published different speeches delivered in convocations at Jamia and Aligarh. The series of editorials published during February 14-22, 1923 in the context of convocation in Jamia and Aligarh talk about the impact of Islamic culture in India. It also discussed Islam's role in breaking the caste system, the creation of unity of religions, service rendered by Islam in the field of teaching and education, and necessity of freedom as a rare species that is hardly found in the history of civilization. They also discussed nationalism and why institutions should be free from government intervention.

Another editorial brings the model of Prophet Muhammad's approach to science and knowledge since people from different parts of the world came to *Medīna* (Holy place of Islam) for learning. It also quotes prophet's sayings about knowledge like 'one who seeks knowledge is in the path of God', 'one who talks about knowledge is praising the God' and

‘knowledge illuminates the path to the paradise’ and, ‘knowledge is the only friend in the desert of darkness’.

The contributions of Islam in the field of knowledge and learning were praised in the convocation meetings. How medieval Muslims produced knowledge was a very important question discussed in the daily. The names such as Ibn Sina, philosopher and scholar of science and medicine, Ibn Rushd, and Abu Musa, were recalled in the meeting and the connection of their theories with Aristotelian thoughts was also mentioned. Apart from educational infrastructure, the newspaper discussed language, politics, religion, development, etc. The 1930s and 40s witnessed heated political arguments and ideological encounters between different streams of Urdu press.

The Politics of Language and *Rahbar-e-Deccan*

Unlike in North India, the language discourse in Hyderabad was multidimensional. The North Indian language discourse was largely centered on the Hindi-Urdu controversy. In Hyderabad Urdu as the official language had to engage with vernacular languages like Telugu, Kannada, and Maratha. Persian was the official language until the 1880s, and Urdu language replaced it during the period of Mir Maḥbūb Ali Khan, the sixth Nizam. Unlike the Qutb Shahi period and the Asaf Jahi rule of the nineteenth century, the language discourse has witnessed various changes in the early decades of the twentieth century. Even though Urdu was imagined in Hyderabad as a language to rival English, there were some critical engagements of Urdu with other local vernacular languages as well.

The making of Urdu as a language of knowledge and education has a long history in the state, starting from the individual initiative of Faḫruddin Khan Shams-ul-Umara in the first half of the nineteenth century through establishing educational institutions in the latter half of the same century and founding of Osmania University in the early decades of the

twentieth century. To officiate Urdu and to make it the language of instruction, Hyderabad had to face many challenges and troubles from different linguistic groups. The emergence and creeping of nationalist movements from British India to Hyderabad also heated the tensions around the question of language.

There was trenchant criticism against Nizam's approach to Telugu people and language. It was alleged that the Nizam was scared of the progress of the Telugu people (Srinivasulu, 1982). It was also told that Telugu, Marathi, and Kannada presses were not permitted in the state (Srinivasulu, 1982, p. 12). The same source who made these accusations suggested that there were many Telugu publications in Hyderabad, including *Nilgiri* weekly, *Telugu Patrika*, *Golconda Patrika*, and *Sujata* Monthly, and 15 Telugu journals started publishing between 1900 and 1930 (Srinivasulu, 1982, p. 6, 13). A raging debate was going on in the state between Urdu press and Telugu press regarding the questions of official language, language of instruction, and educational policies.

In an editorial (1926, June 2) *Golconda Patrika* praised the education and libraries in the princely state of Baroda and urged the Nizam government to establish mobile libraries in the Telangana region (Srinivasulu, 1982, p. 38). It again asked the government for permitting to found libraries and vernacular schools. It was accused that the government did not give permission. *Rahbar* suggested that Telugu libraries were the houses of conspiracy and the temples of hypocrisy. *Sahīfa*, Urdu daily, also expressed the same opinion (Srinivasulu, 1982, p. 39). Later the *Golconda Patrika* raised severe critique against the Urdu press by stating that some newspapers support the aspirations of the people while other newspapers present a distorted image of the same. It accused *Rahbar* and *Sahīfa* as perpetrators of religious fanaticism (Srinivasulu, 1982, pp. 39-40). *Rahbar* was characterized as a communal newspaper (Joseph, 2006).

Telugu press, including newspapers and magazines, raised many criticisms and accusations against Osmania University as well. The establishment of Osmania University was portrayed as a ruin to Indian culture, and Urdu was called a foreign language. Akbar Hydari was characterized as Macaulay of the Nizam state. They alleged that there is Islamic domination in Osmania University and Urdu is not the language of the people, and it should be given only the second position. When *Rahbar* wrote that Urdu is the medium of instruction at Osmania University and no need for Telugu and Sanskrit, *Sujata* responded that *Rahbar's* logic does not deserve reverence. *Golconda Patrika* also criticized Translation Bureau and demanded that Andhra University must have Telugu language as the medium of instruction. There was criticism against *Hyderabad Vidya Mahasabha* as well.

Hyderabad Vidya Mahasabha was established in 1915 to promote education in the state. It used to organize educational conferences, and was dominated by the people who are associated with the government. Hence *Golconda Patrika* called it a Muslim Sabha. In 1928, a parallel Mahasabha was formed and it was named *Prajapaksha Vidya Mahasabha*. *Rahbar* made stringent criticisms against the conferences organized by the sabha, saying that this sabha is only for Hindus and a wide gulf is being evolved between rulers and the ruled. *Rahbar* went further and called *Prajapaksha Vidya Mahasabha* as Hindu Mahasabha. *Rahbar* suggested that such organizations are not needed in the state since the Nizam government is not foreign, and such organizations are only required in British India.

The debates and disputations between the Urdu press and Telugu press continued. *Golconda Patrika* and *Sujata* opined that the Urdu press is not promoting education, and they do not tolerate something good done by other magazines; hence they do not deserve any respect. Urdu press especially *Rahbar* was accused as the originator of divisions between communities. But the editorials published in *Rahbar* suggest that it was attempting to resist the penetration of British Indian tendencies in Hyderabad. By branding Osmania University

as a ruin to Indian culture and Urdu as a foreign language, the Telugu press was perpetuating Hindu nationalist tendencies.

Rahbar was against giving secondary education in mother tongues.¹²⁵ But it had attempted to push the government toward establishing primary schools in different parts of the state (1923, June 24). The reason for not approving secondary education in mother tongue can be the agenda of the state for recruiting educated officials in government positions hence making Urdu the official language. The establishment of Osmania was to co-relate the ancient arts and sciences with the modern ones and to promote spiritual values. To fulfill this, it made compulsory theology for Muslims and compulsory ethics for non-Muslims in 1928-1929 (Rahman, 1986).

The *Mushīr-e-Deccan* daily advised that the government servants must know regional languages. *Rahbar* responded to this advice by saying that it is impossible to learn twelve to fifteen languages of the state though learning Urdu was mandatory for the people who speak Marathi and Telugu, and for the Urdu speaking people, it was compulsory to learn one of the other languages. The progressive and reputed Urdu daily *Ra'yyat* never opposed Urdu as the state's official language. It emphasized making it easy, simple, and intelligible to all (Rahman, 1986, pp. 219-220). *Majlis-e-Itihād-ul-Muslimīn* also demanded to keep Urdu as the official language. But the village administration was performed in regional languages.

Urdu was presented in official and unofficial documents as a language spoken in different areas of Hyderabad. A government resolution issued on October 18, 1917, proposes Urdu not only as the official language but “it is the only vernacular which is more or less understood throughout the dominions, especially in those urban areas from which His Exalted

¹²⁵ Primary schools in the mother tongue were established in 1922. Maratha, Andhra, and Kannada conferences demanded secondary education in the mother tongue but it was not approved.

Highness's subjects who generally take to secondary education, are mainly drawn"

(Cameron, 1922, pp. 4-5).¹²⁶

Rahbar praised Osmania University as a boon for the people of Hyderabad. Education in the mother tongue was strongly espoused by the daily, following the models from Europe and other regions. It says that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the English used to feel proud of their knowledge of Latin, and later, they realized that intellectual growth is possible not only in Latin but also in the English language. Nations which love their mother tongue only can like their culture (1923, July 2).

Rahbar also objected to releasing press notes in the English language. It opined that since Urdu is the official language all communications and work should be done in this language. Only two Urdu newspapers used to report activities of the government departments. One of them was *Rahbar*. If the information is published in English, a large section of people will not be able to understand the content. The daily asks when the language of the Osmania University is Urdu then why is its success story published in English (1923, July 2). Telugu press also accused *Rahbar* as the mouthpiece of the Nizam government, although several editorials published in *Rahbar* and secondary sources prove otherwise.¹²⁷

Infrastructure and Communication

The *Rahbar* daily urged the authority to ensure connectivity and communication between Hyderabad and the outer world. For instance, it demanded the government to open a post office in Afzal Gunj as it was a big business hub (1922, November 23). It gave minute details about the place to prove why such an office is necessary. The shops of that place

¹²⁶ R.H Cameron was the editor and proprietor of the newspaper called *Hyderabad Bulletin*.

¹²⁷ Editorials quoted in the previous section prove the same. For a secondary source see, Mohammed Ghousul Husain (1993, p. 76).

wanted to send and receive letters from different parts of the country, especially from British India. The post office must be convenient for the residents of the area as the post office in Begum Bazar is not sufficient, it suggested. There was no post office between Pathargatti and residency. To reduce the expense, it was proposed to shift the office from Begum Bazar to Afzal Gunj.

International Aspects

Political developments in Turkey and Ottoman Caliphate were the major content of *Rahbar*. It placed Turkey as a powerful center of the world (1922, November 16). It spoke about and urged for the unity of Muslims. The right of the Caliphate was attributed to Turks because of their invaluable contributions to the war for Islam. *Rahbar* celebrated all the victories gained by the Turkish government. It considered the happiness of the Nizam in such news as representing the entire population of Muslims, especially of India (1923, August 3). Because of the victory of Turkey over European powers, Nizam declared 29 August 1923 a holiday in Hyderabad. The government announced that all the mosques would be illuminated at the state's expense. *Rahbar* proposed that the government and the people across Hyderabad have to lighten themselves. For this purpose, groups have to be formed, and money has to be collected to illuminate mosques in every locality. The daily also opined that after every prayer (namaz), a special prayer for the Caliph of Muslims and the Nizam has to be conducted (1923, August 3).

The daily wrote editorials against the encroachment of Turkey by European powers. It criticized propaganda against Turkey by saying that media reports are trying to make Muslims allies of France and Italy. The appeal by the International Red Cross Committee to help the victims of the Greek attacks was reiterated by the newspaper (1923, January 17). World Muslims were asked to help them, and the committee had great success in China,

Siam, Burma, etc. It was hoped that the Central Khilafat Committee would hand over the funds to the committee.¹²⁸

The *Rahbar* (1923, July 28) daily credited Turkey with the custodianship of two holy mosques in Mecca and Medina. Enemies want to erase Turkey from the world map as it had fought against all European countries. Mustafa Kamal Pasha has proved that the country has all the properties that free and energetic countries possess. As the European countries have been called independent, Turkey also has the right to be called a free and alive nation. The victory of Turkey is projected as the triumph of truth. Turkey had to suffer a lot to reach this stage and its enemies destroyed its economy and villages. These facts were narrated in the daily, to appeal to the world Muslims to assist Turkey financially to improve its situation.

The daily wrote editorials to counter vicious propaganda against Turkey. An editorial titled “White Lies”, with the help of statistics and data, counters British Prime Minister David Lloyd George’s accusation against Turkey that it has killed 15 lakh Armenians. *Rahbar* (1922, November 28) asks that given the population of Armenia is 12 lakhs, how could Turkey kill 15 lakh people. It urges the readers not to believe in such propaganda since the propaganda machine against Turkey is active.

Religious Piety

To promote religious virtues and encourage people to improve spiritual and ethical qualities was one of the major agendas of the daily. The aim was to create ethical subjects in the state for social development. It wrote special editorials in the month of *Rabi’ul avval* (month of Prophet Muhammad’s birth) and on *Eid Milād-un-Nabi* (celebration of the Prophet’s birthday). An editorial (1923, November 1) written on Milad-un-Nabi, talked about how the world was changed after the period of Jesus to profanity and idolatry. The birth of

¹²⁸ In a variety of situations like the Bengal famine *Rahbar* (1922, October 15) had appealed to the readers to make financial contributions

Prophet Muhammad made the desert of Arabia verdant and fertile like the birth of Jesus made Jerusalem a paradise. The special day must be celebrated in Hyderabad, and his messages should be shared and perpetuated. People used to send money to *Rahbar*'s office for celebrating *Mīlad-un-Nabi* and the daily praised the donors and prayed for them. The money was distributed among poor people, victims of natural calamities, and charity organizations. As taught by the prophet, Muslims of Hyderabad were encouraged to spend money on welfare activities.

Rahbar praised the services rendered by various officials in different state departments. For instance, Nawab Muhyuddin Yar Jung's administration in Karim Nagar and Warangal was deeply appreciated in the context of his retirement from the service. He played a very important role in improving the area. He built many roads, and sanitation was given utmost importance. In light of this, *Rahbar* proposed to the government that after retirement, he could be appointed in Hyderabad so that sanitation in the city could be improved. Residents of the city can have better facilities and good healthcare thanks to his administration.

Religious and community organizations were given big support and encouragement by *Rahbar* (1923, August 9). *Tablīgh-e-Şifatul Islam* was one such organization formed in 1921; and its headquarters was in Hyderabad. The aims of the organization have been narrated in the daily one by one as 1) preaching and propagation of Islamic ethics, 2) preparing Muslims for government employment, 3) establishing orphanages and institutions for the destitute, 4) helping socially backward communities to be educated, 5) reformation of the individual self, 6) warning drunkard and addicts of bad habits and weaning them away from the wrong path.

In a different editorial (1923, January 18) a great concern was expressed in the daily about preventing four lakh Muslims from apostasy. *Jam'iat-e- Da'vat –o-Tablīgh-e-Islam*,

Lahore has sent some preachers for this purpose and all Muslims of India were requested to thank them for their service. The daily opines that since the active propagation of Islam has been forgotten for a long time, the Muslims are facing the threat of apostasy. The Muslim conversion to Hinduism and Christianity is a lack of knowledge of Islam. It also opines that this is not a matter of freedom of choice rather, this is the result of ignorance of Islam, which their ancestors embraced, considering it as the right and best path.

To summarize the chapter, the *Rahbar* newspaper published editorials on a wide range of subjects as a response to global and local, socio-political and cultural changes. The daily envisaged a developed and prosperous Hyderabad without rejecting traditional ethos and religious values. The first-quarter of the twentieth-century in Hyderabad can be seen as a phase of practical transformation to new systems of governance and structures of power. *Rahbar* was dealing with a variety of ideological dispositions and political projects. In the 1930s and 1940s *Rahbar* mainly dealt with political questions. The daily wrote editorials against British interference in the internal affairs of the state and for the state's independence.¹²⁹ Since institutional and organizational politics is not the concern of this project, editorials on education, language, industry, infrastructure, and development have been mainly focused on in the thesis.

¹²⁹ "Articles published in the "Rahbar-i-Dekan" in July 1939 against the British government in the matter of Hyderabad affairs", Political Department, File No. 5 (11) - P (s)/39, 1939, British Library. I thank my friends Thahir Jamal and Manasi Mohan for accessing and sharing this document when they visited the UK in 2018.

Chapter VII

Conclusion

This thesis has examined and analyzed various materials such as books, magazines/journals, and newspapers to make sense of the trajectory of Urdu print culture in the princely state of Hyderabad. It argues that the print opened up new ways for tradition to engage with modernity and vice versa in creative and constitutive style. To broaden this perspective furthermore, future research projects have to explore innumerable materials published in Hyderabad, especially at the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

This project does not approach print either as an emancipatory object or as a revolutionary technology in the case of princely Hyderabad rather, it holds the view that print was one of the agents of socio-cultural and political processing. Print as technology and printing as an activity was used as a tool of discursive configuration in the fields of knowledge, reform, and development. Print created conditions for connecting spaces, generating narratives, and configuring discourses on tradition, modernity, science, reform, infrastructure, language, and region.

It seems that the idea of “problem-space” contributed by David Scott (2004) resonates with some of the arguments presented in the study. Scott deployed it “to demarcate a discursive context, a context of language” and defined it further as “a context of argument and, therefore, one of intervention” and “an ensemble of questions and answers around which a horizon of identifiable stakes (conceptual as well as ideological-political stakes) hangs” (p. 12). The problem-space is a context of dispute, rival views, knowledge and power. The negotiation of Hyderabad princely state with various seemingly new ideas and practices was based on new questions about knowledge, society and institutional infrastructures.

Analysis of interaction between technology and language and technology and culture can provide more information on Hyderabad's history of technological mediation. Various technologies such as print, railway, telegraph, industrial machines, photography, visual media and radio (*Deccan Radio* in this case) enabled the state and public to engage with new ideas, concepts, and forms of life. Though scholars have studied some of these technologies in princely Hyderabad (on film, for instance, Krishna 2019, 2020, 2021, and on photography, Hutton, 2017) much remains to be done.

Languages such as Persian, Dakhni, Urdu, and other vernacular languages open up new areas of exploration in the context of Hyderabad. History of the textual production in the Arabic language can be written in the background of *Dāirat-ul-Maā'rif*. Oral tradition, calligraphic culture, manuscript production, and printing activity in different fields can be examined in upcoming research projects to map the cultural history and trajectory of Hyderabad Deccan. The story of various cultural and linguistic organizations and associations like *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Urdu* and *Idar-e-Adabiyat-e-Urdu* also can be examined. Popular press of the twentieth-century and literature, especially ghazals, dastans, and novels, may also be resourceful for capturing intellectual, imaginative and sensorial aspects of life in Hyderabad.

Ideological and political debates from the 1920s to 1940s between newspapers and magazines around the future of Hyderabad state and events leading to the integration of Hyderabad into India are also of importance as they will be helpful to reveal different discursive dispositions. At some points in time, regional and cultural nationalism also enjoyed a considerable currency in most of the political mobilizations in the state. Cultural nationalism was based on a shared language and shared past. Since the close of the nineteenth century, a movement had started in North India which identified Urdu with Muslims and Hindi with Hindus. At the same time, the *Mulkī* movement in Hyderabad attempted to prevent the

disintegration of the state on linguistic and religious grounds. It embarked on developing an indigenous Deccani nationalism by invoking its identity through Urdu. These themes are also worth inquiring about. The press also can be examined in connection with the emergence of public sphere and formation of community.

Comparative analysis of different princely states will also open new windows to new ideas and dimensions of society, politics, culture, economy, etc. For instance, the aspiration to make Hyderabad a cosmopolitan space and center of learning is similar to the agenda of the princely state of Rampur (Khan, 2017; 2021).

To do all these tasks, many of the materials are not available in the archives of Hyderabad and India since they have been preserved at British Library and other foreign libraries and archives, and they are not available online. However, websites like archive.org and rekhta.org provide free access to plenty of books and other printed materials published by Hyderabad princely state.

Furthermore, book production and translation projects in Hyderabad have not been systematically studied in the context of print culture. Kavita Datla's work (2013) on Osmania University focuses more on the intellectual and secular dimensions of the institute and the nationalist aspects of language. Eric Lewis Beverley's project (2016) occasionally mentions trends in print culture while discussing Islamic internationalism. There is also scope in investigating how print enabled the formation of the public sphere in the princely Hyderabad state, specifically in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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Urdu press in the princely state of Hyderabad

■ Muhammed Ashraf T

Introduction

The study of print culture and literature in India has been mostly concerned with immediate and overt political implications, like the Hindi-Urdu controversy over Hindustani in upper India during the nineteenth century, or the formation of regional identities based on a commonly shared language. Francesca Orsini has studied the Hindi public sphere in 1920-40. She demonstrates how educated Indians advanced their political, social and literary agendas through creating institutional spaces. Ulrike Stark analyses the hitherto untold story of the social, cultural and material aspects of book production in nineteenth century North India. It concerns commercial publishing of the Naval Kishore Press in the second half of the nineteenth century. Stark applies Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and the theory of cultural production in her study.

Masood Ali Khan had conducted a chronological study about the Urdu press in Hyderabad. When Kavita Saraswathi Datla looks at the establishment and intellectual history of Osmania University and Urdu language in Hyderabad she explores translation, book production and print activities. Her work is basically an attempt to look at the intellectual history of Hyderabad concerned with Urdu language, education and nationalism in a Muslim space. There are no analytical or descriptive studies available which discuss the print culture in Hyderabad.

In a more theoretical register, Veena Naregal has argued convincingly that linguistic hierarchies, literate audiences and political structure are interrelated.

Given this context, it becomes inevitable to look at the print culture of Hyderabad focus on Urdu popular press, political spectrum and public sphere in Hyderabad.

Hyderabad: power, culture and public sphere

The princely state of Hyderabad had been reputed for its composite multiculturalism and social diversity. The social body of this place comprises a variety of religious and linguistic communities. Muslims from Iran, Yemen, and Turkey, Africa, Armenia and many other countries and native Hindus with their various streams and groups came together as the population of this part of Deccan plateau. Hyderabad was the largest princely state which could be seen as a site of migration, diaspora, diversity, universalism and multiculturalism. As Benjamin Cohen's work, *Kingship and colonialism in India's Deccan* has demonstrated, princely states such as Hyderabad have to be studied on multiple levels, since they were 'multitiered, multiethnic' states, unique in their combination of state forms drawn from earlier Hindu empires 'embedded within the Muslim regimes'.

Osmania University, the first Urdu university in South Asia was established in 1918 in the reign of Mir Osman Ali Khan. It contributed towards the intellectual development of Hyderabad in general and the immense growth and standardization of Urdu language in particular. English was the compulsory second language in Osmania University.

The political arena and public sphere of Hyderabad had been constituted influenced by various socio-political, linguistic and cultural collectives like Andhra Jana Sangham, Andhra Maha Sabha, Hyderabad State Congress, Arya Samaj, Hindu Maha Sabha, Communist Party, Indian National Congress and Muslim League from outside. Telugu, Kannada, and Marathi were the prominent native languages of the state. In Hyderabad, until the 1940s, Muslims dominated the public sphere not only because

they owned most of the land and held government jobs, but also because Urdu was the official language.

Civil societal institutions and movements took lead in providing space for public discussion and debate over social and political issues to cultivate public life. The decades leading up to Indian independence saw in Hyderabad a surge of civil societal activism despite many constraints placed by the state's administration.

Rama Sundari Mantena suggests that the modernization schemes implemented by Salar Jang along with calls for constitutional reforms starting in the second decade of the twentieth century nurtured the conditions for the emergence of a thriving public sphere in Hyderabad, a public that eventually not only posed a challenge to the monarchical power of the Nizam, but also the dominance of Muslims in the bureaucracy.

The theme politics was very crucial in all arenas of the princely state of Hyderabad. Religion, caste, language, geography and any other categorical, group or identity measurements were deeply shaped by political ideas and perspectives.

Language and Hyderabad Princely State

With the coming of Muslim rulers from North India into Deccan, Persian and Urdu languages gained currency in administrative and educational spheres. Thus Dakhni language was also developed in Hyderabad. Kavita Datla in her study about Urdu nationalism in colonial India in the context of Hyderabad suggests that the Urdu language in the early twentieth century became a means not only of asserting difference but also of imagining a common secular future. She argues that intellectuals in Hyderabad used Urdu not against Hindi but to rival English language and Western education and the language was put above religion. Persian and Urdu were considered also as the symbols or contributions of Muslim rule in Hyderabad state.

With the rest of Muslim India, the elite of Hyderabad considered Persian as an essential part of their cultural heritage and a marker of their elitist identity and political domination. The Patil nobility of Hyderabad studied Persian as part of their socialization. Elite groups paid more attention to Persian in the



October 11, 2018

Muhammed Ashraf Thirisseri
University of Hyderabad
Room number 16, MH-E, NRS Annex
C R Rao Road
Hyderabad, Telangana 500046
INDIA

Dear Muhammed Ashraf Thirisseri:

The Association for Asian Studies, based in Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA, will host the 2019 **Annual Conference, on March 21-24, 2019** at the Sheraton Downtown Denver Hotel in **Denver, Colorado**. We are expecting more than 3300 attendees and have scheduled 392 dynamic panels and sessions. The AAS Annual Conference is a one of a kind opportunity and event to meet with Asian Studies scholars, business associates, colleagues, librarians, and others who share an avid interest in Asia—its culture, religion, history and language.

The Association for Asian Studies is pleased to invite **Muhammed Ashraf Thirisseri** to participate on a panel session that has been accepted by the 2019 Conference Program Committee. Muhammed has been awarded a \$1500 LDC Program Award to cover conference expenses.

You are scheduled to participate on the following session:

Panel Session Title: Spatial Proximities, Cultural Intimacies: Travel as Solidarity, Freedom, and Pleasure within South Asia and the Former Mughal Domains, 1700-1950

Research Paper

Presentation Title: Afghani in Princely Hyderabad: Travel, Print and Social Reform

I hope this letter will assist in securing a visa and travel funds. There are many surrounding activities at an AAS Annual Conference and while the Association is not in a position to provide financial assistance in support of your attendance, we do hope that the many benefits which accrue from attendance will prove to be worth your efforts. The attendance of all accepted panelists like you is an important and vital part of the success of the overall conference program. We look forward to your participation and hope that all goes well as you make your plans.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael Paschal".

Michael Paschal
Executive Director



Association for Asian Studies

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Phone: 734-665-2490

Ann Arbor, MI USA 48108
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Certificate of Participation

Mr. MUHAMMED ASHRAF THIRISSERI

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This is to certify that Dr./Ms./Mr. ...MUHAMMED ASHRAF T.....
.....has
presented a paper entitled...KNOWLEDGE AND TRADITION: THE INTRODUCTION...
.....OF PRINT IN THE PRINCELY STATE OF HYDERABAD.....
in the International Conference on 'Print Modernities'.

Dr. IGNATIUS ANTONY
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CO-ORDINATOR

Negotiating Modernity: Urdu Print Culture in the Princely State of Hyderabad

by Muhammed Ashraf T

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