

## **The Orient, Socio-Economic Dispensation and the Orientalist View about the Punjab**

### **Abstract**

This paper makes a synoptic view of the oriental representation of India between 13<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This period under review witnessed the advent of various travelers belonging to Spain, Portugal, Italy, Netherlands, France, Germany, United States and England. These travelers in their accounts discussed at length about India's polity, state, society, food, eating habits, religious conditions and ethnic configuration etc. The recurrent theme of this paper is the difference of perspectives in the travel accounts of the travelers before the 19<sup>th</sup> century and construction of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Punjab by the travelogues, as this period was also synchronized with the beginning of colonial project in India. Another theme of this paper as the title suggests sheds light on the socio-economic dispensation of the Punjab in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century as gleaned from the travel writings.

The information about the early travelers in India can be obtained from travelogues, writings of the contemporary historians, logs books, journals and other documents of Europeans travelers in India. After the advent of European trading companies in India, the letters of the employees of these companies also served as an important source of information. The earliest travelers to set foot on Indian soil was Marco Polo (1254-1324), 15<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the arrival of Vasco Da Gama, then the arrival of Barbosa, Father Monserrate, Ralf Fitch, Francis Barnier etc. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century the prominent travelers who wrote their travel accounts about the Indian society included William Hawkins, William Finch, Nicholas Downton, Jain Jourdain, Thomas Coryet, Nicholas Worthington and Thomas Roe. The 18<sup>th</sup> century was the arrival of Daniel Mognie, A. L. Polier, George Forester and James Brown. The major travelers of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century included Baron Charles Hugel, Henry Steinbach, V. Jacquemont, Soltykoff, Capt. V. Orlich, Moor Craft and Treback, H. T. princip, and John Wood.

The major themes highlighted by these travelers included monarchical dispensation, social milieu in India especially the cast system, the practice of Sati, Oriental despotism, Asiatic mode of production

Among the early sources of Indian history not only works on religion, drama and literature are to be counted but also accounts of some foreign travelers. They have preserved a graphic account of India during their period of travel. In the middle ages they were followed by Al-Beruni, Abdur Razzaq, Niketin and Barbosa.

During the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Indian chroniclers like Minhaj Siraj, Ziauddin Barni, Shams-Siraj and others have brought into account the movements of Turkish warlords, the exploits of their troops, the conquest of regions, rebellions of local *Zamindars*. But they have failed to notice the actual condition of the people, prices of commodities, the trade condition of the people, trade routs, manufacture,

customs of the people inhabiting different areas and their mode of behaviour. The gap would have remained un-bridged if Alberuni and Ibn-e-Batutah would not have recorded their experiences of stay in the sub-continent.

The travelers like many other Orientals, have mostly discussed the ruling sovereign. They have exaggerated the good points and tried to hide the deficiencies. Most of these travelers have very little sense of History as an exact science. They are lacking in the sense of historical perspective and we seldom meet a writer possessing the ability to reject information on the critical principles. From the point of view of the European reader, they have still more to be desired. Being themselves orientals and writings as they did for Indian readers. They not unnaturally assume in them familiarity with a number of local customs and the institutions of which the ordinary European has no knowledge what ever.

Stanely Lane-Poole has made a reference which can be applied to all European travelers. "In such a cloud of witnesses of varied ranks, professions and nationalities, truth divested of insular or continental prejudice, may severely be found. The body of information furnished by their journals, letters, and travelers is indeed of priceless value to the historian of India".<sup>1</sup>

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the number of European visitors to India was few and their audience scanty, both as regard value and amount. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the number was far larger, and their evidence proportionately more valuable. Though the monopolizing policy of the Portuguese were generally increasing the general curiosity of Europe.

The Europeans came in India and saw the society, people and political vacuum with keen interest. Though the conquest was reserved for the coming years, but they started collecting information and wrote books. 'Their books vary in value from the political philosophy of Bernier to the gossip of Ovington'.<sup>2</sup> But there is not one of them who is not some way increase our knowledge. The travel accounts of these travelers have their importance because they provide important information about the social institutions of the native Indians and the nature and influence of Indian government during the medieval and modern period of Indian history.

The information about the early travelers to India could be get from two sources. 'The "Principal Navigator" of Hakluytus posthumous or Purchase his pilgrims (1625), one can get information about these sources from the log books, journals and other documents of the European travelers of that period from all parts of the world.'<sup>3</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> class of authorities consists of the books in the shape of travel narratives, surveyors and letters of the employs of East India Company. They are mostly in India office but one can also find them in the British museum and the public record office.

### **Marco Polo**

It is important here to draw the images of India in the orientalist travelogues before 19<sup>th</sup> century. Marco Polo<sup>4</sup> (1254-1324 AD) in his travels of the Eastern countries in the 13<sup>th</sup> century tells the story of people he meets. He traveled by foot, horse and boat through places like Persia, the land of the Tartars, Tibet

and most important China and the silk route to the sub-continent. Though most of the narration of his account is about China and Kablia Khan but some information and detail about the Indian society can also be traced out in his account. About India he has written: "living the island of Zeilan and sailing in a westerly direction 60 miles, you reach the greater province of Malabar which is not an island but a part of the continent of greater India, as it is termed, being the noblest and richest country of the world".<sup>5</sup>

When Marco Polo reached the Coast of Malabar, this is how he has described the natives of Malabar: "The natives of this part of the country always go naked excepting that they cover with a piece of cloth those parts of the body which modesty dictates".<sup>6</sup>

Marco Polo has given some of the very interesting details about the places he visited. It is important here to quote his comments about the king of Malabar.

The king has at the least 500 wives and concubines, and when he sees a woman whose beauty pleases him, he immediately signifies his desire to possess her. In this manner he appropriated the wife of his brother, who being the discreet and sensible man, was prevailed upon not to make much noise about it.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the Indian habits have also come under his discussion. According to him a general habit of the people of India, he has discussed it in the following way. "Both men and women wash their bodies in water twice every day. That is in the morning and in the evening and the person who neglects this observance, would be regarded as heretic. It ought to be noticed that in eating they make use of right hand only, nor do they ever touch their foot with the left".<sup>8</sup>

## **VASCO DA GAMA**

Vasco Da Gama was a Portuguese adventurer who came to India in 1497. The little country of Portugal was foremost with the work of discovery. "Portugal had thrown at last and forever the domination of the Moors, and the heart of the nation beat high with the spirit of adventure while the noble prince Henry, the navigator (1394-1460), as he is called, discovery has become a ruling passion: to it he devoted life and fortune".<sup>9</sup>

On July 8, 1497 Vasco Da Gama<sup>10</sup> set sail from the mouth of the Tagas, and on May 20, on the following year, he landed at Calicut on Malabar coast. The local ruler, or Zamorin, gave him a friendly welcome and looked for profitable trade relations. He wrote to the king of Portugal: in my country there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves ginger, pepper and precious stones. What I seek from the country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet.<sup>11</sup>

During the seventy or eighty years that succeeded the first voyage of Vasco Da Gama to India a number of travelers visited India and left accounts of varying value. The majority of these writers shed light mainly on two kingdoms, that of Vijayanagar and Calicut. Though the earliest of these came to India some 60 years before the latest. They fall naturally into the same category and call for collective attention.

### **Ludovicodi Varthema**

“Ludovicodi Varthemas<sup>12</sup> traveled for the sake of travel and not for the sake political and commercial possibilities. His motives were two fold, curiosity and ambition. He visited India just before the Portuguese had obtained a firm footing in the country. And one of the most valuable portions of his narratives is that in which he sketches the states of the over land trade in the days before the discovery of an ocean rout to India had had time greatly to effect it. ‘Ludovicodi Varthemas left Europe at the end of 1502 and traveled via Cairo, Berut, Damascus, and Macca, reached Eden by voyage down the Red Sea.’<sup>13</sup>

Ludovicodi Varthemas left for Europe in 1507 on a Portuguese ship. He has written his account of travel with brief retrospect of the doings of the Portuguese in the east, and has written for them a brilliant future in the East.

### **Durate Barbosa**

Durate Barbosa came to India in 1508-09. He has given his observation about the manners and customs in a very intimate way, which gives a reader doubt that how he was able to collect information so deeply when the traveling was very difficult and slow. He has given the information about Gujrat, the Muslim kingdom of the Deccan, Vijiyanager, Balabar, and the retrospective towns to more Portuguese who came to India as traders and have left their accounts based on their observations. One was Domingos Paes who wrote his account about the year of 1520 and the other one was Fernao Nuniz who came probably 10 to 15 years later. These two documents were sent, as Mr Sewell, their translator says, “ By some at Goa to someone in Europe”. Their latter was almost certainly the historian barros who used the chronicles in completing his history”.<sup>14</sup>

**Father Monserrate**<sup>15</sup> who visited India between 1580 to 1582 has found the Indian society as a prosperous one. His views are important here to write about the city of Lahore. The city of Lahore, records he “is second to none either in Asia or in Europe with regards to size, population and wealth.”<sup>16</sup> He has written that merchants from all parts of the world crowded the city.

Father Monserrate has also written about the custom of Sati. He is of the view that these females are made more or less insensible by drugs. So they may not feel the pain. Sometimes they were hurried half drugged, to the pyre with warnings prayers and promises. If they hesitated they were driven forcibly to the fire and if they tried to leap out, pools and hooks held them down.<sup>17</sup>

**Ralph Fitch**,<sup>18</sup> who visited India from 1588 to 1591, is called the pioneer of English travelers in India. He has written about the people of India, their dresses and their appearance. The topics of child marriage, marriage ceremony, cremation of dead bodies, manners of floating dead bodies and Sati has come under his discussion. He has just discussed the way he found people. His remarks are not disgracing as one can see the writings of the travelers during 19<sup>th</sup> century, at the peak time of colonialism.

**William Hawkins**<sup>19</sup> came in India in 1608 and remained there till 1613. Foster published his account as *Early travels in India* in 1921. He has discussed and has given a detailed commentary about the Mughal Court, the King, his

routine life and the general Indian society. He has also discussed the topics like Sati and the Indian punishments etc. Hawkins had not seen Sati as he has not described the ceremony but gives an account of the permission granted by the emperor.

**William Finch**<sup>20</sup> visited India from 1608 to 1611. He came along with Hawkins in August 1608 and remained in charge of the English stores there till his chief sent him to Agra. According to his views Lahore was one of the greatest cities of the East. He has written that the main town was enclosed with a strong brick wall having twelve gates, nine on the landside and three on the river. It shows he has given a beautiful description of the city, which a reader cannot find during the days of colonialism.

#### **Nicholas Downton 1608-1615**

Nicholas Downton<sup>21</sup> has written about the eating habits of the Muslims, he has written that the Muslims enjoyed more liberally and ate meat except that of swine. He has written that the Muslims also drank wine more liberally but only at nights. This comment probably refers only to the noble class because mostly the Muslim community do not drink wine or any alcoholic drink.

Further he has also discussed the dresses of the Muslims, the general interest of the princes, nobles and the king. These nobles hunt antelopes and wild boar. The comments of Nicholas Downton are also important about the Muslim women. For example he has discussed how the Muslim travel and also their songs and style of singing. In his view they "sing most melodiously with such elevated and shrill voices, strained into the highest, yet sweet and tunable, rising and falling according to their art and skill...."<sup>22</sup> He has written that I have kept myself hours awake, listening to them, anticipating in my desires the new moons which they constantly thus celebrate.<sup>23</sup>

#### **John Jourdain**

John Jourdain<sup>24</sup> has given his comments about the houses of the nobles and has written that most of the houses were scattered as if these nobles were "afraid of one another".<sup>25</sup> In the houses of the nobles their horses and their servants were also stationed. He has also given the description of the houses of the poor and has said that most of these houses were made of straw and if these houses were not taken care properly "they consumed by fire once or twice a year".<sup>26</sup>

Jourdain has also explained the interest of the emperor in the foreign people or the European Christians, to be more exact. He has further written that India was a free country in the views of the king and the king grant him to travel in the country freely, without any pass, which he wanted to get from the king. The king said that it was needless and he can travel freely as he likes.

#### **Thomas Coryet 1612-1617**

Thomas Coryet 1612-1617<sup>27</sup> has written an elaborate account of his Indian tour. At the time of his death it was with him. Since that it is lost. His crudities have been published in three volumes. Mr. Foster has also published some extracts in the Early Travels in India. Coryet has given his comments about

the road, which leads from Lahore to Agra. The road from Lahore to Agra was good according to him and planted along its sides with rows of trees.

Further he has appreciated and elaborated the activities of the emperor, Jahangir. For example the activities at Ghul Khana, the elephant's fight, the Jharoka Durshan, the weighing ceremony and the Meena Bazar.

### **Nicholas Worthington**

Nicholas Worthington<sup>28</sup> came to India in 1612 he has written the observation about the Indian society. About Sati he has written that when a Rajput died his wife burnt herself with her husband. He says that these women think that they will be accompanying their husbands soon. He further says, "It is to be admired, being loose and not bound". Worthington has written that he has seen many cases of Sati, but one, which struck him most, was the first of its kind when the victim was only five years old. And had not even shared her bed with her husband. Her husband was a soldier and had died in the battle. They brought back his turban and she decided to become a Sati. She went in procession to the place of cremation with her husband's turban by her side. Then the whole incident is given by Nicholas Worthington<sup>29</sup>. Worthington was so grieved and amazed at the undaunted resolution of the young women that he had decided, he would never see more burnt in that fashion while he lived.<sup>30</sup>

As regards to the enforcement of the rites of the Sati, he writes, "the kindred of the husband that dies never forced the wife to burnt her self, but her own kindred hobbling it a great disgrace to their family, if she denied to be burnt." He further says that if a poor creature feeling the scorching heat should run away, she was caught hold of by her own parents, bound and thrown into the pit. "but the weaknesses seldom happened amongst them".<sup>31</sup> About the unburnt widows Worthington has written that those who refuse to burn themselves, shaved their hair and broke their jewels; they were hereafter not allowed to eat, drink or keep company with anybody. Thus they lived miserably till their death.

About the Indian marriages he says that they are married in very young age and the marriage feast continued for many days, according to the wealth of the concerned parties. And at the age of ten they are allowed to fulfill the responsibilities of their married life.

### **Sir Thomas Roe**

Sir Thomas Roe<sup>32</sup> came to India in 1615. He has given his views about the royal ladies. Roe was lucky to snatch a glimpse of the ladies of the royal Haram at the Jharoka. He describes the incident thus:

At one side of the window were two his principal wives, whose curiosities made them brake little holes in a grate of reed that hung before it to gaze at me. I saw first their fingers and after laying their faces close now. Sometime I could discern the full proportion. They were indefinitely white, black hair smoothed up, but their diamonds and pearls had scuffed to show them. When I looked up they retired and were so marry that I supposed that they laughed at me.<sup>33</sup>

About the religious belief of Jahangir, Thomas Roe has written that “the present king bread up without any religion at all, continuous so to this hower and is an atheist... he is content with all religions, only he loves non that Changeth.”<sup>34</sup> There is a detailed description by Roe about the king, his Darbar, the humour of the king, the activities of the king, how he meets to the nobles and how he accepts an invitation from a noble. He had written about Prince Khurram, Khusrow, the birth day of the Emperor, the Nawruz of 11<sup>th</sup> March 1616 and many other things relating to the king.

Roe has mentioned that he had taken permission, before hand, to wear the dress of his own country. This fact shows that permission was needed for the representatives of the foreign powers to appear in the Court in the costumes of their motherland.

Roe was invited by Mir Jamal-ud-Din Hassan to take food at his place. This sat on carpets; two separate banqueting sets were prepared. For their meal cloth was spread on the ground. A few spaces apart from Roe’s set, another arrangement was made in the same style. This is how he has explained the royal dinner and its manners in India:

For the gentle men that accompanied him, to whom I went to eat, they holding it a kind of unseemliness to mingle with us. The protest from Roe that his host has promised to eat with him brought Mir Jamal-ud-Din Hassan to his table. The dinner was composed of dishes of divers, sorts, reasons, almonds, pistachios and fruits. In the night again two cloths were spread, at one sat Roe with his Chaplin, Joh hall, and another merchant, and on the other the host with his guest. Different dishes of sallettes, meet roast and different types of rice, fried and boiled, were laid before them.<sup>35</sup>

The early policy of the English has never been better stated than by Sir Thomas Roe, the was ambassador at the Mughal court from 1612 to 1615 and attempted to secure the regular commercial treaty between the Emperor of India and the King of England. This he found to be impossible. In 1616, he wrote in a letter of advice to the directors of company:

A war and traffic are incompatible. It is the beggaring of the Portugal, notwithstanding his many rich residencies and territories, that he keeps soldiers that it...it hath been also the error of the Dutch, who seek plantation hereby the Sword...let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, seek it at sea and in quite trade’. This was Rao’s doctrine of peaceful commerce, carried on with the permission and under the protection of the Indian powers.<sup>36</sup>

During the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century the influx of foreign travelers increased. Their number swelled and their spirit of adventure increased during that period. Moreover the age of capitalism has already begun in the west. Most of the European nations were establishing their warehouses in the east. They called them *factories*. These were managed by their own men, who, after a few years stay in India or in the east, went back to their homeland, recorded their experiences and

published them. No doubt their account became an important source material for social history of that period. By the middle of 18<sup>th</sup> century their number and also their coverage was increased. Many travelers accepted the service of Mughal Darbar and attached themselves there. That's why every travelogue of that era gives the description of Mughal court and Kings. Still the value of the material, furnished by the travelers of that era, has not diminished.

The European people who wrote about the Punjab and its people in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the prominent among them were Daniel Moginie<sup>37</sup>, A. L. Polier, George Forester and James Brown. The questions which they have addressed are: who are Sikhs? What is their religion? How they became prominent? What is the role of religion in their power? Who are the prominent casts in the religion of the Sikhs? Are they a power of Jat or Gujjar community? Etc. the orientalist travelers have given the answer of these questions in their writings. Most of them are of the view that there is equality in the social system of the Sikhs. Their government is called Khalsa Gee and there is simplicity in the dress and their food. Their Sardars have encouraged the agriculture and cloth industry. Their soldiers are healthy and brave but lacked in discipline. They are found of drinking and are cruel by nature. They are like a abuse for India but the danger is that they will be a power in the coming days.<sup>38</sup>

It was this type of information which these orientalist travelers were collecting about the Punjab and its people to fulfill the western colonial agenda in the Sub-continent.

The term Oriental despotism is a 'Eurocentric' construct and generalizes about the nature of state power in the world other than Europe. In the writings of the orientalist travelogues the oriental rulers has been depicted as despotic rulers. Francis Burnier, a French Physician who visited India between 1656 to 1668, is of the opinion, "the reason why such names are given to the great, instead of the titles derived from domains seignories, as usual in Europe, is this: as the land throughout the whole empire is considered the property of the sovereign. There can be no earldoms, Marquises or duchies. The royal grants consist only of pension, either in land or money, which the king gives, arguments, retrenches or takes away as pleasure."<sup>39</sup> Burnier who had great interest in political and speculative philosophy, argued that Mughals had established strong control over their territories. Their hospitality to the foreigners especially ambassadors reflected their 'grandeur and power'.<sup>40</sup>

In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was Sikh rule in the Punjab; the East India Company was controlling the economy as well as the politics of India. Till 1939 Punjab was a separate independent state under the rule of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh. The orientalist writers in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century have written about the Socio-economic dispensation of the Punjab. V. Jacquemont<sup>41</sup> has discussed the forced labour in the Punjab "In India it is exactly the opposite. The villages in the remote district suffer from the oppression of their masters only, while those near a main road are liable to supply forced labour to anyone who has the power to make them".<sup>42</sup>



Steinbach<sup>43</sup> in his book *The Punjab* has written that the Punjab is characterized by administrative disarray, cruel taxation, vicious corruption, the exactions of a 'rabble soldiery', peasant misery, and mercantile paralysis.<sup>44</sup> The same can be applied to its dependencies according to Jacquemont. particularly Kahsmir which suffers 'Sikh tyranny and mis-government.'<sup>45</sup> Because the existing government of the Punjab was plainly unable to remedy the disastrous state of affairs the British must accept the responsibility of doing so by means of annexation and the imposition of despotic justice.

The topics like forced labour, exploitation of revenue collectors heavy taxation etc has come in the description of the Punjab in the writings of these orientalist writers. Jacquemont has further written the grievances of the common people as a result of high land tax. His views are also worth mentioning regarding the forced labour, a kind of slavery, which according to him exists all over India. In the dominion of the company the taxation was light being 2/5<sup>th</sup> of the gross produce of the soil, and this is regularly paid. While the same moderation and fairness has not obtained in all the Sikhs states, so far as the poor are concerned then the large British territories round them.

About the forced labour, Jacquemont has given more comments and is of the view that 'forced labour on the land, a state bordering on that of slavery, exist all over India, in the British possessions as in the states, for the majority of the cultivators, who are in arrears with their taxes'.<sup>46</sup>

In the views of these orientalist writers revenue collectors exploit the common people of the Punjab. For example Jacquemont has written that such a rule would have no hardship in Europe, where the share of the state is only a fraction of the produce of the soil, but, in India, where the land taxes are relatively much higher because they present at one time both the income which the proprietor receives as his share together with the tax levied upon the same, it was far different. It frequently happens that the share claimed by government exceeds what is left of the gross produce, after paying the expenses of cultivation. This absurd system, which was very convenient for the officers employed in assessing the revenue, ruins and depopulates those areas in which the soil is poor, as it renders their cultivation impossible, while favouring at the same time those areas more naturally fertile.

In the social description of the Punjab, the orientalist writers have written about the women prostitution in the main cities of the Punjab. Jacquemont has described that the gold ornaments which they wear on their foreheads, or hanging from their nostrils, disfigures them from European point of view; but the fact remains that the prostitutes in European countries are not nearly so attractive. Public opinion does not regard them as degraded, as one can find in Europe.

The Orientalist writers before colonialism appreciated the economic activity in the main cities of the Punjab but one can see a clear difference in their views during colonial period. In the Views of V. Jacquemont 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; all the evil of these tiny factories, for most of the merchants

manufacture themselves in front of their shops the articles they sell, either vases or ornaments of copper, sweetmeats, or vile pastry, or dyes; bulls, cows, goats and donkeys wandering freely about.<sup>47</sup>

Another recurrent theme regarding the Punjab is the description of Sikh religion. In the book of Steinbach there is total dependence on J. Malcolm for most of the commentary on the Sikhs, *'The Religion of the Sikhs'*, a dependence which he exploits with his customary carelessness and erratic discretion. We are, for example, informed that Guru Nanak (ob. 1539) raised to prominence 'in the early part of the eighteenth century'.<sup>48</sup> Whereas Malcolm correctly has the succession from Nanak pass to 'a Cshatriya of the Trehun tribe, called Lehana...honoured with the name of Angad',<sup>49</sup> Steinbach converts the second Guru Nanak into 'a low caste man, named Lehara', known thereafter as 'Argad'.<sup>50</sup> Although there can be no doubt that Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs was before him as he wrote the use which he actually made of his single source was slipshod in the extreme.

It would thus be very difficult to extract from Steinbach's treatment a clear impression of what Sikhs really believe. When, however, he turns from belief to behaviour he attains a degree of clarity at once uncharacteristic and significant. A passage quoted directly from Malcolm appears to have been selected for this closing sentence. There is, Malcolm declares, "Hardly an infamy which this debauched and dissolute race are not accused, and I believe with justice, of committing in the most open and shameful manner"<sup>51</sup>

There are other references found in oriental travelogues of 19<sup>th</sup> century Punjab which shed light on the cultural traits, eating habits and ethnographic features of the Punjab society. According to Steinbach the Sikh or Punjabis, who form the mass of the regular resident population as distinct from the fluctuating visitors, are a handsome race of men, resembling Hindus in general, but with a finer muscular development, and a more robust appearance, arising from the superiority of their climate, and the use of more generous diet than the people of British India allow themselves.

He has further written about the eating habits of the people of Punjab, especially the Sikhs. In their diet the Sikhs are extremely simple. Rice and attah, a coarse kind of flour, constitute the staple of their food, to which they add the flesh of fowls, fish, condiments, and spices, milk, vegetables, and fruits. Beef is interdicted, and mutton is sparingly used. They are much given, however, to use the intoxicating liquors, and can resist 'potations, bottle deep,' of a fiery spirit, a very small dose of which would overthrow an Englishman.

In the eighth chapter of the book, Steinbach has quoted a paper of Captain Murray written about the customs of the Sikhs in respect to successions to property and the possessions of lands. In this paper Captain Murray has given his views about the general Punjab society. In his views bloodshed between Zemindars, in boundary dispute, was sometimes atoned for giving a nata, or daughter, in marriage to a relative of the deceased, or commuted to the payment of 150 to 200 rupees, or 125 beegahs of land. "In general, however, revenge is sought, and the Khoon-buha, or price of blood deemed insufficient satisfaction, particularly when a mother has to lament the loss of favourite child, or a wife of a family, the bereavement of a husband."<sup>52</sup>

In respect to succession to property, Murray has written about the place of women in the Punjabi society. Amongst all the Jat families, and some other of the lower classes in the Punjab, a custom prevails, on the demise of one brother leaving a widow, for a surviving brother to take his sister-in-law to wife. The offspring by the connection are legitimate, and entitled to succeed to a share of all the landed and personal property.

It is optional with the widow to take either the eldest (Jeth) or the youngest, who is generally preferred and deemed most suitable. Should she determine to relinquish worldly ideas, and to reside chaste in her father- in- law's house, she may adopt this course; but such instances are very rare, particularly in the case of young females, and are not to be looked for in a society and amongst tribes notorious for the laxity of their morals, and for the degeneracy of their conceptions.<sup>53</sup>

From the above discussion we may argue that a patent and obvious difference may be observed in the orientalist travelogues in the medieval and the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It substantiates the fact that travelogues are not the 'accounts of reality' but in fact were the constructs of East by the Europeans. These were produced under a specific colonial project which evolved, developed and synchronized with the rise of enlightened ideas and the industrial revolution. The latter gave rise to imperialism which is normally described as by product of industrial revolution. The proto-type of barbarians, savage, underdeveloped, unrealistic, irrational, mad civilization, sleeping rationality and so many others constructs acquired popular coinage during this particular period.

<http://www.amazon.com/Information-Cambridge-Studies-History-Society/dp/0521663601> C. A. Bayly

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup>Stanley Lane Poole, Medieval India under Muhammadan Rule, (New Deldi: Low Price publications, 1990), p.294

<sup>2</sup>E. F. Oaten, European Trevllers in India,(Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2000). P. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Selections from Journal of the Punjab Historical Society 2, Zulfiqar Ahmad, Ed., Punjab, (Lahore, Sanag-e- meel publications Chowk urdu Bazar), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>Marco Polo (1254 –1324) is chosen as one of the ten best adventure book of all times by the national geographic adventure, the travels of Marco Polo remains a wondrous and exciting story. Chronicling the 13<sup>th</sup> century world from his birth place Venice to the far reaches of Asia, Marco Polo tells of people he meets as he travels by foot, horse and boat through places like Persia, the land of the Tartars, Tibet and most important China and the silk route to the sub-continent. In china he stays at the court of Kablia Khan, venturing to the capital city Beiging. He records small details of domestic life as well as commenting on how medicine is practiced and how marriages are arranged. Engaging with the people who follow Islam and Buddism he perceives their religions as best he can through the lens of his own Christianity and he regales the reader with the great battles fought during Kablia Khan reign. During his way back, he visited India through the silk route.

<sup>5</sup>Marco Polo, translated and edited Manuel Komroff, The Travels of Marco Polo, (New York: Liveright publishing corporation, 1953), p. 285.

<sup>6</sup>Marco Polo, translated and edited Manuel Komroff, The Travels of Marco Polo, (New York: Liveright publishing corporation, 1953), p. 286.

<sup>7</sup>Marco Polo, translated and edited Manuel Komroff, The Travels of Marco Polo, (New York: Liveright publishing corporation, 1953), p. 287.

<sup>8</sup>Marco Polo, translated and edited Manuel Komroff, The Travels of Marco Polo, (New York: Liveright publishing corporation, 1953), p. 289.

<sup>9</sup>E W Thompson, History of India, (Dehli: Srishti Book Distributor, 2004), p.239-40.

<sup>10</sup>The expedition of Portuguese in 1497, led by Vasco Da Gama dropped slowly to the sea for the Indian expedition. Ten months later it came to the port of Calicut. And a sea rout of India was discovered. It was a change of world main stream commerce, which started from that point. Vasco Da Gama was the person who discovered the Indian sea rout.

<sup>11</sup>E W Thompson, History of India, (Dehli: Srishti Book Distributor, 2004), p.240-41.

<sup>12</sup>Ludovicodi Varthemas was native of Bologna. He came to India in 1502 and traveled not only in India but almost all the countries in overland routs and wrote a record of his observations which have been appreciated a lot and various times has been translated. Originally it was written in Italian and has been translated in five modern languages as well as Latin.

<sup>13</sup>E. F. Oaten, European Trevllers in India,(Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2000). P. 64.

<sup>14</sup>E. F. Oaten, European Trevllers in India,(Delhi: Low Price Publications, 2000). P. 69.

<sup>15</sup>Farther Monserrate was born in the year of 1536 at Catalonia. He was admitted to the Society of Jesus in 1588 and became the prefect of studies at Lisbon in 1569. He embarked for India in 1574 and was elected to accompany father Acquaviva to Emperor Akbar's court in 1578. At Agrah Monserrate was appointed tutor to Prince Murad. He accompanied Akbar

on latter's Kabul campaign. He could not proceed beyond Jalalabad on account of bad health but returned with the army back to Lahore. He was next posted at Salsette, where he died on 15<sup>th</sup> march 1600, at the age of 60.

<sup>16</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), p. 03.

<sup>17</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> In 1583 Ralph Fitch started from England in the tiger with Newsburry reaching in Aleppo. After a short stay he started for Basra and reached there on 6<sup>th</sup> August. From Basra, Newburry Fitch and Leeds sailed for Hurmuzed. Here the jealousy of an Italian merchant lead to their arrest at the hands of Portuguese, they hauled them as spies and took them prisoners to Goa.

<sup>19</sup> William Hawkins early life is not known, this is certain he was not a sea captain, he was a mere merchant and servant of east India company. He was not in any way related to the famous British Pirate. He came in India in 1608 and remained there till 1613.

<sup>20</sup> William Finch's early life is known very little in the academic annals. This much is certain that he was the servant of Master Johnson at Cheap side. He landed in Surat with Hawkins in August 1608. he left Surat by January 1610 and arrived in the Metropolis Mughal empire in month of April. Foster has published his account in small volume entitled "the early travel in India" (Oxford, 1921).

<sup>21</sup> Nicholas Downtown was engaged in the service of East India Company in 1610 his journal was published in the Hakluyat society publication series. Mr. Forester has edited his work.

<sup>22</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), pp. 53-54.

<sup>23</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), p. 54.

<sup>24</sup> Little is discoverable of Jourdain,s life prior to his acceptance of the service of East India Company. Either he was born in middle of 1572 or in te early 1573. his father died in the autumn of 1588. before 1607 most of the time of Jourdain,s life was spent in trade voyages to Portugal or to her colonies. He gave up his independent career and enlisted himself among the servants of the newly formed East India company either due to his failing business or due to the attraction of trade.

<sup>25</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), p. 49.

<sup>26</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), p. 49.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Coryet 1612-1617 was educated in Oxford. In 1608 he undertook a walking tour of the continent, visiting a part of france, notherb Italy, Switzerland and Germany. An account of his European travels was published in 1611. encouraged thus, he undertook a journey to the orient. In October 1612 he started his journey and reached Constantinople in april 1613. in 1614 he started his gret trip towards eastwards. Near the Indian frontier he met sir Robert and lady Shirley. Parting their company he traveled to Agrah via Multan, Lahore and Delhi. Then he went Ajmir where the emperor was staying. He reached the chief city of Rajputana in july 1615. his journey from Aleppo to Ajmir took ten months.

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When Roe came to India he joined him. He spent 14 months at Ajmir. Roe went on his journey to the south and Coryet left him to visit Agrah, where he arrived on September 12, 1616 when plague was raging in the capital city of the mughal empire. Later he joined Roe at Mandu. Coryet went to Surat, where he died in the month of December 1617 and was buried there.

<sup>28</sup> Nicholas Worthington (1612-1616) early career is unknown he came to India and was taken in service of the Company. Probably he spoke Arabic and this mainly helped him to get the new post. He remained at Surat performing his duties and learning the local languages. He was sent to Agra to make an investment in indigo. He came to Agra in 1614, his stay in the capital was not peaceful. In 1615 he was accused of defrauding the Company. He was carried to Ajmir in irons and from there he was sent to Surat in chance. At Surat he was failed to prove his innocence. Then he was sent to England and probably he died before April 1624.

<sup>29</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), pp. 57-58.

<sup>30</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), p. 58.

<sup>31</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), p. 58.

<sup>32</sup> Sir Thomas Roe (1615-1619) was born at Leyton in 1580 or 1581 A.D. His father died when he was a minor. His mother married again in the famous Berkeley family. He joined the Mega Delen College Oxford in 1593. He was made squire of the body of the Queen Elizabeth and two years later he was knighted by her successor. In the parliament of 1614, he sat as member from Tomworth. He was chosen as an ambassador to the court of Mughals by the directors of the East India Company. They decided to bear all his expenses. He was furnished with a letter of credence by James. He reached Ajmir on 23 Dec 1615 and presented himself in the Darbar in January 1615-16.

<sup>33</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), p. 63.

<sup>34</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), p. 64.

<sup>35</sup> Mohammad Azhar Insari, European Travelers Under the Mughals (1580-1627), (Delhi: Idarah-I-Adabiyat-I-Delhi,1975), pp. 73-74.

<sup>36</sup> E W Thompson, History of India, (Dehli: Srishti Book Distributor, 2004), p.285.

<sup>37</sup> Daniel Moginie 1738-49 was a Swiss adventurer, who came to India. He is said to have died in Agrah on May 22, 1749, at the age of 39 years. He is also said to have been governor of the Punjab. On December 1729 he arrived at Bander Abbasi and offered his services to the Afghan king Azraf, then at Shiraz, then to Thamas, who was at a distance. Moginie then collected a force of 200 men and offered his services to Thomas Kuli Khan. From February 1730 onwards Moginie was for some years continually near the Persian general, he accompanied him in his expedition, rendered him as he says important services and rose higher and higher in his favour. His narratives of the events of that era are very important.

<sup>38</sup> Dr. Mubarak Ali (Ed.), British Authors and the Sikh historiography, Tareekh 11: Book serial of Fiction House, (Lahore: Fiction house), p.234.

<sup>39</sup> Francis Burnies, Travels in the Mughal Empire (1656-1668), (Lodon: Archibald Constable & Company, 1891). P. 05

<sup>40</sup> Burnier writes: ‘The great Mughal is in the habit of detaining all ambassadors as long as can be reasonably done, from the idea that its becoming his grandeur and power, to receive the homage of foreigners and to number them among the attendants of his court’. Ibid., p.128.

<sup>41</sup> Jacquemont, a French scientist came in India in 1830. He has extensively written his ideas about the Punjabi society, its people, customs and general locations of Punjabi towns. Originally he has written in French but his work is been translated by L.H.O Garrett who has also pointed out some of the mistakes made by the Jacquemont in his writing about the history of Punjab.

<sup>42</sup> 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.4.

<sup>43</sup> Henry Steinbach served under Ranjeet Singh and his successors from 1835 or 1836 until 1851. ‘The Punjab’ written by Henry Steinbach is a unique book of its time. It is a travel narrative at the same time it is an informative book of history. This book is a compendium of a comprehensive range of information relating to the Sikh kingdom. Its true importance lies in the fact that it represents opinions of the British in India at that time. Despite its Prussian origin, Steinbach consciously identifies himself with the British in terms of opinion and purpose. The book presents a justification for the annexation of the Punjab, a policy that was accomplished in 1849 within four years of the first appearance of this book.

<sup>44</sup> Steinbach, The Punjab, pp. 92, 93.

<sup>45</sup> Steinbach, The Punjab, p. 89.

<sup>46</sup> Jacquemont, The Punjab a hundred year ago, p.5.

<sup>47</sup> Jacquemont, The Punjab a hundred year ago,57.

<sup>48</sup> Steinbach, The Punjab, p. 153.

<sup>49</sup> Brigadier General John Malcolm, Sketch of the Sikhs, in Asiatick Researches, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1810), p. 208.

<sup>50</sup> Steinbach, The Punjab, p. 155.

<sup>51</sup> Steinbach, p. 161. Malcolm, p. 264.

<sup>52</sup> Steinbach, The Punjab, p.120.

<sup>53</sup> Steinbach, The Punjab, pp. 125-126.