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Contextualizing Nineteenth Century Punjab with particular Reference to the Orientalist writings

Abstract

Orientalist travelogues were not the true representation, rather these were the distorted accounts of Indian society as filtered through the prim of colonial travelers. It appears as if the travelers were rendering ancillary services for the colonial project.There is no doubt that the literature produced by the Orientalist travelogues is marked by certain errors, however one cannot ignore the importance of these travel accounts, as they are considered important documents of history. However one can find that it is a misrepresentation of the Oriental essence, as Edward Said has made his point: "My whole point about this system is not that it is a misrepresentation of some Oriental essence — in which I do not for a moment believe — but that it operates as representations usually do, for a purpose, according to a tendency, in a specific historical, intellectual, and even economic setting."

The map of the Punjab in 1798, close to the time when Ranjeet Singh became its ruler, resembled a puzzle consisting of the territories of the misls.[1] The district of Kasur was ruled by a Pathanfamily, and Hansi in the southeast where the English adventurer, George Thomas, had setup his kingdom. The position of other principalities was as follows:

Multan was governed by Muzaffar Khan son of Shuja Khan, who claimed common descent with the Abdali King Ahmed Shah. Daera was ruled by Abdul Samad Khan; Mankera, Hot, Bannu and the neighbouring country, by Muhammad Shah Nawaz Khan Moin-ud-Doula, the successor of Nawab Muhammad Khan, and Tank by Sarwar Khan Katti Khel. Dera Ghazi Khan including Bhawalpur, and a tract of country adjoining Multan, was ruled by the Daudpotra, Bahawal Khan; Jhang by Sial Ahmed Khan; Peshawar by Fateh Khan Barakzai, the nominal vassal of Mahmud Shah. The fort of Attock was in the possession of the Wazir Khel, under Jahandad Khan; the Kangra Hills were under Raja Sansar Chand and the country from Hoshiarpur to Kapurthala governed by independent Sikh Sardars and their confederacies, called misls and other independent chiefs and so were Wazirabad, Dhanni, Khushab and Pakpattan, the seat of the Shrin of the great saint FaridShakarGanj.

When the British increased their influence over India, they started collecting information about the neighbouring states and started sending missions to such areas regarding the collection of information. Those ‘travelers of missions’ used to send their reports to the “authorities” after the collecting the information of

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all sorts. One can see these missions and their reports, among them most are available for public reading. In this background, if we study the orientalist writers and their writings about the Punjab, we will find different aspects, which were changed with the passage of time. For example in the beginning of the European influence in India, the European powers were mostly interested in the Indian economy. Many orientalist travelers collected very useful and interesting information about the Punjabi society. They addressed the topics of religion, language and customs of the people, which apparently showed their interest in travel and the writing of travelogues. With the passage of time the writings of travelers took a shift and instead of general information, the writings became political. Their interest was political in the beginnings of the 19th century. Now they started writing about the unity of the Sikhs, about the misls, about Khalsa, why there is so much unity and power in the Sikh community etc.[2]

In this atmosphere Ranjeet Singh emerged as a power in 1899 and controlled strongly the political affairs of the Punjab for the next forty years. Many Orientalist travelers came in the Punjab during Ranjeet Singh era and most of them have extensively written about the Sikh rule in the Punjab. The bibliography of the early visitors to the Indian sub continent is a fairly extensive one and a lengthy list could be compiled if necessary. This writing is confined to the travelers of early nineteenth century who made a special study of the Punjab and adjacent territories.

George Forster,[3] He wrote a journey from Bengal to England, through the northern part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia and into Russia by the Caspian Sea in1798. He also made sketches through the the mythology and customs of the Hindus in 1792. who walked through northern India in 1780 was earliest to give a description of the Sikhs and their country and in doing so has incorporated some older material. Malcolm,[4] he held a very high political offices till the outbreak of second Maratha war in 1803 in which he played an important part and drew up the treaty of Surji-Arjangaon with the defeated Sindhia. He then served under Lord Lake in the war against Holker. He also played a prominent part in the third Maratha war (1817-1818) won the bettle of Mahidpur and obliged PeshwaBaji Rao11 to Abdicate and granted him a generous pension for life. in his Sketches of the Sikhs, he has borrowed largely from Forster. Then came Murray, the political agent at Ambala whose work, unfinished at his death in 1831, was incorporated by Princep on his "Rise of the Sikh power". Wade, colleague of Captain Murray at Ludhiana, wrote a history of Ranjeet Singh. Then came John Wood, Baron Charles Hugel, Jacquemont, Stienbach, Soltykoff Captain V. Orlich and J. D. Cunningham etc, all of those travelers wrote their experiences from a different point of view. Slightly earlier is the journal of Moorcroft andTrebeck who passed through Lahore in 1820 and died in central Asia in 1825. Ten years after Moorcroft came Jacquemont. The journal of Jacquemont in an interesting contribution to our knowledge of the north of India in 1830.

These travelers have discussed every sphere of Indian life in their travel accounts. However for the proper comprehension of the topic main themes has been selected. In every travel narrative the Indian dirt and the Indians being dirty have been discussed. It is important to quote here the views of V. Jacquemont,

who visited the northern part India in 1830. "I had never seen anything like that in India, and it is only fair to say that among the Indians the dirtiness of the place is proverbial, though Panipat appears to have a similar claim to distinction." [5]

Jacquemont came to Lahore on 11th of March 1831 and stayed there till 25th of March 1831. He has written in about his stay at Lahore, the detail of the first meeting with Maharaja Ranjeet Singh and has described the city of Lahore in such a way that he has extended some of the worse remarks ever written about this great city. Narrow winding streets, where the mud often remains even in the dry season; some of them containing shops whose windows, often protected by a penthouse, make them still narrower…. [6]

Prince Alexis Soltykoff, who visited the Punjab in 1842, has written his travel account in a different way.[7] He For him, his journey in India was one long search for "colour". His travels took him to Dehli, Simla and the Punjab. Great changes were taken place since the visit of Jacquemont. The old Maharaja was died, and about Sher Singh, the present monarch, Soltykoff has given much detail. To Soltykoff, Sher Singh appears as a somewhat uneasy figure, very much afraid of George Russell Clerk, the British Agent. has also discussed themes like the Indian dirt and has written that those that one sees in the streets are the lower class, very dirty individuals wearing cotton blouses. But they like work, or appear to, and are decent looking people. "One can see those weaving thick material or making wooden boxes, etc. they are so Jewish looking that Ludhiana, to my mind resembles some Jewish quarter in a Russian city."[8]

Alexis Soltykoff has given very sad remarks about the architecture of Amritsar and says that the architecture is terribly bad. An elephant can barely pass through the narrow streets without brunching the walls and flimsy balconies with his sides and trapping. Along with the architecture he has also discussed the streets of Lahore and has written that the lanes are full of horrible filth, into which one slips, and of dangerous holes over which the elephant has to execute a sort of step dance. 'In the streets are shops full of filthy come stables, and miserable or savage beings, clothed like the witches in Macbeth or naked with long beard.'[9]

The travel accounts of orientalist travelogues give a very clear idea of their mind and their thought of racial superiority. They have used very harsh words for the local communities. "All the Sikhs of high rank were extraordinary stupid and barely capable of exchanging ordinary civilities with us."[10]

One of these obscure men who left a visible trace in the court of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh was the Prussian soldier Henry Steinbach. The feeling of racial superiority is very much obvious in the book of Henry Steinbach. His remarks about the Sikh army give a very picture of it. "The Sikh soldiery is to a man opposed to British supremacy; for its establishment would prove a death-blow to their licentious and reckless habits, and destroy the chances of advancement, which are great in proportion to the prevalence of anarchy and civil discord."[11] Henry Steinbach, in his book has quoted a paper of Capt. Murray written about

Punjab and its people. It is important to quote here his views about the people of Punjab.

> Sense of shame or feelings of honour have no place in the breast of a Jat, and the same may be said of men of other tribes. They will make strenuous exertions for recovery of their wives after they have absconded, and will take them back as often as they can get them, bickering even for the children the women may have had by her paramour, as some recompense for her temporary absence, and for the expense and trouble they have incurred in the search for her.[12]

Steinbach has given very harsh remarks about the local Sikh community and has written that the habits of Sikhs place them in a very low Scale of humanity.

> This habit, added to others of a revolting character, places the Sikh very low in the scale of humanity…The virtues which the Sikhs link to their heavy catalogue of vices, are few in number. Charity to faquirs (religious fanatics) constitutes almost their only good quality, and even this is the result of superstition.[13]

Sati, (the burning of widow) has been discussed by almost all of the travelers. They have given a special focus to this custom in the Punjab. This is an evidence of the stereotype information of these travelogues. They have not tried to trace the factual information of the Punjabi society. As every one know that Sati was not a popular practice in the Punjab. One can not find this practice in the Muslim community neither it is common in the Sikh community. And Sati of the wives of Ranjeet Singh was highly criticized later on. Eleven wives of Ranjeet Singh were burned along with the corps of Maharaja.

Jacquemont has given a general commentary about this custom and has written.“When their old, impotent husband dies, these poor children will be obliged to burn themselves with the corpse of their husband. Their family is a high caste one and the rule is rigid in their case”.[14]

Steinbach is of the view that much dissuasion is exercised in cases of Sati, ostensibly such may be the case; but in private every argument to the contrary is made use of by the relatives of the wretched victim, and the promise once given cannot be retracted.

He has written that that not only the favoured wife, but a whole host of females, that some times are offered up to blaze on the pyre of their deceased lord. He says that in most cases of Sati it will generally be observed that a slow, reluctant promise has been extracted from, or made by, the wretched woman in an

unguarded moment, under the influence of grief. "A multitude is immediately assembled round her dwelling and person. Clamour and precipitancy succeed; no time is permitted for reflection: honour, shame, and duty, all now combine to strengthen her bloody resolution and the scene is hurried through, and closed."[15]

About custom of Sati, Capt. Orlich[16], He wrote an account of the travels in India consisting of two volumes. The era covered by this German army officer is pre-mutiny India when Lord Ellenborough was the governer-general. He was impelled by an insatiable curiosity to see India which he describes as "the land of wonders", the "Cradle of human race", "and the land of poetry". He stayed on and went round the country, during the course of his travels he visited Bombay, Sindh, Punjab, Delhi Agra, kanpur, Benares, Calcutta and Madras and numerous other places.CaptainOrlich's account is in the form of letters, which he wrote to two Germans, Alexander Von Humboldt and Carl Ritter, from the places he visited.

He has given a detailed commentary about it. He says that the Sati or the custom of burning the women on the death of their husband is extremely ancient in India, though no mention is made of it in the laws of Menu; but Diodorus gives a description of it, which was quite correct in the views of Orlich. He says that the English had never interfered to hinder the religious usages of the Indians, they, however, permitted neither the Sati, nor the crushing of the devotees under the wheels of the sacred car of Juggernaut. It appeared that as for as control was possible, no Sati has taken place within the last ten years in Bengal and in the presidency of Bombay. This cruel custom did not exist to the south of the river Kishna, according to Orlich. Even the relations themselves, now often endeavour to prevent the burning of the widows and in families of high rank, the prince of the country, in person, undertakes to offer consolation, and, while he is endeavouring to dissuade the widow from her purpose, the corpse hastily carried away and consumed.[17]

Though it is quite clear that Captain Orlich has shared the superiority of the western life over the Indians and the colonial mind is well obvious from his description and observation of the Indian society, however, many times he has been an acute observer and has written plainly what he saw. In Calcutta he met the merchant prince DwarkanathTagore (1794-1846) who is regarded as one of the greatest Indians of the 19th century. Cap. Orlich's comments on men and affairs, historical characters, festivals, monuments and buildings are penetrating. What emerges from his account is a bustling kaleidoscope of life as it was lived by Indians and their British rulers in 1842-43. His picture of the Indian socio-cultural life is supported by numerous drawings of the men of the artisan class and other professionals. Besides, Capt. Orlich devotes whole sections to dealings with Anglo-Indian army and its composition.

Caste system can be traced from the Indian history in all times. Travelers have thrown light in their own way on the topic of caste. Here the views of Jacquemont can be quoted. He has explained that the Sikhs have also retained the large number of Hindi superstitions. Like the Hindus, they regard cattle as sacred and the Muslims are forbidden to slaughter them. They retain the customs of the

caste from which they came and the caste prejudices were as strong among them as among the Hindus. No less than in the rest of the India, but certainly more so than in the Himalayas.[18]

> Jacquemont has further written that the Kashmiri people were darker. The rest of the population, Sikh, Hindu and Muslims varies between the shade of Kashmiris and jet black. The last colour was more common among the lower castes. And it was noticed by him all over India:
>
> Have they become so dark because they work harder than the rest and go about almost naked, or does this dark colour belong to the lower castes because they are descended from a separate race of distinctly darker shade and are, for this reason, condemned to the most menial services?[19]

The book of Baron Charles Hugel is a mine of information concerning early nineteenth century Punjab and the Kashmir.[20] Being a German he had nothing at stake in the subcontinent and saw things from different point of view and more objectively. It also bespeaks on the wide range of his interests. Princes, festivals, sports, natural phenomena, climate, flora and fauna, Bairagis, jugglers, nothing has escaped from his eyes. He has showed awareness of the political factors at work in the region. Hugel has given detail about all of the said qualities in his book; however, it is important here to say that he has shown racial prejudices and some of the facts of distorted portrayal of reality will be pointed.

Oriental despotism has been a topic of discussion in the writings of orientalist travelogues. Hugel has written about the despotic rulers of India. While reaching Bilaspoor, Hugel met the Raja of Bilaspoor and has written that of all the ignorant and unmannered native chiefs on this side of the river, he is, perhaps, the most rude and unpolished.[21] Steinbach ha also declared the Sikh rule in the Punjab as a despotic rule of Ranjeet Singh. He argues that Ranjeet Singh exercised an absolute and arbitrary sway over the people, constituting himself chief judge and referee in questions of importance.[22]

It is merely say here that a tradition does begin or thrive, as the tradition of European writings about the Orient did, unless it serves certain need. The belief of European travelers in oriental inferiority was in full bloom. It is very clear to every one that every society or every part of the world inhabited by people has their own values and traditions, different from others. An example the travel writing of Hugel it is important to mention here. In India when two individual meet they greet each other with the question of "are you well?" it is a tradition in Indian society but it is been declared "mockery rather than any compliment"[23] by Hugel.

In the eighteenth century the European travelers habituate to the spectacle of Indians as "men of chains". It also presented abundance of literature to explain or justify that spectacle. The European authors adjusted their writings to suit the

times and produce a literature of devaluation. The European domination in the views of European writers was mercy, "… it is mercy… to the poor wretches, who… would otherwise suffer from the butcher's knife".[24]

So we have it in plain language that the enslavement and expatriation of Africa and the Orient was a blessing, and not even a blessing in disguise, but a blessing that is clearly recognizable. A blessing that delivered the poor wretches from a worse fate in their homeland. In the end of the book, Hugel has written about the divine wisdom of the mighty race, "the white". And says that two thousand years after Alexander, the people whose native land differs but little from Greece in extent, unconsciously following out his plans, has subdued India. England owes this immense possession neither to her great talent in managing her affairs in Asia, nor to the bravery of her sons in battle against overwhelming numbers; nor to the boldness with which her plans have been carried out.

He further develop his argument and says that it was not to the union of intellect and force, the perseverance which followed up the aim, far distant as it was, their respect for the rights of the vanquished. The co-operation of every individual in the interest of all, the honourable resolution to grant to every British subject with out any paltry jealousies, some participation in the riches acquired; India had not belong to the crown alone, nor to the East India Company; "it is the property of the British nation",[25] and the foundations of the empire were laid by their unfailing courage in reverses of fortune and their bravery in following up success according to Hugel. The power and stability of this Empire was maintained by the strong links uniting the highest powers in the state with the servants. And the servants of the empire receive regular promotion through that strong system.

> This Empire bears the promise with in it of a long continuance, in as much as the exercise of justice and moderation, the maintenance of law and authority, are qualities peculiar to that mighty race, to whom Divine Wisdom has entrusted the government and happiness of millions of his creatures.[26]

> The topic of begging has also come in the writings of the orientalist travelogues. In the description of Punjabi society Steinbach has written that the offerings of grain and money are deposited in the temples, and each of these edifices has a corps of chilas or licensed beggars attached to it, whose business it is to secure the country, and by importunity to raise funds for the support of the institution and themselves, and the entertainment of travelers and strangers who may halt for a temporary repose.[27]

John Wood[28] In 1835-36, he assisted to Burnes in his commercial mission to Afghanistan. In 1836 reported to the Kabul valley and discovered the source to the Oxus river. In 1858 he became manager to the oriental Steam Navigation Co. in Sindh. He became superintendent of the Indus Steam flotilla from 1861. Wood

died in Sindh on November 13, 1871. It is evident from his travel narrative that he possessed the experience and qualification necessary for the accurate assessment of political and military possibilities. One can trace out his motives because he has tried to point out the possibilities of British domination in the Punjab.

> At the foot of the pass, and on the bank of such a river, a trade, alike beneficial to the immense regions lying to the west, to india, and to Britain, might here be established. The day, we trust, is not distant, when an annual fair will be held at this place.[29]

John Wood has also given the prediction of control over trade by the British. He argues that:

> What may be the ultimate result of this, it may be rash to predict, but that the measure would know in ordinary degree prove successful, the map itself seems to testify. It shows not only the immense regions to be drained of their raw produce, but also the millions of inhabitants who, unless we ourselves are to blame, will one day be supplied with the British manufacturers.[30]

Moorcraft and George Trebeck visited India and the Punjab from 1819 to 1825. Along with the other information which they have provided about the Punjab, their other motives are also obvious from their travel account that they collected information for some 'noble' cause. They have written that the jealousies and fears of the neighbouring states opposing our passage through the territories adjacent to Ladakh, preventing us from acquiring a personal acquaintance with them, but we were enabled to collect some details respecting their site and condition from intelligent natives, with whom we were in habit of intercourse, and upon whose reports every reasonable reliance might be placed.[31]

Analysis

After reading and analyzing the views of orientalist travelogues, it can be said that there is such a thing as absolute power over narrative. Those who secure this privilege for themselves can arrange stories about others pretty much where, and as, they like. Just as in corrupt, totalitarian regimes, those who exercise power over others can do anything. They can even bring out crowds of demonstrations whenever and wherever they need. The question, which comes in mind after reading the writings of these orientalist travelogues is that why this kind of writing, and variation on it did, caught the European imagination and hold it through centuries into our own day?

We can all differ to the exact point where good writing becomes overwhelmed by the racial biases. But overwhelmed or merely under mined literature is always badly served when an author's artistic insight yield place to

stereotype and malice. (The desire to harm someone). And it becomes doubly offensive (a campaign to attack or achieve something) when such a work is arrogantly offered to you as your story. It is just like the colonization of one people's story by another.

In all the Orientalist writings which have been quoted here, there is something missing, something which was not carrying the meaning as it was portrayed. All of these travel narratives have only addressed the Sikh community, rest of the communities especially the Muslims are ignored. They have called the Punjab as the land of Sikhs, the country of Sikhs etc. It gives an indication that these writers were only looking towards the ruling community; probably their interest lied only with the rulers as they have been so focused to Sikh rule and Maharaja Ranjeet Singh.

Another thing, which is common in these Orientalist travelogues, is the use of the term Muhammadan. They used it for the Muslim community, which is an edition in the Muslim history and the writings about the Muslim history. That is of course not appreciated by the Muslim community of the Sub- Continent. One can conclude that it was an intentional act to defocus the Muslim community from the name of their religion.

There is no doubt that the literature produced by the Orientalist travelogues is marked by certain errors, however one cannot ignore the importance of these travel accounts, as they are considered important documents of history. At the same time one can say that it is a misrepresentation of the Orient essence, as Edward Said has made his point: "My whole point about this system is not that it is a misrepresentation of some Oriental essence — in which I do not for a moment believe — but that it operates as representations usually do, for a purpose, according to a tendency, in a specific historical, intellectual, and even economic setting."[32]

The aforementioned survey of the travelogues brings to light the gross misrepresentation and distortion of history. The discourse analysis of these travelogues suggests:

1. These travelogues were not the true representation of rather these were the distorted accounts of Indian society as filtered through the prim of colonial travelers. It appears as if the travelers were rendering ancillary services for the colonial project.

2. Another discernable feature of the colonial writings is the dominance of the colonial projects over the travelogues. As pointed out by Bernard Cohen in his book, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* that the colonial rulers used this knowledge to manipulate power over Indians.

3. These facts may also be analyzed at another level, through the theoretical paradigm of knowledge and power as propounded

by Michel Foucault. He maintains that 'the truth and knowledge were not the products of cognition but of power, in every eye he argued, there was a dominant discourse among the sciences which in the language and the terminology employed framed and restricted the possibility of thought and its expression in such a way as virtually to exclude the possibilities of disagreement.

"Texts, novels, histories, and social sciences were not the outcomes of individual thought but the ideological products of dominant discourse". This paradigm applies to the knowledge production through travelogues.

4. The discourse analysis of indological accounts as provided by Inden can also be of immense significance for the analysis of the travelogues. He has provided a very penetrating inside to the systematic distortion of the Indian text under the colonial project. His two concepts hold a key in comprehending the reification of texts. One is the categorization of Indian texts into three groups, i.e., descriptive and commentative, explanatory or interpretative and hegemonic accounts. The knowledge generated through travelogues may be placed in the first category. As Inden comments:

It is my contention that the Indological text…places its strange and seemingly inexplicable descriptive context in surrounding comments that have the effect of representing it as a distorted portrayal of the reality.[33]

Another crucial insight provided by Inden is the concept that knowledge never transcends the knower while analyzing the Indian texts refers to Richard S Smith's[34] theory of knowledge in which he argued that eyewitness accounts cannot be accepted without criticism because their bad intentions "clouds which obscure the absolute truth".[35]Inden argues that the knowledge of the Orientalist is, therefore, privileged in relation to that of oriental or in other words this knowledge invariably places itself in relationship of intellectual dominance over that of the eastern.

ENDNOTES

[1]The confederacies ruled by independent Sikh Sardars were called misls.

[2] Dr. Mubarak Ali (Ed.), Tareekh, 11: Book serial of Fiction House, (Lahore: Fiction house), p. 233.

[3] George Forster was in the E. I. Co.' Civil Service, in 1782 he traveled from India through Kashmir, Afghanistan, Heart, Persia, by the Caspian sea to Russia.

[4] Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833) was an eminent officer in the company's service, who he joined in 1782, came to India in 1783 and served in India till his retirement in 1830. He was present at the siege of Seringapatam in 1792 as well as its capture in 1799. For detail see:S. Bhattacharya, A Dictionary of Indian History, (New York: George Braziller), p. 573.

[5]V. Jacquemont (1831) & A. Soltykoff (1842) translated and edited by L.H.O. Garrette, The Punjab a hundred year ago, record office of the government of the Punjab, 1935, p.2.

[6]Jacquemont (1831) & A. Soltykoff (1842) translated and edited by L.H.O. Garrette, The Punjab a hundred year ago, p. 57

[7] Prince Alexis Soltykoff who belongs to a distinguished Russian family, was primarily an artist with his sketchbook ever ready.

[8]A Soltykoof1842, translated and edited by H.L.O Garrett, Record office of the government of the Punjab, p.90.

[9]A Soltykoof1842, translated and edited by H.L.O Garrett, Record office of the government of the Punjab, p. 100.

[10]Jacquemont, The Punjab a hundred year ago, p.10.

[11]Steinbach, The Punjab, pp.93-94.

[12]Steinbach, The Punjab, pp.126-127.

[13]Steinbach, , The Punjab, pp. 112-113

[14]Jacquemont, The Punjab a hundred year ago, p.55.

[15]Steinbach, The Punjab, pp.127-128.

[16] Captain Leopold Von Orlich (1804-1860) came to India to join the British campaign in Afghanistan but the war was over before he reached India on the 6th August 1842 and he only witnessed the return of British victorious armies.

[17]Orlich, Travels in India including Sindh and the Punjab, 1 Vol. Reprinted (Usha Jain), (New Delhi: Jain Publishers, 1985), p.169.

[18]Jacquemont, The Punjab a hundred year ago, p.58.

[19]Jacquemont, The Punjab a hundred year ago, p.58.

[20] Baron Charles Hugel (1796-1870), who traveled through the Punjab and Kashmir in 1835-36, was a very keen and shrewd observer and has described what he saw socially of men, manners and all other matters, with great charm.

[21]Hugel, Travels in the Kashmir and the Punjab,(Lahore: Qausain publisher, 1976), p. 39.

[22]Steinbach, The Punjab,p. 90.

[23]Hugel, Travels in the Kashmir and the Punjab, p.99.

[24]Dorothy Hammond and Atta Tablow, The Africa that never was, (Prospect Heights, III: Waveland Press, 1992), p.23.

[25]Hugel, The Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, p. 423.

[26]Hugel, The Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, p. 423.

[27]Steinbach, The Punjab,pp.112-113.

[28] John Wood was born in 1811 and joined the E. I. Co.'s navel service in 1826. Commended the first vessel, the Indus, in the navigation of the Indus river.

[29] John Wood, Journey to the Source of the Oxus, (Karachi: Oxford university press, 1976), p. 48.

[30]John Wood, Journey to the Source of the Oxus, p. 48.

[31]William Moorcraft and George Trebeck, In the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, Vol 1, (Lahore: Faran academy, 1976), p. 360.

[32]Edward Said, Orientalism, Western Conceptions of the Orient, (London: Penguin Books, 1995)p. 273.

[33] Ronald Inden, Orientalist Constructions of India in Modern Asian Studies, 20 (03), 1986, p. 411.

[34] Richard Saumarez Smith, Early History of India, from 600 BC to the Mohammedan Conquest, Including the Invasion of Alexander the Great(Oxford: Oxford UniversityPress, 1985).

[35]Ronald Inden, Imagining India, (England: Blackwell Publisher, 1990).