Above all, essentially modern attitudes were introduced by creating a new vernacular literature in both Urdu and Hindi. We have mentioned how the urge for reform of the printed word came, inter alia, out of the Victorian squeamishness about the frank and uninhibited allusion to sex in medieval Persian classics, used in the curricula which the British shared with Indian modernist reformers (see Rahman 2002: 490–509 for this movement). Thus the medieval texts were discarded and new ones in Urdu as well as Hindi were substituted in their place. These texts endorsed new, modern, values instead of the older, medieval ones. At the ontological level, the world was seen as an ordered, rule-governed, causally functioning cosmos. The medieval world, on the other hand, was magical. That is, it had no order as rules were superseded by miracles and cause and effect were held in abeyance by enchantment. The epistemological corollary of the medieval world-view was that one endured the world as a mystery without, however, intervening in it (unless one was a magician). However, modern ways of understanding reality meant that one could understand and, hence, control the world. Thus, while the medieval texts were theological, linguistic or literary; the modern ones were scientific and analytical. At the normative level, while the medieval texts did endorse universal humanitarian values at the highest level, they did so through anecdotes, including sexual ones, which most people now found embarrassing. Moreover, they were frankly mistrustful of women and advocated control over them. The modern texts, on the other hand, endorsed middle class virtues: order, good management, frugality, sobriety, hard work, and sexual modesty—just the very things Muslim reformers wanted to reform in their decadent society. The new texts also taught respect and admiration for the British government, regard for the rule of law and other modern, civic virtues. Hence, modernity was very much a part of being a colonial subject of the British Empire in India. Urdu, along with Hindi and English, were
important vehicles of this attempt at creating the modern, colonial Indian subject of the empire.

Contrary to medieval assumptions, modernity included women into the project of citizenship. Thus the education of girls became a much debated issue among Muslim reformers and educationists. Girls were mostly taught in home-based schools by female teachers (*ustānīs*). Some of the *ustānīs* visited the homes of their affluent pupils and received payment. Others, like Asghari in Deputy Nazir Ahmed’s (1833–1912) *Bināt-un-Nāsh* (The daughters of the Bier) (n.d.), kept school in their house where girls learned the Urdu script, read books on religion and morality through Urdu stories (mostly in verse) and learned to sew and cook. The books mentioned by Nazir Ahmed are as follows: A translation of the Quran, *Kanz-ul-Maslā*, *Qiāmat Nāmā*, *Rāh-ē-Nijāt*, *Wafāt Nāmā*, *Qissā Shāh-ē-Rōme*, *Qissā Sipāhī Zādā*, *Mu’ajzā Shāh Yemen*, *Risālā Maulūd Sharīf*, *Shahīd Mashāriq ul Anwar*. These are all religious books, some being based on the folk Islam of the period, which was intermixed with popular belief in miracles and mysticism. The modern subjects were also taught through the medium of Urdu. These included the history of India, *Chand Pand* (Moral Aphorisms), *Muntakhāb-ul-Hikāyāt* (Moral Stories) and *Mirāt ul Urūs* (1869) (The Mirror the Bride)—Nazir Ahmed’s own contribution to scholarship for women (Ahmed 2004: 789–949).

It is notable that by the late nineteenth century, literacy in Urdu was seen as necessary, not only for men but also for women. Thus a ‘Minute’ by R. Montgomery, Lt. Governor of the Punjab, of 3 May 1864 describing schools in the Punjab for girls in 1864, says that the curriculum included basic reading and writing in Urdu and Punjabi, arithmetic and needlework (Quoted from Minault 1998: 164). Badruddin Tyabji also testified before the Hunter Commission that:

There are some Karis or Mullas in the chief centres of the Muhammadan Population who teach the Koran and perhaps a little
Hindustani and Persian to the girls (Quoted from Minault 1998: 184).

Tyabji’s own wife, Bibi Rahat, could read Gujarati and Urdu, and he himself translated English novels into Urdu for her edification (Minault 1998: 186). Bibi Rahat was a Gujarati but she and other Muslims, even when their mother-tongue was different, had started learning Urdu. In Bengal too, where Bengali was the mother-tongue, Rokeya Sakhavat Husain’s Sakhavat Memorial Girls’ School in Calcutta taught ‘Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Bengali, and English’ (Minault 1998: 259).

While sending girls to schools was not favoured among the ashraf, girls were often educated at home. Ashrafunnissa Begum (1840–1903), or Bibi Ashraf as she was called, learned Urdu by reading the Urdu marsiyās, and then came to write letters for the family in Urdu (Naim 1987). Syed Mumtaz Ali’s (1860–1935) weekly newspaper Tahzīb un-Niswā, edited by his wife Muhammadi Begam, came to be published from Lahore in 1898 and its avowed aim was to reform women through informal education in Urdu (Minault 1998: 73–95). Among the ideas disseminated by this publication was that extreme segregation of women (purdāh) was harmful and that the veil was enough protection for them if they went out (Minault 1998: 87).

Besides the magazines, informal education was also spread to women—along with men—through didactic books masquerading as fiction or religious books like Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi’s Bahishti Zēvar. In 1863, Maulvi Karim Uddin, educated in the Delhi College from 1840 to 1844, published Khat-ē-Taqdir (The Line of Fate) which is a didactic story about a young man who abandons the path of poetry and ostentation to follow a puritanical lifestyle dedicated to learning (Powell 2006: 222–225). It was a precursor of other such works—especially those of Nazir Ahmed—which followed. And, again like these more famous successors, Karim Uddin’s books were also used in the schools of the Punjab (Ibid.,
At about the same time Maulvi Wazir Ali, a religious reformer, wrote a book entitled *Mirāt-un-Nisā* (The Mirror of Women). But nobody got the success which fell to the lot of Nazir Ahmed’s works. In *Taubat un Nusāh* (The Repentance of Nusuh) (1874), probably based on Daniel Defoe’s (1660–1731), *The Family Instructor*, the protagonist, Nusuh, condemns the sloth and hedonism of the Indian way of life and destroys the ‘obscene’ literature associated with that lifestyle (Pritchett 1994:186). In *Mirāt ul Urūs* (1869), Asghari represents the modern, reformed woman who runs her household with intelligence, foresight and ability. Her elder sister, Akbari, on the other hand, represents old-fashioned wasteful extravagance. In *Fasanā-i-Muttilā* (The Tale of the Afflicted One) (1885), as mentioned in an earlier chapter, the protagonist, Muttila, is ruined by the amorousness of Persian literature. These themes, critical as they were of pre-modern values and attitudes, were popular both with the British, as well as the Indian reformers. Thus Nazir Ahmed’s works, especially *Mirāt ul Urūs*, were published repeatedly and in large numbers as Urdu came to be established as the main language of literacy in much of North India.

Nazir Ahmed’s books, though full of Islamic references including Arabic verses, were praised by the British (Naim 1984). *Mirāt ul Urūs* was considered very useful for women. In a report on reading of the 1st Circle of Education, it is stated that ‘all the girls of the upper classes read from the *Mirat-ul-Arus* well and intelligently’ (Edn. NWP 1873: 83). M. Kempson, the Director of Public Instruction, recommended it to the Government of the NWP. The Secretary of the Government replied that ‘the Lieutenant Governor has perused the *Mirat-ul-Urūs*, or ‘The Bride’s Mirror’, with the highest satisfaction’ (in Hasan 2005: 263–264). The Secretary observed that the ‘work possesses merit hitherto (so far as His Honor is aware) unknown in Oordoo literature’ (Ibid., 264). The author was rewarded Rs 1000—a princely sum at that time—and 2,000 copies of the book were
obtained for the Government (Edn. NWP 1874: 8–9). It was also recommended to the Board of Examiners as a suitable textbook for examinations. *Taubat un Nusūh* was also given an award of Rs 1,000 (Edn. NWP 1874: 8–9). Nazir Ahmed’s *Bināt un Nāsh*, an extension of *Mirāt ul Urūs*, concerns the education of girls in a home-based school run by a female teacher. The girls are taught home management, good manners and basic scientific facts in Urdu. By 1874, 125 out of 1,164 works won the prizes sponsored by the NWP Government and four-fifths of them, including Nazir Ahmed’s novels, were in Urdu (Edn. NWP 1874: 8–9). Yet, although, according to Christina Oesterheld, ‘nineteenth-century’s Urdu was at its best in his writings’ he apparently valued ‘English and Arabic’ more on pragmatic and religious and cultural grounds, taking Urdu ‘for granted’ as the most congenial languages for disseminating his ideas in North India (Oesterheld 2006: 316). However, Nazir Ahmed’s works actually went beyond the Urdu-using readers of North India. By 1885, Nazir Ahmed’s novels had been translated into Bangla, Braj, Kashmiri, Punjabi, and Gujarati. The total circulation was 40,000 copies. Within twenty years of its publications *Mirāt ul Urūs* appeared in editions totalling 100,000 copies (Quoted from Hasan 2005: 160).

There were many imitators of Nazir Ahmad such as Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi (1846–1918), Bashiruddin Ahmed (1868–1927) and Rashidul Khairi. The latter two were related to him being his son and nephew, respectively. Syed Ahmad Dehlavi wrote the *Insahi-i-Hādī un-Nisā*, which is a manual to teach women how to write letters in Urdu. He also wrote two didactic novels *Rāhat Zamānī ki Mazēdār kahānī* (The Enjoyable Story of Rahat Zamani) and *Qissā-ē-Mehr Afrōz* (The Story of Mehr Afroz). The first is against wasting time and the second about womens’ lives in an upper-class Muslim family. Rashidul Khairi’s six novels—*Subāh-ē-Zindagi, Sham-ē-Zindagi, Shab-i-Zindagi, Noha-ē-Zindagi, Fasānā-ē-Zindagi* and *Nālā Zār*—are obviously and crudely didactic. They are not only full of sermonizing, but even have ingredients of medicines,
recipes for delicacies and patterns for embroidery. The aim is to train a girl to be a paragon of virtue like the main character Naseema (Khairi 1936).

Bachiruddin’s novel, *Iqbal Dulhan*—like Khairi’s *Nohā-ē-Zindigī*—is about the problem of marrying a second wife, despite an excellent relationship with the first one, in order to have children. This is a theme also touched upon in *Shab-ē-Zindagi*, and the message is that the first wife must not be lazy, wasteful, extravagant or improvident because such defects in her are legitimate grounds for a second marriage (Khairi 1936: 242–245). Perhaps the most notable imitator of Nazir Ahmed was Rasheed un Nisa (1855–1926), a lady from a respectable Muslim family of Bihar, whose novel *Islāh un Nisā*, written in 1881, is a pioneering work as the author is the first woman novelist whose purpose was to reform and educate women. She was probably only sixteen years of age when she read *Mirāt ul Urūs* (Nisa 1894: 222) and she explicitly mentions it as a text which reformed many uneducated, spendthrift, disorganized, and superstitions women.

Nazar Sajjad Haider’s novel, *Akhtar un Nissā Bēgum*, serialized in the journal *Taēhzīb-ē-Niswa* before being published in 1911 as a novel, is also against second marriage and supportive of women’s education (Haider 2004). There are many other works of this nature—such as Shah Jahan Begam’s *Tahzīb un-Niswa wa Tarbiyat al-Īmān*—(The refinement of women and the training for creating faith) which women could read in school or home.

In the Punjab, too, textbooks in Urdu were prepared and distributed by the ‘Urdu sub-committee’ of the Education Department (Edn. Pun 1892: 100). For instance, the report of 1892–93 tells us that, ‘the Sughar Bivi, or Good House Mother, is taught in the Middle schools, and seems to be a subject in which the girls take much interest’ (Edn. Pun 1893: 72). Books for women were encouraged, and the Urdu sub-committee gave annual reports of these additions.
The project of educating women in Urdu was informed with the language ideology of the time. This privileged the standardized, male sociolect over the regional varieties, rural sub-varieties, and women’s language (WL). Nazir Ahmed’s ideal Asghari spoke standard Urdu rather than the Bēgmātī Zubān (the ladies’ language). And Hali has a section on WL in his Majālis un-Nisā (the assemblies of women) in which a boy is advised not to use WL (Minault 1998: 43).

Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi of the Bihishti Zēvar fame also makes WL appear sinful (Minault 1998: 69). He narrates with great disapproval how, upon entering an assembly, women either raise their hand to the forehead in salutation or just say ‘salām’ (peace). Others respond in the same manner or with traditional blessings: ‘may you stay cool’ (thandi rahō); ‘may you live long’ (jītī rahō); may you live in marital bliss’ (suhāgan rahō) etc. He condemns these indigenous forms of salutation in favour of the strictly Islamic ‘As salām-ō-alaikum (peace be upon you) and ‘wālaikum as-salām’ (peace be upon you too) in response (Thanvi n.d., Part 6: 18). He also gives a list of words which women pronounce incorrectly and recommends their correct pronunciation in standard Urdu (Thanvi n.d., Part 10: 51–52).

Thus, as women learned the formal register of Urdu, they distanced themselves from their Hindu counterparts, country cousins, and the kind of women one encounters in the Rēkhtī. In a sense, then, the formal Bēgmātī Zubān was a product of assumptions and values which marked the boundaries of a modern, Muslimized, female ‘self’ which excluded more than it included. Thus the process of alienation from Hindus, which was part of the sharīf Muslim male consciousness in much of North India, also affected Muslim women.

But, despite the efforts of the social reformers, whose works have been given attention earlier, and the puritanical ulema who had an even more stringent ideal for a Muslim woman in mind, the ability to read did introduce women to non-religious ideas.
After all, Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi’s two lists of ‘useful’ and ‘harmful’ books in his *Bahishti Z̭eva r* includes twenty-six books which he condemns, and these are not only novels—the only one he approves of is *Taubat un Nusāh*—but also newspapers and, of course, all poetry and drama. There are also religious works which he disapproves of because they belong to the tradition of folk Islam or contain weak traditions. But, the press was churning out so much literature that it was always possible for women to read these works. Hence, for people like Thanvi, as Barbara Metcalf remarks, ‘Urdu, as a source of knowledge, was clearly to his mind a mixed blessing’ (Metcalf 1991: 96). Thus, the oppositional trends of Puritanism and religiosity went hand in hand with romanticism and the desire for more liberal values. The personality produced by these contrary streams of ideas was divided, even schizoid in a cultural sense, and often confused. These trends now express themselves in the polarization found in the Muslims of Pakistan and India; in Talibanization on the one hand and the ‘burger’ or ‘yuppie’ culture on the other.

In short, both the present-day UP and Punjab were flooded with Urdu books through the education system. Even in the army, a powerful educational institution in its own right, there were instructional manuals in Roman Urdu as well as the Perso-Arabic script. For instance, the following pamphlets, all about military training, were written in Urdu: *Qawāid-ē-Chānd Māri* (500 copies) (rules of target practice); target practice; *Musketry Regulations in Urdū* (500 copies) and *Rifle Exercises in Urdu* (500 copies) (Edn. Pun 1876: 76).

Overall, then, the British spread Urdu in the areas now comprising the areas of UP and the Punjab through a number of institutions among which the domain of education played a very important role. But education in the modern world needed a lot of printed material and it is to this that we turn now.
NOTES

1. The educational circles of the North Western Provinces comprised the following districts:
   1st educational circle: Aligarh, Bulandshaher, Merut, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur, Badaun, Muradabad, Shahjahanpur.
   2nd educational circle: Agra, Kanpur, Etah, Etawah, Farrukhabad, Hamirpur, Jhansi, Muthra, Mypuri.
   3rd educational circle: Allahabad, Azimgarh, Barda, Benares, Fatehpur, Ghazipur, Jaunpur, Mirzapur.
   4th educational circle: Baitul, Chanderi, Dumoh, Hoshungabad, Jabbalpur, Mundlah, Nursingpur, Seonee, Saugor.

   Kumaun, Garhwal and Ajmer have been excluded in the figures presented in this chapter. Districts in the 4th circle were excluded from the NWP later.

2. The list of ‘harmful books’ is as follows:
   All collections of poetic works and books of ghazals; Indar Sabhā, Qissā badr-e-Munir; Qissā Shāh Yemen; Dāstān Amīr Hamzā; Gul Bakaoli; Alf Lailā; Naqsh Sulaimānī; Fālnāmā, Qissā Māh Ramzān; Mu’ajzā Āl-ē-Nabī, Chahl Risālā; Vafāt Nāmā Ārāesh-e-Mehfil; Jang Nāmā Hazrat ‘Alī; Jang Nāmā Mohammad Hanif; Tafsīr Surāh Yusuf; Hazār Maś’alā; Hairat ul Fiqā; Guldastā Mē’rāj [of the Prophet of Islam]; one thousand and one nights; The Mark of Solomon; Writing on Foretelling the Future; The Story of the Month of Ramazan; The Account of the War of the Revered Ali; The Account of the War of Mohammad Hanif; The Exegesis of the Verse of Joseph; The One Thousand Religious Solutions to Issues; The Perplexity; The Bouquet of the Ascension [of the Prophet of Islam]; Poems and more Poems in Praise of the Prophet of Islam; The Poetic Collection of Luft; The Mirror of the Bride; Daughters of the Bier; The Conferrers of Daily Favours.

   [The Assembly of Indar; The Story of Badr-e-Munir; The Story of the King of Yemen; The Tale of Amir Hamza; The Fragrant Flower (a female name); One Thousand and One Nights; The Mark of Solomon; Writing on Foretelling the Future; The Story of the Month of Ramazan; The Account of the War of the Revered Ali; The Account of the War of Mohammad Hanif; The Exegesis of the Verse of Joseph; The One Thousand Religious Solutions to Issues; The Perplexity; The Bouquet of the Ascension [of the Prophet of Islam]; Poems and more Poems in Praise of the Prophet of Islam; The Poetic Collection of Luft; The Mirror of the Bride; Daughters of the Bier; The Conferrers of Daily Favours].
Annexure-A–1/11

NB: The sources for these annexures are the education reports of the relevant years of the areas given in the headings.

NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES
PRIVATE SCHOOLS OF THE HIGHER CLASSES OPEN TO GOVT. INSPECTION

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<th>% Hindi</th>
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Annexure-A–2/11

OUDH
PRIVATE ELITIST SCHOOLS

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### NORRTH WESTERN PROVINCES

#### HALKABANDI SCHOOLS

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### OUDH

#### GOVT. VILLAGE SCHOOLS (PRIMARY)

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## NORTH WESTERN PROVINCES
### TAHSILI SCHOOLS

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**OUDH**

**GOVT. MIDDLE SCHOOLS**

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**GOVT. MIDDLE SCHOOL (SUPERIOR ZILLAH SCHOOLS)**

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#### MIDDLE SCHOOLS

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<th>% (Urdu)</th>
<th>% (Hindi)</th>
<th>Ratio of Urdu to Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1868–69</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>60.49</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>1:0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869–70</td>
<td>1163</td>
<td>5874</td>
<td>7037</td>
<td>16.53</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>1:5.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870–71</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>1379</td>
<td>57.43</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>1:0.74</td>
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<tr>
<td>1871–72</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>815</td>
<td>1934</td>
<td>57.86</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>1:0.73</td>
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<tr>
<td>1872–73</td>
<td>1237</td>
<td>802</td>
<td>2039</td>
<td>60.67</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>1:5.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873–74</td>
<td>1222</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>2069</td>
<td>59.06</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>1:0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874–75</td>
<td>1301</td>
<td>658</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>66.41</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>1:0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875–76</td>
<td>1056</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>55.61</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>1:0.80</td>
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<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>8285</td>
<td>10684</td>
<td>18969</td>
<td>43.68</td>
<td>56.3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Urdu in Print

Print hastened the process of the shift from orality to literacy, which writing had begun for a very small section of the educated elite in South Asia, ever since the ancestor of Urdu-Hindi was written. Orality involves the use of set phrases, mnemonic devices, pre-logical ways of thinking, memorization rather than analytical precision, lack of definiteness or closure, phonocentric rather than logocentric modes of perception, and lack of self-consciousness or interiorization of consciousness (Mc Luhan 1962; Ong 1982; Eisenstein 1979). Literacy, therefore, values the unconventional, creative use of language and encourages abstract thought and the possibility of constantly examining, or interiorizing, abstract ideas of the self.

The printing press came to India as part of the modernity, which the colonial state brought to that country. But it is only now that scholars have started giving attention to the role of the printed word in British colonialism. Miles Ogborn’s recent book, Indian Ink (2007), has filled a gap by investigating the East India Company’s documents in order to understand the ‘metropolitan politics of print’ (Ogborn 2007: chapters 4 and 5) and the role of the printed word in India (Ibid., Chapter 6). The gist of this scholarly enterprise is to understand how writing (not just print) was ‘a vital part of the reconfiguring of the relationships between Europe and Asia through trade and empire’ (Ogborn 2007: 26). The aim of this chapter is less ambitious: to investigate how Urdu came to be printed in British India and what consequences this had in the domains of education, the construction of identity and
the venture of creating the new citizen of the British Indian Empire.

The printing press had been introduced in India even in Mughal times but had never been made use of. During British rule it did come into mass use. However, the attitude of the British officers towards the printing press changed with time. Nor, indeed, did all of them have the same attitude towards it at any time. During Lord Minto’s time as Governor General (1807–1813), it is reported that ‘visions of the printing press and the Bible were ever making their [the British] flesh to creep, and their hair to stand erect with horror’ (Kaye 1854, Vol. 1: 248). The footnote of this page narrates the story of Captain Sydenham, the Resident at the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad, who procured an air pump, a printing press and the model of a man-of-war for the Nizam. He mentioned this in his letter to the Chief Secretary and ‘was censured for having placed in the hands of a native Prince so dangerous an instrument as a printing press’ (Ibid., 248 footnote). As it happened, the Nizam showed no interest in the press and the Resident explained that he could enter 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!’ (Ibid., 248 footnote). However, printing did enter India and the rise of the printed word in Urdu, as well as in Hindi, is coterminous with the rise of the modern, colonial state in the subcontinent.

For various reasons printing entered South Asia rather late. One reason for this delay in the introduction of printing could be, as C.A. Bayly points out, that information was communicated quite efficiently and speedily, both in writing and orally in pre-print India, so that ‘printing in this sense was not needed until society began to change more radically under colonial rule’ (Bayly 1996: 200). The most insightful analysis, however, is of Francis Robinson who contends that orality—specifically the recitation of the Quran—is at the centre of learning in Islam and,
hence, print was a threat to this centrality of orally transmitted knowledge (Robinson 1996: 64–69).

The printed word owes its existence to the expression of meaning (both in phonographic and logographic systems) by marks on spaces (or in electronically constructed screens). These marks themselves are indexed to certain identities and are invested with emotional and ideological significance. Thus, when the historian Abdul Qadir Badaoni reports about King Akbar, that he diluted the Muslim identity in India deliberately, he mentions that the distinctive Arabic graphemes, which emphasized Arabic and Muslim identity, ‘as the (ﺙ) sē, (ﻉ) ain, (ﺡ) hē, (ﺹ) suād, (ﺽ) zuād and (ﻅ) zōē were avoided’ (Badaoni in Blochmann 1873: 205). The printed word has to be in a script which is also indexed to identity.

Though the indexation of the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu with Muslim identity was taken for granted, such was not the case of the Devanagari script. In this case there were rivals; the Kaesthi or Kaethi script and other versions of it called Mahajani and Sarrafi. While Kaithi was used by more pupils in the North Western Provinces in the early 1850s (various education reports of the NWP), it was not used by powerful people. It was also not preferred by the British officials who administered the schools and bought textbooks from the printing presses. The Devanagari script was promoted by the educational system as well, at least in part by the army, which printed manuals in it as early as in 1824, wrote the names of villages for the sake of accuracy in it and used it in certain domains of revenue surveying (Bayly 1996: 158). And, even more importantly, the emerging Hindi Movement did not favour it on the grounds that it was the script of Hindi or Hindustani not of Sanskrit. Moreover, it was the script of Kaesths, rather than the Brahmins. And, as Alok Rai tells us, the ‘antagonism between the Kayasthas and the Brahmins has been one of the great organising (and disorganising) principles of public life in the Hindi heartland’ (Rai 2001: 52). Thus, the
indexation of the Hindu identity was with the Devanagari script and Sanskritic diction. But this has been mentioned only in passing as this chapter is about the emergence of Urdu as a language of print in India.

Thus, the major concern of this chapter is to trace out the history of printing and publication in Urdu in the present-day Uttar Pradesh area and the Punjab, with reference to the relationship between the printed word and identity-construction for that language. While there is, inevitably, some overlap between the ground covered by Christopher King about printing in Urdu and Hindi (King 1994: 41–48), Bhatnagar, regarding Urdu and Hindi journalism (Bhatnagar 1947: 109–113 and 239–258), and Orsini on printing and publication in Hindi and the public consciousness it created (2002: 48–80), this chapter also covers new ground to be mentioned later.

Our starting point is King’s conclusion that between 1868 and 1925 ‘publications in languages representing the Hindu heritage (chiefly Sanskrit, Hindi, Sanskrit-Hindi, and Hindi-Sanskrit) generally increased, sometimes dramatically’ (King 1994: 37). This change is attributed, both by King and other authors who have written on the subject, to the mobilization of the Hindu and Muslim identities during this period. This chapter offers additional information of the same process in the Punjab while King confines himself to the present-day UP area. Additionally, it will examine school textbooks and the way the language they were written in contributed to the kind of identity construction referred to above. It also looks at other effects of printing on the consciousness of Indian Muslims.

Let us begin by examining the effect of printing on the construction and expression of religious (Islamic) identities and attitudes. In the Indian ‘ecumene’—a word used by Bayly—there was much debate even in the pre-print era. But ‘print added a powerful new weapon to the arsenal of debate within the ecumene’ (Bayly 1996: 191). And this weapon was the wide
availability of all kinds of reading material, especially poetry and religious texts. Earlier (in 1615), Edward Terry noted that Indians are otherwise intelligent yet he found ‘little learning’ and explains it on the ‘penury of Books. Which are but few, and they, Manuscripts:’ (Purchas 1905: 31). Sulaiman Nadvi also tells us that books on Hadis literature were hard to find in India (Nadvi 1968: 70–76). According to the biographer of Maulana Qasim Nanautvi, the books, even whose names were not known to our present generations, are now available in every home’ (Gilani 1373/1954, Vol. 1: 197). And even when Deoband had been established, there were complaints of non-availability of books, so that publishers and printers were asked to come to the help of the madrassa which many, notably Naval Kishore, did (Azhar 1985: 93–94 and 48). Whereas manuscripts were expensive and difficult to find, the printed products—pamphlets, tracts, books, almanacs, prayerbooks, etc.—were much cheaper and more widely available.

A number of presses, and even periodicals, soon started publishing religious material for public consumption. The Mufid-ē-Ām press, for instance, published Ahl-e-Hadith literature (Metcalf 1982: 204) and the biggest indigenously owned press, the Naval Kishore Press, published a lot of writings about Islam (Stark 2008: 285–291) and also Hinduism (Ibid., 391–397). But for these writings there would not have been so much awareness about religious identity. And as these writings were increasingly in Urdu, in the case of Islamic literature, the association of this language with the Islamic identity in India grew stronger. Most of the literature that will be referred to in this chapter, owes its wide diffusion and deep imprint upon the Muslim consciousness in South Asia because of the role of the printing press.

But, as pointed out by Francis Robinson, it was precisely because of the loss of control over the written word that the ulema were initially distrustful of print. In their view, it was the traditional method of oral transmission which kept the authority
of the author intact (Robinson 1996: 72). The availability of large numbers of religious works, ironically, undermined the authority of the traditional ulema creating modernist, fundamentalist and other contenders for the Islamic space. The other changes are summed up by Francis Robinson as follows:

We have also seen how the psychological effects of print have played their part in working major developments: the process of distancing, which helped to bring about the new historical consciousness, the reification of religion and the emphasis on this-worldly action; and the process of interiorization which is manifest in an increasingly personal and private encounter with the Quran and a new and yet more powerful focus on the person of the Prophet in Muslim piety (Robinson 1996: 90).

Another scholar who has written on the role of printing in disseminating religious literature, especially of the Tariqāh Muhammadiya, is Harlan O. Pearson, who gives a brief history of the acceptance and use of the printing press of the Islamist reformers, mentioned previously, for their own purposes (Pearson 2008: 90–126). In this context J.R. Colvin reports in 1832.

It is to be remarked as a new feature in the history of efforts for the propagation of Mohammedanism, or for the reform of its corruptions, how extensively the emissaries of this sect have availed themselves of the press to disseminate their tenets (Colvin 1832: 481).

Indeed, it appears that Muslims were quite enthusiastic about using the press even as readers. As Farhan Nizami points out, 'the circulation lists of newspapers at least for the late 1840s, give the impression that a large proportion of the subscribers were Muslims' (Nizami 1983: 189).

Another important insight is that not only did the nature of text-production change, but there was also a corresponding change in the consumption of the text. While the earlier pattern
had been that individual books, rather than subjects, were studied, the new one was that subjects, themes and ideas were studied and a much larger number of texts were used for this. In this context, Rolf Engelsing’s idea of a ‘reading revolution’, in the sense that from intensive reading of a limited number of texts the reader now did ‘extensive’ reading of a large number of them, provides useful insights into what was happening in India (Engelsing and Jackson 2004). People no longer depended upon a certified teacher to read one book in the manuscript form but were at liberty to read a number of books on their own, at their convenience, while doing paid jobs rather than being students dependent on charity.

This mass consumption of the printed text produced a transformation of religious thought explained by Elizabeth Eisenstein in a study of print upon Western religious thought. She points out that when literature came to be consumed en masse, two opposite trends were perceptible in Europe: ‘Erasmian’ ideas leading to modernism and orthodoxy leading to fundamentalism (Eisenstein 1979, Vol. 1: 366–367). It is not clear to what extent such insights can be lifted out of their context (in this case early-modern Europe) to explain colonial South Asian Islam but these two opposing trends are, nevertheless, visible from the nineteenth century till date. The traditional Sufi, folk Islam (low church in Gellner’s parlance [1983: 74]) based as it was on the oral narration of anecdotes from the lives of the saints receded before the onslaught of written pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, and books. Thus, the authority of the Sufi, ultimately a mental construct based upon unexamined anecdotes about the saints’ powers, which could challenge the military power of the rulers in medieval times (Hussain 2009), could no longer function in a society in which analytical habits of reasoning encouraged questioning of the magical nature of the anecdotes and the power which was contingent upon it. So what replaced folk Islam was Islam, as interpreted by written and printed texts by the
various sects, sub-sects, intellectual groups, and ideological camps. Indeed, print probably ‘intensified the inner debate within Islam and paved the way for the subsequent growth of different religious movements’ (Nizami 1983: 190). Even the religious militants, such as the groups loosely called the Taliban in Pakistan, have a large printed set of works which they disseminate through their mosque and other informal networks (PIPS 2010). Also, a large number of works in Urdu, refuting other sects, heresies and western philosophies, are in circulation all over Pakistan and India (Rahman 2008b). In short, while print did create modernist as well as orthodox—if that term is used to include revivalism, fundamentalism and even militant interpretations of Islam—discourses in South Asia their subsequent trajectories differ from that of Europe. At the moment, it appears that the strength of the reaction to modernity, disseminated by print as well as the electronic media, is much stronger in the Urdu-using world than we have seen in the West.

Let us now take up printing and publication in relation to the Urdu-Hindi controversy. Figures from the area now roughly included in UP, given by King (1994: 43–47), may be supplemented by including more data than given earlier. For the Punjab, although figures on printing are used in other contexts, there is no in-depth study of this phenomenon.

Briefly, in the NWP and Oudh, Urdu replaced Persian as the language of the elite and dominated the world of printing till the end of the nineteenth century. After that, despite the fact that it remained the language of the lower domains of power (notably the courts and schools), it was outstripped by Hindi. However, it was in the domain of the publication of books other than those used in schooling—where school textbooks in Hindi were always printed in greater numbers than those in Urdu—where Urdu outstripped Hindi earlier (Annexure-A/12). In periodical literature (newspapers, magazines etc) Urdu held out for longer
and it was only in the twentieth century that the trend was reversed (Annexure-B/12).

The first year in which the Hindi newspapers took the lead on Urdu was 1918–19 (134 in Urdu and 140 in Hindi). This happened, despite the fact that Urdu was still the language of lower-level employment in UP and according to some, to start and maintain a ‘Hindi journal of the same dimensions as Urdu costs several times more’ (Bhatnagar 1947: 240). The circulation of papers started exceeding those of Urdu from 1911 onwards as the following table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>8,002</td>
<td>16,256</td>
<td>24,258</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>17,419</td>
<td>23,747</td>
<td>41,176</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>77,731</td>
<td>76,608</td>
<td>154,339</td>
<td>50.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>215,124</td>
<td>140,486</td>
<td>355,970</td>
<td>60.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>335,438</td>
<td>150,556</td>
<td>385,998</td>
<td>60.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>324,880</td>
<td>182,485</td>
<td>507,365</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bhatnagar 1947: 257.

As mentioned earlier, most administration reports of the North Western Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab point out that either religion, language or literature were the subject of most of the publications.

Yet another aspect of identity-formation created by print is the idea of an international Muslim community. News reached much faster than ever before and the Muslims of India reacted to the news if Muslims were involved. For instance, during the Turko-Greek war, reported in the administration report of 1900, at least ‘three original works’ were published during the year
(Adm. NWP and O 1901: 194). Again, during 1910–11, foreign affairs—concerning Turkey and Persia—were only discussed by the Muslim Press (Adm. UP 1912 a: 53). According to Naeem Qureshi, a scholar of the Khilafat Movement, “The Muslim press, as usual, was full of denunciations of the ‘Italian brigandage’” (Qureshi 1999: 35). And during the Khilafat Movement, the Muslim Press—and to a certain extent even the Hindu Press—devoted much more space to Turkey than ever before. In those days there was a special department of propaganda which ‘also published a weekly bulletin in Urdu called the Khilafat-i-‘Usmaniyya. Later, it was turned into a daily newspaper and the title was shortened to just the Khilafat. Its circulation jumped to several thousand before it dropped around 1927 to about 1400’ (Qureshi 2009: 86). The role of the press, especially with reference to the Oudh Akhbar and the Zamindar, which shaped public opinion in the areas of our interest, can be gauged by looking at their copies during the Khilafat agitation (1918 to 1924). Naeem Qureshi refers to ten Urdu dailies and five weeklies and fortnightlies in his book which published extensively on the politics of the Khilafat issue (Qureshi 1999: 481). Gail Minault writes about Urdu poetry written during this period and the examples she quotes indicate that categories could be blurred in such ephemeral writings: these poems were both in the dailies and the anthologies; they were political as well as religious. She especially represents the work of Zafar Ali Khan, Hasrat Mohani, and Muhammad Ali who ‘were all journalists and consummate orators’ (Minault 1974: 463). In short, the consciousness of a Muslim community transcending the borders of India was created by the press. And it is this sense of a worldwide Muslim millat which evokes so much anger among Pakistani Muslims about what are seen as Christian transgressions in Bosnia, Israeli aggressiveness towards the Palestinians and American attacks on Iraq and Afghanistan. The roots of this consciousness of a worldwide community and victimhood were created by the
impact of the printed word upon Indian Muslims during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The politics of India were, of course, a perennial theme in publications—especially the newspapers. The *Administration Reports* of 1912–13 mention that the Urdu-Hindi controversy was waging in the press (Adm. UP 1914: 48). And another report, that of 1915–16, observes that the ‘predominant tone of most of the publications was one of bitter polemic. The Hindi enthusiasts would like to abolish Urdu at once and English later’ (Adm. UP 1916b: 54). The Urdu enthusiasts, not to be left behind, wanted Hindi to be abolished. The press both created and reflected biases which did not gain such wide currency and intensity before the printed word entered the realm of public consciousness.

The number of newspapers mattered less than their circulation. In this matter, up to the end of the nineteenth century in UP and till the 1947 partition in the Punjab, Urdu papers had the largest circulation. Even in 1898, when the Hindi movement was gaining strength, the ‘circulation of the Urdu daily, the *Oudh Akhbār*, slightly rose from 521 to 526 during the year; but that of the Hindi daily, the *Hindustān*, remained stationary, being 470, as it was during 1896’ (Adm. NWP and O 1899: 189). But by 1923–24 Hindi was triumphant both in the number of newspapers as well as their circulation. The report of this year says:

Only 8 daily newspapers—four in English, three in Hindi, and one in Urdu—had circulations of over 2000 copies daily. Among weeklies, the largest circulation was that of a Hindi newspaper with 14,000 copies (Adm. UP 1925: 91).

By this time, it may be noted, ‘Hindi publications [books etc] accounted for 55 per cent of the total number’ and Urdu came next with a 15 per cent share (Adm. UP 1926: 110). So, both in newspapers and books, the language of mass communication of UP in the twentieth century was Hindi not Urdu.
TEXTBOOKS IN PRINT AND IDENTITY POLITICS

The textbook at the school level, being the only reading material available to the teacher and the taught, played a central role in disseminating information, values and attitudes in India (Kumar 1991: 131). However, even at higher levels, where other material is available, the material to be included in the syllabi is chosen, students guides are printed to give one privileged interpretation which is memorized without questioning and, therefore, a certain cultural message is conveyed and reinforced at all levels of education. As Krishna Kumar tells us: ‘The teaching of Hindi at college level, and the subsequent starting of Hindi departments in universities in the first quarter of this century made a major contribution towards the success of the Hindi literati’s cultural agenda’ (Kumar 1991: 129–130). Francesca Orsini has written much about the textbooks in Hindi in schools and universities which have partly covered some of the ground being covered here (Orsini 2002: 92–111). However, without repeating the same details for Urdu, it is necessary to touch upon the major outlines of the controversy of the language of textbooks since it contributed to the way print contributed to the hardening of religious identities in North India.

By the 1870s, the writers of reports were commenting on the problem of the language of the textbooks used in schools. Kempson, the DPI of NWP, points out that the issue arose because of the agitation of the Hindu community against the use of Urdu in courts. He then adds that the ‘archaism of the Pundits and the unnatural mannerism of the Moulvies are equally objectionable’ (Edn. NWP 1874: 138). The battle for linguistic purity—which was Persianization in the case of Urdu and Sanskritization in that of Hindi—continued and a report of 1884 tells us that the Hindi primer is ready but ‘some Hindi purists will probably say that their language is not Hindi’ (Edn. NWP and O 1884: 131). Sanskritization was complained against, at least in the case of school textbooks even more than Persianization, though several
decisions were made to counter both. The report of 1875–76 makes the point that the Urdu books represent the spoken language much more than the Hindi ones which ‘contain something very different’ (Edn. O 1876: 4–5). The 1903 report tells us what the authorities had decided to do about this state of affairs:

It has been decided that the language should be the vernacular of the provinces, and the words of Persian origin in common use should not be expunged and less familiar Sanskrit words substituted’ (Edn. UP 1903: 42).

Textbooks were accordingly revised but to no avail.

The dissemination of textbooks for schools was a major problem for the British. When the decision was made in the early part of the nineteenth century that this had to be done in ‘Oordoo and Hindee’ one British officers thought, the ‘Hindoostanee language is at present exceedingly deficient’ to express modern, scientific thought. Yet, continues this officer, Hindi ‘is inferior to Urdu’ and will naturally fall ‘into desuetude’ (Edn. NWP 1844: 3–7). Another officer, C.C. Fink, superintendent of Vernacular Schools, thought it would ‘be wise to discourage the cultivation of Oordoo as much as possible, because its use is not so general as that of Hindee’ (Edn. NWP 1846: Lxxiii). The Government, however, ignored both views and continued using both Urdu and Hindi for education.

The Delhi Vernacular Society, and several other such societies, kept printing Urdu and Hindi books throughout British rule in India. Indeed, there were many societies which disseminated the printed word in Urdu in the nineteenth century and the middle of the twentieth century (Ullah 1988). They are mentioned in the reports compiled by the British, and the lists of works printed by them are also given in some cases. Otherwise, too, the reports often have lists of printed works. For instance, the lists of the earliest printed works from 1845–46, including the poetical work of Mir Dard, are available in the report of that year (Edn. NWP
1847: xix). As scientific subjects were also taught in Urdu there was need for neologism. Thus, a list of Urdu scientific terms was prepared for the Engineering College at Roorkee, and was praised in the report of the year as ‘a most important desideratum’ (Edn. NWP 1853a: 75). Lists of books on mensuration, land revenue, legal matters, and even military subjects were published and widely disseminated. By 1863–64 it was reported that the total number of copies of educational books sold in the last three years was ‘3,88,302 [of] value Rs 70,824’ (Edn. NWP 1864: 60). Indeed, but for the means of mass printing and dissemination of Urdu material, which the British colonial state brought to India, both Urdu and Hindi would have remained far less powerful and standardized than they are at present.

Meanwhile, the language of the printed material kept getting polarized. The Education Department of the United Provinces noted the divergence in the readers for schools and got the prose ones replaced. But the poetry textbooks still remained divergent, though money was offered for producing similar readers for Urdu and Hindi (Edn. UP 1907: 69). These, however, were criticized as their vocabulary was not ‘rich enough’ (Edn. UP 1909: 39). So, in addition to the annual general meeting, as many as fourteen meetings of the sub-committees were held to consider the revised readers (Edn. UP 1911: 16). Indeed, since the textbooks of 1907 had raised more acute consciousness about vocabulary, new textbooks were commissioned in 1912 (Edn. UP 1912: 107).

The efforts to create common readers went on and the education report of 1917 tells us that the Pigott committee decided that Hindi and Urdu be taught as distinctive languages. However, at the primary level there would be a common reader printed in the Devanagari and the Perso-Arabic script. After that there would be supplementary readers in Hindi and Urdu (Edn. UP 1918: 61–66). This did not help matters as in 1939 there were the same complaints against ‘over-Persianization and over-
Sanskritization’ and it was conceded that ‘Hindustani literature will grow slowly in time’ (Edn. Com 1939: 49).

Yet another attempt was the creation of a Hindustani Academy in 1927 precisely to encourage publications in the common language of Hindus and Muslims of North India. It published a journal called *Hindustani*, as well as books both in Urdu and Hindi. By 1941, this body was lingering on but without much enthusiasm (Edn. UP 1941: 69). It did not succeed in bridging the gap between the two variants of the same language created by politics. And this was not surprising considering that vocabulary functioned as a symbol of communal identity and, therefore, it had to diverge to underline the distance from the ‘other’ under the political circumstances which prevailed in North India before the partition.

**URDU PRINTING IN THE PUNJAB**

The British spread Urdu in the Punjab by making it the language of administration, courts and schooling. R.N. Cust, a protégé of Thomason of the NWP fame, wrote a manual for his native subordinates called *Fihrist Dastūr Amal Faujdārī* (List of the regulations for criminal cases) in easy Urdu. And this was only the beginning since works of this kind, as well as textbooks in Urdu, proliferated. The most detailed bibliographical essay on the printed literature of the Muslims of the Punjab in the nineteenth century is by Edward Churchill (1975). This section draws both upon the sources identified by Churchill and upon other sources. In a nutshell, most of the printed word in the Punjab—both in the category of ‘books’ and ‘periodicals’ were in Urdu, from the 1850s onwards. Although Churchill uses the variable of religion (Muslim) rather than language for most of the tables he has compiled on publication in the Punjab, the two categories can be conflated with little loss of accuracy. For instance, although his table of periodical literature is about the publications of Muslims, it is also about Urdu because ‘Muslims
produced only 3 out of 24 English periodicals, no Punjabi or Hindi periodicals and only 5 out of 12 bilingual periodicals: 3 English-Urdu, 1 Hindi-Urdu, 1 Urdu-Dogra. This is further indication of the fact that publications were controlled by the Urdu knowing Muslims’ (Churchill 1975: 263). Thus, it was only slowly that Punjabi, written mostly in the Gurmukhi but also in the Shahmukhi scripts came to claim its share of printed material. Even by the turn of the century, when Punjabi had increased its share in publishing by 20 per cent. Urdu was still at 47 per cent even excluding the textbooks used in schools (Adm. Pun 1902 b: 182).

Educational books approved by the Textbook committee, or the sub-committees for Urdu, Hindi and Gurmukhi, were required by the huge network of schools and other institutions—such as the Lahore Medical School—for students and teachers. The Mufid-i-Am Press, like its counterpart the Neval Kishore Press in Lucknow, printed a large share of these books under contracts from the government (Adm. Pun 1898: 264). By 1911–12, Urdu was still used in 48 per cent of the publications, but Punjabi had carved out a 35 per cent share for itself (Adm. Pun 1913: 194). It was only in 1915 that Punjabi took the lead over Urdu and this happened because Delhi had been excluded from the Punjab and then, it must be noted, it happened only in the category for ‘books’ (Adm. Pun 1915: 67) (Annexure-C/12). The periodical publications (i.e. category ‘newspapers’) continued to be published predominantly in Urdu till the division of the Punjab in 1947 (Annexure-D/12).

It must, however, be noted that there was what may be called the ‘Muslim’ style. The 1912–13 report tells us that, ‘About one-quarter of the “Punjabi” books are more Urdu than Punjabi, being written by Muhammadans in Persian script and containing a large proportion of Persian and Arabic words’ (Adm. Pun 1914: 87). The same can be said for Urdu books from the Punjab. For instance, the Tafsīr-ē-Qurān Majīd Bazubān-ē-Hindi (The Exegesis
of the Glorious Quran in the Hindi Language) of Maulvi Mohammad Din, though purporting to be in ‘Hindi’ (Urdu), is actually in a language between Punjabi and Urdu. The author is from Amritsar and he uses words like ‘changā’ (good), vadā (big), vich (in) which are normally used in Punjabi whereas the other words are of Urdu (Mohammad n.d.: 2).

In the Punjab, as in UP, religious works proliferated as Churchill’s work mentioned earlier indicates (Churchill 1975). The Administration Report of 1865–66 tells us that ‘77 works related to religion were published out of which 57, with a print run of 57,556, were Muslim and 20 with 76,750 copies were Hindu’ (Adm. Pun 1866: 104). This is the refrain of most administration reports which place either religion or literature and language on the top every year (Annexure C/12). Moreover, as mentioned earlier, there is an overlap of categories. Works classified as history, poetry, and fiction also contain religious themes. For instance, the report of 1901–02 informs us that ‘Islam usually publishes each year more books on religious questions than all the other religions put together’ (Adm. Pun 1902b: 183). However, both Hindu and Sikh religious works were published. The ‘old fashioned “Janam Sākīs” and “Tazkarās”, lives and teachings of great Sikh and Muslim divines’ were reprinted again and again as they had ‘considerable hold on the popular mind’ (Adm. Pun 1908: 61). There were also a number of polemical publications which have been mentioned in the chapter on Urdu as an Islamic language. Suffice it to say that ‘a substantial portion however were affected by the divisions within Islam’ and printing sharpened the divide between different points of view making it possible to reach bigger and bigger audiences and, in turn, making them conscious of the divisions within Islam (Churchill 1975: 265).

Not only the number of periodical publications but their circulation too indicated the dissemination of the printed word in Urdu to the masses. For instance, during 1915–16, 151 papers
were published from Lahore and Amritsar. Those with over 5,000
circulation were the Zamindar (12,000), a daily owned by a
Muslims. This was followed by the Hindustan (10,000), a weekly
owned by Hindus and, again, another weekly called the Paisa
Akhbār (5,700) owned by Muslims (Adm. Pun 1917: 70). Out of the
twenty papers with circulation of over 1,000 there was only one
Gurmukhi publication, the Khālsā Samāchār. All the other
nineteen publications were in Urdu. Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs,
in order to empower themselves, used Urdu. In 1923, for instance,
the Punjab had 236 publications. Out of these the report tells us,
‘91 are owned by Hindus, 82 by Muhammadans, and 32 by Sikhs’
(Adm. Pun 1923a: 237). Though Hindus did support Hindi and the
Sikhs Gurmukhi at the political level, this did not necessarily
translate into business practices or educational preferences.
Thus the Punjab, much more than any other area of British India,
was the heartland of printing and publication in Urdu even when
the Hindi movement had turned the tide against Urdu in print
in the rest of North India.

**URDU AFTER THE PARTITION**

The Partition of India into Bharat and Pakistan brought about
further changes in the story of the printed word in Urdu in both
the new countries. First, let us look at India and then move on
to Pakistan. To begin with, in India, the number of Urdu
publications decreased with respect to Hindi and also English.
Indeed, Urdu became a minor language in the world of print for
the first time since it entered this world during British rule. After
partition, when Hindi became the major language of use in UP,
the share of Urdu decreased even further. In 1970–71, Urdu
contributed only 255 titles out of 18,305 titles in the books
delivered to the National Library of India (Israel 2000: 128). On
the other hand, the percentage of Hindi books was 46.23 and the
titles in 1976 were 2,235 (Ibid., 130). During the same period, the
number of publishers of Hindi were 2,425 and for Urdu only 596
(Ibid., 132). The Urdu academies provided about 75 per cent aid to writers of Urdu books in 1997 (Burney 1998: 126) when 1,626 titles were produced as against 16,026 in Hindi and a total of 57,386 in all languages of India (Malhotra 1998a: 10–22). In short, the printing and publication of books in Urdu is dependent upon the demand of the madrassas and the help given by Urdu academies and other institutions of the state which provide financial aid in a bid to deflect the criticism of Muslim leaders that Urdu is dying in India.

The story of identity-construction and its relationship with print has another dimension which requires us to address the changes brought about in the consciousness of the Muslim identity among the non-elitist Muslims after the partition. The crucial change which occurred, is that the indexical relationships between the printed word and identity mutated. The generation which grew up with the Hindi-Urdu controversy in the air adhered to the equation of Hindi-Devanagari script= Hindu identity; and Urdu-Perso-Arabic script= Muslim identity, but the new generation of Muslims had to construct new indexalities as the pressures upon them were different. Rizwan Ahmad, after a study of the lower middle class Muslim youth in old Delhi, tells us that Muslims are writing Urdu in the Devanagari script because they are unable to read the Perso-Arabic script any longer. In short the clear indexation of the Devanagari script with the Hindu identity is problematic and this is a response to changing social, economic and political pressures upon the Muslims of India. However, even more interesting is the fact that the printers of Urdu in the Devanagari script have found ways to retain the distinctiveness of Urdu from Hindi. Apart from the vocabulary, which is not Sankritised, the printers have come up with the use of certain orthographic conventions which have been invested with social significance. These are dots (bindīs) on certain Devanagari graphemes to represent the distinctive Perso-Arabic sounds present in the phonological inventory of classical
Urdu but not in Hindi. Even the ‘ain’ sound, which is not normally spoken in Urdu at all—a schwa sound being used instead—is nevertheless present in the orthography and the Devanagari graphemes are modified to represent it. According to Rizwan Ahmad:

The efforts to preserve features of Urdu are the articulation of the second generation, who believe that placing bindīs under Hindi graphemes is the best way to hand down Urdu in its “correct” form to the next generation. However, for generation–3, bindīs cannot override the stigma attached to the phonemes that they are supposed to represent on paper (Ahmad 2007: 191).

In short, the printed word is the most potent tool in the construction of identities and spreads the notion of identity to a much larger public than manuscripts ever could.

In the areas now in Pakistan, both the Gurmukhi and the Devanagari scripts went out of print. Till 1971, the Bangla script, a modified form of the Brahmi script, from which the Devanagari is descended, was used, but after Bangladesh became an independent country, even this came to an end. Urdu and English are now the most dominant languages and the script used for writing Punjabi, Siraiki, Hindko, Balochi, and Brahvi is the same as Urdu. Only Pashto and Sindhi are written in slightly modified variants of the Arabic script. The number of periodicals—including newspapers, weeklies, fortnightlies, etc.—being published in Urdu in Pakistan in 2009 is 1,225 followed by English with 237. The only indigenous language of the country, which comes anywhere near, is Sindhi, with 157 publications (Annexure-E/12). All others lag far behind. As for books received in the National Library the number of Urdu books is 1,287, followed by English with 368 books. There is no data for books in indigenous languages of the country for 2009 but in 2007, 81 and in 2008, 132 books were received (Annexure-F/12). It is a fact, however, that the number of books reported officially is lower than the
actual number of books printed—Jihadi literature, erotica, books on songs, jokes, riddles, magic, folk Islam, etc., are never reported—but this is true for all languages to some extent. However, there is more of indigenous, folk literature of the Jihadi and the erotic kind in Urdu than in any other language in Pakistan. So, to infer that Urdu is the major language of printing and publication in Pakistan would be the correct conclusion.

Many official institutions, like the Urdu Dictionary Board, the Majlis-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, the Urdu Science Board, the National Language Authority and the Pakistan Academy of Letters (PAL) publish in Urdu. Between 2005–10, out of 163 publications of the PAL, 134 were in Urdu (Manager Circulation, PAL, 30 April 2010). The NLA’s budget for 2010 is Rs 34,033,000 and almost all its publications are in Urdu.

To conclude, the printing press was a product of modernity and, more than anything else, it ushered in modernity in British India. The modern education system, contingent as it is upon the availability of the mass-produced textbooks, was possible only because of it. But, since these textbooks were in Hindi and Urdu—leaving out those in other languages for the time being—the consciousness of the Hindi-based (Hindu) and Urdu-based (mostly Muslim) identities grew at least in North India. Urdu dominated the publication industry, including the newspapers, more than the numbers of its speakers warranted up to the middle of the nineteenth century. This domination was seriously and successfully challenged by Hindi and by the first quarter of the twentieth century it was Hindi which gained dominance over Urdu.

Print also made a large number of religious books available, thus sharpening and heightening the awareness of religious—even sectarian and sub-sectarian—differences. Thus, it sharpened religious differentiation among Muslims just when it was in their political interest to present a united Muslim monolithic identity in opposition to the Hindu ‘Other’. But both trends went on with
politics overriding religion when it came to voting and the demand for Pakistan.

In short, printing served two mutually contradictory ends: initially it increased the dominance of Urdu; but eventually it decreased it as Hindi ousted Urdu from the domains it had occupied earlier. The print-supported antagonistic identities from the Hindi-Urdu controversy as expressed in print, survive to this day, as the Devanagari script is dead in Pakistan and the Perso-Arabic script, although surviving in elitist domains, is dying in India. But sound bites die more slowly. Thus, Urdu-Hindi survives on the radio, the television and in films. But here too the centripetal and the centrifugal forces wrenching these two languages apart and bringing them together continue their identity-marking political and social struggle. Let us first turn to the radio.
## Books, Monograph, Pamphlets and Miscellaneous Publications
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<td>% (Hindi)</td>
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NB: The totals given do not include publications in ‘other’ languages because only information about the Hindi and Urdu publications are relevant for our purposes.

Sources: For 1872, 1873 see Edn. O 1873: 120 and Edn. NWP 1874: 16; for all dates up to 1930–31 see the relevant Administration Reports of the North Western Provinces and Oudh; for the years 1930 to 1934 see Bhatnagar 1947: 275–276 given on the authority of the Minister of Education of UP.
Annexure-B/12

NB: Unless indicated otherwise the sources for the rest of the annexures in this chapter are the administration reports of the relevant years of the areas given in the headings.

**NEWSPAPER, MAGAZINES, PERIODICAL, ETC. (NWP AND OUDH)**

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URDU IN PRINT

Annexure-E/12

NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS/PERIODICALS
PUBLISHED IN PAKISTAN–2009

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Source: GOP 2009.

Annexure-F/12

DETAILED LIST OF BOOKS PUBLISHED IN PAKISTAN

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Source: Pakistan National Bibliography 2010.
We have looked at the way the print media revolutionized the ways Indians consumed information and entertainment. However, what had at least as much, possibly even greater, impact was the radio. Being a largely illiterate society, the printed word could not reach as many people as could the spoken word. The radio could communicate discourses not created by face-to-face interaction for millions. Thus, discoveries originating from outside one’s community could impinge upon one’s worldview. Here was information unimagined and entertainment at a scale hitherto unknown. It had an impact upon thought, again at the same gigantic scale. Hence we shall explore the role of the language used in the radio in British India and to a lesser degree in independent India and Pakistan. This study will help us understand yet another aspect of the construction and expression of the nationalist Muslim and Hindu identities in South Asia in relation to Urdu which we have been exploring in the other chapters.

Broadcasting began in the 1920s in India, and the government was so aware of its potential to influence public opinion that attempts to control it began almost immediately. Initially, there were radio clubs in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, but in 1927, an Indian Broadcasting Company was licensed. This ceased to function in 1930, when the Government of India set up its own radio stations with Delhi as the headquarter of the All India Radio (AIR). In 1937, English and thirteen Indian languages were used in the AIR programmes, but it was widely recognized that
the language of the great northern plains must be ‘Urdu or Hindustani’ (Radio. 1937).

When the Second World War intervened (1939–1945), the radio was recruited as part of the war effort. Not only the British, but also the Germans and the Italians were using the radio for propaganda. The language they chose was predominantly Hindustani, often called only ‘Urdu’ in the reports, about these activities. The Urdu broadcast from Rome was by one Ajit Singh. An official, probably the Under Secretary of State for India, wrote:

> We are consulting the DG (Director General, Ministry of Information) on the continuation of monitoring broadcasts from Russia and Italy in Indian languages (Radio. 1940).

When broadcasts from other countries in support of the Allies were considered, they too would be in Hindustani. About the United States, it was stated that the radio audience would be between 1,000,000 to 1,200,000, and out of this one third listened to English and about the same number to Hindustani. The telegram ended with the following conclusion.

> On the whole, we think Hindustani is the only Indian language which might be considered (Radio. 1942).

Once the Soviet Union joined the Allies, efforts were made to get the Russians to broadcast in ‘Hindustani and Punjabi’. Ambassador Kuibyshev of the Soviet Union was told that Berlin is popular and pernicious and, therefore, more people will listen to Russia than Berlin (7 July 1942). Later, the Ambassador was requested to drop Punjabi, leaving only Hindustani in the field (2 Aug 1942). The Government of India made it clear to the Soviets that their efforts, would be a useful counter to Berlin and Tokyo’ (12 May 1942) (Radio. 1942: 12 May Report).
The language of the broadcaster, which was much commented upon, was important because the message had to be disseminated to as many people as possible. Sometimes it was feared that the quality of the language used by the enemy might give them an advantage. In a letter complaining about the Persianized diction of Z.A. Bukhari, the Director of the AIR writes:

It may be mentioned that in contrast the choice of words of the Berlin News announcer is very fortunate in reaching the listeners (Radio. Ltr 1940a).

Moreover, the Hindi-Urdu controversy was making headlines despite the War in India. A press conference held on 1 August 1938 at Simla said:

At Delhi Station we have two translators one for Hindi and one for Urdu, who work together to produce as good bulletins as they can. Such a bulletin will not be pleasing to the stylist, because it is a conglomeration of the two languages. It probably offends the stylists just as Basic English offends the literary people of England, but that is the only way we can work at present, we must try to find as simple a language as possible which will be understood by all (Radio. Note. 1938).

There are several telegrams giving the reactions to the language of broadcasts in ‘Hindustani’. One telegram (7 June 1940) says:

Criticisms are as usual—too high flown, too much Urdu. Fielden will know from experience in A.I.R. how much value to attach to these criticisms, but it is well to keep the language simple except where matter requires something else (Radio. Ltr 1940b).

In another letter, the language of Z.A. Bukhari is specifically discussed.

‘The style was as dramatic as before and there was the usual display of phraseology.’ (Radio. Ltr 1940a).
At another place the same source says:

In fact, the stylistic elegance which lends it a rare literary charm appears to militate against the appeal of the news bulletin (Radio. Ltr 1940a).

This indeed is the refrain of a number of letters and telegrams. The style of the broadcasts was accused of being elitist, decadent, flowery, Persianized, and poetic. At one point it is facetiously pointed out that the Berlin announcer will begin:

You have been listening on—Metres from the BBC to a reading of poetry and now here is the news (ibid.) (Radio. Ltr 1940 a).

THE IMPACT OF Z.A. BUKHARI

Syed Zulfiqar Ali Bukhari (1904–1975), younger brother of Ahmad Shah Pitras Bukhari (1898–1958), was a high-ranking, pioneering official of the All India Radio. He joined the Radio in 1935 and soon became a favourite of Lionel Fielden, the Controller of All-India Radio. His brother, Pitras Bukhari, was also selected by Fielden and was made the Director of the Delhi station. Later Pitras became the Deputy Controller of All-India radio and Z.A. Bukhari became the Assistant Director. Seeing this, Divan Singh Maftoon, editor of Riāsat, started calling BBC the Bukhari Brothers Corporation (Bukhari 1966: 22).

Bukhari was biased against Hindi as testified by his autobiography entitled Sarguzasht, (1966). He shows his bias against Hindus at various places in this book. For instance, he declares that music too was the prerogative of Muslims and that all who became popular on the stage were Muslims. Bukhari was against Hindustani which he sometimes called the language of the Congress (Bukhari 1966: 140). The style of language used by educated Muslims, being full of Persian and Arabic words, was literary Urdu and it was this which Bukhari promoted and used
himself. His biography too is full of Persian phrases, couplets and *motu justes* which do not make for intelligibility. At one time, when a Congress minister with the name of Munshi (the word means clerk in Arabic) asked him to use easy language and to avoid Arabic words, he told him that his name too was Arabic (Bukhari 1966: 129–130).

Bukhari’s Persianized Urdu was often unintelligible for listeners as already evident from the documents quoted earlier. He was, however, unrepentant. In his autobiography he defends his style at length.

What kind of Urdu would that be which does not have the flavour of Arabic and Persian. Urdu literature can only be understood by people who have some competence in Arabic and Persian. When we looked at all these requirements we reached the conclusion that this work can be better done by Muslims (Bukhari 1966: 119).

In short, by Hindustani, Z.A. Bukhari meant ‘Urdu’, and Urdu had to be Persianized, otherwise it would lose its literary charm. This decision led to the hiring of Muslims as broadcasters, while the engineers and other workers were Hindus to balance them out (Bukhari 1966: 119). At another place Z A. Bukhari says that those who keep reiterating that he should use simple Urdu should have learnt new words. If they had learnt even one word in a month they would have known 900 words and would not have clamoured for easy language (Ibid., 120). But it was not a matter of ignorance; it was actually a matter of identity because the Perso-Arabic diction was a symbol of elitist Muslim identity while the Sanskritic one indexed the Hindu identity.

In short, despite demands for simplification both by the British and the Hindu listeners, the Muslims dominant in the AIR did not deign to simplify their linguistic style to use the common man’s language. ‘Hindustani’, the so-called composite language of North India, remained elusive on the radio because, as mentioned earlier, Z.A. Bukhari refused to accept it as an
authentic language (Bukhari 1966: 120). For Bukhari it was simply the prejudice of Hindus which made them protest against the ‘difficult Urdu’ of the AIR. The demand for Hindustani, declared Bukhari, which had been strengthened by M.K. Gandhi, was simply a product of Hindu prejudice (Ibid., 119–121). He did not think speakers of languages other than Urdu—especially if they were Hindus—could speak Urdu correctly. For instance, he says about Lata Mangeshkar’s father, who had been recommended for singing Urdu songs: ‘I repeatedly said that he is a Maratha; how will he sing in Urdu’ (Bukhari 1966: 163).

When he was Director of the Bombay Station, Bukhari sent a questionnaire to all licence-holders of the radio. The main question was as to which language they wanted to hear in the programmes. The answers were:

- Gujarati and Urdu: 30 per cent
- Marathi and Urdu: 20 per cent
- Only Gujarati: 25 per cent
- Only Marathi: 15 per cent
- Only Urdu: 10 per cent

(Source: Bukhari 1966: 156)

Bukhari decided that the programmes will be announced in Urdu. However, if a feature was in Gujarati and Marathi then, in addition to Urdu, it will also be announced in that language (Ibid., 157). He also tells us that he received almost all letters in Urdu and replied to them in the same language. He also conducted a programme for children in Urdu (Ibid., 157–158).

From July, the journal of AIR called Āvāz (voice), which was published in both Hindi and Urdu, came to be published as two journals: Āvāz (voice) in Urdu and Sārang (coloured, beautiful, melodious) in Hindi (Siddiqi 1998: 45). This indicated, and also reinforced, the separation of the two languages and the growing loss of the middle ground, i.e. Hindustani. The Directorate
General of Broadcasting did, however, instruct all radio stations to decrease the chasm between Urdu and Hindi by developing Hindustani. However, despite some official efforts, the gap kept increasing because Indians themselves were so highly polarized that separatist identities, of which these languages were part, were emphasized and exaggerated to the exclusion of reconciliation and the shrinking of the middle ground.

During the last days of British rule, the Urdu Hindi debate became more acrimonious. In 1936 in a conference of the Sahitya Sammelan at Nagpur, M.K. Gandhi had defined ‘Hindustani’ as ‘Hindi-Hindustani’. The letters written to Gandhi by the supporters of Urdu—Abdul Haq, Ziauddin Ahmed, etc.—made it clear that by this, the Muslims meant a Sanskritized version of the language (Siddiqi 1998: 206–214). This led to attempts at defining ‘Hindustani’.

Among other attempts, a famous series of talks was held on AIR for that purpose. This was the idea of Zulfiqar Bukhari, who declares in his autobiography that he was so much against this Congressite language (Sanskritized Hindustani) that he got the idea of making people give speeches on the radio on Hindustani. For him this was a battle and he concludes that it was Urdu which was the winner (Bukhari 1966: 140).

These talks were held between 20 and 25 February 1939. The speakers were famous figures: Dr Tara Chand, Maulvi Abdul Haq, Babu Rajandra Prasad, Dr Zakir Hussain, Pandit Brij Mohan Datatria Kaifi, and Asif Ali. They had been given two samples, one in Sanskritized Hindi and the other in Persianized Urdu. In the light of these samples, they were supposed to answer the question: ‘What is Hindustani? And whether it should be the language to be used on the radio?’

The gist of the speeches was that all the speakers rejected Sanskritized Hindi; all of them also rejected the Persianized construction of one phrase (Fehrist-ē-rāē-dehāndēgān); i.e. list of those who gave their opinions and all agreed that Hindustani is
the language ordinarily spoken and understood in North India (AIR 1939).

The two samples are as follows:

Sample 1: Sanskritized Hindi
Sunikut prāntiā viyūsthāpikā prishad mē ēk prashan kā uttar dētē huē niyāē mantri dāktar kānjū nē un udeyōg dhandō kī sōchī dī jin ki unnatī kē liyē sarkār nē sehāetā dēnā savikār kiyā haē.

Sample 2: Persianized Urdu
Federal legislature kē liyē Féhrist-ē-rāē-dehāndēgān tayyār karnē kē silsilē mēn jō ibtidāī kārvāi kī jāē gī is kē bārē mēn Sir N. N. Sarkar Law Member nē āj Assembly mē rōshni ḍālī.

The opinions about them are summed up as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sample 1</th>
<th>Sample 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tara Chand</td>
<td>No specific comment. However, he warns against using unfamiliar words.</td>
<td>No specific comment (20 Feb 1939).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul Haq</td>
<td>‘This is not our language. This is an artificially constructed language’ (AIR 1939: 31).</td>
<td>Despite the use of some English expressions, this is intelligible (21 Feb 1939).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajendra Prasad</td>
<td>This is too Sanskritized (Ibid., 38).</td>
<td>Rāē-dehāndēgān is Persian. It should be rāē dēnē vālē. It is intelligible (22 Feb 1939) (AIR, 39).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakir Hussain</td>
<td>I did not understand it (Ibid., 49).</td>
<td>This is intelligible but Féhrist- ē-rāē-dehāndegān should be ‘rāē dēnē vālō kī fehrist’ (p. 50) (23 Feb 1939).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bukhari probably got what he was looking for—an unequivocal declaration by both Hindu and Muslim intellectuals that Sanskritized Hindi was less intelligible to most listeners than Persianized Urdu. However, while all speakers agreed that the commonly understood language of North Indian cities was 'Hindustani', Abdul Haq, like Z.A. Bukhari, whose opinion has been quoted earlier in the chapter on 'Names', raised the point that this was a limited language. It could be called Urdu, Hindi or Hindustani but it had to remain confined to lower academic levels and to informal conversation. Literary language is more sophisticated, draws upon sources of vocabulary which, in the case of Urdu come from Persian and Arabic while in the case of Hindi from Sanskrit. What was to be done about these styles? This question was never answered. However, while all speakers agreed not to use Persianized Urdu or Sanskritized Hindi on the radio—the ostensible purpose of the whole exercise—the Hindi-Urdu controversy was so far gone that identity-conscious language use did not decrease on the radio.

**ACTION BY THE GOVERNMENT**

At last the Government held a conference on 14 February 1945, in which the representatives of the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the Department of Information and Broadcasting met to discuss the language policy of AIR. The main item for discussion was whether there should
be separate Urdu and Hindi broadcasts. After much discussion it was decided not to do this but to adhere to Hindustani of the kind which should be widely intelligible. However, words from other languages—again, only those which were widely understood—could be used if there was no Hindustani word for something (Ahmad 2005: Appendix 1, p. 271).

Yet, according to S.K. Chatterji, words like ‘taraqqi (progress), mazhab (religion), zālim’ (cruel person), etc., which were used in the All India Radio were ‘foreign words’ and were not understood ‘outside of the Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab’. On the other hand, he claimed, ‘from Kashmir to Cape Comerin, and from Dibrugarh to Peshawar, 4/5ths of the people who can follow a Radio Talk would understand unnati, dharma, atyācārī, etc (Chatterji 1942: 251). This claim, at least for the areas now in Pakistan, is not true but Chatterji, who believed that the removal of the Sanskritic element shows ‘Indian bankruptcy in matters of culture’ (1942: 251), was a supporter of the Hindu identity as defined by Sanskrit and Sanskritized Hindi. From him, as from Z.A. Bukhari, no compromise could be expected.

Later, on 26 January 1946, a committee comprising Dr Zakir Hussain and Dr Tarachand among others, discussed the same question again. Once again the Committee concluded ‘that the use of Hindustani as the common language for news bulletins though not free from difficulties should not be given up without a further attempt at arriving at a generally acceptable vocabulary’ (Ahmad 2005: Appendix II, p. 273). It was pointed out that AIR had compiled a lexicon of about 8,000 English words commonly used in the news along with their Hindi and Urdu equivalents. Suggestions for simple Hindustani synonyms was also given. These, it was decided, would be circulated to experts who would advise the Standing Advisory Body about their suitability. This Body was to have representatives of the Anjuman, the Sammelan and the Hindustani Prachar Sabha (Ibid., 273–274).
RADIO AFTER THE INDEPENDENCE

The British policy after Independence was to direct programmes to both India and Pakistan basically in the same language. As the Head of Eastern services writes to the Commonwealth Relations Office on 17 June 1949.

This [calling the programme to Pakistan ‘Urdu’ and India ‘Hindi’] should meet the requirements of Nationalists who have wanted an independent service, and will get rid of the increasing anomalies in our language policy at a time when Hindi and Urdu are increasingly separating in idiom. At the same time, we shall keep the language as simple as possible apart from one or two advanced literary programmes, so that probably most of what we put out will be comprehensible in both Dominions (Radio. 1949).

In India and Pakistan, however, the language of broadcasting—especially news, official announcements and religious programmes—diverged increasingly. The story of Sanskritization is documented by Kamal Ahmad Siddiqi and, since the official documents from India are only rarely available to this author, his book has been referred to when quoting from them.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE RADIO IN INDIA

On 27 November 1949, the ‘AIR’s programme journals substituted the word Hindi for Hindustani. Shortly afterwards separate newscasts started in Urdu’ (Chatterji 1987: 47). However, rather surprisingly, Vallabhbhai Patel did not advise extremism in linguistic matters. Writing to R.R. Dawkar, Minister of State, he said in his letter of 14 December 1949:

If we, as I think we must, accept the criterion of general intelligibility, then obviously the standard of AIR language has to be different from the literary conceptions of orthodox Hindi. AIR is not, and should never be, a literary club (Quoted from Siddiqi 1998: 282).
He does not call Urdu the same as easy Hindi but concedes that it should be used on AIR. Patel also objected to the use of Sanskritic terms for the Constituent Assembly, Security Council, etc. Moreover, he again emphasized that the news should be in Hindustani not in Hindi (Note of 8 April 1948 quoted from Siddiqi 1998: 285). However, the language of AIR was Sanskritized to the extent that the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, complained that he could not understand the language in which his Hindi speeches were reported in the news bulletins. This happened as the trend towards Sanskritization increased, when Dr Keskar became the Minister for Information and Broadcasting. In any case there were two news bulletins from 18 December 1949 and both become symbols of identity so efforts to make them diverge from each other continued (Quoted from Siddiqi 1998: 293).

When Gopal Reddi became the Minister of Information and Broadcasting in 1962, he tried to make the language of the Urdu and Hindi bulletins the same (Ibid., 295). Some members of parliament from UP and Bihar, the two states which boasted the largest Urdu-speaking communities in India as well as maximum religious polarization, got together to raise the slogan ‘Hindi in danger’. Dr Reddi was criticized and, though he defended himself, the Congress could not afford to lose its support in the populous Hindi-belt and it was decided that ‘nothing should be done to militate against the genius of Hindi’ (Hindustan Times, 6 August 1962. Quoted from Siddiqi 1998: 296).

During the Emergency, the intelligence agencies reported that people follow Urdu programmes better than Hindi ones (Ibid., 301). On 3 September 1976, the Ministry of Broadcasting held a meeting regarding the Urdu services of AIR and Doordarshan Kendra, Amritsar. In this it was decided that the Urdu service was popular in Pakistan as well as India. It was also decided that the Urdu used should be simple. One recommendation is:
—the aim should be to bring the spoken Hindi and Urdu as near to each other as possible so that inter-changeability of words may become possible—An experiment may also be made in some programmes of AIR, where alternative words from Hindi and Urdu may be used (three-page report dated 21 Sept 1976 in Siddiqi 1998: 307).

However, despite these resolutions, language remained a political issue. When Urdu news bulletins were separated from Hindi in India, the tendency of finding difficult words—borrowed as always from Persian and Arabic roots in the case of Urdu and Sanskrit in Hindi—increased.

Siddiqi analyses these trends in chapter 5 of his book. On the one hand there was criticism from the Urdu lobby for using easily understood words like ‘Baṛā Wazīr’—the lobby wanted ‘Wazīr-ē-‘ālā’ (The Chief Minister) which is Persianized whereas ‘baṛ ā’ is ‘big’ in ordinary Urdu-Hindi (Siddiqui 1998: 345). But on the other, there was also criticism of borrowings from Sanskrit. Meanwhile, the Sanskritist lobby, with official backing, insisted on more Sanskritization of Hindi even if Urdu was to be left alone being a minority preserve.

Till date, the situation both on the radio and the TV is that the news bulletins and other official programmes are in Sanskritized Hindi, while entertainment is in popular Hindi-Urdu. Songs, for instance, are in this highly intelligible language and are, therefore, popular in Pakistan as well as India. In short, while the Sanskritized language serves to mark identity and define the parameters of the in-group and the out-group (in this case the ‘other’ being both Muslim and Pakistani), the street-credible language carries the soft image of India all over the world.
LANGUAGE OF THE RADIO IN PAKISTAN

Zulfikar Bukhari, whom we have met earlier, was the first Director General of Radio Pakistan and he insisted on Persianized Urdu. Hameed Naseem, who served under him in the radio and then achieved high rank in the broadcasting world, was educated in the same classical literary tradition. His autobiography—like that of Bukhari himself which we have referred to earlier—Nāmumkin kī Justujū (1990), is full of Persian couplets, and Persian lines are interspersed in it as if everyone would understand them as a matter of course. The two criteria of linguistic sophistication he uses are Persianization and correctness of pronunciation. He laments that Persian is no longer patronized in Pakistan and that this is tantamount to abandoning one’s tradition (Naseem 1990: 227). As for pronunciation, the criterion of correctness is not the usage of ordinary speakers of Urdu. Instead, it is the classical language from which the word is derived. For instance, the ordinary pronunciation of ‘ātish’ (fire) is corrected to ‘ātash’ in the Peshawar Radio Station (Ibid., 210); the poet Rais Amrohvi points out to Naseem that the pronunciation of miracle is ‘karashmā’ and not ‘karishmā’ as used by ordinary people. However, Naseem refutes this through his knowledge of the classics of Urdu. However, pronunciation was only the outward manifestation of the language ideology which placed Persian at a higher pedestal in the hierarchy of languages than the indigenous languages and word-stocks of the subcontinent. These concepts of language ideology, reinforced with ideologies of national identity, went into the language policies and practices of the radio and TV in Pakistan.

During the early years of Pakistan there were attempts to change, or Islamize, the classical music which had words like Ram, Krishna, gōpī (female cowherd), etc. The singers were generally resisting this attempt at ideologically-inspired language-planning. Thus, when a Muslim League leader, Mian Abdul Bari, expressed the necessity of such changes in a meeting,
a wit remarked that the following line could be Islamized as follows:

\[ \text{Mōri baiyyā na marōṛ Krishna Marārī} \]

\[ \text{to} \]

\[ \text{Mōri baiyyā na marōṛ Miā Abdul Bārī} \]

‘Mōri bayyā na marōṛ’ [Do not twist my arm] remains the same but the Hindu name of (Krishna Marari) has been replaced by a Muslim one—that of the leader (Qureshi 1987: 155). Changes of this kind were also reported by Sheema Kermani, the famous classical dancer, who wrote to the author in an e-mail letter that ‘Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, the famous singer who had migrated to Pakistan in 1947, actually went back to India when he was told by the Director of Radio Pakistan that he may not use words like “kanhaiya” and “Krishna” and “Shyam”, etc. in his thumris and dadras’ (Kermani 2009).

Indeed, not only was Urdu purged of the few remaining Hindi elements in Pakistan, but it was even purged of some traditional Persian usages. During the height of General Ziaul Haq’s Islamization drive, even the traditional greeting \textit{Khudā Hāfiz} was changed to ‘Allāh Hāfiz. Both mean ‘God Preserve You from harm’ but \textit{Khudā} is the Persian word for God whereas Islamic purism required the Arabic equivalent. The political vocabulary borrows extensively and self-consciously from Arabic and Persian rather than the indigenous tradition. Thus, words like ‘\textit{chunāō}’ (election), ‘\textit{rāj}’ (rule), common between Urdu and Hindi, are studiously avoided and their Perso-Arabic equivalents ‘\textit{intikhābāt}’ and ‘\textit{hukūmat}’ are used.

Aslam Azhar, who was head of Pakistan Television for five years (1972–1977), told the present author that TV also had the same policy as the radio. The news was in formal and Persianized Urdu while the entertainment features were in ordinary, intelligible language. As for changes like ‘\textit{Allāh Hāfiz}’ from ‘\textit{Khudā Hāfiz}’ they came in without written instructions during the Ziaul
Haq years. If there were any written instructions he is not aware of them (Azhar Int. 2006).

This is also confirmed, among others, by Ashfaq Ahmad Gondal, Federal Secretary in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting till 2009, and Director General of the Radio Pakistan in 2006–2007. In his official position as Secretary he was also the Chairman of the PTV. He said that orders and instructions about such changes as ‘Khudā Hāfiz’ to ‘Allāh Hāfiz’ were issued during meetings of media chiefs. He was not present at the meeting when this occurred but he knew definitely that it was during the period of General Ziaul Haq (Gondal Int. 2009).

One effect of the 1965 War was that it increased anxiety about nationalism and national identity. Thus the share of English was reduced and that of Urdu, seen as the carrier of Pakistani nationalism, increased. After the 1971 War, the anxiety increased even further and so did the emphasis on Urdu. Now English came to be restricted to the morning and evening news and, after Urdu, the share of the indigenous languages of Pakistan also increased (Qureshi 1987: 75).

Famous figures from the radio such as Agha Nasir and Iftikhar Arif, mention a purist policy about pronunciation on Radio Pakistan. Agha Nasir said that there used to be a ‘pronunciation checker’ and the criterion was the Urdu of Lucknow and Delhi. Some words of Bengali such as ‘Purbhō’ (West) were added for political reasons but otherwise the attitude was very purist (Nasir Int. 2006). Iftikhar Arif also told the author that there was a person responsible for ensuring that the pronunciation would not deviate from the norms set up in Delhi and Lucknow. It was assumed that this was the best pronunciation and even Punjabi speakers would try to conform to it. He himself pronounced the word ‘hope’ as ‘umēd’ whereas ordinary speakers of Urdu pronounce it as ‘ummīd’ but, when asked to explain this aberration, defended himself with reference to a Persian couplet in which the prosody required this pronunciation rather than
the one used ordinarily and, further, said that he was from Lucknow and what he spoke was correct. This was his stand even after more than half a century when he was giving this interview in 2009 (Arif Int. 2009). So much was the obsession with the UP pronunciation of Urdu that some people could flout all norms of politeness if some pronunciation of Urdu was not considered ‘correct by them. For instance an experienced figure from Radio Pakistan tells us that the poet Josh kept correcting the interviewer’s Urdu pronunciation (Qureshi 1987: 169–170).

This policy continues even today though, according to a former head of both the radio and the TV, ‘it is not practical and the experts became redundant’ in time (Gondal. Int. 2009). However, Mr Gondal also pointed out that he had himself corrected ‘gullī dandā’ to ‘gillī dandā’ (Ibid., 2009).

Radio Pakistan and the television channels are the main purveyors of Urdu in the country. According to the data of 2010, the total time given to all radio broadcasts per day is 305 minutes and the total number of broadcasts is 61. Out of the 18 languages used for broadcasting within the country, the number of minutes given to Urdu are 115 (PBC information, May 2010). As for television, besides Pakistan TV with its three channels all functioning mostly in Urdu, licenses have been issued to eighty-two TV channels, out of which ten are not functioning and thirteen are in the indigenous languages of the country. Three channels function in mixed languages (two in Urdu and English and one in Urdu and Punjabi) leaving the rest of the fifty-six channels operating in Urdu (PEMRA 2010).

In short, radio and the TV spread the spoken language common to India and Pakistan known respectively as Hindi and Urdu in the two countries in the entertainment programmes. However, in both media, especially in state-sponsored programmes, the Hindi-Urdu controversy goes on till this day. Ideological—both nationalistic and religious—programmes in India evoke identity-consciousness among Hindu audiences by
using Sanskritic words and religious symbols. In Pakistan the same is done by using Persian and Arabic words and Islamic allusions. Indeed, the fear of not being considered separate enough from India has tabooed commonly understood words of Hindi which were used for centuries in the ancestor of Urdu but now cause such anxiety that they are never used on the air or on the screen in Pakistan. And in India, similar antagonisms and anxieties still keep increasing the distance between the official registers of Urdu and Hindi. Meanwhile, Urdu-Hindi continues to rule the short waves and, as we will see in the next chapter, the screen as far as entertainment is concerned.
This chapter complements the previous chapter in so far as it aims at enhancing our understanding of how Urdu was used in the new media which came into South Asia in the wake of modernity. The major emphasis is on the cinema. Since television combines the features of both radio and cinema, some of the policies governing the use of language in it derive from the one or the other, as the case may be. Thus, what is true for radio and cinema, is also relevant for TV. Let us, then, begin with cinema.

The precursor of the cinema was the theatre. Although it is asserted that after 1550 the Portuguese performed their plays in Hindustani (Nami 1962–1973, Vol. 3: 86), this did not create a clear, unbroken tradition leading to the Parsi theatre of the nineteenth century of which Urdu became the major language, and which is the precursor of Bollywood (Suvorova 2009: 16). But the Parsi theatre, in turn, drew upon various folk traditions such as Nautankī, the Rām Līlā and Raslilā plays. According to Kathryn Hansen, ‘The Nautanki theatre of North India is linguistically identified by its use of Hindi and Urdu’ though other languages—such as Braj, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, etc.—may be used (Hansen 1992: 36–37). The Rām Līlā was ‘Hindi devotional drama’ (Hansen 1992: 66–62) while the Raslilā was ‘dance drama based on the episodes from the life of Krishna’ (Suvorova 2009: 29). All of them carried some dialect of Hindi, including Hindustani, to many spectators in North India.
A real boost to Urdu came from the emergence of courtly theatre in Lucknow. This happened when Wajid Ali Shah (r. 1847–56), the ruler of Awadh, patronized ‘Indarsabhā’, a musical drama in Urdu written by a poet called Syed Agha Hasan Amanat (1815–1859). The play was probably written in 1851 and staged in Lucknow in 1852. It is in the Urdu romantic, poetical tradition—complete with fairies, princes, magic spells and so on—but also draws upon the European dramatic tradition (Taj 2007).

The play became popular and was reproduced all over India (Suvorova 2009: 37–48). In time, all plays in this magical, romantic tradition came to be known as sabhās. And, being in some variant of Hindustani, they spread knowledge of this language in the small towns of North India (Sharar 1927: 194). Moreover, as Hansen points out, this also made Indo-Muslim manners part of the North Indian theatre (Hansen 1992: 79–80).

The Parsi theatre accepted these existing traditions but, initially, the language of this theatre was Gujarati. The transition to Urdu came soon. According to Kathryn Hansen this happened as follows:

By the 1870s the large companies had adopted the practice of hiring Muslim munshis (Scribes) as part of their permanent staff, and Urdu became the principal language of the stage. Zarif and Rounaq were prolific authors who worked for the Original Theatrical Company of Bombay in the 1870s and 1880s (Hansen 1992: 81).

However, a Hindustani version (mixed with Gujarati and Marathi) of ‘Raja Gopalchandra’, written and directed by Vishnudas Bhave, was produced as early as 1853 (Hansen 1992: 82). By the 1870s, companies ‘performing in Urdu toured the subcontinent eventually becoming popular all over India and abroad’ (Suvorova 2009: 74). Thus, mostly because of business imperatives, Urdu became the major language of the Parsi theatre.
But this was not necessarily the polished language of Delhi and Lucknow. As Mirza Mohammad Hadi Rusva, the novelist, found to his dismay. While much gratified by the pretty faces of the actors, their good acting and general demeanour he was appalled by their commonplace idiom and accent. They spoke, as he sadly commented, the idiom of Bombay’s ‘fish market’ (machli bāzār) (Rusva 1928: 5).

However, precisely because it was not the artificially Persianized idiom of Lucknow and Delhi’s elite, the language spread all over British India. In a sense, as Qurratul Ain Hyder points out, the Parsi theatre—and later Bollywood—was a living symbol of the composite culture of Hindus and Muslims of which ordinary, spoken Urdu. Hindi is the obvious medium. As she remarks:

In the Parsi theatre they used to sing Urdu ghazals as in “Harischandra” “Nal and Damayanti”, or “Chandravati”, and at the same time perform bhajans, Hindvi hymns, as in “Rustum and Sohrab” or “Shirin and Farhad” (Hyder 1976: 18).

Out of numerous examples, one from ‘Indar Sabhā’ itself will suffice. This is a holi in Braj Bhasha.

Lāj rakh lē shiām hamārī  
Maẽ chīrī hũ tumhārī  
Preserve my modesty my Shiam  
I’m your disciple (Translation by Taj 2007: 135–136).

These characteristics of the Indar Sabha and the Parsi theatre influenced the development of the film industry in India.

**SILENT FILMS**

The Indian cinema began with silent movies in 1912. In these films, captions were used. Bombay emerged as the seat of the film industry in India. Although Gujarati and Marathi were the
indigenous languages of most of the Bombay Presidency, Hindi was not unknown. The *Report of the Indian Cinematograph Committee 1927–28* says that the main vernaculars are: 'Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu' (Cinema 1928: 41). The solution was to dub the films in the regional language as some witnesses suggested (Cinema Evidence, Vol. IV: 78). However, the hall managers printed pamphlets and in some places people read out the captions loudly for the benefit of the illiterate. For much of North India the preferred language for this was Hindi—or Hindustani as it was sometimes called—though sometimes the Perso-Arabic script was used. A proprietor, Irani, questioned about the language difficulty said:

> In most cases we put in different languages in the same films. For upper India we put Urdu and so on... (Cinema Evidence, Vol. 1: 167).

This script was, however, associated with the Muslim identity in the minds of the producers, members of the Committee as well as, one presumes, the general public. For instance, when N.E. Navle was asked in Gujarat whether they used Urdu captions for the Muslims, he did point out that the Muslims understood Marathi but also conceded that the use of these captions ‘would certainly be a good addition’ (Cinema Evidence, Vol. IV 1928: 298).

The members of the committee assumed that ‘Hindi’—spoken Hindustani—was generally well-known and that Bombay pictures were popular even in Madras (Cinema 1928, Vol. 1: 12), but, in fact, the dissemination of spoken Hindustani must have been an ongoing process with the films playing a key role in it. That is why the silent movies used more languages than the talkies did.

The way out of the linguistic morass was to superimpose one language. Ardeshir Bilimoria, Director, Madan Theatres, Bombay, said this language could be English but the Chairman of the

As films were a means of reaching the public, the state also used them for its own purposes. A note entitled ‘Films for publicity’ of 1939–40 states:

We wish to reach the 1000-odd cinemas which show mainly or exclusively Indian films (Films 1940).

These films are mostly in English or Hindustani, though some are in Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, and Telugu, in addition to these two languages (Films 1940). Some films were shown to inspire villagers to join the army. In one letter about such films an officer says:

Language is not a matter of great importance as we always send a demonstrator with our cinemas who keeps up a running patter with the help of loud speakers (Films 1939).

In the Punjab, where most of the army came from, this ‘patter’ might have been in Punjabi though Punjabi soldiers understood spoken Hindustani very well. Indeed, in the evidence on the Punjab, it was observed that the captions should be in Urdu and English (Cinema Evidence, Vol. 1: 91). This was because Urdu was taught in the schools and used in the lower domains of power in the Punjab. Even in areas where there was no such official role of the language, the Bombay films were understood. As an observer noticed:

Films made in Bombay, in what is known as film Hindustani, often have an enormous success with audiences who, again cannot understand one word of them (Shaw 1942).

However, Hindustani was considered the common language to such an extent that the educational films were supposed to be in it. The Deputy Educational Inspector, Visual Instruction, Bombay
said that even foreign films for educational purposes ‘should have Hindi or Hindustani titles whenever they are shown’ (Cinema Evidence, Vol. 1: 30).

**TALKIES**

The era of the silent movies passed when the first ‘talkie’ ‘Ālam Ārā’ was made by Irani on 14 March 1931. The number of talkies produced between 1931 and 1995 is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931–1978</td>
<td>13,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979–1985</td>
<td>5,426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986–1995</td>
<td>9,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>28,408</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Apart from the dialogues, the songs in these films were an important linguistic input. These songs, often written by Muslim poets, were in Urdu (Gulzar 2003: 279–294). If the number of songs is eight per film and the ratio of Hindi to regional-language films is 1:2.5 then there were about 25,000 Hindi songs in circulation (Da. Ranade 2006: 18).

According to Amita Malik:

Film songs as well as Urdu poetry became a subtle form of counter propaganda in All India Radio’s Urdu Service. The natural amalgam of Hindi and Urdu, what is popularly known as Hindustani, in the language of Bombay films, led to the evolution of the nearest India has got to a national language (Malik 2003: 63).

After partition, Hindi movies began to grow in size. One learns from the *Report of the Film Enquiry Committee* (1951), that the educational films were dubbed ‘particularly [in] Hindi’ (Film
Committee 1951: 56). The production of feature films in 1948 were as follows:

- Hindi: 147
- Gujarati: 28
- Marathi: 7
- Tamil: 33
- Telugu: 7
- Bengali: 37
- Punjabi: –
- Other: 6
- Total: 264

(Source: Film Committee 1951: 322).

During the 1950s, Hindi films were being shown in 1,858 cinemas whereas the Tamil ones, which were runners up, were shown in 674 cinemas. The other numbers are: Telugu (324); Bengali (255) and English (108) (Ibid., 130). Hindi films, especially the songs, are enjoyed much beyond the Hindi belt in India. Indeed, Hindi films are watched in 130 countries; every third person watches or is eager to watch Hindi films (Gulzar and Chatterjee 2003: 153). The number of films censored in 2000 shows the popularity of Hindi films:

- Films censored in India 1990–2000
  - Hindi: 243
  - Urdu: 0

Out of a total of 835 films in 39 languages, most films are in the Hindi language. Telugu films were 204 in 1990 but in 2000 they were 143. The number of films formally classified as ‘Urdu’ are only seven in these ten years (Gulzar and Chatterjee 2003: 154), but everyone in Pakistan understands the ‘Hindi’ films from India. Indeed, India is the top movie-producing country among a list of ten such countries in figures of four decades from 1974.
to 2004 (Thussu 2009: 99). Thus, the claim that Bollywood, as well as Indian TV, have been globalized, has substance (Kumar 2009; Thussu 2009: 101).

Besides India, these films and their songs are popular in Pakistan, Nepal and whenever people from these countries, as well as India, are living.

**THE LANGUAGE OF BOLLYWOOD**

While images draw the most attention of the viewer, ‘the function of language in cinema is multifaceted, dispelling the widely held notion that language is of secondary importance in the cinematic experience’ (Dissanayake 2008: 395). However, this ‘language’ is a combination of registers, varieties and even different languages which vary according to characters, themes, places and time.

The point is that there is a unified world of discourse which is constituted by a plurality of languages, registers, varieties, and sociolects which are imbricated with values and associated with different ways of existence. All these are conjured up to create an atmosphere in the film in which there are lines of English, words of Sanskrit in the temple and those of Persian in a Nawab’s story about Lucknow. Urdu words loaded with medieval (Muslim) cultural references are not only found in Hindi films but ‘are “de rigueur” in Indian and Sinhalese popular films’ (Dissanayake 2008: 399).

Some people have commented that the language of Bollywood, although called Hindi, is actually Urdu. Agha Nasir, among others, said the same thing in an interview with the present author (Nasir Int. 2006). Historians of the cinema have pointed out that beginning with the early success of ‘Ālam Ārā’, Urdu started dominating the cinema. This is also acknowledged by Suniti Kumar Chatterji who, being a supporter of Sanskritization, condemns ‘cinema Hindusthani—in films made in Bombay and elsewhere. The titles of these films are mostly in Persian...’ and
he goes on to comment sarcastically at words like *mohabbat* (love) and *zindagi* (life) for being used in these films (Chatterji 1942: 257). That there is clear evidence of Urdu being learned by workers of the film industry in Mumbai is beyond dispute. Let us look only at some of this evidence. In her conversation with Nasreen Munni Kabir, Lata describes her experience of learning Urdu as follows one day:

**LM:** I must tell you the story. One day Anil Biswas, Yusuf Bhai [Dilip Kumar] and I were travelling to work together on the train. This was in 1947 or ’48. In those days, Yusuf Bhai was able to travel by train as no one really recognized him!

We were sitting in a compartment and Yusuf Bhai asked who I was. Anilda replied: ‘She is a new singer and sings well. You’ll like her voice when you hear her’. They were chatting together and Yusuf Bhai asked him: ‘Where is she from?’ ‘She is Maharashtrian’. ‘But their Urdu pronunciation isn’t correct and in their singing you can smell *daal-bhaat* [implying a Marathi accent would come through in the pronunciation of Urdu]. I felt terribly hurt hearing him say such a thing.

I knew the composer Mohammed Shafi. He was an assistant to Anil Biswas and Naushad Sahib, and a few days later, I told him I wanted to learn Urdu so I could pronounce it correctly. He found me a *maulana*, a man called Mehboob, who taught me Urdu for a short while. When I speak, my Urdu isn’t very good, but when I sing I make sure there are no flaws in my diction (Kabir 2009: 67).

A famous song of hers, given to her by Naushad, a famous composer when Lata was at the beginning of her career, was supposed to be sung on stage by Nargis, famous as an actress at that time, in Mehboob Khan’s film *Andāz*. Mehboob Khan had reservations about Lata’s singing. He expressed them to Naushad as follows: ‘Naushad Sahab, I’m sure you know what you are doing, but you do realize that the very first song is a ghazal, needing impeccable Urdu enunciation, while your singer is a
Maharashtrian!’ (Ibid., 46). Naushad, however, trusted Lata and the song became famous.

Even films in languages other than Hindi sometimes had Hindi songs. For instance, Lata’s first song, in 1944, was sung in the Marathi film *Gajabhau* (Terrible Happening) (Bhimani 1995: 91). But Hindi was so pervasive an influence that Lata’s grandmother would sing to her a folk song with a blend of Marathi and Hindi.

While Lata’s case was of several decades back, even the young actor, Hrithik Roshan (b. 1974), ‘attended dance classes and learnt Urdu’ when he decided to become an actor (Ghosh 2004: 32). Shah Rukh Khan (b. 1965) was brought up by a father who ‘could recite lengthy Urdu verses’ and a mother who spoke Hyderabadi Urdu (Chopra 2007: 25). Even now, as the present author found in his visit to Mumbai in March 2007, a number of actors and actresses hire experts in Urdu to correct their pronunciation. This information on the language of script writers, directors, editors, and actors of both films and television soap operas was gathered through face-to-face as well as telephonic interviews.

The persons interviewed were Javed Akhtar, Javed Siddiqui, Gulzar, Nadira Zaheer, Ghazala Nargis, Paresh Kamdar and Gauri Patwardhan. The first three are famous script writers for film. Nadira Zaheer, daughter of Sajjad Zaheer and wife of Raj Babbar, writes plays for the theatre. Ghazala Nargis, daughter of the famous Urdu scholar Shams ur Rahman Faruqi and wife of Paresh Kamdar a film-maker, writes dialogues for TV plays. Gauri Patwardhan is an editor of films and works in the Film and Television Institute of India.

To the question as to what was the language of films and TV plays, they generally gave the answer: ‘Hindustani’. Javed Akhtar said it was ‘Hindustani inclining to the Urdu end of the language’ (Akhtar Int. 2007). Gauri Patwardhan said they merely avoided difficult Persian and Sanskrit words (Patwardhan Int. 2007).
Other interviewees, upon probing, also said the language was close to Urdu. Nadira Zaheer said the languages of some plays, for instance Agha Hashar’s ‘Yahūdī kī Laṛkī’ (Daughter of the Jew) was Urdu (Zaheer Int. 2007). Gulzar said: ‘It is called Hindustani as well as Hindi. You may call it Urdu in Pakistan. It is basically the same language’ (Gulzar Int. 2007). Javed Siddiqui, however, pointed out that the character, the situation, as well as the ambience of the film determines the choice of the language. It can range from some dialect to Bumbaiya Hindi to Sanskritized Hindi or Urdu (Siddiqui Int. 2007).

Paresh Kamdar said that the actors and actresses hire teachers to correct their pronunciation. He narrated how a certain Maulana Sahib was hired in one of his own films in order to teach the pronunciation of Urdu (Kamdar Int. 2007). In most cases the script is written in English. The dialogue is written in Hindustani but in the Devanagari script. Then the actors/actresses read the dialogue and are corrected by colleagues or professionals. Ghazala Nargis said TV soap operas used comprehensible language but the role did influence the choice of language and style (Ghazala Int. 2007).

Not only the script writers but even munshis are reported to be employed by aspiring actors and actresses to polish their Urdu accent. Of course they call it ‘shudh Hindi’ but it is, nevertheless, not the Sanskritized Hindi which politicians and officials have to learn. It is the kind of ‘Hindi’ which visitors from Pakistan are often congratulated on speaking in Indian cities. In sort it has linguistic capital at least in some circles of Indian society despite the official use of modern Sanskritized Hindi.

In short, it would appear that the social capital of Urdu, created by Islamizing it and indexing it to a Muslim, urban, sophisticated, elitist identity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, survives at some level in North Indian society. Thus, Urdu writers’ works—such as ghazal and rubāī—appear as songs (gīt) in films (Khan 2006: 321). Also:
Famous singers such as Mukesh, Kishore, Rafi, Lata, Asha Bhosle, and Geeta Dutt did, and still do, reproduce flawless Urdu-Arabic sounds: z not j, sh not as s, q not as k, and gh (ghein) not as g, etc. the only exceptions being singers from Punjab, likes of Rafi, and Punjabi poets also substitute k (Koran) for q (Quran) (Khan 2006: 321).

The prevalence of Urdu is also explained with reference to the presence of Muslim workers and artists in the industry. For instance, a book which discusses the language of films is Ali Husain Mir and Raza Mir’s *Anthems of Resistance* (2006). Two chapters in this book (6 and 7) consider the role of the progressive movement in the songs of films (pp. 111–134 and pp. 135–171). The book is about the progressive movement in Urdu literature which began in 1934 in London and was formally established as the All India Progressive Writers Association (PWA) in India. This was a left-leaning movement and some of its major poets joined the film industry. The connection with Bollywood started then.

The progressive writers also wrote songs for the cinema. The Indian People’s Theatre Association (IPTA) and the cultural wing of the Communist Party of India tried to inspire the masses through songs. Probably the greatest progressive to enter the film industry was Sahir Ludhianvi who made his debut in 1941 in *Naujawan* (Young Man). Majrooh Sultanpuri and Kaifi Azmi were also among the pioneers. Later they were joined by Ali Sardar Jafri, Jan Nisar Akhtar, Neeraj, Gulzar, and Javed Akhtar. But it is not a question of merely Muslim identity—only eleven out of forty-one composers of music for Indian films between 1931 and 1947 were Muslims (Da. Ranade 2006: 147–148)—the real point is the culture of the film industry which uses a language of wide intelligibility which happens to be nearer to spoken Urdu than to Sanskritized Hindi. So one does not have to be Talat Mahmood (1924–1998) from Lucknow with his ‘flawless and sophisticated pronunciation of Urdu’ (Da. Ranade 2006: 391), but anyone—Muslim or Hindu; Punjabi or Bengali—who is ready to learn Urdu and sing or act in it. Sahir’s work is very popular both
as lyrics of films and in the written form. His poem ‘chaklē’ (Brothels) was sung in the film Piyāsā (Thirsty) (1957). Some difficult Persian words and constructions were removed but the rest of it remained the same.

Gradually the serious theme of social awareness and revolution favoured by the progressives were squeezed out of the cinema. The alternative cinema distanced itself from the light-hearted romance and melodrama of mainstream Bollywood but, at the same time, this cinema ‘sought to distance itself from the bazaar, Hindustani of commercial films, the alternate film-makers adopted a self-consciously Sanskritized Hindi, as is evident even from the titles of the films of Shyam Benegal, Gaina Nihalani and others: Ankur (Seedling), Nishānt (Night’s End), Manthan (Churning); Bhūmika (Actor), Ākrōsh (Anguish), Ardhasatyā (Half-truth) (Mir and Mir 2006: 127–128).

But whatever the history of the language practices of Bollywood, what needs explanation is the fact that even after sixty-two years of independence and enthusiastic Indian nationalism—even Hindu chauvinism around Mumbai itself—the language of Bollywood is so close to Urdu. This is, after all, a matter of conscious choice and a number of scholars have discussed it.

One of them, Mukul Kesavan, argues that the roots of the Hindi cinema are in the Islamicate culture of feudal, decadent, aristocratic Muslim centres of rule of which Lucknow is the best known archetype. The language of this culture, he argues, is Urdu. Thus, ‘Urdu, Awadh and the tawaif [courtesan] have been instrumental in shaping Hindi cinema as a whole—not just some “Muslim” component of it’ (Kesavan 1994: 255).

Other scholars have contested this. Among them is Harish Trivedi who has pointed out that not all Hindi films are in the same language. They do use different styles of speaking. Some of them use Sanskritized Hindi in titles, in dialogues and even in lyrics. Indeed, they use the language most appropriate for the
occasion (register) and the person (idiolect or dialect). Thus, different characters draw upon different symbolic vocabularies—Muslims on Perso-Arabic ones in historical films and Hindus on Sanskritic ones—for distinctive authenticity. Moreover the argot of the Mumbai underworld—‘Bambaiya Hindi’—is also used in some films as are dialects such as Bhojpuri. In short, only the language corresponding to ‘Urdu’, to the exclusion of other styles and varieties of the larger composite language Hindi-Urdu, are not used in ‘Hindi’ films (Trivedi 2006).

However, while the languages of Bollywood’s ‘Hindi’ movies is not always the language called ‘Urdu’ in Pakistan’s films, it is also true that it is not the Sanskritized Hindi of India’s officialdom. Thus, though Kesavan states that he is not ‘trying to claim that Urdu became the language of cinema because it approximated more closely to “natural” speech as opposed to a more confected, more “synthetic” Hindi’ (Kesavan 1994: 249), that is precisely the implication of his work and the argument being presented here. Indeed, this language is closer to what used to be called ‘Hindustani’. In its commonly used form, it is almost identical to what Pakistanis call Urdu. The few words which differ in Pakistani and Indian films are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Bollywood</th>
<th>Lollywood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>Vishwās/yaqīn</td>
<td>Yaqīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Parīwār/khāndān</td>
<td>Khāndān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>Prēm/piyār/mohabbat/ishq/love</td>
<td>Piyār/mohabbat/ishq/love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worry</td>
<td>Chintā/fikar</td>
<td>Fikr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Dēsh/watan/mulk</td>
<td>Dēs/watan/mulk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>Dārū/sharāb</td>
<td>Sharāb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These words are well known, however, to film audiences on both sides of the border. In general, notwithstanding some difficult Perso-Arabic words in Lollywood Urdu or Sanskritic ones in
Bollywood Hindi, the language in general use is similar enough to be widely understood by audiences on both sides of the border. Thus those who celebrate the entertainment industry in South Asia: films, dramas, songs, and jokes, etc., as the common linguistic legacy of both Pakistan and India have a point. After all, the language has been called by other names before as we have seen. But it is only the entertainment industry which uses this language, though like everybody else, it calls it either Hindi or Urdu. It should be called ‘Urdu-Hindi’ but that would not sound politically correct to either the Indian or the Pakistani official establishments.

As mentioned in the last paragraph, my hypothesis is that the language of Bollywood dips towards the Urdu end, as does that of the soap operas on the TV and the street itself, because this is the natural language of North Indian and Pakistani cities. It is popular because it is intelligible to more people than any other South Asian language and, therefore, it sells better than any other language. The sellers of entertainment are aware of this and hence, wisely, they do not get ensnared by ideology into using Sanskritized Hindi. Likewise, they do not use highly Persianized Urdu either. Sahir Ludhianwi’s line ‘sanā khūān-ē- taqdīs-ē-Mashriq khā ḫaē… [those who praise the sacredness of the East, where are they?]’ was changed to the following line in ordinary Urdu-Hindi (jinhē nāz ḫaē Hind par vō Kahā ḫaē=where are those who are proud of India…) when it was sung. After all, how many people on the streets of South Asia, even in the northern side of it, understand Persian and the line is in Persian except the last two words of it. As it happens, the ordinary Urdu spoken in Pakistani cities is very much like the ordinary Hindi spoken in Indian cities. That is why the language of Bollywood is so close to the language of Lollywood.

Indian supporters of Urdu sometimes regard it as a grievance that the censor boards should issue certificates of Hindi rather than Urdu to films produced by Bollywood. But whether called
Urdu, Hindi or Hindustani, the cinema from Mumbai has served both Urdu and Hindi very well and has taken these languages to the people of South Asia and all over the world. Films have taught Urdu-Hindi to areas speaking different languages such as the South of India, Bengal, Punjab, and Pakistan. They are watched in the Gulf states and even in Kabul, although the Taliban almost wiped them out. They are even watched in the West, especially by the South Asian diaspora, with English subtitles. The language came to be dispersed more widely in the 1960s through them. But, of course, this language is neither indexed to the Hindu nor to the Muslim (communal) identities. And that is precisely why officialdom, chauvinists and extremists on both sides want to deny the similarity of the commonly understood street language in North India and Pakistan and that this language—call it what you will—is closer to spoken Urdu in Pakistan than they wish to acknowledge.

LANGUAGE OF THE TELEVISION

The television performs the functions of both the radio and the cinema. The former functions include carrying out official propaganda. The latter functions focus on entertainment though films are also the vehicles of officially endorsed points of view. In general, the language of the officially endorsed programmes in both Pakistan and India is the formal, artificially constructed and difficult to understand (if not unintelligible) Persianized Urdu and Sanskritized Hindi, respectively. The language of the entertainment programmes, the dramas of Pakistan and the soap operas of India, is the widely intelligible language common between Pakistan and India.

However, this language does vary from character to character, situation to situation and atmosphere to atmosphere. In the Pakistani play ‘Wāris’ (heir), for instance, the Chaudhary Sahib speaks in a Punjabi accent and even puts in a few Punjabi words here and there to create the flavour of authenticity. Maulvis use
more Arabic terms than ordinary people and young, educated people use many English words.

In the Indian soap opera from Star Plus ‘Bidāī’, Mr Sharma uses more Sanskritized Hindi than the other characters. In ‘Yē Rishtā Kyā Kaehlātā Haē’ (what is this relationship called?), also from Star Plus, ‘Dadda Ji’ and ‘Shankari Tai’ speak in the local dialect not in ordinary standardized Khari Boli Hindi. And, of course, all characters use ‘chintā’, ‘vishvās’ and ‘shānt’ (peaceful) which are never used in the television programmes from Pakistan.

In short, there are certain ingrained assumptions of language usage in both countries. In India, as there are many Muslims, the uses of words associated with them are not tabooed. In Pakistan, however, words like ‘chintā’, being associated with Hindi and the Hindu identity, are beyond limits. The language policies and practices of the radio and the TV of Pakistan were not available in the form of documents to this author. However, the biographies and interviews of important people associated with these institution shed some light upon them.

THE LANGUAGE OF LOLLYWOOD

Lahore was an important centre of the film industry in the areas now in Pakistan before the Partition. G.K. Mehta with Abdur Rashid Kardar released ‘Husn kā Dākū’ (The docoit of beauty) in 1929–30 at Lahore’s Bhati Gate. Muhammad Ismail made posters for the film. In 1920, they set up United Players Corporation at Ravi Road. ‘Hīr Rānjhā’ was the first sound film produced in Lahore at the United Player’s Studio.

Soon after partition, many people connected with the film industry in India migrated to Pakistan and settled down in Lahore or Karachi. The decade between 1959 and 1969 was called the golden age period. Kay productions released ‘Bombay Wāllāh’ on 26 May 1961 but the Censor Board was blamed for allowing it to run. In September 1965, all Indian films were taken off the screen and banned. The ban had existed since 1952 in West
Pakistan and 1962 in East Pakistan but was imposed harshly after 1965.

The years between 1970 and 1977 was the age of the VCR. The Urdu film ‘Dōsti’ (friendship) released on 7 February 1971, was the only one to complete 101 weeks of box office but ‘Yekkē vālī’ (The female driver of the one-horse carriage) in Panjabi had reached diamond jubilee in 1957. Films dropped from a total of 98 films in 1979 of which forty-two were in Urdu to only fifty-eight films with only twenty-six in Urdu in 1980. In 1990 ‘Chūriā’ (bangles), a Punjabi film, grossed Rs180 million. Javed Sheikh’s ‘Yēh dil āpkā haē’ (This Heart is Yours) in 2002 got Rs200 million ($3.4 million). In 2005, there were requests that the ban on Indian films should be lifted and two years later it was. From now on there was more cooperation between India and Pakistan as far as films were concerned and thus the Pakistani film ‘Khudā kē Liyē’ (For God’s Sake) was released in 100 cinemas in 20 cities in India.

In 2002 there were the following number of cinema halls in Pakistan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KP</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochistan</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islamabad</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Earlier, for instance in the 1970s, Karachi alone had more than 100 cinemas and more than 200 films were produced and released each year. However, from 2002 a rejuvenation of the film industry was started. Thus, the Universal Multiplex was opened in that year in Karachi. There are these kinds of cinema complexes now in Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Multan and Hyderabad. (Cinema Website 2010).
According to Hasan Zaidi:

Pakistan used to be among the top 10 film producing countries in the world, right up until the early-1980s, producing 100 feature films a year. Today that number is down to the low thirties, most of them in Punjabi and Pushto. Less than 10 Urdu films were produced last year whereas at one time that number used to be in the high forties and Sindhi and Balochi cinema has been wiped off the map. (Zaidi 2010: 58–59).

Pakistani films use the same melodramatic themes which they inherited from their common ancestor in Bombay. The language is very similar too though tell-tale words like ‘chintā’, ‘vishvās’, ‘sāgar’ (sea), etc., are not used. The language varies according to the identity of the character, the situation and the theme of the film. A ‘maulvī’, for instance, will speak Urdu in a fake, Arabized accent and may put in more Arabic-origin words than other characters. College-educated students will sprinkle their conversation with English words. However, on the whole the language of Indian films and TV entertainment, and that of these media in Pakistan are very similar and mutually intelligible. That is why these media are exchanged—mostly through illegal means because of official restrictions—between the two countries and are in high demand among South Asians settled abroad.

LOCALIZATION: URDU ON THE COMPUTER SCREEN

Localization, or technical localization, is merely the translation of programmes originally written in English into other languages (Keniston 1997). In Pakistan, for instance, programmes have been developed in order to use Urdu in place of English in Windows. The history of the creation of Urdu software is inspiring because it was initially seen as an exercise in misplaced nationalistic zeal.
Urdu letters do not follow each other without changing shape. They adopt several shapes depending upon whether they are in the word-initial, medial or terminal positions. Moreover they do not begin at the same height. Their height (Kursi) varies according to the word they are used in. Thus, the computer had to be fed, as in logographic systems, with ligatures giving different combinations of letters. Such a programme, not being alphabetical, occupied much space. The first such system was developed by Ahmed Mirza Jameel, proprietor of the Elite Publishers (Karachi).

He saw the Chinese characters being typeset in Singapore in 1979 and got the idea of using this kind of system for Urdu. He spoke to the sales manager of the firm in Singapore and the firm agreed to create a specimen of Urdu which was exhibited in July 1980 in Birmingham. The work of selecting the corpus was accomplished by Matlab ul Hasan Sayyid while their ligatures were determined by Ahmed Mirza Jameel. In six months he created 16,000 ligatures which could create 250,000 words of Urdu.

This was called Nūrī Nastālīq (the radiant nastaliq) and was exhibited in Urdu Science College in August 1980. It was adopted by the Jang Group of newspapers which started publishing their newspapers in it. It was also enthusiastically welcomed by Dr Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Chairman of the NLA, in 1980 (Jameel 2002: 8).

Later a number of software—Shahkār (masterpiece), Surkhāb (a rare and beautiful bird), Nastālīq Nizāmī were created. The last mentioned was created by the Pakistan Data Management Services (PDMS) Karachi, established in Karachi in 1978, and it was installed by the National Language Authority in 1995. The PDMS has also created Māhir (expert) software which works with the latest version of Windows and processes both Urdu and Sindhi (Hisam 2002).
The second wave of development came in 1998 when FAST, a private university excelling in computer studies in Lahore, organized the National Urdu Computer Seminar on 12 September 1998, in which it was resolved that the Urdu code plate would be standardized (NLA 2002a: 87). The representatives of the NLA were Aqeel Abbas Jafri and Dr Atash Durrani. The Unicode is basically for the Arabic script naskh which, according to all researchers, needs less positions than the Nastālīq script in which Urdu is written. Atash Durrani became the in-charge of this section and, according to him, exhibited the first code plate based on the American Standard Code International on 5 June 1999 at the Pakistan Science Academy in Islamabad (see NLA 2002: 87; Durrani 2003). Dr Sarmad Hussain, a prominent computational linguist from FAST, carried out linguistic research which fed into the resolution of technical issues. Dr Mohammad Afzal, also present at the historic 1998 seminar, later developed a programme which was supported by Dr Atta ur Rahman, Minister of Science and Technology, in General Pervez Musharraf’s government from 1999–2002 (Afzal 2002). This programme was the URLSDF (Urdu and Regional Languages Software Development Forum) which standardized the keyboard and an encoding scheme by 2001. The Internationalization Standardization Organization (ISO) accepted the standards and added them to the Unicode in March 2002. According to Dr Atash Durrani, he met Ahmed Abdullah, incharge of Microsoft Dubai office, in software competition (ITCN Asia 2000 Exhibition) in March 2000 in Karachi and persuaded him to include changes for Urdu in Unicode–4 (NLA 2002: 90–92 and 2003).

Later the Centre of Research in Urdu Language (CRULP) at FAST, headed by Sarmad Hussain, created the Nafīs Nastālīq which was released on 14 August 2003. It enables one to make free websites in Urdu Nastālīq using Unicode Standard. Sarmad Hussain’s team has also developed the Nafīs Pākistānī Naskh which allows one to write Sindhi and Pashto. Siraiki, Punjabi, and
Balochi can be written in both the scripts so that there is no major Pakistani language which cannot now be written (Hussain 2004).

Dr Sarmad and his students’ research on Urdu—see NLA 2002a and 2003—has provided insights into the processing and use of Urdu for computerization. A number of other people, such as Tahir Mufti, have also contributed in this development (see NLA 2002). Computer-assisted translation from English to Urdu has been made possible by several people including Tafseer Ahmed (Ahmed 2002). The Government of Pakistan has now launched the Urdu localization project. The internet is now displayed in Urdu; English to Urdu translation will be carried out and speech recognition and processing in Urdu will also be possible. This project, also carried out by Sarmad Hussain at CRULP, was completed in 2005 but refinements are going on even now, for instance, an electronic dictionary has been compiled in order to provide terms used in the computer in Urdu (NLA 2005b).

The NLA, then headed by Professor Fateh Mohammad Malik, became very active in localization in Urdu (NLA 2002: 87). At present (August 2010), the NLA is being headed by Iftikhar Arif who is also going ahead with the same project (Personal visit to NLA in August 2010). Standards for e-mail and other procedures have been established over the years and Urdu can now be processed conveniently. The new identity cards made by the Government of Pakistan are now made by computer programmes functioning in Urdu. A new keyboard, compatible with the Urdu programmes, has also been developed.

Urdu websites have been available for quite some time (Jafri 2002), though the official website of Pakistan is in English. Software to process Sindhi is being used but there is little development in Punjabi, Pashto, Balochi, and other languages. This, however, is now technically possible as these languages are all written in variants of the naskh and the nastaliq scripts. In
short, Urdu is now a language of the computer even though most of educated Pakistan actually uses English in these domains.

To conclude, this chapter has just touched upon the use of Urdu in the computer in Pakistan and focused on its use in the radio and the film industry with special reference to the way the Urdu-Hindi controversy affected this usage. As the focus was on the language called Hindustani in British India and Urdu and Hindi by the various actors who participated in the drama of its use in the radio and films, we have been able to trace out the way the linguistic labels—Urdu and Hindi—helped construct, define and reinforce the communal identities of Hindus and Muslims which led to the partition of India. And even after that the identities indexed to these linguistic labels remained powerful in official narratives though the actual usage in both India and Pakistan for the purposes of providing information and especially entertainment remained close to basic Hindustani or Hindi-Urdu.
Conclusion

Urdu and Hindi are so deeply linked to Muslim and Hindu identities in South Asia that this social history of Urdu has inevitably also been a political history. By analyzing writings on the age, origin, names, and history of the use of Urdu in different domains, we have seen how all of these feed into and support some perception of the social identity of Urdu.

The conclusion which emerges from this study can be succinctly summed up as follows. There was a certain Indian language stretching all the way from Peshawar to the border of the Bengal before the Turkish invasions of the subcontinent in the eleventh century. Being an unstandardized, pre-modern language it was a collection of mutually intelligible dialects. The Muslims started called it Hindvi or Hindi, i.e. the language of Hind—Hind being the word they used for India. All these dialects picked up words from the languages of the newcomers—not only soldiers but also merchants, religious figures, mystics, mendicants and camp followers—but the one around the Delhi area (Khari Boli) probably picked up more words than the others. It was this that came to be identified as Hindvi or Hindi which sufi writings from the fourteenth century onwards refer to. The language was also called Dehlavi and later, when it spread into the Gujarat and the Deccan, it came to be known as Gujri, Gujarati and Dakhni. During the eighteenth century it came to be known as Rekhta. Foreigners, especially the Europeans, used to call it the language of Hindustan, Indostan and Hindustani.
For a brief period it was also called Moors but this name was abandoned in favour of the ubiquitous Hindustani.

By the last two decades of the eighteenth century the elite of the imperial cities of Delhi and Agra had started owning and patronizing the language they still called Hindi and Rekhta. However, the sociolect they preferred for their usage was a highly Persianized idiom which they called Zubān-ē-Urdū-ē-Muallā— the language of the Exalted City, i.e. Delhi. In time this long descriptive phrase shrank to Urdu.

This implies that the name Urdu was not given to the language because it was created in military camps, despite the fact that the word Urdu does mean ‘camp’ in Turkish. The language had been in use for at least five centuries before this particular name came to be used for it. In short, calling Urdu a ‘military language’ or associating it with the Muslim armies is erroneous. Indeed, if its most widely and longest used name, Hindi, is brought into the picture the language is associated with Hindustan—which used to mean the Hindi heartland in medieval parlance—and not with military conquest.

Further, the language had been a product of Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis from the thirteenth till the eighteenth century. In these five hundred years it had never been seen as a purely Muslim preserve or a marker of Muslim identity. However, when Muslims used it, they did put in more words belonging to their religious and cultural practices which were inevitably in Persian and Arabic. These registers were often called ‘Musalmānī bhāshā’ (the language of Muslims) and exist in Bengali (Dil 1993) and Tamil (Alim 1993) as well as other languages. It was not even an elite marker being used by the common people and having no formal niche in the domains of power. By the end of the eighteenth century influential linguistic reformers—who were all poets of Urdu—started making it an elitist class marker. To do this they purged the language of Dakhni words and grammatical constructions, old-fashioned usages, colloquial
words and words of Sanskrit and dialectal (Hindi) origins. Instead of these words they substituted abstruse and unfamiliar words of Persian and Arabic thus making Urdu not just an elitist linguistic marker but also a Muslim identity-marker. Modern Urdu, then, is a Muslim cultural product created artificially by a movement of linguistic reform in the cities of North India towards the end of the eighteenth century.

Modern Hindi was created in the same way soon after—from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards. Hindi linguistic reformers purged the language of words of Persian and Arabic origin and substituted words of Sanskritic origin. They wrote this new Hindi in the Devanagari script alone thus separating it from modern Urdu which was invariably written in the Perso-Arabic script. Thus Modern Hindi, which was just as artificial a construction as modern Urdu, became the identity marker of Hindus. Thus, British rule over India was coterminous with the creation of two artificially separated varieties of the same language now called Urdu and Hindi. The two varieties were used in the modern-colonial state in ways which made them rivals of each other.

The above study has traced out the use of Urdu in the state, i.e. in the domains of education, print, radio, and cinema. It has also looked at two contradictory associations of Urdu: with the amorous and the erotic and with Islam. And it has traced out the spread of the language by looking at the ways the British rulers themselves acquired the language and how the Indian princely states adopted it for official use or rejected it in favour of some other language.

In a sense all these developments are part of the spread of Urdu. Even the spread of Hindi promotes spoken Urdu. While the Sanskritized Hindi of officialdom may not be intelligible to speakers of Urdu, the popular soap operas and other TV programmes, songs and Bollywood movies—all called Hindi—are intelligible and do spread spoken Urdu or, more accurately, the
language which used to be called Hindustani during British rule and which may be called ordinary, spoken Urdu-Hindi even now. Thus, modernity spread Urdu in its spoken form but also helped divide it in its written and formal registers. What was gained on the swings was lost on the roundabouts.

The division of the language into their formal style is political and we have encountered the communal, identity politics of Hindu and Muslim nationalism in much of this study. For instance, scholarship is polarized and blinkered when politics intervenes. Thus, the politics of names favours the name Urdu—the most recent name for the language—rather than Hindi because Pakistanis would not identify their national language with Hind (the land of the Hindus in their perception). And the Hindus too do not want to make a free gift of the name Hindi—a name they have reserved for Sanskritized Hindi—to a language they now regard as an alien ‘Other’. As for the Indian Muslims, they do not want to lose the name Urdu because it is their cultural heritage and a symbol of their identity.

As for the place of origin, Pakistani nationalists—albeit not all scholars—favour theories which make areas now in Pakistan the place of birth of the language. But this is not as major an impediment to clear thinking as the insistence that Urdu is a Muslim language. This particular theory begins by calling Urdu a mixed language (Khichrī zubān) which implies that it is a pidgin. Pidgins are reduced languages and they are nobody’s mother-tongues to begin with. But this erroneous and not very prestigious ancestry is accepted gladly because it supports the theory that words of Muslim heritage languages—Persian, Arabic, Turkish—created Urdu. The other possibility that the ancestor of Urdu, like the ancestor of English, already existed and picked up words of foreign languages does not appeal to most historians of Urdu. The fact that English is also a mixed language, having added most learned words from Latin and
Greek via Norman French, but is called an Anglo-Saxon language not a pidgin goes unnoticed by the historians of Urdu.

As for Urdu’s age, the impressionistic writings of people like Mir Ammam have made their niche in the textbooks of Urdu but nationalistic historiography is otherwise keen to appropriate another five hundred years or so to the history of the language. But here a dilemma intervenes. For Historians of Hindi these five hundred years are part of the history of Hindi. For historians of Urdu they are part of the history of Urdu. In fact, as we have seen, they are part of the history of the common ancestor of these languages. But the tendency among historians is to parade texts written by their religious compatriots while glossing over those of the ‘other’ for one reason or the other. One stratagem is to use the name of a dialect—Avadhi, Braj Bhasha, Bhojpuri, etc.—when a certain text is not to be given attention. But when it is, this objection is brushed aside and the dialect is taken as part of the ancestry of Hindi or Urdu as the case may be. In general, while Kabir Das, Tulsi Das and the Nath Panthis are appropriated by the historians of Hindi the Muslims content themselves with the scattered sentences in the work of the Sufis or texts written by Muslims even if the text in question—such as Fakhar Din Nizami’s *Masnavī Kadam Rāō Padam Rāō* (1430 to 1435) is mostly unintelligible to modern readers of Urdu.

More ominous for the inhabitants of South Asia was the way the politicized modern Hindi and Urdu came to be used in the domains of courts, offices, education, printing, information, and entertainment. Under colonial rule, and even now, these domains are major employers. Hence, which version of the common Hindustani they would prefer for employment became a major economic and political question. The census created and hardened linguistic identities which eventually came to correspond to religious ones. Thus, if Urdu was the language of schooling then Hindi had to lose out and vice versa. If Urdu was the language of the courts and the lower administrative offices,
then Muslims and the Hindu Kaesth class got preference in employment over the other Hindus. If Hindi books and newspapers were sold more than Urdu ones, then the profits went to the Hindu community making the Muslims lose out. And if Urdu came to be used in the radio, then jobs went to Muslims. In short, linguistic choice was always an economic and political choice. That is why the Hindi-Urdu controversy, which has generally been seen as part of Hindi-Muslim nationalist politics before the partition of India, is also an economic and cultural issue. It is a question of who gets jobs and recognition and social prestige. It is, ultimately a question of being considered fully human and equal. For linguistic prejudice is like racism. The snobbish Delhiites and Lucknawis looked down upon the Urdu spoken by the Hindus as well as Punjabis. And the peer pressure of Hindi-speakers in parts of urban India make Muslim Urdu-speaking children hide the fact that they speak/not/kh/at home. Linguistic shaming, like other forms of shaming, ultimately depend upon accepting the legitimacy of certain norms. These norms, in turn, are shaped by the acceptance of cultural hegemony. The spreading of this hegemony by the dissemination of these norms is what we have been studying.

Thus, when a princely state accepts Urdu as an official language it facilitates outsiders who use this language better than the local elite. If it accepts Hindi—as the Rajputana states did—it reduces Muslim cultural ascendancy and increases the chances of employment and cultural domination of the Hindi-using middle classes. These linguistic decisions, therefore, play into local as well as South Asian politics. They create, support and strengthen identities and tend to polarize South Asia into huge alienated religious and nationalistic (Pakistani and Indian) identities.

In the conclusion of his book on Hindi nationalism Alok Rai has this comment on the continued official dissemination of Sanskritized Hindi:
... this “Hindi” continues to exert a poisonous influence through its continued dominance within the educational system.... This official “Hindi” is primarily responsible for the construction of cultural memory in the Hindi region: in classroom after classroom, in childish essay and scholarly dissertation, the practice of this “Hindi” is a ritual re-enactment of the logic of partition (Rai 2001: 119).

The same comment can be made of the Pakistani use of Urdu as the carrier of the Pakistani official ideology (Rahman 2002: 515)—the ideas of there being such essential differences between Muslims and Hindus as to call them ‘two nations’, the sacralisation of war, the military, and conquest, etc.—though in this case it is not so much the diction itself which is to blame but the historical narrative about the language: that Urdu has military antecedents, that it is a ‘Muslim language’, that the Hindus tried to suppress it with British help and so on. In short, the consequence of the partition, which could have been peace, is made into a permanent state of war.

This is the past and present of Urdu. What is its future? But is this question correctly worded? Or would it be more precise to ask: what is the future of Urdu-Hindi? Persianized Urdu? And Sanskritized Hindi? These questions can be answered with reference to these varieties of a once-common language outside South Asia and within it.

First, let us consider Urdu-Hindi abroad. The official, written Hindi and Urdu are taught as nationalistic enterprises or identity symbols. The governments of India and Pakistan promote their official varieties in their iconic scripts. Thus, Urdu is promoted through Urdu chairs established in foreign countries and through courses offered in it by Pakistani educational institutions for foreigners.

It is also taught by many universities in the world but, according to a survey of R.L. Schmidt of the University of Oslo, to a far lesser degree than Hindi. In this survey of thirty-five universities in Europe, the USA, Canada and Australia these are
forty-two regular positions for Hindi; but only seventeen for Urdu while there are twelve Hindi-Urdu positions (But here the term refers to the teaching of basic Hindi and Urdu in their respective scripts). Predictably, in the year of the survey, there were 690 students of Hindi and 162 of Urdu (Quoted from Oesterheld 2002: 127–128).

The literature available on Europe—Germany (Oesterheld 2002), Britain (Russell 1982), France (Desoulieres, 1995), the Czech Republic (Marek 1995)—mentions the lack of teaching material. The present author’s own observation in American universities (2004–05) concurs with this but, it may be noted, that the instructors either cannot or do not enforce high standards on their students so that Urdu is often taken as an easy option by students of South Asian origin with some knowledge of the language.

The teaching of Urdu in Britain began in 1973 and, by the time the report on minority languages was published in 1985 many cities had classes in the language (Stubbs 1985). Unfortunately this teaching also follows the same pattern of treating the language as a soft option though, for pioneers like Ralph Russell (1918–2008) writing in the 1970s when the experiment of mother-tongue teaching was going on, it was a precious cultural heritage and a linguistic right (Russell 1979). Such attitudes are not very helpful in preserving Urdu or, for that matter, Hindi. Though, because of the post-9/11 interest in Pakistan and Islam, Urdu is required by the intelligence organizations of the world. Ironically enough, this may provide some unexpected support to official Urdu.

But as far as spoken Urdu-Hindi is concerned, it has spread whenever people from the Hindi belt and the Punjab have settled down either in pre- or post-partition days. Between ‘1834 to 1916 nearly 1.2 million people from the Indian subcontinent were sent as indentured labourers to work in European colonies’ (Barz and
Siegel 1988: 1). Large number of people in these former colonies still speak varieties of Hindustani as the following chart shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Percentage of Indian Populations</th>
<th>Language Spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>69 per cent</td>
<td>Mauritian Bhojpuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>55 per cent</td>
<td>Guyanese Bhojpuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>50 per cent</td>
<td>Trinidad Bhojpuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>37 per cent</td>
<td>Suriname Hindustani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>49 per cent</td>
<td>Fiji Hindustani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: @ Barz and Siegel 1988: Table 2, p. 2.
* Ibid., Table 3, p. 5.

These transplanted varieties diverge from the dialect at home—which has itself changed—and have borrowed words from their languages of contact. Since the 1920s ‘both Hindu and Muslim missionaries from India started visiting Mauritius and other countries, and further promoted the use of S[standard] H[indi] or Urdu’ (Barz and Siegel 1988: 9). Yet, despite this enactment of the Hindu-Muslim/Hindi-Urdu conflict abroad, the local varieties survive in popular speech. A play entitled ‘Adhūrā Sapnā’ (incomplete dream) given in the book Language Transplanted, is quite intelligible to ordinary speakers of both Urdu and Hindi in Pakistan and India or, indeed, anywhere in the world (Barz and Siegel 1988: 222).

In Britain, despite the fact that the Mirpuri working-class community who were the first settlers in large numbers from Pakistan, speakers of Mirpuri Pahari—a variety of Greater Punjabi—at home, they also understand and use Urdu in formal domains and while interacting with other Pakistanis. The same is the case of the US and the Arab world where Pakistanis and Indians—even if their mother-tongues are other languages—interact with each other either in English or in Urdu-Hindi. The
entertainment media, as mentioned earlier, operates in this language. This spoken language, then, has a great future being sustained by millions of speakers and a huge entertainment industry.

It has, in my view, a brighter future than the officially sustained, formal, written registers of Persianized Urdu and Sanskritized Hindi in the Perso-Arabic and the Devanagari scripts which the rival states of India and Pakistan and the academy promotes. However, it must be conceded that literature, although tipping towards Persianization in Urdu and Sanskritization in Hindi, is produced in the diaspora and has survived so far (for a sample of Urdu poetry in the UK see Lakhnavi 1981: 511–552).

And now coming back to South Asia before ending this book. We have just mentioned that for the last two hundred years or so, since modern Urdu and Hindi separated from each other, we have lived in perpetual strife. The peoples have drifted apart and so have the languages. Even if one listens to the announcements in the Pakistan International Airlines and the Air India one cannot help despairing at the depth of the linguistic boundary-marking and ‘othering’. The PIA goes out of its way to use Perso-Arabic and the Air India Sanskritic diction. A common language of such announcements—as well as many other public discourses—could have been made with borrowings from English but South Asian official energies are still spent upon accentuating linguistic cleavages not upon eliminating them.

Is it possible to arrest this trend and promote peace, harmony and give-and-take? I believe it is possible by removing the obstacles to peace—such as Kashmir, terrorism and water disputes—but that is in the hands of the ruling elites of the two countries. What is in the hands of scholars is to debunk the myths which link Urdu with military origins or deny that words of Hindi—such common words as prem, sāgar, naēnā, chintā—are part of the heritage of Urdu. It is, after all, only the truth to say
that even now—after about two hundred years of separation and drifting apart—spoken Urdu and Hindi are the same language. It is only by not losing sight of the continuities and shared cultural features among Pakistanis and (north) Indians that we can hope to transcend the mutual hatred which threatens to annihilate this ancient land.
The meanings of sentences and longer quotations from languages other than English are given in the text. Most individual words are also explained parenthetically in the text or the notes. Words given below are those which are not explained or from samples of old Urdu-Hindi the meanings of which remain doubtful or ambiguous.

In addition to the standard dictionaries of Urdu and Persian, the following specialized dictionaries have been used to prepare this glossary: Khan (1969); Jalibi (1973a); Platts (1884) and Pal (1993).

A
Andāz (F) Style
Akhbār (A) Newspaper: plural of news (Khabar)
Adālat (A) Court of law
'Arzī (A) Letter; petition (also written as urze). From the Arabic word 'Arz (=state; to express).
Āshōb (F) Devastation, bereavement, tragedy, sorrow.
Ashrāf (A) Gentry; decent people; of high class.

B
Bināt (A) Daughters
Bhāt (H) Rice. (also spelled bhaat).
Bidai (H) The ceremony of sending the bride to her husband’s house. Also pronounced vidaī. From Arabic Vidā (=to leave; to go away). With/b/it is assimilated into Hindi.
Bhajan (H) Devotional song
Basātīn (A) Gardens. Pl. of bōstān (=garden).
Bhāg (H) Luck
Bhāji (H) Portion of something, part of eatables.
Baēnā (H) Sweetmeats or food distributed in ceremonies; kind of jewelry; cooked vegetable.
Basun (H) Tranquillity; place of rest.

C
Chaprāssī (H) Office attendant.
Chand (F) Some.
Chittū (Punj) Fool; coward.
GLOSSARY

D
Dulhan (H) Bride.
Dāl (H) Pulses (also written as daal).
Dewānī (F) Court in which cases about property, financial transactions, etc., are tried.
Dīvān (F) Poetic collection.
Durbārī (P) Courtier.
Dēvēgā (U/H) Will give (archaic form of dē gā).
Dhan bhāg (H) Good luck
Dhar (H) Put; place
Dādṛā (H) Kind of song.

F
Faujdārī (A/F) Courts which deal with criminal cases.

G
Gurmukhi (H) Gurū means teacher; mukh means mouth. It means literally ‘that which comes out of the Guru’s mouth’ and refers to the script of Punjabi derived from the Brahmi family of scripts.
Gillī Dandā (H) An indigenous game played with a small stick sharpened at both ends which is thrown up and then hit by a larger stick.

H
Haq (A) Truth; right; God.
Hikāyāt (A) Stories (Sing. Hikāēt).
Hādī (A) An expert in some art; dominant; ascendant; guide.

I
Inshā (A) Style and rules of letter-writing.
Istiqrār (A) To stop; to be settled; to come to peace.

J
Jaw Jehannum (Mixed) British pronunciation of Jāō Jahannum mē (=go to hell! An invective use by the British in India. (Jahannum (A) c. hell).
Janam (H) Birth
Jit (Punj) Where; at which place; in which direction; whom; when;

K
Kanahiyā (H) Shri Krishna Ji; Beloved; Beautiful boy.
Khilāfat (A) Caliphate; movement in support of the Ottoman caliphate of Turkey in India in the 1920s.
**Khichrī (H)** | A dish prepared by boiling rice and pulses together.  
Mixture.  
**Khānqāh (A)** | Hospice of mystics.  
**Kārī (A)** | See Qārī  
**Kāshtkār (F)** | Tiller of the soil.  
**Kāshtkārānā (F)** | Of farmers; of tillers of the soil.  
**Kāran (H)** | Because of; reason.  
**Khānsā (Punj)** | Army of the Sikhs; leaders of Sikhs.  
**Kanta (H)** | Beloved, friend, husband; happy mind.  
**Kārī (A)** | See Qārī  
**Khālī (H)** | Treasure; portion of food; cloud; happened; transpired; room.  

**L**  
Liyākat (A) | Competence; wisdom.  

**M**  
Mīrīt (A) | Mirror.  
Muntakhāb (A) | Selected.  
Mullā (A) | Muslim clergyman; leader of prayers.  
Maulvī (A) | A more respectable title for a Muslim clergyman than Mullā.  
Maulānā (A) | A more respectable title for a Muslim clergyman than Maulvi.  
Mofussil (A) | Rural areas; peripheral areas.  
Muqābīzāt (A) | Boxes of embellishments.  
Mēm (English) | Indigenized form of ‘madam’. Used in South Asia for European women.  
Mēmsāhib (mixed) | More respectable variant of the above.  
Malichās (S) | Unclean; outside the caste system of Hindus; outsiders; aliens; used for Muslims also.  
Maktab (A) | Muslim elementary school for children teaching the reading of the Quran without meaning.  
Madrassā (A) | Muslim advanced school teaching the religious sciences.  
Mullā (A) | Exalted; high.  
Mad (H) | Intoxication; lust; happiness.  
Madh (H) | Wine; intoxicant; spring; pride.  

**N**  
Nisā (A) | Woman.  
Niswā (A) | Of women.  
Nohā (A) | Lamentation.  
Nālā (F) | Cry; weeping.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Numberdār</strong> (mixed)</th>
<th>The officially recognized head of a village; person responsible for depositing revenue in the government treasury.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nākā</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Eye of needle; avenue; entrance to city gate; extremity of path; police outpost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nautankī</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Theatre; drama; skit; folk theatre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nizām</strong> (A)</td>
<td>Organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nafīs</strong> (P)</td>
<td>Elegant, refined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>P</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pi</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Lover.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pitam</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Lover.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pand</strong> (F)</td>
<td>Moral maxims; advice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Paisā</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Unit of currency. There used to be 4 paisas in an anna and 16 annas in a rupee. Nowadays there are 100 paisas in a rupee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pinjrā</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Cage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pāhnā</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Guest; visitor; son-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pardēsī</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Outsider; visitor from some other place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Patvāri</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Keeper of ledgers on land holdings. Lowest official of the revenue service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Qārī</strong> (A)</td>
<td>One who recites the Quran in an Arabic pronunciation (also spelled kārī).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rāj</strong> (S)</td>
<td>Rule; government; rulers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rām Līlā</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Performance of the story of Ram Chandar Ji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rubāe</strong> (A)</td>
<td>Quatrain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rajīvē</strong> (Punj)</td>
<td>Being full; being surfeited; pleased; wealthy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sadar</strong> (A)</td>
<td>‘Sadr’ means chest in Arabic. In Urdu it refers to the main part of cities where officials used to live. That part of the city where courts and administrative offices were located; the part of Indian cities created by the British.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shakist</strong> (F)</td>
<td>Defeat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shakistā</strong> (F)</td>
<td>Literally defeated or broken. A kind of short hand in Urdu in which letters are written in a broken, abbreviated form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sūfī</strong> (A)</td>
<td>Muslim mystic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sarijan</strong> (H)</td>
<td>Deity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Samāā</strong> (A)</td>
<td>Music, singing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GLOSSARY

Subah (A) Morning.
Sūbā (A) Province.
Shām (F) Evening.
Shab (F) Night.
Shāhmukhī (mixed) Shāh (F) means king; mukh (H) means mouth. Shāhmukhī literally means ‘that which comes out of the king’s mouth’. It refers to the Perso-Arabic script for writing Punjabi.
Shudh (H) Pure; correct; authentic.
Sūlī (H) Crucifix.
Sanad (A) Diploma; degree, certificate.
Salātīn (A) Rulers. (Sing; sultān).
Shahr (F) City.
Sākī (H) Not clear—but probably stories of brave people.
Sāka (H) Tales sung about brave people by Hindus and Sikhs.

T
Taēhzīb (A) Civilization; culture; refinement.
Tat (Punj) Fruit; base; essence; reality; soul;
Tālī (H) Sole of foot; bottom.
Thumrī (H) Kind of song.

U
Urzī (A) See ‘Arzī.
Urās (A) Bride.
‘Usmaniyyā (A) Ottoman; refers to the Nizam’s regime in the Deccan in this book.

Z
Zamindār (F) Owner of land; one responsible for something; landowner responsible for depositing revenue in the government treasury. The name of a newspaper.
Zār (F) Place; excess; lamentation; one who is weak on humiliated.
Zīndagi (F) Life.
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SECTION–1

REPORTS, OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND UNPUBLISHED THESES
(Some of these sources have been used for compiling charts of data and are not given separately in the text)


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