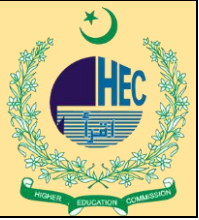




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Print ISSN: [3006-2497](#) Online ISSN: [3006-2500](#)Platform & Workflow by: [Open Journal Systems](#)<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.16911708>**Constructing the 'Other': Pakistani Nationalist Historians' Perspective on Hinduism****Saima Kanwal***

Assistant Professor of History, Government Girls Postgraduate College No. 1 Abbottabad

saimakanwal668@gmail.com**Muhammad Arshid**

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Government Postgraduate College,

Mansehra

arzishtqau05@gmail.com**Dr. Tanvir Jamal**

Lecturer, COMSATS University, Islamabad, Abbottabad Campus

ABSTRACT

For centuries, Muslims and Hindus coexisted in South Asia with relative harmony, experiencing only occasional and minor disputes. However, during the colonial period, the divide between the two communities deepened significantly, largely as a result of British policies that encouraged communal differentiation. This article, employing a descriptive and axiological research method, examines the emergence of nationalist Muslim historiography in South Asia, particularly its anti-Hindu tendencies and its broader critique of Hinduism. It further explores the key characteristics of Pakistani nationalist historiography, investigating why Muslim historians adopted such a nationalist framework and what consequences this approach has had for historical narratives, identity formation, and intercommunal relations. By providing a critical and detailed analysis, this study represents a pioneering attempt to rigorously assess the ideological foundations and implications of nationalist Muslim historiography in Pakistan. This research is an endeavor to seek the answer of broader question that, how did colonial policies and subsequent nationalist agendas shape the development of Muslim historiography in South Asia, and what impact did this have on the portrayal of Hinduism and Hindu-Muslim relations?

Keywords: Nationalist, Hindu, Muslim, Sufi, Historians, Approach.

Introduction

Muslims ruled India for almost eight hundred years; along with various other disciplines, they excelled in history-writing under the patronage of their Muslim rulers. The advent of the British affected not only the political and economic structure of India, but its historiography and historiographical traditions. The British historians started writing history of South Asia according to their understanding and criticized the Indian rulers in order to justify their own rule. The Indian nationalist historiography emerged in reaction to Cambridge School of historiography. The Indian nationalist historians started writing history in order to glorify their past. Nevertheless, after the

creation of Pakistan, Muslim nationalist historians continued to write the history of Muslim India, called Muslim nationalist historiography.

In many non-Western countries, particularly in the colonized regions, nationalist historiography emerged as a reaction to the Western imperialism. The perspective and approach characterized by biased narratives of the colonizers about the subjected and colonized people is termed as 'Orientalism'. In South Asia, the British intellectuals and historians, through their narratives, played a vital role in sustaining a huge empire for almost a century. Till India's independence in 1947, Indian historiography was by and large marked with orientalist trends. Orientalism created sharp distinction between the East and the West. According to Edward Said, it was used by the European imperialists as a tool to legitimize their rule in the colonized lands.¹

In India, the British Orientalists, including the historians of the Cambridge school of historiography, began to work on the project of writing Indian history with the purpose of demonizing its past, as can be seen in the works of James Mills (1773-1836).² He advocated slavery arguing that the Hindu Civilization was crude. According to him, the British rule stabilized India and did what was good for her.³ Mills' book became a textbook at Haileybury College.⁴ V. A. Smith (1843-1920) believed that the Indians lacked the ability to unite and rule themselves and, therefore, it was the responsibility of the British to rule over Indians and modernize their society.⁵

Surprisingly, in Orientalist historiography, many Indian achievements in the fields of mathematics, philosophy, and astronomy were wrongly attributed to the Greeks; many historians started working on Indian history in the first half of the twentieth century. Similarly, Romesh Chandra Dutt's *Civilization in Ancient India* (1889) was the first nationalist history of India. R. K. Mukherjee's *A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity* and *The Fundamental Unity of India* were written in response to the Orientalists. With these versions, Indian nationalist historiography had some methodological defects such as use of selective data and unapologetic praise of ancient India which created communalism in Indian society in the long run. The Hindu historians described the heroic struggles of the Rajputs against the Muslims in an exaggerated way which, in turn, created gulf between the two communities.

Emergence of Muslim Nationalist Historiography in Response to Indian Nationalist Historiography:

The emergence of Indian nationalist historiography in reaction to the Cambridge school of historiography invoked some of the Muslim intellectuals and historians fear of assimilation of Muslim culture and history in the over-whelming Hindu majority. Moreover, in reaction to Indian nationalists' assault on Islam and the Muslim rulers of medieval India, the Muslim historians began to glorify history of the Muslim rule in India. During the first half of the twentieth century, the uncompromising attitude of the Hindus, Hindu Mahasabha and the Indian National Congress forced the Muslims to realize their distinct nationality on the basis of religion, and subsequently demand a separate state.⁶ Thus, the Muslim nationalist historiography emerged as a reaction to the Indian nationalist historiography in South Asia.⁷

The transfer of power from the Muslims to the British resulted in abrupt changes in the socio-political, economic, and administrative fields of the country. Muslims were reduced to a subjugated status by the British.⁸ After the creation of Pakistan, Muslim nationalist historians glorified the Muslim rule in India. Since cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity seemed threats to nationalism, therefore religion was over-signified as the only binding force of nationalism so as

to create social integration. The Muslim nationalist historians tried their best to serve the national purpose of creating national unity and integration among the people. They propagated the Two-Nation Theory in order to justify the creation of Pakistan. And well-known historians of Pakistan participated enthusiastically to contribute for Muslims of South Asia.

Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi (1903-1981) is deemed as the founder of Muslim nationalist historiography in Pakistan, he taught history in Delhi, Punjab and Columbia universities. He was one of the close associates of Muhammad Ali Jinnah. He propagated nationalism on the basis of religion. He criticizes all those attempts which aimed at creating unity among Hindus and Muslims.⁹ He argues that Islam is an anti-thesis to Hinduism.¹⁰ Qureshi has many books to his credit; these include *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, *The Pakistani Way of Life*, *Pakistan as an Islamic Democracy*, *The Muslim community of Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, and *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*.

Sheikh Muhammad Ikram (1908-1971) was another renowned Muslim nationalist historian who followed the footsteps of I. H. Qureshi. His famous works are *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India* (1950), *Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan* (1964), and *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan 1858-1951* (1970). His works elucidate the differences between Muslims and Hindus in the history of India overemphasizing separatism between two communities. In *Muslim Rule in India and Pakistan* (1966), he argues that the Hindus and the Muslims are altogether different communities living in separate quarters.¹¹ He praises the actions of Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi (d. 1624) and emperor Aurangzeb (d. 1707) and condemns the religious innovations of Akbar (d. 1605).

Abdul Hamid, another Muslim nationalist historian, also emphasized the separate identity of the Muslims in India. His book *Muslim Separatism in British India: A Brief Survey, 1858-1947* (1967) describes the feelings of insecurity among Muslims due to the overwhelming majority of Hindus under the British rule. He also postulates that Hindu nationalist historians played significant role in twisting the historical facts.¹² Khalid Bin Sayeed's (1927-2011), major writings include *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948* (1968), *The Political System of Pakistan* (1969), and *Politics in Pakistan* (1980). According to Sayeed, the Hindus and Muslims had been co-existing ever since the Muslims came to India. The separatist movements and trends sprouted out in Muslim community during the British rule. These trends could have been avoided only through constitutional guaranties reforms. Not given such a guarantee, the Muslims of India, owing to their fear of Hindu domination, demanded a separate state for them.¹³

Hafiz Malik is another Pakistani nationalist historian. His works include *Muslim Nationalism in India and Pakistan* (1963) and *Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Muslim Modernization in India* (1980). He tried to find out the origin of Muslim nationalism with the arrival of Muslim conquerors and described Ghaznavid rule in Punjab as the first Pakistan. He portrayed the history of India as a perpetual conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims which remained unresolved till 1947.¹⁴

Aziz Ahmed's (1914-1978) major works include: *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (1964) and *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan* (1969). He traces the origin of Muslim identity to the early Muslim empire of Middle East. According to Aziz Ahmed, Delhi Sultanate was part of the universal Muslim Caliphate, and nature of Islam did not allow the Muslims of India to assimilate in the local communities.¹⁵ There are some other renowned historians who followed the footsteps of I. H. Qureshi and highlighted the ideological factor

between the two communities including Waheed-uz-Zaman, Sheikh Abdur Rashid, Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed, N. A. Baloch and Muhammad Aslam.

Salient Characteristics of Muslim Nationalist Historiography:

The Muslim nationalist historiography in Pakistan sets a few themes and principles for achieving their objectives, such as, creating national integration and chauvinism in the country. Its major characteristics are as follows:

Religion as a Basis of Muslim Nationalism:

Unlike the territorial nationalism in the West which was based on same culture, language and shared territory and history, the Muslim nationalism in Pakistan is based on religion. The Muslim nationalist historians overemphasized the religious factor arguing that although the Muslims in India belong to different ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups, they are a single nation on the basis of same ideology. Therefore, Islam is the binding force of Muslim nationalism.¹⁶ Muslim nationalist historiography overstressed the ideological factor behind the establishment of Pakistan despite the fact that majority of traditional Muslim scholars criticized the concept of nationalism which was against the spirit of Islam. For instance, Abul Ala Maududi (1903-1979), opposed the idea of Muslim nationalism in India and declared it un-Islamic.¹⁷

Two Nation Theory and Hindu-Muslim Differences:

Muslim nationalist historiography claims that Islamic concept of nationalism is based on the spiritual and moral relationship of the Muslims. Islam provides maximum opportunities to its adherents for development of their personality without discriminating on the basis of caste, race, and color.¹⁸ According to the two-nation theory, it was the birth right of the Muslims of India to demand a separate state. Al-Beruni, having spent several years in India, enumerated the differences between Hindus and Muslims in terms of their religious beliefs, modes of worship, social behavior, customs, language and dress, and came to the conclusion that Hindus and Muslims were two different people having nothing in common except for living in the same country.¹⁹ For justifying the two-nation theory, the Muslim nationalist historians emphasized the conflict between the Hindus and Muslims and undermined cohesion and cooperation between the two communities in India.²⁰

Saeeduddin Dar maintains "Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, and literature. They neither intermarry, nor inter-dine together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions."²¹ Jamil ud Din Ahmad sums up that the two societies as the two streams which some time touched but never merged and follow its separate course.²² Thus, the demand for Pakistan was a manifestation of the concept of separate nationality of the Muslims.

Glorification of Muslim rule in South Asia:

Muslim nationalist historians focused on the history of Muslim rule in India and remained indifferent to the ancient history of India which is considered as "Hindu Rule". As the Hindu nationalists called the Hindu period as "golden age" and demonized the Muslim rule in South Asia. Similarly, the Muslim nationalist historians argued that the Muslim rule in India was the golden period and declared Muslims superior to other communities. In doing so, they were engrossed with the Medieval Muslim India, and ignored the ancient history of India.²³ The political wars were given religious color; for example, the war between Rajput rulers and Mahmud of Ghazna is referred to as the war between Islam and Hinduism, and Mahmud is praised for being an idol-breaker.²⁴ The Muslim nationalist historians tried to prove their

arguments using selective data of war and conflicts, and ignored the assimilation of culture between the Muslims and the Hindus propagated by the Sufis.

Portrayal of Hindu Faith and Scriptures in Muslim Nationalist Historiography:

Hinduism is one of the oldest religions of the world. It is a set of multi-stranded and diverse beliefs and practices. The Hindus call their religion *Vaidika dharma*, or the Vedic religion. The term Vedic means based on Vedas, the ancient revelations in India.

Portrayal of Hinduism as a Polytheistic Faith:

In Muslim nationalist historiography, Hinduism, contrary to monotheistic Islam, is portrayed as a polytheistic faith having no Divine origin. It is compared with the Arab idolatrous practices by scholars like Sheikh Muhammad Ikram, I. H. Qureshi, Mian Abdul Rashid, Muhammad Aslam, and many others. It is mentioned in their works that Hindus' idolatrous practices and local gods were contrary to the monotheistic Islam. The Muslims worship only one God, whereas Hindus worship many.²⁵ The element of utility is dominant in the Hindu faith. Animals such as snake, monkeys, cow, beneficial plants such as *pepal*, *bargad*, and *tulsi*, from fire (*agni*) to rivers Ganges and Jamuna, Bhageerti, and Sarasvati which bring mud for cultivation from mountains, all are being worshiped by millions in Hinduism.²⁶ Additionally, the Hindus were idol worshippers and superstitious just as the pagan Arabs.²⁷ I. H. Qureshi maintains they worshipped idols, and the common Hindu thought was polytheistic.²⁸

In Muslim nationalist historiography, only those scholars and historians are referred who held hostile views about Hinduism; also, their works are discussed partially and not in entirety. Abu Rehan al-Biruni (973-1038), the first Muslim scholar to have worked on India, is considered the pioneer of the two-nation theory in South Asia. This is because in his book, *Kitab al-Hind*, he highlighted the differences between Islam and Hinduism.²⁹ However, this is only partially true. He neither denounced Hinduism, nor did he author *Kitab al-Hind* to establish Hinduism as a false religion. He, on contrary, expressed sympathetic views about Hinduism. He collected firsthand information about India. Writing about the idolatrous practices, he mentioned that, in every religion, this kind of worship is designed for the laymen, who cannot understand the abstract (*ma'qul*) and are able to comprehend the concrete (*mahsus*) only.³⁰ In Christianity, Judaism, and Manichaeism, pictorial representation in the places of worship was introduced for the same reason. In this context, Islam is different as it does not give such concessions even to the common people. Still, some people put picture of Ka'aba in front of them for concentration and meditation. In Hinduism, the idols were constructed for the benefit of common people; whereas the Brahmins worship only one God.³¹ This explanation of idol worship in Hindu faith is not offered in the books of Muslim nationalist historiography; only those statements are cited in which al-Biruni presented the Hindus as different from the Muslims, not those statements where he highlighted the similarities between Islam and Hinduism.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d.1624) commonly known as *Mujadid Alf-i-Thani* (Renewer of the second millennium) not only denounced the Hindus as *Kafirs* (Infidels), but also insisted Muslims to disassociate from them.³² Moreover, according to Sheikh A. Rashid, Ahmad Sirhindi was the man who stood against Akbar's policy of facilitating the infidels to observe their pagan practices in Muslim lands. He rejected Hindu pantheism, Vedantic monism, and the philosophy of *Wahdat al-Wujud* (The Unity of Being) by Ibn al-Arabi, and instead propagated the philosophy of *Wahdat al-Shahud* (The Unity of Manifestation).³³ However, in later years, Sirhindi not only accepted the philosophy of Unity of Being, but also permitted the Hindu-Muslim interaction. Sirhindi was of

the view that prophets were sent to India, but they failed in their endeavors,³⁴ which implies that he believed in the divine nature of Hinduism. In the works of Muslim nationalist historians, the anti-Hindu views of Sirhindi have been highlighted but his later views have been ignored, which were conciliatory towards Hinduism.

Hinduism as a 'Polymorphic Monotheism' in Contemporary Scholarship:

According to the Hindu belief, God is Eternal, Omnipotent, Omnipresent and All-Knowing. The three Gods-the Creator, the Preserving, and the Destructive, are in fact, the varied expressions of One Entity. The Hindus have a lofty ideal of Supreme Divinity that is by no means restricted to the idols only. By worshiping Shiva, the Hindus worship the destructive attribute of divinity and not the evil.³⁵ According to their belief, "God is one without second".³⁶ Also, that the God is so great that He cannot be expressed through any single being; the different deities (gods) symbolize only a very small part of His vastness.³⁷

Misunderstanding was also created by translations. The Vedic word *deva* or *devata* is translated in English as God, so that there are many gods in Hinduism. Hindu *deva* is not God; it may rather be translated as "divine being". Thus, the term *deva* means everything that has to do with the supernatural or having superior origin or status. Thus, Hinduism cannot be considered as a polytheistic faith, but F. Max Muller coined a new term henotheism (the Greek word *henos* means One) for Hinduism in order to distinguish it from monotheism of the revealed biblical religion.³⁸ Additionally, in contemporary scholarship, Hinduism has been presented as polymorphic monotheism, i.e. One God that can be worshipped in multiple forms.³⁹ This term best explains the nature of Hinduism.

Views of Muslim Nationalist Historians on Revelation and Scriptures in Hinduism:

In Muslim nationalist historiography, there is historiographical silence regarding the divine origin of the Hindu sacred scriptures. They only explain that Hindu books were different from Muslims and give their implicit argument that Hinduism is not a divine faith, and its books are not divine texts. The Hindu got their tradition and inspiration from *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, and *Gita*, all of these are the history of two fighting people, with various events of destruction.⁴⁰ In sense of historical research, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are only fictions, yet they put ample light on the culture and civilization of Hindu society.⁴¹ Mian Abdur Rashid writes, 'If Christians are *Kafir Ahl-e-Kitab* [the people of book], the Hindus are *Kafir-e-Harbi* [infidels and non-believers] being idol worshippers.⁴² By saying so, he does not directly comment on any of their religious scriptures but indirectly calls them 'people without book'.

On the contrary, many Sufis and scholars in medieval times, including al-Biruni, Dara Shikoh (d. 1659) and Abdur Rahman Chishti (d. 1683) not only learned the Hindu texts but also translated them. Dara Shikoh not only considers the Hindu scriptures divine texts, but also called *Upanishad* superior to all heavenly books. He credits the *Upanishad* as not only compatible to Holy Quran but also a commentary and complimentary to it. He labels *Upanishad*, the essence of Vedas, as a treasure-trove of monotheism. Dara's religious philosophy, that the religious truth is one, is well explained in his translation of *Upanishad*, called *Sirr-i-Akbar*.⁴³ Another Sufi, Abdur Rahman Chishti, translated the *Bhagavad-Gita*, from Sanskrit to Persian, entitled *Mir'at al-Haqa'iq* [Mirror of Realities], in which he draws connection between Islam and Hinduism. He considers Krishna as messenger for Hindus⁴⁴; he believes that the *Bhagavad-Gita* is a revealed book, and interprets it in a manner so as to develop its compatibility with the Holy Quran. The Vedas are

neither a creation of human beings nor possession of any person, but they are sounds of wisdom from the heart of existence itself.⁴⁵

In Muslim nationalist historiographical works, Hinduism is portrayed as 'the other'⁴⁶ and the concept of otherness is also applied to the *avatar* (messenger of God) in India. There is no explicit information about the religious philosophy, religious texts, or religious leaders of India. Only the dark side of the picture is shown, and those scholars are not quoted who talked about the Indian Prophets. Shaykh Abdul Quddus Gangohi (d. 1537), Dara Shikoh, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i Janan (d. 1781), and many other sufis' thoughts have been ignored altogether in Muslim nationalist historiography. In *Majma ul-Bahrain* or "*the Mingling of the Two Oceans*" (1065), Dara Shikoh opens with the statement that there is no fundamental difference between Islam and Hinduism.⁴⁷ Jan-i Janan also thought that India was favored with prophetic missions by Divine, and the title of *avatar* should be considered identical with that of prophet, messenger or saint of Islam. Moreover, Krishna and Ram Chandra were *avatars* who had fulfilled their prophetic missions.⁴⁸

Historiographical Silence on the Rejection of Caste System by Hindu Scholars:

Popular Hindu scholars like Gandhi, Aurobindo, and others detested the caste system in favour of the Varna. Swami Dayananda declared it against the Vedas.⁴⁹ Raja Rammohun Roy, the Hindu reformer, founded the Brahmo Samaj society raised its voice against the caste system and idolatry.⁵⁰ The advocates of Bhakti movement, i.e. Ramanand, Namdev, Kabir, Chaitanva, Nanak, and Tulsidas, disapproved the caste system and preached equality of mankind.⁵¹ Moreover, the Sharmanik Cult of South India, also, was against the caste system. Sai Baba of Shirdi (1835-1918), a celebrated saint in Indian society, a supporter of religious heterodoxy, also despised the caste system and propagated the principle of equality among the Indians.⁵²

Muslim nationalist historiographers are silent regarding the views of aforementioned Hindu scholarship. However, they show their sympathies with the Shudras while highlighting the maltreatment meted out to them by the members of upper classes as they maintain Shudras were not allowed to perform religious duties and to enter into the colonies of upper classes. If they did so mistakenly, they were given exemplary punishments.⁵³ Sheikh Muhammad Rafiq, quoting al-Biruni, says that if any Shudras or Vaishya was seen reciting *Vedas*, his/her tongue was cut down. Furthermore, their ears were filled with molten lead.⁵⁴ Like the *Bani Israel* under the *Pharaohs*, the Shudras have been oppressed across centuries.⁵⁵ Lower caste people, Untouchables, were considered so debased that their shadow polluted a man of higher caste, and if they saw the food of Brahmans, it was thrown away.⁵⁶

Place of Women:

In the Muslim nationalist historical works, Hindu women are described as the most deprived class in the Hindu society and are placed closer in ranks with the Shudras. Polygamy was considered lawful for men, but women were not permitted to re-marry even after their husbands' death. The Muslim nationalist historians cite Majumdar who considered Hindu society as a body whose head and feet were working but the middle part was not.⁵⁷ Women were subservient to men.⁵⁸ Girls were presented to temples in the name of God, and actually to satiate the sexual appetite of the priests.⁵⁹ They described *Sati* but ignored *Jauhar*.⁶⁰ There are many instances of the occurrence of *Jauhar*. The most famous *Jauhar* recorded are of: Maharani Samyukta, wife of Prithviraj Chauhan, who committed *Jauhar* along with other royal ladies when asked to surrender by Afghan invaders; King Vijaipal's wife committed *Jauhar* at the fort of Bayana; the family of

Sihadi committed *Jauhar* led by queen, the daughter of Rana Sangha.⁶¹ Other instances of *Jauhar* were recorded during the Khilji and Tughlaq dynasties. In addition, Raja Dahir's wife along with her ladies committed *Jauhar* when she received the news of her husband's defeat at the hands of Muhammad ibn Qasim.

While the fact is that in ancient India, women occupied a superior position. *Shakti*, meaning power and strength, is a feminine term, and refers to all male power as originating from the feminine. The *Trimurti* (Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva) is absolutely powerless without their female counterpart. Saraswati is personified as the goddess of learning, music, and fine arts. In *Rig Veda*, women who engaged in warfare, and other political activities are also described e.g. Queen Bispala; Magasthanese is credited with protecting the Chandragupta's palace.⁶² Since ancient times, women have enjoyed property rights and have participated in social and religious rites. As a rule, the Hindus are not polygamists. They were only allowed to remarry, when they have no male heir even after seven years of marriage.⁶³

Hindu Contribution to Knowledge:

The Muslim nationalist historians generally ignore and refuse to acknowledge the development of sciences and philosophy in ancient India. In their works the historiographical traditions of the Muslims are praised in contrast to the least interest of the Hindus in history and history-writing. In the Hindu society, history was not paid any attention, nor was there any book written by them; only Muslim books were available telling the account of India.⁶⁴ However, as a matter of fact, in India, six sciences are classified in late fifth century BC; these are *Kalpa* (ritual), next four deal with language including *siksa* (pronunciation and phonetics), *nirukta* (etymology), *vyakarana* (grammar), and *chandasa* (prosody), last one is *jyotisa* (astronomy). Many other Indian sciences including mathematics, medicine, etc. flourished in ancient India.⁶⁵

Conclusion:

The historiographical tradition in Pakistan has largely remained grounded in chauvinism and shaped by ideological narratives, particularly those of Muslim nationalist historians. Rooted in colonial legacies and the politics of the Two-Nation Theory, this approach emphasized the construction of a distinct Muslim identity while portraying Hindus as the cultural and historical 'Other.' In doing so, it narrowed the scope of history, overlooked the pluralistic and multicultural nature of South Asian society, and marginalized minority communities within Pakistan.

The dominance of nationalist historiography, influenced by scholars such as I. H. Qureshi, intensified after the wars of 1965 and 1971, when anti-Indian sentiments further defined Pakistani nationalism in opposition to India. This selective historiography not only distorted the region's past but also hindered opportunities for building a soft image of Pakistan and cultivating healthier regional relations.

For a more constructive future, there is a pressing need to re-examine and critically revise the nationalist historiographical framework. Developing an inclusive, balanced, and objective historical discourse can help reduce hostility between Pakistan and India, promote a more nuanced understanding of South Asian history, and contribute to a pluralistic vision of Pakistan's identity.

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- ³⁹ Julius Lipner, *Hindus: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 372.
- ⁴⁰ Ahmad, "The communal pattern of India", 22.
- ⁴¹ Ahmad, *Tarikh-i Pakistan wa Hind*, 11.
- ⁴² Rashid, *Pakistan ka Pasmañzar aur Peshmanzar*, 117.
- ⁴³ Friedmann, "Islamic Thought in Relation to Indian Context," 57-59. See also Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Dara Shikuh: Life and Works* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1982), 211.
- ⁴⁴ Roderic Vassie, "Abd al-Rahman Chishti and the Bhagavad-Gita: Unity of Religion' Theory in Practice", in *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (London: Khaniqahi Nimatullahi Publications, 1992), 367-78.
- ⁴⁵ John M. Koller, *The Indian Way* (New York: Macmillan, 1982), 20.
- ⁴⁶ Tahir Kamran, "Hindu as the 'Other' in Pakistani History Text Books: A Conceptual Analysis" in *Pakistan: Dimensions of History*, ed. Syed Jaffar Ahmed (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society and Pakistan Study Centre, University of Karachi, 2010), 119.
- ⁴⁷ Hasrat, *Dara Shikuh: Life and Works*, 218-19.
- ⁴⁸ Friedmann, "Islamic Thought in Relation to the Indian Context", 58.
- ⁴⁹ Nanveet, *History of the Ancient Indian Rituals*, 278.
- ⁵⁰ Jalal and Bose, *Modern South Asia*, 67.
- ⁵¹ Ansar Hussain Khan, *The Rediscovery of India: A New Subcontinent* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 1995), 143. See also Narendra Jadhav, *Untouchables: My Family's Triumphant Escape from India's Caste System* (Berkley, Calif: University of California Press, 2007), 5.

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- ⁵² Satya Pal Ruhela, *The Spiritual Philosophy of Shri Shirdi Sai Baba* (New Delhi: Diamond Pocket Books, 2000), 112-14.
- ⁵³ Aslam, *Tehrik Pakistan*, 20-21.
- ⁵⁴ Rafiq, et al., *Tarikh Pakistan wa Hind*, 12.
- ⁵⁵ Rashid, *Pakistan ka Pashmanzar aur Peshmanzar*, 6.
- ⁵⁶ I. H. Qureshi, ed., *A Short History of Pakistan* (Karachi: University of Karachi, 1967), 160.
- ⁵⁷ Rafiq, et al., *Tarikh Pakistan wa Hind*, 14.
- ⁵⁸ Ahmed, *Tarikh Pak wa Hind 712 to 1857*, 24.
- ⁵⁹ Khan, *Two-Nation Theory*, 86.
- ⁶⁰ Jauhar is a self-immolation of female royals and queens of the Rajput kingdoms, often with their children, on getting defeated by their enemy. (John Stratton Hawley, *Satti, The Blessing and the Curse: The Burning of Wives in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 165.
- ⁶¹ Hawley, *Satti, The Blessing and the Curse*, 166.
- ⁶² Nanveet, *History of The Ancient Indian Rituals*, 52-53.
- ⁶³ Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, 243.
- ⁶⁴ Muzzafar Mehdi Hashmi, *Tarikh-i Nazriya Pakistan* (Multan: Karvan-i-Adab, 2000), 144.
- ⁶⁵ Frist Staal, "The Indian Science Introduction" in *The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism*, ed. Gavin Flood (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 347.