

Finding a Home for Urdu: The Anjuman-i Taraqqi-yi Urdu, 1903-1971

Introduction: ‘Our Muhajir Anjuman’¹:

In Karachi in 1953 the *Anjuman-i Taraqqi-yi Urdu* (Association for the Advancement for Urdu) held its golden jubilee. The *Anjuman-i Taraqqi-yi Urdu* (henceforth, the *Anjuman*) is the largest Urdu scholarly promotional association in South Asia. Originally founded in 1903 as part of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference associated with Aligarh University to counter Hindi advocates in North India, the *Anjuman* first shifted from Aligarh to Aurangabad (Deccan) under the patronage of the Hyderabad princely state in 1913, then to Delhi in 1938, and finally to Karachi in 1949 following the Partition of British India. Looking back on the fifty-year history of the *Anjuman* in 1953, the prominent historian Syed Hashmi Faridabadi placed the shift of “our *muhajir Anjuman*” from Delhi to Karachi in a longer history of Urdu migrations. He employed the term *muhajir* (immigrant), which is used for Indian Muslims who migrated to Pakistan, to describe the *Anjuman*. It is in turn a religiously significant term for those who moved with the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. Hashmi went on to note that in terms of this migration to Karachi in 1947, “this was really a type of beginning such as what happened during the era when [the *Anjuman*] was shifted from Aligarh to Aurangabad [in 1913].”²

On the face of it, there seems to be little in common between the bureaucratic shift in 1913 of the *Anjuman*’s headquarters to Aurangabad, which was then a provincial outpost of the Hyderabad State, and the massive migration of Urdu-speaking Muslims in 1947 to Karachi, the first capitol of Pakistan, amidst the violence of Partition. However, my research on the AIPS fellowship suggests that the migration of scholars associated with the *Anjuman* to Karachi after 1947 can be productively analyzed in relation to a longer history of migrations of North Indian Urdu-speaking professionals in search of employment and government service as well as in terms of the violent rupture of Partition. Scholars have discussed the tensions arising from the establishment of Urdu as the national language of Pakistan since Urdu was not the regional language of any province in the new nation-state.³ I propose that this language policy can be fruitfully understood within a longer history of efforts to gain government sponsorship of Urdu as a language of administration and science outside of North India by migrating Urdu-speaking scholars and civil servants. The effort of the *Anjuman* to promote Aurangabad as a new center for Urdu from 1913 to 1938, which was a part of larger migrations of North Indian civil servants to the Hyderabad State, provides a useful comparison to the *Anjuman*’s advancement of Karachi as a new national capitol for Urdu. Maulvi Abdul Haq, a major Urdu lexicographer and historian often called the “Father of Urdu,” was the *Anjuman*’s leader from 1913 to 1961. The shifts of the *Anjuman* from North India to the Hyderabad State and later to Karachi provides an effective institutional lens on the broader efforts to find a new ‘homeland’ for Urdu outside of North India and on the wider migrations of many Urdu-speakers as professional opportunities for middle-class Muslims decreased in North India. (While I am following the specific lineage of North Indian Muslim professionals who migrated, most remained in North India.)

¹ “Hamari muhajir Anjuman...”: Syed Hashmi Faridabadi, *Panja Saale Tarikh-i Anjuman-i Taraqqi-yi Urdu*, Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Pakistan), 1987, 254.

² Faridabadi, *Panja Saale Tarikh Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, 230.

³ Alyssa Ayres, *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Below, I will first elaborate on the parallels between the *Anjuman*'s activities in the early 20th-century Deccan and in post-colonial Pakistan. Then, I will discuss the *Anjuman*'s efforts to promote Urdu in Aurangabad and Karachi by refashioning Urdu as a language of science and by drawing on the history of Indo-Persian. First, I will examine the *Anjuman*'s efforts to advance Urdu as a trans-regional language of modern science education and research. While Urdu is historically associated with poetic composition and royal courts, I argue that the *Anjuman*'s Urdu science project was motivated by the educational and commercial needs of immigrant Urdu-speaking professionals in the Deccan and Karachi. Finally, I will explore how the *Anjuman*'s scholars drew on the history of Indo-Persian in early modern South Asia to make new territorial and political claims for Urdu. I theorize that the *Anjuman* invoked the history of Indo-Persian to claim that Urdu was the alleged successor to early modern Persian as “a universal language (*‘ek alamgir zaban*”) which could unify a wider South Asian political formation on the model of Persian as the language of administration and education in the Mughal Empire and its successor states.⁴ Despite the seeming contradiction of drawing on Persian for its nationalist Urdu projects, the *Anjuman*'s imagining of a future for Urdu through Indo-Persian's past make sense in terms of Persian's status as a pre-colonial Islamicate prestige language across South Asia and the history of migrations of Persian-using scribes and poets for government service.

When the *Anjuman* was based in Aurangabad from 1913 to 1938 and subsequently when the *Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Pakistan)* was based in Karachi from 1947, Abdul Haq pursued similar policies to make these two unlikely cities centers for Urdu. In both cities, he relied on the migration of Urdu-speaking professionals to build a scholarly network and audience. He simultaneously appealed to regional elites by publishing on Marathi and Sindhi literature, respectively. He also drew on the history of Persian as a language of government and trans-regional connection in the early modern Deccan and Sindh to promote Urdu in both regions.

Many North Indian civil servants moved to the Hyderabad State in the early 20th century in search of professional opportunities since Urdu was the language of administration there.⁵ They were referred to as *ghair mulki* (foreigner) in Hyderabad. Abdul Haq, who worked in the translation and education departments of the Hyderabad State, drew on his professional connections to *ghair mulki* civil servants for the *Anjuman*'s publishing projects. Not only did many *ghair mulki* scholars write for “Urdu,” the *Anjuman*'s literary journal, but the organization celebrated the accomplishments of *ghair mulki* civil servants, such as a series of articles in “Urdu” honoring Nawab Imad Al-Mulk Bahudur who was an Urdu educationist from Lucknow who became a leading official in Hyderabad and a supporter of the *Anjuman*.⁶ Conjoined with efforts to appeal to immigrant North Indians, Abdul Haq engaged regional Marathi literati. In the 1920s “Urdu” ran a series of articles discussing Marathi drama, poetry, and biographical genres.⁷ In 1933 he published “The Influence of Persian on the Marathi Language (*Marathi Zaban par Farsi ka Asr*),” which suggests that Urdu could serve as a language of trans-regional connection for Marathi-speakers, on the model of early modern Indo-Persian.⁸

⁴ “Hamari Zaban” 14 August 1939, New Delhi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu.

⁵ Kavita Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam: Urdu Nationalism and Colonial India*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2013.

⁶ “Urdu” October 1925, “Urdu” January 1926, & “Urdu” January 1929.

⁷ “Urdu” January 1926 & “Urdu” April 1927 & “Urdu” July 1928.

⁸ Maulvi Abdul Haq, *Marathi Zaban par Farsi ka Asr*, Aurangabad: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Aurangabad), 1933.

While based in the Deccan from 1913 to 1938, Maulvi Abdul Haq focused on recovering the textual and architectural heritage of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb's rule in Aurangabad. During his military campaigns in the Deccan in the 17th century, Aurangzeb established his court in Aurangabad and many Persian-using scribes, poets, and warriors moved to Aurangabad with Aurangzeb. Abdul Haq established the *Anjuman*'s headquarters next to *Bibi ka maqbera* (shrine of Aurangzeb's consort modeled on the *Taj Mahal*). Restoring the shrine, Abdul Haq promoted the area as *Urdu bagh* ('Garden of Urdu') and established a museum for *Bibi ka maqbera*.⁹ Abdul Haq collected Persian manuscripts dealing with historical developments and literary and scribal skills in the age of Aurangzeb and letters composed at Aurangzeb's court discussing scholars and science in Aurangabad, particularly astronomy.¹⁰ Soon after the famous historian Jadunath Sarkar was publishing his critical histories of Aurangzeb, Maulvi Abdul Haq creatively drew on the history of Aurangzeb's rule in Aurangabad and the waves of Persian-literate scribes and warriors who migrated to the early modern Deccan to make the case for an Urdu homeland in the Deccan centered in Aurangabad.¹¹

Paralleling his efforts to draw both recently arrived North Indian scholars and local literati into the *Anjuman*, Abdul Haq pursued similar policies in Karachi. While Karachi became the headquarters of the Pakistani branch of the *Anjuman* in 1947, there was an active regional wing in Karachi from the 1920s. Sindhi scholars associated with the *Anjuman*'s regional branch attempted to promote Karachi as a new center for Urdu within British India by drawing on the city's Indian Ocean commercial networks. Just as the *Anjuman* relied on *ghair-mulki* professionals in Aurangabad, the *Anjuman* eventually became a center of *muhajir* scholars in Karachi. However, Abdul Haq heavily relied on Sindhi scholars, particularly Mahmooda Rizviya and Pir Hassam Aldin Rashidi, in establishing the new Pakistani headquarters in 1947 Karachi.¹² Mahmooda Rizviya was an Urdu short-story writer who was the editor of "*Hindustani*," the Urdu magazine published by the *Anjuman*'s Karachi branch in the early 1940s. The *Anjuman* celebrated her as having made the road of literature lush in "the sands of Sindh."¹³ Rizviya also wrote "*Mallika-yi Mashriq* (Queen of the East)," which presented late-colonial Karachi as a commercial trading hub. Her devotion to promoting Urdu in late colonial Karachi is illustrated by her dedications in two short story collections first to "the development of Urdu and its literature by the people of Sindh" and later to "my Queen of the East (Karachi)."¹⁴

Abdul Haq's efforts to engage Sindhi literati and the history of Persian in Sindh to advance Urdu are reflected in his association with Pir Hassam Al-din Rashidi. Rashidi was a prominent Sindhi scholar who was both involved with the *Anjuman* and the Sindhi language movement. Rashidi was a leading figure in Sindhi literary and historical preservation, but was also instrumental in establishing the *Anjuman* in Karachi, which soon becomes a bastion of *muhajir* scholars. His important role is discussed in the published collection of Abdul Haq's

⁹ Misrat Firdous, *Baba-i-Urdu Maulvi Abdul Haq ki Khidmat Qiyam-i- Aurangabad ke Dauran*, Aurangabad, 1999, 81-84.

¹⁰ "A Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts: (Series 2) in the Library of Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu New Delhi," New Delhi: Persian Research Centre, Iran Culture House, 1999.

¹¹ Maulvi Abdul Haq, *Adabi Tabsereh*, Lucknow: Danish Mahel, 1964.

¹² Faridabadi, *Panja Saale Tarikh Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, 186-187.

¹³ Mahmooda Rizviya, *Sooz aur Saaz*, Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Karachi, 1942, 1-8.

¹⁴ Mahmooda Rizviya, *Armaghan*, Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Karachi, 1942 & Mahmooda Rizviya, *Aabshar*, Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Karachi, 1943.

letters to him.¹⁵ Rashidi's literary activities suggest a moment in early post-colonial Pakistan when Urdu and Sindhi politics were seen by some as mutually complementary in contrast to more adversarial developments between Sindhis and *muhajirs* in the 1970s. Rashidi was an expert in Persian with literary ties to Iran, and he translated many early modern Sindhi Persian texts and published on a major Persian poet of Sindh for the *Anjuman*.¹⁶

The shift to the Deccan was not the only earlier migration of Urdu-speakers invoked by the *Anjuman*. For example, "Urdu" in the mid-1920s featured articles discussing North Indian scholarly families who migrated from Awadh to Calcutta following 1857 and celebrating their capacity to survive the end of Muslim rule in North India by engaging older scholarly forms of knowledge for government service in the colonial capitol.¹⁷ This narration of the migration of some North Indian civil servants to Calcutta in the second half of the 19th-century was not incidental, but figures prominently in the *Anjuman*'s narration of the effort to promote Urdu as a language of administration and science since Calcutta was the first capitol of British India.

The *Anjuman* is an effective lens on these multiple migrations of North Indian Urdu-speaking professions since Abdul Haq drew on scholarly *ghair mulki* networks in Hyderabad State and *muhajir* networks in Karachi. Given the ways the *Anjuman* also invoked older migrations to Calcutta, the organization illustrates the transformations of Urdu as a language of science and government as waves of some North Indian Urdu-speaking civil servants and scholars first shifted to Calcutta (the imperial capitol) in the late 19th century, then to Hyderabad (princely capitol) in the early 20th century, and finally to Karachi (national capitol) in the mid-20th century. The history of Persian and Urdu in Calcutta figures prominently in the *Anjuman*'s self-conceptualization. The role of Persian as a court language under the East India Company in Calcutta, and the displacement of Persian by English in 1830 loomed large in the *Anjuman*'s publishing catalog in the 1940s. The *Anjuman* printed a history of Siraj ud-Daulah, the last independent Nawab of Bengal whom the East India Company defeated in the Battle of Plassey, and a "History of the Constitution of India," narrating the history of Indian 'constitutions', starting with the East India Company in 18th-century Calcutta.¹⁸

Urdu Science

In my research in the libraries of the *Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Hind)* in New Delhi and the *Anjuman-i Islam* in Mumbai, I examined the changing geographic and political contours of the *Anjuman*'s efforts to promote Urdu as a medium of science research and education from the 1920s through the 1960s. Maulvi Abdul Haq began this project when the *Anjuman* was based in

¹⁵ Maulvi Abdul Haq. *Maktubat-i Baba yi Urdu be-naam Pir Syed Hassam Aldin Rashidi*. Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu-Pakistan, 1964; Faridabadi, *Panja Saale Tarikh Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, 184-187 & 228.

¹⁶ S. Arif Naushahi, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu at Karachi*: Rawalpindi: Iran-Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies, 1984, 12; Hassam Aldin Rashidi, *Mirza Ghari Beg Turkhan aur Uski Bazm-i Adab* & Hassam Aldin Rashidi, *Haft Muqale*.

¹⁷ "Urdu" October 1925.

¹⁸ Muhammad Umar, *Siraj ud- Daulah: Essa Chiraq tha jo kabhi gul na ho saka*, Delhi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu: 1942 & *Tarikh-i- Dastur-i-Hind*, Delhi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, 1944.

the Hyderabad State in close connection with Osmania University.¹⁹ After his migration to Karachi in 1949, Abdul Haq continued this effort in Pakistan. This Urdu science project drew both from the educational demands of migrating Urdu-speaking scholars and bureaucrats from North India and from early modern Persian medical and astronomical manuscripts.

From the mid-1920s scientific topics increasingly appeared in the pages of the *Anjuman's* literary journal “Urdu.” In particular, the editors of this literary magazine began to include articles discussing scientific terminology and to review Urdu scientific publications, such as a manual on forestry, textbooks on chemistry and relativity, and agricultural guides.²⁰ This culminated in a two page announcement in the July 1927 issue of “Urdu” for the *Anjuman's* new quarterly periodical “Science”. More than a simple publication announcement, this advertisement ushered in the *Anjuman's* decades-long effort to promote Urdu as a medium of scientific education and research, which transcended the *Anjuman's* subsequent shift to Pakistan. Abdul Haq bemoaned that “even though there is no lack in the number of magazines in the Urdu language and every day new magazines keep on opening up, each and every one of them is limited to poetry, imaginative subjects, and general literature ... Our magazines and our language are completely empty of science.”²¹ In order to fix this alleged dearth of science in Urdu, Abdul Haq outlined the contours of “Science” magazine, which was to cover both popular interest and research topics and to include translations of ‘Western’ scientific work, coverage of scientific developments in India, and historical pieces. Abdul Haq hoped that this would enable more Indians to take part in science research and, crucially, “to make the Urdu language capable of incorporating every subject of experimental science and to solve the problems of expanding Urdu terminology for modern knowledge and professional skills.”²² He emphasized the importance of formulating grammatical rules for expanding Urdu scientific terminology and of recovering early modern scientific and medical developments in India and the Middle East.

“Science” magazine was published from the Hyderabad State from 1928 until 1947. Articles ranging from the promotion of Urdu as a medium of agricultural administration and public health to the Mughal emperors as experts of the physical sciences, the role of university life in ancient India, and scientific developments under the Abbasid caliphs were featured in “Science.”²³ The magazine also showcased articles drawing on Urdu literary traditions to expand the language’s scientific capacity, such as a series on different chemical elements employing the Urdu autobiographical genre such as “*Carbon ki kahani, Carbon ki zabani* (The Story of Carbon Told from Carbon’s own Tongue” and [“*Phosphorus ki aap beti* (The Autobiography of Phosphorus)”]²⁴ Furthermore, in the editorial page of “Science,” the editor discussed the challenges of the material limitations of Urdu printing presses and the lack of expert science knowledge amongst Urdu scholars.²⁵ However, he insisted that the Urdu script was ideally suited for science due to its trans-regional linguistic connections to Persian and Arabic.²⁶

¹⁹ Datla, *The Language of Secular Islam: Urdu Nationalism and Colonial India*.

²⁰ “Urdu” January 1924, “Urdu” April 1924, “Urdu” April 1925, “Urdu” July 1925, & “Urdu” October 1926

²¹ “Urdu” July 1927.

²² “Urdu” July 1927, 1.

²³ “Science” July 1930, “Science” October 1931; “Science” January 1936, & “Science” October 1938.

²⁴ “Science” January 1935, “Science” July 1938, “Science” July 1931, and “Science” October 1936.

²⁵ “Science” January 1931, 119-122.

²⁶ “Science” October 1928, 294-297.

The writers and editors of “*Science*” regularly appealed to Urdu-speakers to unite in promoting Urdu as a medium of science behind the *Anjuman*.²⁷ While the geographic center of this Urdu science project shifted with the *Anjuman* from the Deccan to Pakistan, the *Anjuman* engaged Urdu-speakers across South Asia. For example, while most of the scholars involved in “*Science*” before 1947 were based in the Hyderabad State, Urdu-speaking scientists regularly contributed articles from across British India, such as Sheikh Manhaaj Aldin, a professor in Peshawar who regularly contributed articles on astronomy in the 1930s. In a 1935 editorial, the editor claimed that whenever there was a delay in “*Science*’s” publication, complaints came raining in to Aurangabad from across India from Punjab to Assam.²⁸

Likewise, after 1947 the *Anjuman*’s promotion of Urdu as a medium of science was focused on Karachi, but transcended the new national borders. In 1951, Abdul Haq published a manifesto entitled “Urdu as the Means of Science Education (*Urdu behesiyat zariya-yi talim-i science*),” which was distributed across South Asia. In this manifesto, Abdul Haq castigated Urdu-speakers who doubted the possibility of making Urdu a trans-regional medium of modern science and narrated an alleged long-term campaign to make Urdu the language of education in South Asia following the British educational reforms of 1830 when English dethroned Persian. He wrote to many prominent Urdu-speaking science educators from across South Asia asking for their support. He then included an Urdu scientist *tazkhira* listing those scholars willing to help him. While many of these scholars were professors from Aligarh University and Osmania University who had migrated to Pakistan, some were based in India.²⁹ Abdul Haq narrated examples of successful efforts to make non-Western European languages mediums of science with particular attention to Turkey and Israel.³⁰ He claimed that “The most instructive example is that of Israel. Since the Jewish people started moving to and populating Palestine, they have revived the Hebrew language which had been dead for a thousand years.”³¹ What is noteworthy in Abdul Haq’s praise is the implicit connection drawn between language revival and migration.

While the *Anjuman* engaged local literati, North Indian scholars were key participants in its science efforts in Aurangabad and Karachi. In both cities Abdul Haq was involved in establishing Urdu-medium colleges that would specialize in the sciences, which became major employers of North Indians. First, Abdul Haq presided over Osmania College in Aurangabad. While most of the students were from the Hyderabad State, many of the professors were *ghair mulki* scholars who had moved from North India in search of patronage in the Hyderabad State (like the *Anjuman* itself.) Similarly, the authors of “*Science*” and “*Urdu*” were often *ghair-mulki* bureaucrats who worked with Abdul Haq. After moving to Karachi, Abdul Haq established the Taraqqi Urdu College (later the Federal Urdu Arts & Science College) that employed many *muhajir* professors and provided education for recently arrived *muhajir* youth and laborers. Some scholars even migrated with the *Anjuman*. Aftab Hassan first served as the Inspector of Scientific Education in Hyderabad and at Aurangabad College. Subsequently, he was a leading science professor in the Pakistan Military Academy and Karachi’s Urdu College.³²

²⁷ “*Science*” January 1936, 122 & “*Science*” July 1936, 379-380.

²⁸ “*Science*,” January 1935, 151.

²⁹ Abdul Haq, “*Urdu behesiyat zariya-yi talim-i science*,” Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Pakistan), 1951, 8-11.

³⁰ Abdul Haq, “*Urdu behesiyat zariya-yi talim-i science*,” 1-8.

³¹ Abdul Haq, “*Urdu behesiyat zariya-yi talim-i science*,” 3.

³² Faridabadi, *Panja Saale Tarikh Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, 252-256.

The division of the *Anjuman* between India and Pakistan is reflected in its science projects. The Library of the Urdu Research Institute of the *Anjuman-i Islam*, which is a Mumbai-based association founded in the late 19th century to promote ‘modern’ education for Muslims, has an extensive collection of Urdu texts on science. The Urdu Research Institute’s library helps contextualize the *Anjuman*’s scientific efforts since it contains science and medical texts from the early 20th-century Hyderabad State and Bombay Presidency (which then included Sindh). This collection illustrates the changes and continuities of the *Anjuman*’s Urdu science project across the 1947 divide. For example, in 1946 the *Anjuman* published a terminology dictionary for geography (*Istilihaat Geografia*) in New Delhi. With the division of the *Anjuman*, the newly printed collection of geographic dictionaries was divided between the two new nation-states. A new cover page was pasted in the half of the collection sent to Karachi proclaiming, erroneously, that the geography dictionary had been published in Karachi.³³ The Urdu Research Institute’s library disproportionately has scientific texts from the early post-colonial Pakistani branch of the *Anjuman* instead of the Indian branch, which illustrates the continuing scholarly and commercial ties between Karachi and Bombay, especially in terms of Urdu and Persian publishing.

Persian ‘Muhajirs’ and Manuscripts in Karachi

During my research in the *Anjuman*’s New Delhi library, I have examined the ways the *Anjuman*’s scholars have engaged Indo-Persian and the long history of Persian scribal migrations in South Asia for their 20th century Urdu projects. In particular, I have started to trace the development of the *Anjuman*’s Persian manuscript collection. In addition to engaging regional histories of Indo-Persian to make new territorial and political claims for Urdu, I theorize that the *Anjuman* drew on the history of Indo-Persian scholarly mobility as its Urdu scholars migrated from the Deccan to Delhi to Karachi in the first half of the 20th century. My research suggests that the *Anjuman* highlighted manuscripts dealing with the migration of scribes and poets from Iran to India in search of courtly patronage to place the migration of Urdu-speaking scholars and civil servants to Karachi, the first capital of Pakistan, in a longer history of scholarly mobility.

The *Anjuman* began this manuscript collection in the Hyderabad State. While based in Aurangabad, Abdul Haq toured the Deccan’s countryside and went to unknown Sufi shrines in search of Persian and Urdu manuscripts.³⁴ This archive was shifted to Delhi and partially destroyed during the 1947 Partition riots. When the *Anjuman* itself was divided in 1949, the remaining manuscripts were split between the Indian and Pakistani branches with scholars and officials from both governments contesting the collection. In Karachi part of the collection was displayed in the National Museum of Pakistan.³⁵ Taking many texts to Karachi, Abdul Haq attempted to endow the new capitol of Pakistan with a deep Indo-Persian textual heritage.

The *Anjuman*’s focus on recovering older histories of Persian scholarly mobility is illustrated in the pages of “Urdu” magazine. The book review section of “Urdu” frequently discussed Persian publications, such as a review of a Persian *tazkhira* manuscript (“*Mekhana*”), which was written by an early modern poet who migrated to India discussing Iranian poets who shifted from Iran to India.³⁶ A July 1928 article in “Urdu” celebrated the unique contributions of

³³ “*Istilihaat Geografia*,” Karachi: Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Pakistan), 1946.

³⁴ Naushahi, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu at Karachi*, 16.

³⁵ Faridabadi, *Panja Saale Tarikh Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, 256-257.

³⁶ “Urdu” January 1927.

Indo-Persian to Persian literature and the literary credentials of non-Iranian Persian writers. The author argued that languages benefit when they expand beyond their ‘homeland’ and are adopted in new regions. While much of the article aims to refute Iranian criticism of Indo-Persian, it suggests the ways the *Anjuman* imagined a future for Urdu through Indo-Persian’s pasts.³⁷

This effort to recover a longer history of Persian scholarly mobility is illustrated by the *Anjuman*’s research on an 18th century scribe in Aurangabad, Lachmi Narain Shafiq Aurangabadi, who wrote a Persian *tazkhira* (anthology of poet biographies) of Persian poets who moved from Iran to India, “*Sham-i Ghariban*”. Lachmi Narain made his first appearance in the *Anjuman*’s publications in “*Urdu*” in the late 1920s as part of a series on overlooked ‘ancient’ poets. Lachmi Narain worked in the late 18th century administration of the *Nizam* of Hyderabad. His grandfather had migrated to Aurangabad in the service of Aurangzeb’s army, and his father was an official and scholar in Aurangabad.³⁸ Lachmi Narain was a poet and historian who wrote a history of the different regions of 18th century India and a book on the condition of the city of Hyderabad as well as a number of Persian *tazkhira*.³⁹ Abdul Haq collected Lachmi Narain’s manuscripts in Aurangabad, including “*Sham-i Ghariban*,” which is a Persian *tazkhira* describing Persian poets who migrated from Iran and settled in India. (*Sham-i Ghariban*, which means “Night of the Strangers/ Travelers” refers to the night of *Ashura* following the killing of Imam Hussein and his followers in the Battle of Karbala. The term “*gharib*” can signify those who are unrecognized strangers in an unknown land.) Abdul Haq’s growing interest in Lachmi Narain is illustrated by a 1929 article in “*Urdu*” introducing one of Lachmi Narain’s *tazkhira*, *Chamistan-i shaura*, which coincided with the *Anjuman*’s publication of an edited version of the text.⁴⁰ I theorize that the *Anjuman*’s interest in Lachmi Narain, his familial heritage of mobile scribal service, and his narration of earlier migrations of Persian literati reflected the *Anjuman*’s own efforts to promote the Deccan as a new homeland for Urdu-speaking scholars.

In 1947 Lachmi Narain’s manuscripts from the Deccan were divided between the Indian and Pakistani branches of the *Anjuman* with “*Sham-i Ghariban*” traveling to Karachi. In 1977 Lachmi Narain reappeared in Karachi in the *Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu (Pakistan)*’s publishing catalog, with an edited version of “*Sham-i Ghariban*” released in Karachi. This text was prominently placed in a list of the Persian publications of the *Anjuman*.⁴¹ The *Anjuman*’s engagement with this manuscript in Karachi should be understood as a window into the ways some Urdu scholars understood their own migrations in the context of earlier Indo-Persian scholarly mobility and within the migrations of Islamic sacred history. The AIPS fellowship has enabled me to analyze how the *Anjuman* promoted Urdu as a language of science and government by drawing on the history of Indo-Persian and the many migrations of Urdu-speakers. I plan to continue this research in South Asia in order to complete my dissertation.

³⁷ “Urdu” July 1928.

³⁸ Maulvi Abdul Haq, “Muqadama Chamistan-i Shaura,” “Urdu” July 1929, 519-521.

³⁹ “Urdu” July 1927, 547-548; “A Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts: In the Library of Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu New Delhi”; Maulvi Abdul Haq, “Muqadama Chamistan-i Shaura,” “Urdu” July 1929, 523-531.

⁴⁰ Maulvi Abdul Haq, “Muqadama Chamistan-i Shaura,” “Urdu” July 1929

⁴¹ Naushahi, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu at Karachi*, 13-16.