Non-Muslim Indian Scholar to Islamic Studies: A Study of Narendra Nath Law’s Treatise

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Abstract
Muslims arriving from the subcontinent wanted for learning and teaching Islam in India, especially in history. Ulema and Indian Muslim scholars have contributed a lot in this realm, and the study of Islam has also been an area of great interest to non-Muslim writers. Their role in this subject is also of great worth, and their contributions, to name a few, including the translation of the Quran, Seerat, Islamic teachings, Tasawwuf, Muslim history and civilization, and their society and culture. The present Paper is an endeavor to bring a brilliant contribution of the same kind in the field of Islamic Studies to the fore made by a distinguished Indian non-Muslim scholar, Mr. Narendra Nath Law, with special reference to his noted book “Promotion of Learning in India: during Muhammadan Rule (by Muhammadans).” This Paper gives three sections, and the first gives a brief sketch of the book; the second critically reviews the sources on which the content of the book is based; and the third treats with depth investigation and analysis of the views and assumptions of Mr. Law on educational and literary history in India during the long roll of Muslim rulers. The importance of the Paper lies in its focus on the history of learning and teaching Islam in India. By highlighting the contributions of Law, the Paper aims to shed light on the significant role played by non-Muslim scholars in the study of Islam in India, which has often been overlooked.

Keywords: Islamic Studies, Islamic History, Narendra Nath’s law, Literature, Muslim rulers.

Abstrak
Umat Muslim datang dari berbagai benua menginginkan untuk belajar dan mengajar Islam di India, utamanya dalam sejarah. Ulama dan cendekiawan Muslim India telah banyak berkontribusi dalam bidang ini, dan studi tentang Islam juga menjadi bidang yang sangat diminati oleh para penulis non-Muslim. Peran mereka dalam mata pelajaran ini juga sangat berharga, dan kontribusi mereka, antara lain, termasuk penerjemahan Al-Qur’an, Seerat, ajaran Islam, Tasawwuf, sejarah dan peradaban Muslim, serta masyarakat dan budaya mereka. Artikel ini berupaya untuk membawa kontribusi cemerlang dari jenis bidang Studi Islam kedepan yang dibuat oleh seorang cendekiawan non-Muslim India terkemuka, Mr. Narendra Nath Law, dengan referensi khusus untuk buku terkenalnya “Promotion of Learning in India: during Muhammadan Rule (by Muhammadans).” Artikel ini memberikan tiga bagian, dan yang pertama memberikan sketsa singkat dari buku tersebut; yang kedua meninjau secara kritis sumber-sumber yang menjadi dasar isi buku ini; dan yang ketiga memperlakukan dengan investigasi mendalam dan analisis
pandangan dan asumsi Pak Law tentang sejarah pendidikan dan sastra di India selama periode panjang penguasa Muslim. Dengan menyoroti kontribusi Hukum, Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menyoroti peran penting yang dimainkan oleh para sarjana non-Muslim dalam studi Islam di India, yang sering diabaikan.

**Kata Kunci:** Studi Islam, Sejarah Islam, Narendra Nath Law, Sastra, Pemerintahan Muslim

**INTRODUCTION**

The discipline of Islamic Studies encompasses a broad and multi-faceted range of subjects. It involves the examination of Islam and its religious doctrines, as well as various issues of life from an Islamic perspective. Additionally, it includes the study of the socio-political, economic, and ethical dimensions of the diverse Muslim cultures present in various parts of the world. Islamic mysticism, or Sufism, is also a critical component of this field, which investigates the works, practices, teachings, and contributions of mystics. Notably, numerous non-Muslim scholars and academics have made significant contributions to various areas of Islamic Studies (Azmi, 2002). The contributions of Orientalists in this field, as well as those of non-Muslim Indians, are especially noteworthy and valuable.

India has a rich history of academic engagement with Islamic Studies. Over extended periods of time, numerous Muslim dynasties were established in various regions of India, whose rulers appreciated knowledge and generously patronized academic works produced by scholars and academicians (Law, 1916a). This trend was not only limited to the Sultanate and Mughal periods but also extended to rulers from various regional dynasties, such as Jaunpur, Gujarat, Kashmir, Bengal, Bahmanids, and post-Bahmanids dynasties, who enthusiastically supported scholars and promoted their works. In the pre- and post-British eras, many such scholars and writers made significant contributions to the field of Islamic Studies.

Undeniably it is a fact that non-Muslim Indians have made significant academic contributions in various fields of Islamic Studies, including the translation and interpretation of the Quran, biographies of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), the teachings of Islam, poetry related to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), Islamic culture and civilization, and most notably, the history of Muslims. Additionally, mysticism has also been an area of keen
interest for non-Muslim scholars, who have been greatly influenced by the teachings and traditions of Indian mystics.

The research and publication efforts of Munshi Nawal Kishore on Islam, and particularly on Islamic Science, are of great value (Ahmed, 2017). The comprehensive index of his edited and researched publications on Islamic Sciences encompasses hundreds of volumes focused on the Quran and its interpretations, the Hadith and its commentaries, Fiqh and Fataawa, and various other aspects of Islamic knowledge. To achieve this vital goal, Munshi Nawal Kishore enlisted the help of renowned Muslim scholars, writers, and Arabic language experts, resulting in the production of numerous noteworthy edited books based on original Islamic sources.

Numerous Non-Muslim individuals have made significant contributions in the field of the Quran and Quranic Studies. For example, Vinay Kumar Awasthi translated Tafseer-e-Majidi into Hindi, which was published in 1983 (Awasthi, 1930b). His father, Nand Kumar Awasthi, had also translated the Quran into Hindi, which was published in 1949 (Awasthi, 1930a). Chillukuri Narayana Rao translated the Quran into Telugu, which was published in 1930 (Rao, 1938), and many other Non-Muslim scholars have translated the Quran into various regional languages. Furthermore, several books have been written on Quranic Studies by Non-Muslim authors, including Acharya Vinoba Bhave's "The Essence of the Qur'an," R.B. Harish Chandra's "Khuda-Quranic Philosophy," and O.P. Ghai's "Selections from the Quran." Notably, many remarkable books have been written by Non-Muslim scholars on the biographies of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W), such as "Hazrat Muhammad aur Islam" by Sundar Laal, "Arab ka Chaand" by Swami Laxman, and Pandit Ved Prakash Upadhyay's "Kalki Avataar aur Muhammed Saheb" (Muhammed in the Hindu Scriptures).

The contribution of Non-Muslim Scholars in the field of Muslim History is noteworthy. Brindra Ban Das Bahadur Shahi's "Lub-ut-Tawareekh" in nine volumes is a valuable documentary work on Muslims and Islamic History. Munshi Sajaan Rai Batalvi's "Khulasat-al-Tawareekh," (Epitome of History) is a Persian language chronicle that not only delves into the history of Hindustan (northern Indian subcontinent), but also provides insights into the contemporary Mughal Empire (Batala, 1918). Munshi Ram Sahae Tamanna's "Ahsan-al-Tawareekh," Afzal-al-Tawareekh," and "Ashraf-al-Tawareekh" are significant books on Indian Muslim Dynasties (Tamanna, 1876, 1879). Master Ram Chand wrote

Non-Muslim writers have also shown interest in composing poetry on Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as an expression of their devotion and gratitude towards him. Dillu Ram Kausary, Maharaja Sir KishanPrashad, Munshi Shankar Lal Saqi, Manohar Lal Bihar, Jyotiba Phule, and JaganNath Azad are some of the notable poets in this regard. In addition, Malik Ram’s "Aurat aur Islam" and the works of Mohan Das Karam Chand Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Dr. B. N. Pandey on Islamic Studies in the contemporary era are noteworthy.

It can be therefore said that the works of Non-Muslim scholars in the diverse areas of Islamic studies are extremely significant and hold great value. It is crucial to acknowledge and study their contributions in the realm of Islam, in order to foster mutual understanding and respect between different religious communities.

In this context, the present paper focuses on the contributions of NarendraNath Law, a distinguished Indian non-Muslim scholar, particularly his book "Promotion of Learning in India: during Muhammadan Rule (by Muhammadans)." The paper adopts a three-part methodology, with the first section giving a brief overview of the book and its author, the second section critically evaluating the sources used for the book, and the third section examining Law’s perspectives on educational and literary history in India during the Muslim rule, providing an in-depth analysis of the topic.

RESEARCH METHOD

Regarding the materials used in this work, it should be noted that relying solely on Muslim historical works may not be entirely reliable, as they often mix
factual events with fictional elements, making it challenging to distinguish between them. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, this work covers a subject that has not been systematically treated before. In addition to using original works of both European and Indian writers, as well as translations of original works, I have also incorporated numerous manuscripts and printed texts, as can be seen from the Bibliography.

The paper has three sections, the first gives a brief sketch of the book; the second critically reviews the sources on which the content of the book is based, and the third treating with depth investigation and analysis of the views and assumptions of Mr. Law on educational and literary history in India during the long roll of Muslim rulers. By analyzing available literature on the subject and organizing the information into these themes, the author has attempted to provide a deeper understanding of how Muslims themselves promoted education during their reign in India. With its focus on the history of learning and teaching Islam in India, the paper holds significant importance. The paper's paramount importance stems from its meticulous exploration of the rich history of learning and teaching Islam in India. By delving into this subject, it sheds light on the profound impact Muslims have had on the development and dissemination of Islamic knowledge in the subcontinent. In its aim to shed light on the significant role played by non-Muslim scholars in the study of Islam in India, the paper highlights the contributions of Law, emphasizing their often overlooked significance.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Narendra Nath Law (1889-1964)

Narendra Nath Law, born in Calcutta in 1889, was a member of a renowned Indian family and a distinguished graduate of the University of Calcutta. He received valuable assistance from numerous accomplished compatriots throughout his career. As the grandson of a prominent citizen of Calcutta and the son of Raja Reshee Law, a notable lawyer in the city, Mr. Law had a strong background in law and history. He was awarded the prestigious Premchand Roychand Scholarship at Calcutta University and went on to become a genial author, well-known for his books on topics such as ancient Hindu polity, inter-state relations in ancient India, and the promotion of learning in India. In addition to his writing, he also edited the Indian Historical Quarterly, a
publication that aimed to cover a diverse range of topics related to Indian history and civilization, including archaeology, religion, literature, science, and more. Although the first issue of the quarterly was published in 1925, it was discontinued after two issues in 1963. Sadly, Mr. Law passed away in 1964 (Law, 1916a).

Overview of the Book

In his Preface, Mr. Law explains that the purpose of his work, titled "Promotion of Learning in India-During Muhammadan Rule by Muhammadans," is to shed light on a fascinating aspect of Muslim rule in India that is often overlooked in general histories. Specifically, he seeks to explore the contributions that Islam made to learning and culture in India. It's worth noting that the focus of the book is on the promotion of learning, rather than on the quality of the learning itself (Law, 1916a).

This volume is part of a series that covers the promotion of learning in India during different periods and under different rulers. The book is divided into two parts: the first covers the pre-Mughal period, with a chapter on minor Muslim kingdoms, while the second deals with the Mughal kingdoms and includes a chapter on female education. Mr. Law devotes a chapter to each Muslim dynasty, starting with the House of Ghazni and proceeding through the Ghorids, the Delhi Sultanate, and the minor Muslim kingdoms of South and Central India, Bengal, Multan, Sindh, Kashmir, and Gujarat. He spends nearly half the book on the Mughal period. The book concludes with the end of the 17th century and a short chapter on female education, which is indexed thoroughly. The book also includes an important Addendum on the topic of Emperor Akbar's literacy and features an entertaining Foreword by Mr. H. Beveridge, several beautiful illustrations, and a lengthy bibliography. While the bibliography is extensive, it would have been more helpful if the place and date of publication had been noted for printed books. The book's chronology of dates is useful, particularly for minor kingdoms. Overall, this work provides a fascinating account of how Muslim learning was introduced and promoted in India, offering a unique perspective on the history of education.

Although not all of the material in this book is the result of fresh investigation, the author has extensively examined both native and extraneous literature, including manuscripts and recondite archives. The reliability of Muslim historical works is called into question due to their tendency to mix fact with fiction. However, the author has followed the principle that if the same fact
is stated by different writers following different authorities, it can be considered reliable, especially if the authors are contemporaneous with the recorded facts. The author has cited and followed many respected authorities in this volume, including those cited by other writers on historical subjects. Incidental allusions to facts are also considered more trustworthy than direct accounts as they are less susceptible to personal bias. The author has utilized a range of sources, including original works of European and Indian writers, translations of original works, as well as Arabic, Persian, and Urdu manuscripts and printed texts from the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Bohar Collection of the Calcutta Imperial Library.

While Ferishta and Zia-ud-din Barni are among the principal authorities used, their names are not listed alphabetically. The author has not utilized the internal evidence of literature, which is of vital importance to fully understand the subject matter. The author has not mentioned the name of Malik Muhammad Jayasi, a great poet who enjoyed the patronage of Sher Shah, indicating a lack of attention to the vernacular literature of the time. The author has, however, made use of B. Dinesh Chandra Sen’s History of Bengali Literature, which is a monumental work. The author has collected evidence, both direct and inferential, to suggest that many of the Muslim rulers of India were promoters of learning in their own way.

Mr. Law believes that it is time to shed light on the positive aspects of Muslim imperial rule in India, which have been overshadowed by the tyranny of rulers like Mahmud. To achieve this, the author has compiled a comprehensive account of the educational achievements of Muslims during their rule, focusing on different phases of Muslim history related to the promotion of learning in India. This has resulted in the organization of the information into fourteen chapters, which are deemed the most relevant and significant for understanding the promotion of learning during this period.

In order to closely examine the promotion of education in India during Muslim rule, the author has selected seven key themes, reflecting the phases of educational promotion carried out by Muslims during their rule in India.

1. **Ghaznavid-Ghaurid Phase**

   Although Mahmud is commonly remembered as a cruel ruler, he did establish colleges, support poets, and even reward a philosopher with jewels. However, both historians and poets spoke negatively of him, and Hindus saw him as a symbol of cruelty and greed. Nevertheless, Mr. Law recognizes that
Mahmud was more than just a merciless plunderer; he was also a strong advocate for education and a generous patron of literature. After conquering territories, Mahmud did not govern them; instead, he took their wealth to his capital and amassed an impressive collection of treasures, including books. His court was renowned as a literary centre, attracting four hundred poets vying for his favour. Mahmud was the first to appoint HasanUnsuriBalkhi to compose poems in his honour and to select works by other poets to present to him. He established a University and a Museum in Ghazni, according to Ferishta, which Mr. Law believes became as famous as the medieval European cities of Bologna or Padua. At his court, he kept two famous writers: Alberuni, the historian of India, and Firdausi, the Persian poet, both of whom relied on his patronage (Law, 1916a).

Mr. Law focuses primarily on Mahmud’s reign and overlooks Ghaur, under which Muhammad Ghauri conquered more of India than Mahmud. While Ghauri is known as a conqueror of India, literary pursuits during his reign were relatively neglected. As Mr. Law notes, under the House of Ghaur, literary pursuits did not flourish as they had under the House of Ghazni. The Ghaznavid-Ghaurid phase is not on par with the Sultanate of Delhi and Mughals, but Mr. Law asserts that their contributions to the cause of education should be enough to prove that they were not solely focused on battle and bloodshed. Additionally, some of their successors continued to promote education, science, and art (Law, 1916a).

2. Sultanate Phase

Mr. Law doesn’t provide much information about Qutub-ud-din Aibak, the slave and viceroy of Ghauri, who ruled India for 24 years and founded the Qutub Minar. It can be assumed that he supported art, if not literature. The reigns of Altamash, Razia, Bairam, and Masud were not significant in terms of education, except for two instances: the Mu’izzzi College in Delhi and the patronage of Siraj, author of the Tabaqat-e Nasiri, who was appointed as the principal of the Nasiriya College and superintendent of its endowments. Nasiruddin, the next Sultan, played an essential role in literary history. He was a scholar himself and advanced education during his 20-year reign. Balban, who followed him, was also a patron of literature, and his court attracted many learned men due to the political situation at the time. Many famous scholars flourished in Delhi during this period. Kaiquabad, the next
Sultan, did not continue the literary culture introduced by Sultan Balban and his son, Prince Muhammad (Khusrau, 1949).

The House of Khilji that came into power after the slave kings ushered in a new era of improved education. Sultan Jalaluddin had a strong appreciation for literature and created a literary atmosphere around the court. The most distinguished member of this dynasty was Alauddin Khilji, who initially had no knowledge of reading or writing. However, he later became an avid student and patronized scholars during his reign. Mubarak Khilji’s reign marked a period of regression in literary history. Firuz Shah Tughlaq, the ruler of the Tughlaq dynasty, was considered the best of the Muslim emperors of India. He encouraged the study of each other’s literatures and intermarriage between Muslims and Hindus. He also built colleges for Muslim prayer and worship and preserved archaeological remains (Elliot, 2012).

The Sayyid dynasty that followed was short-lived, and Ala-ud-din encouraged discussions of literary subjects during his reign. The Lodhi dynasty made Delhi its capital, and Bahlol Lodhi was fond of learned men and awarded them according to their merits. Sikandar, the next Sultan, was a poet and patron of learning who encouraged men of learning to take up residence at Agra, where he transferred his capital (Law, 1916a).

3. Phase of Minor Muslim Kingdoms:

Mr. Law chiefly follows Ferishta here as it is considered a reliable source for information about the progress of education and learning in India. While the Delhi Kings played a role in this progress, Mr. Law observes that smaller kingdoms all over India also contributed to the development of Islamic learning in the country. According to Mr. Law, some of the kings of the Bahmani kingdom, including Mahmud Shah Bahmani, were patrons of learning, and Firoz Bahmani was particularly impressive due to his multilingualism and knowledge of many sciences. Ferishta reports that Firoz Bahmani’s harem included women from various races, and he was even able to read the Bible, indicating a possible familiarity with Hebrew learned from Jewish settlers on the Malabar Coast. Firoz Bahmani spent time with learned people and was passionate about natural philosophy, sending ships annually to search for scholars from different countries.

Ismail Adil Shah of the Bijapur kingdom was also known for his literary refinement and patronage of learned men and poets. During the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah I, there was a transition from Persian to Hindi for public
accounts, and many Brahmanas were appointed to oversee these accounts.

King Qutb Shah of the royal kingdom of Gulkandah founded colleges, public seminars, and patronized learned men, which greatly contributed to the advancement of education. Many other principalities, including Malwa, Khandesh, Jaunpur, Sindh, and Bengal, also had their own royal patrons of education and literary enterprise. While these rulers’ achievements should be recognized, it is important to note that private enterprise also played a significant role in promoting education.

4. Mughal Phase

The Mughal emperors were known for their patronage of learning and the arts. Babur, who was a scholar, poet, and musician, introduced coloured pictures of animals into his Memoirs, perhaps making it the first illustrated Indian work. His successor Humayun was an astrologer and savant who valued learned and religious men over nobles. It is important to note that when Babur stated that there were no colleges in India, he was referring to Madrasah or Muslim colleges in Upper India, which was the only part he knew at the time. Thus, his statement is probably correct within that limited context.

Akbar the Great (Law, 1916b, p. 207) is known for his encouragement of letters and his promotion of learning and the arts. He favoured Hindu literature, married a Christian, and was a truly enlightened and liberal monarch. Although he himself could not read or write, he appointed Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan as tutor to his son Jahangir and promoted learning and the arts as he understood them. Mr. Law’s account of Akbar is comprehensive and appreciative (Law, 1916b). Jahangir patronized lexicographer Jamaluddin Husain Injir and attempted to have the Qur’an translated into Persian.

Shah Jahan, after a day of work and spending time with his harem, would have someone read to him until he fell asleep. He preferred subjects like travellers’ tales, theology, and history. Aurangzeb was a patron of Muslim learning and a prolific letter-writer. Overall, the Mughal emperors were renowned for their patronage of learning and the arts, with each ruler contributing in their own way to the development of culture and knowledge in India.
5. **Sur Phase**

In the book, Mr. Law’s account of Sher Shah Suri is brief yet comprehensive. Sher Shah, as he himself lamented, only achieved success in his later years, when his hair had already turned gray, and he was unfortunately killed prematurely. However, despite his treacherous actions and his knack for switching tactics, he was a great prince and surpassed his adversary, Humayun. He received enthusiastic praise from Badayuni, who, in imitation of a saying of the Prophet, thanked God that he had been born during the reign of such a just king.

6. **Female Education**

In the book, there is a brief chapter that focuses on female education. It describes the presence of schoolmistresses in the harem and highlights various accomplished literary women. However, Mr. Law’s statement that "though the Indian ladies and princesses did not attain to that degree of literary education as the Muslim ladies in Spain" is debatable. Both boys and girls received an education in schools, and as early as 1500, school-mistresses and women who read prayers were employed in the Sultan’s seraglio. Babar’s daughter and Humayun’s niece were also known as "learned ladies." Furthermore, Aurangzeb’s daughter, Zebun Nisa, was proficient in Persian and Arabic and skilled in calligraphy, while her sister, Jahan Ara, had memorized the Qur’an and written a tract about the Ajmere Saint. While there is no evidence to suggest that educating women was common among the nobles or lower classes, Mr. Law concludes that Muslim ladies, in general, were "not as ignorant as commonly believed (Law, 1916b)."

7. **Addendum on the Question of Akbar’s Illiteracy**

Mr. Law expresses scepticism regarding Akbar’s alleged illiteracy, but his view differs from those of Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Vincent A. Smith, who have written biographies of Akbar more recently. Despite Mr. Law presenting compelling reasons to support his position and addressing the issue further in an Addendum, it is worth considering that a prince with Akbar’s literary lineage and upbringing would be unlikely to be illiterate in the sense that he did not know the alphabet. Akbar’s four tutors and the circumstances of their appointment are known, and he had a thorough knowledge of the works of Hafiz and Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi. While he was more interested in sports
than book-learning in his youth, the question of his illiteracy is a matter of semantics (Law, 1916b, p. 207).

CONCLUSION

The wealthy and powerful Muslim rulers of the time widely acknowledged to have greatly encouraged the promotion of Muslim learning in India. Despite India's lag behind other centres of learning such as Bagdad and Cordova, it had numerous centres of Muslim learning that could favourably compare with those in other parts of the world. Mr. Law offers valuable insight into the introduction of printing and the early work of building libraries in India during Muslim rule. While some of Mr. Law's account may lack detail and thorough analysis, it is worth noting that Hindus are now chronicling their native land's history for the first time, and Mr. Beveridge's Foreword acknowledges Islam's contributions to learning and culture in India. The writer has gathered copious amounts of evidence, both direct and indirect, which is sometimes robust and sometimes tenuous, to suggest that numerous wealthy and influential Muslim rulers in India supported education in their own interpretation of the term. Their approach to education was in accordance with their faith, but still not on par with the intellectual hubs of Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordoba. Unlike Andalusia, which boasted seventy public libraries, India did not have a comparable institution, but the Muslim patrons of education in India could be favourably compared to many of the Christian rulers in Spain.

Mr. Law has extensively used various historical and epigraphical sources in his work, but he has not incorporated the crucial internal evidence found in literature, which is of utmost importance in a subject like this. Furthermore, he has failed to mention the name of the renowned poet Malik Muhammad Jayasi, who was patronized by Sher Shah and dedicated the Padmavat to him, during the reign of Sher Shah. Mr. Law deserves credit for effectively utilizing B. Dinesh Chandra Sen's significant work, the History of Bengali Literature, but there is room for further expansion of this approach. Despite this limitation, Mr. Law is considered a trailblazer in this area of study. Overall, this text provides a fascinating glimpse into the history of education in India and the role that Muslim rulers and scholars played in shaping it, making Mr. Law a pioneer in this field.
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