Studies: Historical & Cultural
By the same author:

1. A Social History of Islamic India, 1958
2. Tarikhi Jai'ze, 1962
Studies: Historical & Cultural

45813 by

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JAMMU (TAWI)

1964
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First edition: October 1964

Price: Rs. 8.00

Available from:
Post-Graduate Department of History, Jammu

Published by the Author.

Printed at:
Amar Art Press, Jammu (Tawi).
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"HISTORY SERVES AS A KIND OF FILTER FOR EACH GENERATION, REMOVING THE IMPURITIES OF THE TRADITIONS OF THE GENERATION BEFORE".

—Abbott
TO

PROFESSOR HUMAYUN KABIR

as a compliment to his

Love of History & Culture

Mohommed Masih
“NO SINGLE FACTOR CAN EXPLAIN THE MULTI-
FARIOUS PHENOMENA OF HUMAN SOCIETY; THAT
CHARACTER AND CIRCUMSTANCES BOTH PLAY THEIR
PART; THAT NEITHER FREE-WILL NOR DETERMINISM
EXPresses THE WHOLE TRUTH RESPECTING THE SOURCE
OF MAN’S ACTIONS; THAT BOTH IDEAS AND IRRATIONAL
IMPULSES, BOTH SOUL AND BODY, ARE ULTIMATE
REALITIES, NONE OF WHICH CAN BE EXPLAINED IN
TERMS OF THE OTHER,”

—F. J. C. Hearnshaw
FOREWORD

I am not a historian and not competent enough to pass judgment on any work in history. But from my limited knowledge of history and historians, I can say that Dr. Yasin seems to know the philosophy and science of history, and this is manifest from the articles included in this book.

The historian is a judge, not an advocate. I am glad to note that Dr. Yasin is absolutely free from all types of prejudices: race, religion, country and any modern isms do not seem to have affected his perception. He gathers all possible material on the subject as is evident from his erudite article on "Sayyid Ahmad Shahid of Rae Bareli". He sifts the material so collected very carefully and honestly and forms his judgment. Nothing stops him in telling the truth in a most straightforward way. He believes that every historian is essentially a teacher of ethical and social values. This is seen in his articles on Akbar and Mahatma Gandhi.

Dr. Yasin joined the University of Jammu and Kashmir very recently. It is really very commendable that in addition to his teaching and administrative duties, he has not neglected research work.

T. M. Advani

Srinagar:

September 7, 1964
## ERRATA

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PREFACE.

Perhaps I owe no apology for presenting this brochure to scholars and students of history and culture. The articles included in this book were written from time to time during the last fourteen years of my professional career as a teacher and research worker.

The article on Sayyid Ahmad Shahid of Rae Bareli was written as a part of the research project while I was working at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. In the course of informal discussions on Sayyid Ahmad Shahid I expressed the view that his mission and movement needed re-appraisal. Dr. Charles J. Adams, now Director of the Institute, was quick to corner me to do something concrete. Hence, this article.

I am thankful to Prof. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Director, Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University, who very kindly went through this article and suggested numerous improvements. My thanks are also due to Mr. W. J. Watson, Librarian, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, for giving me a helping hand in procuring books.

Prof. Mohammad Mujeeb, Vice-Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, gave valuable suggestions on the critical side.

I am indebted to the Hon'ble Dr. Zakir Husain, Prof. Mohammad Habib, Prof. H. A. R. Gibb, Dr. T. G. Percival
Spear, Prof. A. L. Basham, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Dr. P. Hardy, Dr. N. L. Chatterji, Dr. B. P. Saksena, Dr. B. S. Upadhayaya and Dr. R. N. Nagar for their suggestions and encouragement.

On going over to the University of Jammu and Kashmir, I was blessed in my work by the learned Chancellor, Dr. Karan Singhji, and an educationist par excellence, Prof. T. M. Advani, our Vice-Chancellor, who, in the midst of his multifarious responsibilities, also found time to write the Foreword.

I am grateful to Mr. H. R. Nirash of the Government Teachers' Training College, Jammu for designing the cover of the book. To Mr. Ram Sarup, Assistant Registrar, University of Jammu and Kashmir, and my student, goes the credit of getting the book printed within a short time which would not have been possible without the active co-operation of Sardar Harbans Singh, Proprietor, Amar Art Press, Jammu. Mr. Ram Sarup also prepared the Index of the book.

In the end I must express my profound sense of gratitude to the Hon'ble Prof. Humayun Kabir for honouring me by giving his gracious consent to the dedication of the book to him.

MOHAMMAD YASIN

Canal Road,
Jammu (Tawi).
October 19, 1964.
I

Akbar and Indian Nationalism

Gibbon has remarked that though the title of “the Great” has been bestowed by historians upon several rulers, in the case of Charlemagne alone has it been actually embodied in the name. But we may add to this the name of Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar who was great not because of his brilliant military career or of his far-reaching political and financial reforms. His greatness lay in his nation-building scheme which put him a cut above other great oriental potentates.

India, before partition, was a sub-continent. No more than that. The diversities of race, religion, culture and language rendered the problem more complex and her title secure. Notwithstanding these the fundamental unity of this country goes unchallenged. But how far this unity has been achieved? It was an aspiration of the rulers in the past to materialise their dream of unity and reach the cherished goal of chakravartin. The methods adopted for the fulfilment of this desire were mainly military. As soon as the strong hand of a ruler was removed and the central power became weak, a host of semi-independent states came into existence.

Hinduism may be regarded the first religion that flourished in this country. It is very difficult
to define Hinduism. It is a cosmopolitan creed having innumerable systems of thought and philosophy. All the other religions before the advent of Islam into India lost their identity and submerged themselves into one great whole.

Islam.

The introduction of Islam into India marks a definite feature in the history of this country, political as well as cultural. Islam is a practical religion. If a person recites kalema, follows certain fundamental principles and observes rules laid down for the guidance of the believers, he is a Muslim, a true devotee. If he is guilty of negligence, or does something contrary to the rules and principles of the religion, he shall receive punishment on the Day of Judgement. But there is no 'via media' in Islam. There is no compromise on the fundamentals. Even Sufis, the Muslim mystics, were condemned as heretics, and mysticism was discouraged in Islam. It was only due to the efforts of Al-Ghazzali that Sufis came to be regarded as religious philosophers.

Such an uncompromising factor was introduced into India in the beginning of the eighth century, but it was not before the thirteenth century that it made any noticeable impression. Hinduism which had absorbed all the new elements found itself in great straits. Islam was the very contrast of Hinduism. It was diametrically opposed to the latter and a compromise appeared impossible.
Hindus and Muslims were totally and fundamentally opposed to each other. They had different customs, manners, dress and modes of life.

A race began between the new-comers and the old inhabitants of the country for political supremacy. There was a continued struggle, a tug-of-war, and it has been remarked, "that the war between the two peoples that was really a struggle between two different social systems, the one, old and decadent, and the other, full of youthful vigour and enterprise, came to an end favouring the latter."

Dynastic Designs.

The Muslims established their dominance; but the Hindus were subdued and overpowered by military strength and, with the aid of new tactics, and whenever they got a chance they rose in rebellion, defied the Muslim power and planned to overthrow the yoke of Muslim servitude. They failed to reconcile themselves to the new regime, nor was any attempt made to obtain their good will and loyalty for the infant Muslim empire.

The first three centuries of Muslim rule in India were a period of experiments in the political and military spheres. How to ensure the continuance of a particular dynasty was the main concern of the rulers. The system of government was essentially military despotism, based on military strength, and any rising or act of sedition was rewarded by a
general massacre. Shamsuddin Eletmish and Ghiyasuddin Balban were anxious to make the throne secure for their dynasty and laboured hard for it, but the Hindus were neglected and not regarded competent enough to share in the construction of the imperial structure. Alauddin Khalji wanted to be absolute and Hindus were trampled down. Mohammad Tughlaq certainly deserves the praise of a historian for his benevolent and tolerant attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects. But he was too busy with his new schemes and had no time to set up any healthy pattern of state policy. Firuz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi were reactionary to the core, and Hindus did not play any part in the politics of the day.

Sher Shah.

Sher Shah was the first ruler who hit on the right point and showed the way in the right direction. To quote Prof Qanungo, "The accession of Sher Shah marked the beginning of that era of liberal Islam which lasted till the reaction of Aurangzeb's reign. Sher Shah may justly dispute with Akbar the claim of being the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation." He was the first Muslim ruler, who studied the good of the people. He had the genius to see that the government must be popularised that the king must govern for the benefit of his subjects, that the Hindus must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration. He gave up the policy of coercion towards Hindus. Hindus were trusted and admitted
to important positions in the army. One of his best generals was Brahmidt Gaur, who was sent in pursuit of Humayun after the battles of Chausa and Bilgram. Todar Mal rose in time of Sher Shah. He thought that if Hindus and Muslims worked together, it would contribute to the stability of the empire. He wanted that both Hindus and Muslims should live amicably.

Unfortunately, the reign of Sher Shah was too short, and the experiment did not have a full chance. However, his reforms suggested fresh lines of approach to his successors. The legacy of his reign is most important.

It is true that the condition of Hindus was never better before than in the reigns of Sher Shah and Islam Shah, but there is a vast difference between Akbar and Sher Shah. Sher Shah was an orthodox Muslim; he was not like Akbar. Among the Mughal rulers of India, Babur had no time, nor capacity for any constructive work, and to erect a healthy edifice, Humayun got no chance to make a start in this direction. It was reserved for Akbar to take up the work of reconstruction in the light of lessons and experiments recorded by three centuries of Muslim rule in Northern India.

A Narrow View.

It is evident that the question had not been tackled till that time in a proper manner. It was an uphill task. The motives ascribed to Akbar by his opponents in introducing the nation-building
project betray their prejudiced outlook and hostile attitude. Vincent Smith has pointed out that Akbar was influenced by his Hindu wives, and so he adopted a conciliatory policy towards Hindus. Nothing more can be said to discredit the great emperor. This is to take a very narrow view of noble intentions and ideals. Matrimonial alliances with non-Muslim ladies had nothing new in it. Of course, there was a peculiarity in the case of Akbar. Formerly, non-Muslim ladies were married after their conversion to Islam, but Akbar allowed them to profess their own faith. It was something unique but the precedent had already been set up by the Ottoman Turks who married Christian princesses without getting them converted to Islam.

Kings are exceptions, and so was Akbar. It should be noted that there was no inter-communal marriage system in vogue, and it never received any encouragement at the hands of Akbar.¹ The national policy of Akbar had nothing to do with inter-communal marriages. Colonel Tod’s criticism that Akbar’s policy, though hidden, was more suicidal and injurious to the interests of Rajputs than Aurangzeb’s may be justified only on the grounds of sentiment. To say that Akbar created a caste of outcaste Rajputs is an assumption devoid of reality. Akbar bore no ill-will against Rajputs, nor against any section of his people. Rajputs were given what they wanted—jagirs, high posts and opportunities to rise. They were prevented from cutting the throats of one another. Hinduism

flourished in his reign and the revival of Hindu literature took place.

Child of the Age.

A clear mind, free from all bias and prejudice, like ‘tabula rasa’ of Locke, is needed to appreciate the state policy of the true son of the Indian Renaissance and Reformation. The age of Akbar was an age of construction, of reform, of intense activity tending towards integration. Abul Fazl is right when he remarks that the sovereign understood the spirit of the age and he attempted to abide by the requirements of the time. He made up his mind to play the role of a nation builder, and so he was the true child and sponsor of the age in which he lived.

It is true that when the sixteenth century dawned compromise and adjustment between the various sections of the population were dominant notes. But there was still much to be done. There had remained still angularity which had to be rounded off. The fundamentals had remained unchanged and almost unaffected. The contribution of Akbar lay in the recognition of this spirit and taking it up to an imperial level. It is a misnomer to call his policy that of toleration.

The conviction was brought home to his mind that one of the causes of the rapid disappearance of the state established by Babur and continued by Humayun was its foreign character, that is to say,
that the Mughals were not accepted either by the remanant of the Pathan chiefs or by the Hindus in general as the sons of the soil. If, therefore, a lasting imperial institution was to be developed this serious flow had to be removed as early as possible. He was very well equipped to undertake this work. His mind was free from all prejudices, religious, political and cultural.

Not only this. In the previous centuries in the history of India, there had been Sultans who formed extensive empires but few were equipped to build up a nation. The Government was not popularised and their foundation remained weak and did not ensure permanence and stability. Akbar saw into it and resolved to broaden his empire on ideals which would at once be high, noble, just and impartial.

Cardinal Features.

Experience had taught him that it was unwise to depend merely upon his co-religionists. Firstly, because it created in the latter an overweening sense of self-importance; secondly, because it brought into existence reasonable resentment from the excluded section of the population. Necessity demanded a policy of conciliating the Hindus and discontinuance of the policy of repression. It was a great blunder to ignore the predominant element of the population. Hence, two important items in his political programme were “equal treatment to every individual” irrespective of creed and “services open to talent”. These may be described as the
cardinal features of Akbar’s policy. It was intended to create a counterpoise against those who so long had been revelling in the consciousness of their superiority. Moreover, to him as a student of comparative religion, the ideal of ‘chakravartin’ made an irresistible appeal because it satisfied both Hindu and Muslim traditions and at the same time the achievement of the ideal would elevate him to a position never attained by any ruler before in the Turkish period.

It is in the framework of this large canvas that we can appreciate and understand Akbar’s policy towards the Rajputs. The Rajput policy was a part and parcel of a more comprehensive ideal, an ideal which was dear, almost sacred to the great monarch. Rajputs were still regarded the cream of Indian society, the repository of unpolluted Indian culture. If they could become friendly to the Mughals, it was certain the mind of Hindu society would undergo a radical change. They were the bravest of warriors and their intellect could be utilised in the construction of the new political edifice upon which Akbar set his heart.

Din-i-Ilahi.

Thus we find that Akbar embarked upon an enterprise which was the need of the hour, a noble cause. It was a troublesome enterprise, unique in its character. To bring two elements closer, to piece them into a thread which was fundamentally opposed requires rare powers and hence Akbar
appeals to our admiration and deserves the praise he has received. Our attachment to him knows no bounds. What he did was to realise this ideal. He tried to approach the problem from every angle. The *Din-i-Ilahi* or *Tawhid-i-Ilahi* (the Divine Monotheism), the political sham-religion, was adopted as a means to achieve this end. The people must be made God-loving without bothering about the details of the religion and other orthodox associations. In the words of Dr. Tara Chand, "Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi* was not an isolated freak of an autocrat who had more power than he knew how to employ but an inevitable result of the forces, which were deeply surging in India's breast, and finding expression in the teachings of men like Kabir. Circumstances thwarted that attempt, but destiny still points towards the same goal." The literary activities of Akbar's reign were most fruitful. He wanted to create a cultural meeting-ground with Persian as the medium. He got books from Arabic and Sanskrit languages translated into Persian. The educational policy and social reforms contributed towards this sacred cause, the building up of an Indian nation and the creation of an Indian nationality.

**Unification.**

A word about Akbar's policy of conquest and unification of almost the whole country. Edward Terry has compared him to a "great pike in a pond preying upon his weaker neighbours." Vincent Smith has accused him of the love of power and
wealth. But every student of political science knows it well that without political unification, national unity is an impossibility. Akbar endeavoured to reconcile the jarring factors into a wholesome one.

But his policy was undone. Though Jahangir and Shahjahan maintained the traditions of the previous rule they ruled as true Muslims and a complete reaction took place in Aurangzeb’s reign. But we know Akbar’s labour was not fruitless and its effect was lasting. The people were made loyal and devoted to the throne and even in Aurangzeb’s time Hindus fought against their brothers to secure the glory of the Mughal crown. Akbar undoubtedly achieved the permanence and stability of the Mughal Empire for a time and it was nothing but the lingering effect of the efforts of the Great Emperor that kept the Mughal dynasty running after Aurangzeb though in the hands of most incapable successors. Akbar’s endeavour to realise the Aryan ideal is still worthy of imitation by all statesmen.
Akbar Through His Buildings

The architecture of an age is moulded by the spirit of that age and bears the impress of the builders. There can be no great piece of architecture without a mind with imagination behind it; no culture without a psychology, and no civilization without a soul. A flatterer's pen might extol the weaknesses of his benefactor, but the architectural remains of a particular period are the mute witnesses testifying to the general character, psychology and taste of the people or the individual, who inspired it. A ruler reflects himself in the buildings he erects. With the advancement of civilization, imagination gradually becomes weaker and poorer, and that is why there are buildings beautified ten times more than the Taj but lacking its subtle grace and sublime majesty.

Indo-Muslim Style.

The advent of Islam into India marks a revolution in more than one aspect. It rang out the old and heralded the dawn of a new era. Never before in the history of the world people of two creeds, radically opposed to one another in culture and civilization, ideals and tastes, came into contact as was the case in India when Hinduism and Islam met together. It is one of the interesting facts of
history, and most remarkable in the history of architecture, that they were harmonised in a happy synthesis and evolved a distinct style of their own, known as Indo-Muslim or Indo-Islamic. The history of Indo-Muslim architecture begins with the conquest of the kingdoms of Delhi, Ajmer and Kannauj, and in fact the whole of Northern India by the Muslims between 1193 to 1206 A.D. On the ruins of old Indraprastha and Lalkot (old Delhi capital of Prithvi Raj) blossomed an imperial city with mosques, minars and palaces built by Hindu masons to suit the taste and requirements of the new race. The style was essentially Hindu with a thin Muslim garb, an indifferent 'physical compound' bearing traces both of the old and the new so far the general plan, surface decoration, roofing and other embellishments were concerned, reflecting the character of the conquerors of an alien faith and of a different civilization.

Havell Criticised.

The archaeological experts have divided themselves into two main groups: one, admitting the Indo-Muslim school of architecture as a distinct style; and the other, whose chief exponent is Havell, holding that there is no such thing as Indo-Muslim style, and what the new-comers brought with themselves was almost "a return wave" of Buddhist-Hindu traditions, which the Indian master-builders readily recognised as their own. The new elements ceased as creative forces, and were submerged into different local phases of Indian architecture. But it is a common fact of history that by the twelfth
century A. D., Muslim architecture had become a fully developed art in Central Asia and Persia before it entered the soil of Hindustan. Muslims had a "natural talent" for building, and possessed a highly developed architecture of their own. They had their mosques in Egypt, Baghdad, Cordova, Constantinople and Damascus, with pointed arches and lofty domes which served as models for Indian builders. The Muslim conquerors were not unacquainted with the elements of architecture, nor were they mere soldiers devoid of culture and refinement, as Havell would suggest.

Sur Buildings.

Without going into the details of the buildings of the Sultanat period and that of the provincial styles which sprang up after the fall of the Tughlaqs, this much should be noted that they were more Muslim than Hindu in conception and treatment, with a few exceptions here and there. It was Sher Shah who opened a promising avenue and laid the foundations of a style of architecture which has been rightly termed as the Renaissance style. The buildings of the Sur dynasty faithfully reflect the Indian character. As there was a definite advance in the direction of Indianization of the Muslim administration during this period, so in architecture too, the Sur period marks an epoch of nationalization, foreshadowing the rise of a national style of architecture and a national empire in the reign of Akbar. The new spirit is outstanding in Sher Shah’s mosque in old Delhi (Qila-i-Kuhna mosque). Fergusson justly remarks that the
mosque is Muslim outside but Hindu within, without any open defiance of the Islamic Law and tradition. This mosque, like the reign of Sher Shah, marks only a period of transition from the period of sultanat to that of empire, from the tastes and institutions that were Islamic to those that were truly Indian.

New Era.

It is true as Vincent Smith (author of History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon) holds that the Muslim art and architecture possess a "uniform character" throughout the whole Muslim world because the main inspiration is derived from religion. But in that age of religious dogmatism was born a prophet who delivered the message of Indian nationalism. And he was Akbar!

During the reign of Akbar, Humayun's tomb which was erected by Humayun's widow, Haji Begam, was completed. "It suggested new principles, wider possibilities, greater flexibility and generally infused the building art with fresh life." But Akbar had nothing to do with it. He was a dreamer and an idealist. He had a passion for building ingeniously, and his building project started with great enthusiasm. The most important building schemes after Humayun's tomb were launched in the shape of palace fortresses at Agra and Lahore. Within the Agra Fort enclosure, the Ain-i-Akbari states, Akbar built upwards of five hundred edifices of red stone in the fine style of
Bengal and Gujarat. In the general character of the fort at Agra, there is a resemblance of the fortress at Gwalior, with its palaces of Man Singh built early in the century. The Elephant Gateway, the cupolas of Amar Singh’s Gateway, the palaces rising out of the fort walls, the planning of these palaces, and also some of the carved details, all indicate that the Rajput citadel, which had moved Babur to admiration some forty years before “was used freely as a model by his more fortunately placed grandson.” The most characteristic building ascribed to Akbar is Jahangiri Mahal at Agra Fort. It is almost entirely of red sand-stone, inlaid with white marble on the exterior. The principle of construction is the beam and bracket, the arch being sparingly used and then only in its ornamental capacity.

Although Lahore was regarded as only the second capital of the empire, the fort that Akbar constructed there almost at the same time as that of Agra, was conceived and carried out on practically the same grand scale. What is left of the palace buildings dated from the time of Akbar, possibly Jahangir, shows that the style of these was similar in most respects to the Jahangiri Mahal at Agra, except that carved decoration was, if anything more vigorous and unrestrained. Elephants and lions figure in the brackets. One other fort of the first rank was built by Akbar some twenty years later at Allahabad, which still shows the remains of considerable architectural merit. Only one noble pavilion is found intact, the
Zanana Palace, from which the character of the whole may be surmised.

Fathpur-Sikri.

But the real building project which determines the place of Akbar in the architectural history is the ruined and desolate city of Fathpur-Sikri, some seven miles in circumference, situated twenty-three miles south-west of Agra, built during the year 1569 and 1605.

The motives ascribed to Akbar in building the new city are partly personal and partly military. Akbar regarded Fathpur-Sikri auspicious as Jahangir was born to him through the blessings of Shaikh Salim Chishti who resided there. Secondly, he wanted to build a new capital where he could introduce his novel ideas and policy, unfettered and uninterrupted by the orthodox section of Muslims. At Sikri he got a chance to start with a clean slate. Apart from personal considerations, Agra was in the plains and Sikri is situated on the hills commanding the neighbouring countries. Entrance into Rajputana and Bharatpur could be easily guarded from Sikri. Akbar was a great general and it was strategically sound to shift from Agra to Fathpur-Sikri.

Importance of Sikri.

It has been well said that there are two histories of the reign of Akbar; Abul Fazl’s Akbar-
nama, and Fathpur-Sikri. Truly, Fathpur-Sikri is a very valuable commentary on Akbar as a whole, and bears witness to Akbar's splendid capacity as an organiser, as a ruler of men and as a statesman of genius. In Fathpur-Sikri we find the ideas of Akbar personified. The allegation of Vincent Smith that "the building of Fathpur-Sikri was a freak of an irresponsible autocrat acting under the impulse of overpowering superstitious emotions and enjoying the sensation of absolute freedom from financial limitations; and the contention of Percy Brown that Fathpur-Sikri was built in a haste which necessitated an immense staff of workmen, predominantly Hindu, which accounted for the Hindu influences in the buildings of Sikri, do great injustice to the high soul and his dream of founding a truly Indian style. That wondrous city is a monument of Akbar's tact and genius, and justifies the courtly phrase of his biographer that "His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay."

Its Psychology.

Fathpur-Sikri is the culmination of the age of enlightenment and the revival of Indian culture in the sixteenth century India, whose sponsor was Akbar. Since the middle of the fifteenth century the contending forces of Islam and Hinduism were seeking a common platform, a path to rapprochement, first in the realm of thought and then in politics. Hence the psychology behind Fathpur-
Sikri was an impulse towards amalgamation and unity, a blending of the best in Islamic fine art with the imperishable elements of ancient Indian architecture. Akbar, who inspired the style of Fathpur-Sikri, imparted the same impress on the new style of architecture, as he had done in politics, namely, the foundation of a polity which is neither Hindu nor Muslim but pre-eminently Indian, with a composite Asian culture.

Without indulging in generalities, let us analyse the peculiar characteristics of some of the specimen buildings of Fathpur-Sikri to elucidate the point that the architectural style of Fathpur-Sikri was not exclusively Hindu or Muslim, but typically Indian and national.

Jodh Bai’s Mahal.

The so-called Jodh Bai’s Mahal was the second, perhaps in point of the date of construction, though E. W. Smith regards it the oldest of all the domestic buildings. History does not record any Hindu wife of Akbar bearing the name of Jodh Bai. The entrance to the palace is of the usual plan of entrance to a Muslim house. It is like a Swastika without the vertical line—a peculiar device for maintaining Pardah of the inner courtyard. The ground floor has a colonnaded verandah on three sides. On the west there is an open hall with a small raised platform of several steps which may be identified either as Hindu altar for idols or the mimbar of a mosque. A stair-case leads to
the upper storey on all the four sides above the verandah. The atmosphere that pervades the structure is neither Hindu nor Muslim but something of the spirit of the age and of the character of the Emperor. The building, to a greater extent, is similar to the Jahangiri Mahal at Agra Fort. Here for the first time a novel form of roofing catches our eye. Rooms are found with roofs of sand-stone chiselled in a wavy form like a "corrugated" iron sheet. E. W. Smith is not correct when he says that the idea was borrowed from Italy. The roofs have their archetype in the ‘kachcha’ houses of the rural areas in the country. The versatile Emperor could appreciate beauty in humble things and the importation of the form of tiled roof to cover a princely abode is another proof of his attempt to Indianize Muslim architecture as much as possible and build an empire in which the high and low should be equally represented. The bell and chain, one of the oldest Hindu ornaments, is freely carved upon the piers.

The other striking room in Jodh Bai’s palace is the Hawa Mahal, with its latticed screens overlooking the courtyard of Mahal-i-Khas. A covered stone pathway, higher than a man’s height, connects Jodh Bai’s palace with the Mahal-i-Khas. The Mahal-i-Khas with Jodh Bai’s palace formed the inner citadel of Akbar’s fortified city of Fathpur-Sikri.

Jogi-ki-Chhatri.

Outside the building, labelled as girl’s school,
there is a small pleasing pavilion called *Jogi-ki-Chhatri*. Its serpentine brackets of exquisite workmanship and everything else about it, is so purely Hindu in taste and tradition that the *Jogi-ki-Chhatri* would have been quite becoming in a Jain temple of Gujarat style of architecture.

*Bibi Maryam's Kothi.*

Originally this residence was known as the *Sonahra Makan*, or "Golden House" and it was so called on account of the profuse gilding which embellished both the outer and the inner walls. Among other buildings of *Mahal-i-Khas*, it is large in size though not so exquisitely sculptured outside like Turkish Sultana palace. There is a hot controversy about the name and the person who occupied this house. The colour painting has now disappeared. E. W. Smith has given photographs of the remnants of this painting which he found there. There is one scene indicating the punishment of sinners cast into hell. There is another painting which seems to be a copy of the Madonna. Another gives the picture of a Brahmin in *dhoti* with a sheet thrown cross-wise over his back. These are enough to judge the high quality of art that marked the paintings of the age of Akbar, and a clear departure from dogmatic injunctions of Islam forbidding the representation of animate beings in any form.

*Turkish Sultana Palace.*

A "superb jewelled casket" as the Turkish Sultana Palace is designated, it stands unrivalled
in its wealth of relief sculpture among the palaces of Fatehpur-Sikri. It is a small but very well-proportioned building worthy of the abode of a queen. A glance at the palace of the Turkish Sultana reminds one of Prof. Rushbrooke William's remark that with Babur began the modern age. In fact modern taste in a medieval building is first exhibited in the palace of Turkish Sultana. It is worthy of imitation in modern times if India wants to combine chaste elegance of the West with the picturesqueness of the orient. Though the room is small in size it has wide verandahs on all sides with lean-to roofs lower than the ceiling of the main room. The walls are divided into panels and each has an inimitable forest scene; trees, flowering creepers, thick under-grove concealing lions beneath and peacocks above.

Bir Bal's House.

Raja Bir Bal's house is a peer in beauty, grandeur and magnificence with the palace of Turkish Sultana as a residential building and yet no two buildings are more unlike in design and execution. The house is built on a high plinth. In Raja Bir Bal's house we find a reflection of the mind of Akbar as a rebel against conventionalism and as a bold innovator. Throughout the whole range of the residential buildings of the reign of Akbar, Raja Bir Bal's palace is the only one with a domed roof. A dome in Muslim architecture is always associated with a mosque or with a grave. Here the dome was used as a roof beneath which a living being, and that too a Brahmin, was to sleep.
Hence Akbar retained the dome as the symbol of new India which was then in the process of creation under the driving power of Muslim civilization. But he discarded the superstition about it as befitting either the house of God or the house of the dead.

_Panch Mahal._

One of the most striking buildings at Fatehpur-Sikri is that known as the Panch Mahal, or the "Five-storeyed pavilion". For what distinct purpose it was built one cannot definitely say, but probably, it was used by Akbar and his chosen retainers as a pleasure resort, in the airy aisles of which he could obtain the cool breeze of an evening, and a fine view of the adjacent country; or, it may have been exclusively used by the ladies and children of the court.

The peculiar feature of the structure is that each storey is smaller than that upon which it stands till at last only a small kiosk, supported on four small slender square shafts, forms the uppermost floor. Havell says that it is planned after the old Indian assembly halls frequently alluded to in Buddhist literature, an example of which exists within the fort of Bijapur. The ground floor contains fifty-six pillars, of which no two pillars are alike in design. The construction, at any rate, is mainly Hindu and the bell and the chain have been employed in decoration.
Diwan-i-Khas.

The most unique piece of classic imagination and antique beauty that one finds is Akbar’s Diwan-i-Khas in Fatehpur-Sikri. It is small like all other buildings. It has no pretentions to elaborate surface carvings or any relief on its walls. The chief peculiarity of the structure is that though it has only one storey it looks like a double-storeyed building. But on getting inside we see no obstruction in the middle. It is really a room twice the usual height. The main attraction of Diwan-i-Khas is the central pillar. It is octagonal in shape and very delicately carved to the height of the capital. It is genuinely ancient Indian in spirit. From the capital there radiate four stone cause ways, divided into eight, with low jali (screens). These causeways are ingeniously supported on very beautifully carved brackets giving the capital the appearance of a full-bloomed luctus. The pillar also resembles the throne of Lord Vishnu.

Great Mosque.

The Great Mosque of Fatehpur-Sikri, from the pulpit of which Akbar promulgated his Divine Faith, in the endeavour to reconcile the conflicting creeds of all his subjects, is an interesting example of this. This is the most glorious edifice which Akbar dedicated to his faith. There is an inscription on the mosque to the effect that “this is a duplicate of the Holy Place (Mecca)”. Yet in the structure itself the evidence of the Indian master-builder's
handiwork and controlling mind gives an overwhelming proof to the contrary. It is purely an Indian building, in spite of the eclecticism of its details. Within the courtyard of the mosque is the white marble shrine covering the remains of Shaikh Salim Chishti, one of the most beautiful specimens of Mughal architecture extant. The lattices are particularly praiseworthy. The tomb of the saint may be regarded as an exception to the general character of the buildings of Akbar.

**Buland Darwaza.**

The public entrance to the mosque was through the southern gateway known as the “Buland Darwaza” or High Gate, a name justified by the fact that it is the highest of Indian gateways and among the largest in the world. The structure is a magnificent example of the Persian form of gateway, deriving its dignity from the great semi-dome in which the actual doors are inset. The Buland Darwaza was added to the mosque in 1601-1602 as a triumph arch to commemorate Akbar’s conquests in the Deccan. The highest authorities regard Buland Darwaza as “one of the most perfect architectural achievements in the whole of India”. Like most of the other buildings at Fathpur-Sikri, it is built of red sandstone and there is no painted decoration on it except the carving and the discreet inlay of white marble. Though this noble master-piece is Persian in form, the architectural treatment of it is distinctively Indian.
Appreciation of Style.

Literary critics say that the style reflects the man. It is no less true in the case of architecture. The general impression of the buildings at Fatehpur-Sikri which a visitor gets is very much unlike that of any of the Muslim architecture either in India or outside before the age Akbar; nor anybody would say that it is a reproduction of the old Hindu style of architecture, though signs of revivalism are writ large. Akbar was an eclectic in religion and philosophy, so was he in his architectural taste. The Emperor himself was neither a poet nor very much partial to poetry, yet he had a poet's eye for the beautiful. Akbar was a true Hindustani, a child of the orient. Akbar's Hindustan was neither a land of Hindus exclusively nor that of Islam. Occasionally, Akbar's anxiety to revive the past bordered on the enthusiasm of a purist. In the style of architecture the same exhuberance of Hindu imagination is noticeable which seems to have found a greater and more elegant synthesis and sense of proportion generally missed in the wilderness of the political history of his long reign.

In Akbar we find a sense of art and economy, not extravagance which characterises the buildings of his grandson, Shahjahan; beauty out of simplicity and not subservient to the wealth of material. All his buildings are in red sandstone as against marble and the inlaying of precious stones. The buildings of Akbar truly belong to an epic age—vigorous, virile and full of youthful exhuberance,
as opposed to the effiminate grace of the Mughal architecture in general. It is interesting to note that in Akbar no two buildings are alike in shape and no two pillars similar in design. It impresses the sense of homogeneity in diversity and is surely the stamp of individual genius.

A School of Art.

The city of Fatehpur-Sikri even in its deserted and dilapidated condition, as it stands today, appears to have been designed more as a comprehensive work of art in all its branches—painting, sculpture and architecture combined into one. In the field of art—for example, in the frescos' in Khwabgah, Bibi Maryam's Kothi and in the Hammam—we find a connecting link between the ancient Indian art of Ajanta and that of Central Asia carried to perfection by the school of Behzad. It was Akbar's policy to make everything meet halfway, whether in politics or in religion or in art. The art of Ajanta was indigenous to the soil of India whereas that of Behzad was a foreign graft on the stem of the ancient Indian art tradition. Indian subjects are treated under the Perso-Mongol technique of the school of Behzad. But the spirit of Ajanta, to reproduce scenes not Indian, is as conspicuous in Fatehpur-Sikri as in the caves of Ajanta. The sculpture of Fatehpur-Sikri is also a reflex of the national mind of the Indian Empire of Akbar if Huxley's dictum that sculpture is the index of a nation's genius and philosophy is true.
Fate of Sikri.

Fathpur-Sikri and Din-i-Ilaahi are the twin offsprings of Akbar's mind. The fate of Fathpur-Sikri was different from that of Din-i-Ilaahi (the Divine Faith of Akbar). The fundamental principle of Din-i-Ilaahi was universal, while that of the other national. In the universalism of Din-i-Ilaahi there was also an imprint of nationalism, namely, foundation of a school of theosophy and religious practice which could unite the eclect of both the communities. Din-i-Ilaahi was offered for acceptance to the best minds of the time. But it is the fate of a prophet and a poet not to be appreciated in the circle of familiarity. Even Bhagwan Das, as Badauni writes, was ready to embrace Islam rather than to become a member of the Divine Faith.

But Fathpur-Sikri had a different tale to tell. The synthetic Hindu-Muslim national style of Akbar was enthusiastically copied by the Hindus in their buildings. The closest copy of the architecture of Fathpur-Sikri is to be found in the palaces of the citadel of Ambar, built by Man Singh and his successors. During the period of Hindu reaction, that brought into existence many a powerful Rajput state, the tradition of Fathpur-Sikri remained undisturbed. Sikri remained the national style of architecture with the Hindus whereas Musalmans discarded it subsequently. The rulers of Alwar, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Malwa kept alive this national tradition of architecture.
After the death of Akbar there came a reaction against red sandstone, against Hindu lintel and relief decoration as smacking of infidelity. Lions and peacocks were out of tune with the spirit of Islam. Among the successors of Akbar only Shahjahan reached him in the grandeur of conception and a certain amount of human feeling. The period of the youth of the empire passed with Akbar and the maturity set in with the lyric age of Shahjahan. Shahjahan was perhaps more correct in taste and his architecture has more grace than strength. But for the marble and the pietra dura decoration and above all the Taj, the style of Shahjahan would have been considered a decline since the days of Akbar.
III

An Unknown History of Agra

The original manuscript of a book styled as "Tarikh-i-Tajganj Agra" on the cover, which perhaps was the title given to it by its author, Sayyid Inayat 'Ali (as the name of the book is not traceable now), appears to be unknown to scholars and is in the possession of Dr. Nurul Hasan Hashimi of Lucknow University. It is not known whether any transcribed copy of this history exists anywhere else. The book, written in a tolerably good Nastaliq character in Urdu with a sprinkling of Persian, with Urdu translation (size 9½" × 5½") runs into 600 pages, 15 lines a page. Scholars of Urdu may very well benefit themselves by going through this book as it amply reflects the gradual development of that language.

The manuscript is in a very damaged condition, worm-eaten, and the first twenty-five pages are difficult to read though the manuscript is complete nevertheless. Sayyid Inayat 'Ali, the caretaker of the Taj Mahal and its associated buildings, reduced to writing the fruits of his labour and researches in 1253 A. H. (1837 A. D.) in compliance with the wishes of the servants of the East India Company. The author was in the employ of the British Company and speaks of it with reverence.
The book opens with an account of Mumtaz Mahal, the Lady of the Taj: Nam unka Banu Bagam, etc.

Archaeological Survey.

The work is in the form of an archaeological survey of the buildings in and around Agra and compares very closely with the Asar-us-Sanadid of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. The Asar-us-Sanadid deals with the monuments of Delhi, while the Tarikh-i-Tajganj deals with those of Agra and thus forms a valuable supplement to the former. The author has taken great pains in giving detailed measurement of the buildings which he has dealt with and the laborious details of the inscriptions noticed there. But the Asar-us-Sanadid is systematic and lucid while the Tarikh-i-Tajganj is haphazard and confused. Nevertheless, the facts are there and well-tested and may help a great deal in any scientific and sober study. The book is exceptionally rich in its account of the Taj Mahal—its stones, builders, expenditure, inscriptions and measurement of various parts.

Historical Notes.

The author has given extensive historical notes on the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan and other members of the royal family, the last portion of which, dealing with the later Mughals, is of some importance as it is based on first hand knowledge. Regarding Nur Jahan-Jahangir episode, the author advances a new proposition that Jahangir, being highly indulgent, wanted to marry a Padmini—
the best type of woman—and he was informed that Nur Jahan alone fulfilled the requisite qualifications. The author’s explanation appeals better to logic than the so-called romance between Mehrunnisa and Salim during their youth. Again, the author has also something to say about the Nawab-Wazirs of Avadh, beginning with an account of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula.

The book provides important material for a history of Agra in the first half of the nineteenth century. It deals with the Jat, Maratha and English occupation of Agra and gives vivid descriptions of the visits of Mahadaji Sindhia and Daulat Rao Sindhia to the English camp. It describes in detail the Agra of old days, its people, markets, fruits, climate, etc.
So far, it has been a matter of speculation as to who was the real architect of the Taj? The experts of Indo-Muslim history and architecture revel in half-established theories based on vague generalisations for want of definite data. Ferguson, while dealing with the Tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula, incidently remarks that the Taj was most probably designed by Ali Mardan Khan, a Persian refugee. Majumdar in his *Imperial Agra of the Mughals*, also ascribes it to Ali Mardan Khan, who has also the support of Dr. Burgess. V. A. Smith challenges this theory by saying that this view "goes against the Persian histories of the reign of Shah Jahan". He suggests the name of Ustad 'Isa, a citizen of Agra, as the chief architect. Sleeman holds that Austin-de-Bordeaux a skilled French engineer and craftsman, is the man who symbolised Shahjahan's love in marble. A pious assertion is made by the Augustinian friar, Father Sebastian Manrique, that the chief architect of the Taj was an Italian adventurer in Shahjahan's employ, one Geronimo Veroneo. Vincent Smith is inclined to accept this view while admitting that Ustad 'Isa might have taken up the work at a later date after the death of Veroneo, who died in India and was buried at Lahore.
Thanks to the spirit of research and luckily for us the architect of the Taj has been identified. And he is **Nadir-ul-‘Asr** Ustad Ahmad Lahori!

In 1931 Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi drew the attention of the scholars towards Ustad Ahmad Lahori as a great architect of Shahjahan’s reign in an article **Lahore ka ek M‘emar Khandan** read before **Adara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia** Lahore. Dr. Abdullah Chuqhtai took his Doctorate from Paris in 1937 on the subject of the History of the Taj. His thesis, written in French, establishes the fact that Ahmad Lahori, who held the title of **Nadir-ul-‘Asr** (Wonder of the Age), is the architect of the Taj. Though the name of Ahmad Lahori is occasionally mentioned in the contemporary Persian chronicles like **Amal-i-Saleh** of Mohammad Saleh Kambo, **Badshahnama** of Abdul Hamid Lahori and **Tarikh-i-Shahjahan** (Ms. in Deoband Library), it is **Diwan-i-Mahandis** of Hafiz Lutfullah Mahandis, the second son of Ustad Ahmad Lahori, which removes all ambiguities and uncertainties surrounding the creator of the Taj Mahal. Lutfullah Mahandis, a craftsman himself, is the author of several well-known works especially on Mathematics.

Ustad Ahmad Lahori was the chief architect of Shahjahan’s court, well-versed in the science of

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1. The **Diwan-i-Mahandis**, written in the author’s own handwriting is in possession of Sayyid Mahmud of Bangalore. Further details about the author of **Diwan-i-Mahandis** and the architect of the Taj could be had from **Baghistan of Imamuddin Riyazi**, son of Hafiz Lutfullah; **Ms. in Lucknow University Library**,
building-craft. Shahjahan favoured him with the lofty title of *Nadir-ul-'Asr* and his son Hafiz Lutfullah with *Mahandis* (roughly an engineer). Ustad Ahmad died in 1059 A.H. about nine years after the completion of the Taj. His was the brain responsible for the creation of the Taj, and the Red Fort of Delhi as is evident from the following lines of the *Diwan-i-Mahandis*:

أحمد سماز ك درفر خويش حد قدم زاه مز وودبيش كرد بحكم ش كشور كشا روض سايت مسل را بنا باز بحكم ش انجم سياء شاه جهان داور كيزي پنا قلء دهلا ك ندارد نظير كرد بنا احده روشن ضير اين لى عمارت ك بيان كودام در صنفتش خان روان كردام ين هز از گنچ هز هازاواست يک کهر از کن كهرگانیاواست

(Ahmad, the architect who was hundred steps ahead than others in his art, by the orders of the King, the Conqueror of Kingdoms, built the Tomb of Mumtaz Mahal. Afterwards, by the orders of Shahjahan, the Refuge of the World, the Commander of the Stars, Ahmad, the Enlightened one, built the peerless Fort of Delhi. These two buildings which have been highly praised and described by me, are some of his (Ahmad's) treasures of arts and some pearls out of his mines of pearls).
immortal, always fresh with the raptures of love and tears. Even the name that gave concrete shape to the spiritual emotions of Shahjahan and Mumtaz Mahal is buried in oblivion but for the humble record of his own son just to give expression to the feelings of honour and pride and his associations with it.
Ascetic of Dewa Sharif

In the rolling plains of Hindustan, a place has lately grown into importance as a centre of Muslim festival which may overshadow in course of time such time-honoured Ziartagahs as Ajmer and Ghiyaspur in Delhi. Situated in Bāra Banki district of the state of Uttar Pradesh, eight miles north of the present district head-quarter and forty miles north-east of Lucknow, Dewa today is an obscure village, with a mound containing the ruins of an old fort and a sprinkling of Muslim families of various denominations.

Alleged to have been colonised by Muslims in the 11th century A.D., under a captain of war Shah Wash with the assistance of Amir Hasan Hajjaj of Baghdad, Dewa (miswritten in Jarrett’s Ain as Suba), was the seat of a pargana under Akbar, yielding a revenue of 1,609,293 dams. During the regime of the Nawabs of Avadh, it flourished as a centre of Muslim learning and manufacture of pottery and glass-ware but the place fell into decay in the last century, following the Muslim decadence in the wake of the extinction of the Nawabi rule and the raids of the Bais Rajputs (1850). For well nigh a century it remained a sleepy hollow, utterly forgotten by the
world until in the post-Partition India it has won importance as a centre of Muslim gathering because of the fact that here lies buried the famous saint Haji Waris Ali Shah.

Career of the Saint.

Born at an uncertain date between 1814-1819, Waris Ali lost his father at an early age and was brought up by his brother-in-law, Haji Sayyid Khadim Ali Shah of Lucknow, a scholar of repute who installed him in his prayer-carpet (Sajjadah) on the eve of his death. Waris Ali Shah wandered for the most part of his life in Muslim countries outside India, making a total of ten pilgrimages to Mecca, meeting Sultan Abdul Majid I of Turkey (1839-1861) in Istambol, the great German Chancellor Bismarck at Berlin, and the eminent spokesman of the Muslim community Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan at Aligarh. The dates of the meetings are not known, but the fact of the great Pir's meeting the political heads of Europe are highly mysterious, when the revolutionary change that befell the Muslim Community in India during the decade following 1850 is taken into account. In 1856 the Nawabi rule was ended by the annexation of the kingdom of Avadh to the Company's territory. The disaffection of the landed aristocracy found its outlet in a general insurrection against the British authority in 1857-58 which was quenched in blood. This event marched pari-passu with the deposition of the titular emperor Bahadur Shah of Delhi who was looked upon by the Muslims
as a symbol of their departed glory. The Muslim community felt dashed down to the abyss from the height of a precipice and a shadow of an all-pervasive depression and gloom overcast them. Did the thought of regaining the lost ground stir Muslim heart? Did any such impulse inspire our Shaikh to become the un-official emissary of the Indian Muslims?

Haji Waris Ali began his work in right earnest among the Muslim folk in India, after he settled down permanently in Dewa in 1899. He carried on the work of ministry for only six years until his death on the 7th April 1905. Within this short period he made a large body of disciples which are possibly exaggerated by one of his credulous disciples, to 400,000 men including those outside India. The Saint was not a man highly versed in the Islamic lore; nor was he skilled in debate and argumentation. His spell lay entirely in his purity of character and a life of self denial. Early in life he fasted six days in a week and then took his meal on every fourth day. He never bed himself in wedlock and remained a celibate. He disdained all kinds of ostentation and covered his body with a single piece of un-sewn cloth called Ahram. Of the twin virtues of chastity and poverty, he was a living embodiment and whoever went to his presence, felt that there was a God-intoxicated man.

His Teachings:

Shah Waris Ali was free from sectarianism and laid stress on the precept of love (ishq) as opening
the gateway to the mansion of eternal bliss. He paid scant regard to the observance of the outward forms and rituals of the faith, and his teachings are better reflected in the Urdu verses composed by one of his disciples, Aughat Shah: "In whatever direction I turn my eyes, in this world, I swear I behold nothing else except Thee. Those who seek with discerning eyes look at the tamasha of the temple and the mosque. The Hindus and the Muslims are equal before Thee. Thou do not rate one above the other. Thy lovers have no fear of the Hell nor do they aspire after the Heaven." (Faizan-i-Warisi, p. 24)

When, therefore, the followers of faith other than Islam approached him for initiation, he did not advise them to tear themselves away from their old moorings but exorted them to abstain from impurities. To the Hindus who frequented his cloister he asked them to keep their faith in Brahma, the Ultimate Reality, but renounce their belief in the worship of idols. According to philosophers there are two ways by which mystical intuition can be achieved; one, the inward way and the other, the way of Unity. By the former process the individual sinks down to self and discovers in the depth of his heart a vision of the Absolute; while by the latter method, the individual gains an intuition of the Divinity from the world of things in its multiplicity. The Shaikh's freedom from earthly bondage and his masti or spiritual ecstasy had caused an inner illumination of his soul, and the discovery of the Deity in the dwelling of his own heart, while his insistence on all-pervasive
presence of God, in the mosque of the Muslim, Churches of the Christians and the temple of the Hindus, showed that both the forms by which mystics realised God had been blended in his personality.

The Disciples.

Such liberality of views and catholicity of heart gained for him the devotion of non-Muslims like Thakur Pancham Singh, Jhonston, a member of the U.P. Police service, a Spaniard Galarza, Count of Santa Clara and a Parsi whose name is not known. Of them Thakur Pancham Singh who was an inhabitant of Malwali in Mainpuri district, turned a monk after making a waqf of his property to Pir’s Dargah, while the Spanish Count who left his country during the period of Communist rule, bequeathed his effects and some cash money by a will to the Shaikh’s mausoleum. This Count who had been in Bengal for sometimes as a teacher in St. Paul’s College, Calcutta University, heard of the Saint in London during 1902-3 from a Muslim student, Shaikh Habib Ahmad, qualifying for the bar and was mysteriously drawn towards him. He first came to Egypt where he learnt Arabic under one Hasan ‘Askari and meditated in the vast solitude of the desert adjoining the Tewfik Palace in Cairo. He then suddenly came away on board the vessel Marmora to Bombay from where he proceeded direct to Dewa by Lucknow. As the carriage tumbling along the dusty road approached the humble and unpretentious dwelling of the Shaikh, a gentle figure bent down with age, came out and received the Count with out-
stretched arms and this interview between the two men who had never seen each other in life may better be described in Galarza's own words:

"Leaning on two of his followers, the tall ascetic figure of Warith Aly Shah appeared. Blue eyes as deep and transparent as the sky; a very high and straight forehead; regular features; a white complexion and a white beard; the innocent and buoyant smile of early youth, I ran up to him quickly with the daring of rapture, and pressed my head on his heart. He folded me in his arms, and said Mahabat, Mahabat (this is love, love)". The Shaikh then enquired if he had any particular thing to ask for. "I wish to be yourself," said the Count. "Ham wa tum wahan eik jagah hounge" (I and you, there beyond, shall be in the same place), rejoined the Shaikh. Galarza then donned the robe offered by the Saint, thus acknowledging himself to be his disciple. The following day he started for Bombay and returned to Egypt by the same ship.

This dramatic interview and the hurried departure should not be taken as the freak of a man gone out of mind for, previous to this meeting with the Shaikh, Galarza knew him "to be my dearest friend and filling my heart more completely than my mother." After his return from Dewa Sharif, he used to keep for several years the garment of the Pir under his pillow and always kissed it at the time of retiring to bed and confessed that the image of the Shaikh was in course of time superseded "by the thought of that Being
transcending all form.” It is one of the romantic episodes in the history of spiritual striving and search for Enlightenment and Truth.

The Shrine:

The mausoleum of Haji Waris Ali Shah at Dewa Sharif is a modest but graceful structure entirely built of brick and mortar. It was constructed out of the voluntary contribution of the pilgrims and the proceeds of a property, yielding an income of Rs. 2,000/- endowed by a Hindu, Thakur Pancham Singh Chauhan. The design of the edifice, and the proportion of the three different parts—platform, the central hall and the dome, have made it an object of beauty lending it an effiminate grace. The holy remains of the Saint enclosed by a railing of twelve marble pillars; rests in a vaulted hall.

Waris Ali Shah opened his eyes in an humble family, he led an ascetic life and got an humble mausoleum to sleep after death and that too in an obscure village but today the rays of his spirituality attracts hundreds of thousands of humanity who come to pay their homage disregarding the barriers of race and religion twice in a year, that is, on the occasion of his nuptial ceremony (‘urs) and the fair (Mela Kartik) which was originally started by the saint himself.
VI

Chinese Art Of Making Porcelain

The art of making pottery is one of the oldest branches of human industry, and sprang from the requirements of man, desirous of finding a convenient mode of conveying the fruits of the earth to his mouth so that the appetite might be appeased and life sustained: one of the first laws of nature. The inventor of pottery, artistically so called, was Coroebus of Athens, in whose honour the aesthetic Greeks struck medals and erected statues. Pottery developed through the ages and the rude cups and bowls of the primeval races of man gave place to more attractive, beautiful, and rich porcelain of the later generations requiring great deal of labour and skill. But among all the china-ware of the world no examples are so aesthetically satisfying and interesting as those of the Chinese.

History.

M. Stanislas Julien is of opinion that the porcelain of China was made about 185 B.C. The Chinese have historical annals from the remotest period of antiquity; the first notice they have of pottery is, that it was invented in the reign of the Emperor Hoangti, in the year 2698 before the Christian era; but porcelain was first invented
under the Han dynasty, between 185 and 80 B.C., or 1600 years before it was known to the Western nations.

The Chinese kept the composition of porcelain a profound secret, and endeavoured to deceive foreigners by all manner of wonderful tales. It was only in 1518 that the Portuguese obtained their settlement at Macao, and through them Europe obtained its first specimen of china-ware. The word porcelain is unknown to the Chinese, who call the ware Tse-ki.

A Traveller’s Account.

We find a notice of porcelain in the travels of Ysbranti Ides, ambassador to China from Peter the Great in 1692. He states that “the finest, richest, and most valuable china is not exported, or at least very rarely, particularly a yellow ware, which is destined for the Imperial use, and is prohibited to all other persons. They have a kind of crimson ware, which is very fine and dear, because great quantities of it are spoiled in the baking. They have another sort, of a shining white, purfled with red, which is produced by blowing the colour through a gauze, so that both the inside and out is equally beautified with crimson spots no bigger than pin’s points, and this must be excessively dear, since for one piece that succeeds a hundred are spoiled. They have also a china purfled in the same manner with gold; also a kind of china which looks like mosaic work, or as if it had been cracked in a thousand places and set together again with-
out cement. There is another kind of violet-coloured china, with patterns composed of green specks, which are made by blowing the colours at once through a frame pierced full of holes, and this operation succeeds so rarely, that a very small basin is worth two to three hundred pounds. Specimens of white porcelain are found engraved or painted with designs in the very body of the paste in such a manner as to be only seen when held up to the light, in the same manner as the watermark upon a sheet of paper; or become visible when the vase is filled with liquid, when the imperial dragon, animals, birds, or fish, are distinguished, having no trace whatever on the surface."

**Peculiarities.**

The most curious vases with respect to manipulation are the reticulated patterns, an exterior coating being entirely cut out or perforated in patterns, and placed over another vase, generally blue. The cups so made are for drinking tea or hot liquids, as they may be held in the hand without burning the fingers.

Another remarkable decoration is produced by piercing designs of flowers, leaves and rosettes, on the paste, and filling in the spaces with glaze, giving the effect of an elegant transparent pattern this is termed "grains of rice" from the usual form of the perforations. Some other curious examples of manipulation are occasionally met with, removable bands made so as to turn round on the vase,
which although separate cannot be removed; the wonder is, that in the baking, the edges in juxtaposition should not have become cemented together.

A favourite ornamentation on ancient vases is the crackle, the method of producing it being kept a secret. This consists of a series of cracks on the outer surface of the vase in irregular designs, the fissures being sometimes filled in with red. The smaller sort, that is, when the network is very minute, is called by the French truiee, and the larger is called craquelees. Although the glaze seems at first sight to be cracked, and has quite the appearance of stoneware, cracked or marked by long use, yet on close observation it will be found that the surface is perfectly smooth, and that the vein-like numberless cracks are under the glaze and in the material itself.

The egg-shell china is so called because of its very slight texture, and although extremely thin, yet it is formed into large vase and usually beautifully enamelled; the plates of this make generally have on the back rose-coloured borders.

The representatives upon the vases, as well as the ornamentation, must be regarded in many instances as symbolical, and they convey to us information as to the philosophy and metaphysics of the Chinese. There are also symbolical colours which ancient Chinese manuscripts clearly indicate; the fundamental colours corresponding to the
five elements (water, fire, wood, metal and earth) and to the cardinal points: red belongs to fire and corresponds to the south; black to water and the north; green to wood and the east; white to metal and the west. Fire is represented by a circle, water is represented by the figure of a dragon, which on pieces destined for the emperor’s use specially, is represented with five claws, for princes four, and for commerce with three only; the mountains by a deer; birds, quadrupeds, and reptiles by their natural forms.

Such a novel industry, shrouded in romance and mythology, has been swept over by the more prosaic and mechanical process of our present day civilization. But in spite of it when we see a rare piece of china, it never fails to inspire a feeling of wonder and admiration.
VII

Gandhiji's Assessment in Terms of History

Much has been written about the life and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhism found its exponents and followers both in and outside India. But a student of history, no less patriotic than a fighter for the cause of his nation, should pause a while. The mission of the “Saviour of Asia” still awaits its fulfilment. It might appear too early to write something as to determine Gandhiji’s place in history or offer a comment on his policy judging him as a statesman, but it is feared that it will be too late, and only of antiquarian interest, when the country departs from the path shown to us by the Father of our Nation. Gandhiji comes third in the temporal series as far historical personages are concerned—Asoka, Akbar and Mahatma Gandhi. This general summing up needs elucidation to grasp its historical significance.

Asoka’s Role.

Asoka was the embodiment of the Aryan conception of kingship. He was the father of his people, their sole guide and protector. He based his administration on human considerations. The spiritual elevation of the subjects over which he
ruled, was the dominant motive. He combined in himself the double role of the 'emperor' and the 'priest' though he was a priest first and an emperor next. Asoka professed Buddhism, which is a missionary religion like Christianity and Islam. He was a staunch upholder of Buddha, the propagation of whose teachings was his life-mission. It must be said to the credit of Asoka that he granted full freedom of conscience to the followers of the rival creeds of his time and never stained his hands with the blood of religious persecutions. The tribute paid by a historian of Asoka deserves mention in this connection:

"In the annals of kingship there is scarcely any record comparable to that of Asoka, both as a man and as a ruler. To bring out the chief features of his greatness, historians have instituted comparisons between him and other distinguished monarchs in history, eastern and western, ancient and modern, pagan, Moslem, and Christian. In his efforts to establish a kingdom of righteousness after the highest ideals of a theocracy he has been likened to David and Solomon of Israel in the days of its greatest glory. In his patronage of Buddhism, which helped to transform a local into a world religion, he has been compared to Constantine in relation to Christianity; in his philosophy and piety he recalls Marcus Aurelius; he was a Charlemagne in the extent of his empire, and to some extent, in the methods of his administration, too, while his Edicts read like the speeches of Oliver Cromwell in their mannerism. Lastly, he has been
compared to Khalif Omar and Emperor Akbar, whom also he resembles in certain respects”.

This may be admitted without qualification. But Asoka was not faced with any such complicated problems which came into the forefront after the advent of Islam into India. The introduction of Islam into India is a landmark in the annals of this country. It changed the whole phase of Indian history and directed its course into entirely different channels.

Akbar The Great.

Next comes Akbar, the Great. He has been known as “the Great” not because of his successes in arms and the conquest of distant countries. He is great not because that he aimed at the political unification of the country which was only a part of his nation-building project. He would not have been conferred the title of “the Great” for his administrative abilities and achievements. He is the great rather than the greatest of the Indian statesmen who laboured for the cultural unity of the country, the evolution of a single nation out of the divergent stock of nationalities. The growth and realization of his sacred scheme and noble enterprise was checked and hampered by the orthodox reaction which followed his reign. There is much truth in the remarks of Lord Northbrooke when he visited Akbar’s tomb at Sikandra in 1873:

I. Radhakumud Mookherji, Gaekwad Lectures.
"If his (Akbar’s) policy had been followed there would have been no need for us to be here".

Here we may distinguish Asoka and Akbar. Asoka was a preacher and a missionary—a faithful devotee of the ‘Light of Asia’. He was a humanitarian, pure and simple, though wrapped in royal paraphernalia. The odds and circumstances with which he was faced were much less embarrassing than those which were in store for Akbar. Akbar was his own guru and had to tread on the thorny path of narrow-communalism and self-aggrandisement. His efforts and successes are more commendable than Asoka’s. Some one may grumble at the comparison as they belong to different ages. But this much must be kept in mind that they stood for the good of the society and the foundation and working of the Government in the interest of the nation. And hence, their respective attainments fix their place in history. No other Emperor of Hindustan stands in the order with Asoka but Akbar.

Gandhiji and Akbar.

In modern times India gave birth to one of her most illustrious sons——the soul of Buddha, Asoka and Akbar incarnated in the personality of Gandhiji. He was no king but a saint who ruled over the hearts of millions of the people. He had no royal canopy over-hanging his head but the majestic halo which surrounded his face elevated him to the heavenly pedestals. It is incorrect to say that the Mahatma followed Buddha. No
doubt he adopted many fundamentals of his creed after the fashion of Buddhism but unlike Buddha he drank deep from all available channels. His philosophy derived its inspiration essentially from the East after testing it in the alluring lights of the West. Gandhiji surpasses Asoka inasmuch as he is the expounder of a school of philosophy and the founder of a distinct creed the credit of which exclusively rests with himself. What Asoka failed to achieve or succeeded after so much kingly resources at his command, Gandhiji obtained through sheer force of his personality.

In the realm of spirituality and mysticism Akbar and Mahatma Gandhi stand on different footings. Akbar’s *Din-i-Ilahi* (Also called *Tawhid-i-Ilaahi*) or “Divine Monotheism”, was essentially an attempt to engraft Sufism on the trunk of Islam. While the Mahatma maintaining the basis of Vedic religion as expounded in the Bhagwat Gita, preached the universal brotherhood of mankind and all-pervading oneness of God who is neither communal nor non-existent. But the aims of the two were the same, which we may put in the words of Akbar:

“We ought to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be both one and all with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way, honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to peoples and security to the Empire.”
It is in the political field that Akbar and Gandhiji stand absolute comparison. Akbar launched the vigorous policy of truly making India a nation. He departed from the traditional policy of his predecessors of religious persecution, narrow-communalism and bigotry. He concluded that salvation of Hindustan lay in giving the administration of the country a secular turn keeping religion in the background. He dedicated his life to this pious object though his work was undone immediately after his death, but it was the lasting effect of his policy that Mughal Empire survived for two centuries more.

Mahatma’s Mission.

The period after the fall of Mughal Empire and the liberation of the country from foreign domination, is the darkest of all from the national point of view. It is useless to repeat the woeful tale which India suffered during her political servitude.

During the political chaos and unstability was born a regenerator who restored India to her pristine national status. The mission of Mahatma Gandhi was one of free Indian Republic—an India equally claimed as their homeland by members of all creeds and communities. Partition, rather practical severance of a single homogeneous block of the Indian people, though differing on certain fundamentals, is the heaviest blow ever delivered by the ingenuity of an alien rule who were no well-wishers of this vast sub-continent, and whose prosperity would have been an eyesore to that of their
own. This is the heinous crime of the gravest form for which India will pay in one form or the other for generations to come. The posterity shall compensate with its blood the wrong which the present generation has committed against their motherland.

Gandhi was opposed to partition but it did come. Why? The answer is yet to be satisfactorily found in the light of historical researches. But what remains of India is sufficient enough to develop her according to the notions of modern secular democracy. Gandhi preached universal toleration and brotherhood. Here he followed Akbar, but gave a wider application and a more liberal interpretation to the spirit of eclecticism and reform which characterised the age of Akbar.

Gandhi Greater than Akbar.

No one should be allowed to argue that Gandhi held no office in the state. He was not a political head. Gandhi was the ‘de facto’ sovereign of Indian Union. His spirit pervaded all ranks and the Government of the country was modelled according to his notions. Gandhi deserves all the praise of a student of history for his noble endeavours to make India a nation, a nation in which different creeds and communities should thrive without making any concessions to their conscience. If India is purged out of non-Hindu elements and she attains the status of a national state, it will go down in history as the second alternative and far less praiseworthy rather an escape from the
best and ideal which taxes the perseverance of the Indian people. That Gandhiji was sacrificed to communalism and narrow-mindedness cannot be gainsaid. His dream is still to be translated into material form. He won the martyr's crown for a cause which was dearest to his heart, and the only path leading to ultimate bliss. Hence Gandhiji though not a pioneer and a path-maker surpasses Akbar because he was put between the two extremes, between Muslim League and the reactionary section of the Hindu population. His was the solitary figure who marched on with dauntless courage with a touch of divinity in his mission. The death of Mahatma Gandhi closes another chapter in History, only an act of the drama of nation-building staged on the Indian soil. He played his part well and with a firm conviction. History waits to pass final verdict.
VIII

Indo-Muslim Architecture

Architecture.

Architecture is one of those subjects whose content is difficult to define, but in spite of this everybody has ideas, more or less hazy, as to what the word implies. It is obviously something more than mere building, though not, as some would appear to think, only concerned with buildings of the first class. The only reason therefore why all building is not architecture is that we are not yet willing or able, as the Greeks appear to have been, to make it so.

It is "imagination" which converts mere building into architecture. "For like anything else done for the amelioration of life", says Butler, "the object of architecture is to give satisfaction". A building appeals to the imagination of the beholder. But the quality of the appeal to the imagination is an aesthetic one. The building, however humble, however old, however new, how-

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ever large or small, whatever its purpose may be, must make its appeal to the imagination as a thing of beauty.

Which buildings of the world make most strongly this appeal to the aesthetic imagination, which buildings, that is to say, are considered the best architecture, will vary to a certain extent from time to time, according as the individual and racial imagination varies. In every age and country racial ambitions and feelings, like the other local conditions of religion, country, climate, available materials and the varying usages of civilization, have helped to determine the forms architecture has taken.

Tradition in building has been described as crystallized reasoning. Such tradition, such reasoning, that is to say, may or may not be logical and valid today. To discover this one must consider a little how the traditional forms came about and what were the desires and ideals to which they answered. Some of the needs, spiritual or physical, to which past architecture answered may not exist today but, whether that is so or not, the methods by which they were expressed have value. To judge fairly any past work of architecture these needs, must be known. They are the programme which the designers had before them. Although for its final and ultimate

(3) Reilly in Outline of Modern Knowledge, p. 970.
(4) Ibid., p. 971.
appeal to the imagination as a piece of abstract form it may not be necessary to appreciate that programme in all its detail, it is very necessary to understand it in order to grasp the evolution of architectural forms and to see how they have changed from age to age, crystallizing on the way into what are called the styles ⁵.

**Muslim Architecture.**

Some Western critics enjoy attributing the splendour of Muslim architecture to Byzantine and other Christian sources, thus dubbing the whole product as of derivative character. The prototype of the later mosques according to Dieulafoy and some other writers holding similar opinions, is found in the Praetorium of Phaena, now known as Mismiyyah situated between Damascus and Basra built in 169 A. D. Others with more fertile imagination attributed the origin of the horse-shoe arch to Christian Armenia. The **Mihrab** or the Prayer-niche is supposed to have been derived from the vaults and domes of the Coptic Red Convent at Sohaj. M. Saladin thinks that the Arabs borrowed ideas of massing, grouping and monumental planning from the ancient temples of Thebes and those of the Upper Nile. Rivoira ascribes all the Sassanian knowledge of vaulting to Roman sources. But these people who agree only in denying any credit to the Muslims, disagree most violently among them.

(5) Ibid., 971.
selves as to the common source of Muslim architecture.

Before they entered Hindustan, the Muslims, in their various lands of adoption, built their mosques, madrasas and mausoleums by experimenting with those traditions and materials which the new land provided, and in doing this they showed both adaptability and originality. With all this borrowing from the various architectural motives and craftsmen of different countries, they were able to create an unmistakable style of architecture styled as “Islamic” or “Saracenic” which can easily be recognized.

**Indian Architecture.**

“The history of architecture is not, as Fergusson thought, the classification of buildings in archaeological water-tight compartments according to arbitrary academic ideas of style”, says Havell, “but a history of national life and thought”. “The first duty of the historian of Indian architecture is to realise for himself the distinctive qualities which constitute its Indianness, or its value in the synthesis of Indian life”. Havell believes that for the vital creative impulse which inspired any period of Indian art, whether it be Buddhist, Jain, Hindu or Muslim, one will only find its source in the traditional Indian culture planted in Indian

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soil by Aryan philosophy, which reached its highest artistic expression before the Mughal dynasty was established and influenced the greatest works of the Muslim period as much as any others. The Muslims made use of "Hindu genius to glorify the faith of Islam". One may appreciate the sentiments of Havell but they do not stand the test of history.

Similarly, Fergusson's analysis of Indo-Muslim architecture also to some extent suffers from pro-Muslim prejudice. He declares, "there is no trace of Hinduism in the works of Jahangir and Shahjahan". To say that between Hindu and Muslim ideals there is a great gulf fixed, and the zenith of Muslim architecture was only reached by throwing off the Hindu influences which affected the "mixed" style of Indo-Muslim art, is again a denial of history.

**Indo-Muslim Architecture.**

"Seldom in the history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu", remarks John Marshall, "meeting and mingling together". "The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions, make the history of their

(8) Ibid., pp. 2, 3.

impact peculiarly instructive and lend an added interest to the art and above all to the architecture which their united genius called into being”  

The origins of the Indo-Muslim style are enveloped in obscurity on account of the absence of any Muslim monuments built between 1000 A.D. down to the close of the 9th decade of the twelfth century. The Ghaznavidles ruled Lahore for a little less than two hundred years and there must have been built some mosques and palaces during this period. But neither history nor archaeology throw any light on them.

The Ghorids were comparatively a less civilized people and no monuments of note have come down to us. It is, however, a common fact of history that by the 12th century A.D. Muslim architecture had become a fully developed art in Central Asia and Persia. Facts are on record that Indian masons had been taken to Ghazni by Sultan Mahmud and therefore, Hindu tradition of architecture must have migrated outside India before the Muslims entered it.

The history of Indo-Muslim architecture historically begins with the Muslim conquest of Northern India between 1193-1206 A.D. There arose on the ruins of Lalkot (Old Delhi: capital of Prithvi Raj) an imperial city embellished with mosques, minars and palaces built by Hindu

masons to suit the taste of the new race of conquerors and in style essentially Hindu with thin Muslim garb. But every vestige of the great palaces like Qasr-i-Sabz, Qasr-i-La‘l and Qasr-i-Sufed of the early Sultans of Delhi as mentioned by Hasan Nizami (Taj-ul-Maa‘sir) and Minhaj-us-Siraj (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri), has been lost since then.

Qutbuddin Aibak ruled as the Viceroy of Sultan Shihabuddin Mohammad Ghori down to 1206 A. D. and thereafter for four years more as an independent Sultan. Qutbuddin was not only the founder of the Sultanat of Delhi but also of Indo-Muslim architecture.

So far as general features of new style are concerned, the arch and the dome were major contributions of Islam to the development of Indian architecture. Besides, the Hindus excelled in fine workmanship particularly sculpture and the Muslims distinguished themselves in calligraphy and geometric designs.

Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque.

The construction of Jama‘ Masjid Quwwat-ul-Islam with Screen of Arches was begun by Qutbuddin Aibak in 1195 A. D. on the ruins of Qila Rai Pithaura. Raised on a lofty plinth and approached through gateways set in three of its sides, its plan is typical of the majority of mosques. Seen from within or without the building as originally designed, presented an essentially Hindu
appearance\textsuperscript{11}. The original mosque was found too small for the expanding Imperialism of Islam and was later on extended by Sultan Shamsuddin Eletmish, Balban and Alauddin Khilji.

The only relics of the mosque worthy of admiration are the Screen Arches in the direction of Qilbah and the tomb of Eletmish—built of red sandstone and profusely decorated with relief work—behind it.

The celebrated Arhai-din- ka Jhonpra (two-and-a-half day’s hut) mosque at Ajmer was built by Qutbuddin Aibak in 1200 A D. It was subsequently beautified by Eletmish by a screen. In carrying out these works, the Indian craftsmen surpassed their masters. “Nothing in Cairo or in Persia is so exquisite in detail, and nothing in Spain or Syria can approach them (the mosques at Delhi and Amjer)”, says Fergusson, “for beauty of surface decoration”\textsuperscript{12}.

Qutb Minar.

The mighty and magnificent Qutb Minar or the Tower of Victory, is all that remains today of the first capital of Islam in India. Qutbuddin Aibak started its construction and it was finished by Eletmish. It is so much Hindu in feelings and design that the archaeologists were long puzzled over its origin.

\textsuperscript{(11)} Ibid., p. 576.
Balban’s Tomb.

There is a tragic gap in the growth and development of Indo-Muslim architecture between the death of Eletmish in 1236 and the accession of ‘Ala’-uddin Khilji in 1296 A. D. The only monument of note that throws some light on its progress in the interval is the tomb of Balban (1266-86 A. D.), which stands in the south-east quarter of the Qila Rai Pithaura. It is a simple structure. Unfortunately, every trace of decoration has perished but the presence of arches built on true scientific principles, is an innovation and marks a definite advance in the building craft.

Khilji Monuments.

‘Ala’uddin Khilji stayed outside Delhi and founded a new city, Siri, known to Ziauddin Barani as the “New Town” the ruins of which are still to be seen on the left while going to Qutb Sahib\(^{12}\). ‘Ala’uddin’s Delhi was grand and graceful as we read in the poems of Amir Khusru and the chronicles of Zia Barani.

The rise of Khilji Imperialism is a very important factor in the history of Indo-Muslim architecture. ‘Ala’uddin was an ambitious man and not devoid of taste and refinement as Barani alleges. He wanted to surpass his predecessors and remain unbeaten by posterity both in war and politics, art and architecture. He wished to erect

a victory-tower of white marble, double the height and dimension of the Qutb Minar. As his dream to become the world-conqueror did not see the light of the day, so was the case with this minar, though the remains of the unfinished project point out the loftiness of his ideals and the vanity of human endeavour.

'Ala' i Darwaza.

The 'Ala' i Darwaza, built in 1311 A. D., was the Southern gateway leading into 'Ala'uddin's extension of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. The 'Ala' i Darwaza is one of the most treasured gems of Indo-Muslim architecture. Here we see the climax of Indian skill and craftsmanship. The key-notes of this building are its perfect symmetry and the structural propriety of all its parts.

Jama 'at Khanah Mosque.

Though there is some controversy as to who built this mosque at the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya, it appears certain that it was first constructed by 'Ala'uddin Khilji and some additions and alterations were made in the Tughlaq and Mughal periods. The building constructed of red sandstone is a fine specimen of the Pathan\(^{14}\) style of architecture, and earliest example in India of a

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\(^{14}\) The pre-Mughal Indo-Muslim architecture is generally but wrongly styled as "Pathan". However, it is too late to coin any new nomenclature.
mosque built wholly in accordance with Muslim ideas.¹⁵

**Tughlaq Reaction.**

With the transfer of the throne of Delhi from the Khilji to the Tughlaq dynasty, the architecture entered on a new and more austere phase. The days of its first youthful splendour were over. Lavish display of ornament and richness of detail gave way to chaste sobriety and even puritanical simplicity. The change seems almost revolu-
tionary—a change for the worse though. We miss the motive forces of this revolution in style in contemporary histories. But we may assume that the danger of the Mongol invasion and the war conditions in the country, outraged public opinion against the “reckless follies” of ‘Ala’uddin and revol-
ting vices of Qutbuddin Mubarak and Khusru Khan, religious bigotry of Tughlaqs, strain on state-
revenues and the urgent need for economy, frequent earthquakes, and the decay and dispersal of skilled craftsmen and artisans and disruption of art traditions as a consequence of the transfer of capital to Daulatabad during the reign of Mohammad Tughlaq, were the main causes which made it impossible for the architects of the period to emulate the works of their predecessors.

**Tughlaqabad.**

Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (1321-1325 A. D.) built the fortress-city of Tughlaqabad on a range of

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hills. Few strongholds of antiquity are more imposing in their ruin than this—mighty and forbidding with its lofty towers, massive cyclopean walls and frowning battlements, colossal splayed-out bastions, steep entrance-ways, all producing an impression of unassailable strength and melancholy grandeur; perhaps Nizamuddin Auliya’s curse proved true: *Ya base Gujar, ya rahe ujar.*

**The Tomb.**

Simple and massive, the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq stands on an island—like lotus in a lake. It was connected with the fort by a narrow causeway. Extremely severe in outline and sparing in decoration it forms a remarkable contrast to the profusely ornamented ‘Ala’ i Darwaza and the mausoleum of Eletmish. It reflects the reaction against the profligacy and pomp of the preceding period. Those who argue in favour of the Egyptian origin of the Tughlaq style of the days of Mohammad Tughlaq cannot overlook the fact that the plain surface, austere appearance and massive sloping or pyramidal walls originated with Ghiyasuddin who had nothing to do with the court of Cairo.

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Mohammad Tughlaq.

Mohammad Tughlaq in the first two years of his reign founded the small fortress of 'Adilabad and the city of Jahan Panah (the "World Refuge"). Adilabad was merely an extension of Tughlaqabad and almost identical with it in style and lay-out. Jahan Panah was made by enclosing the suburbs between Siri and Old Delhi. The fortifications (some 35 ft. in thickness) of this new city are barely traceable at some places. A building known as Radi Manzil, Jahan Numa or Bijay Mandal—a terraced tower-like structure—survives and is noteworthy for the presence of horse-shoe arches and intersecting vaulting. Below the Bijay Mandal, a square nameless tomb, which for beauty of proportions, both inside and out, is unsurpassed by any other example of Tughlaq architecture.

Firuz Tughlaq.

Firuz Tughlaq is the greatest of the builders in pre-Mughal India. His reign saw a period of comparative peace and the building activities were accelerated. Sham-Siraj 'Affif enumerates a long list, and Firishta a still longer, of the cities, forts, palaces, embankments, mosques, tombs and other edifices of which he was the author. Besides the foundation of the new city of Firuzabad (Delhi), he is the founder of Jaunpur, Fathabad and Hisar Firuza. He also renovated and rebuilt many of

(17) Ibid., p. 85.
the monuments of former times—a rare virtue in medieval times.

Of the many monuments of Firuz Tughlaq which have escaped effacement, the most considerable is the Kotla Firuz Shah, the palace-fort built within the city of Firuzabad. In the compound the best preserved monuments are the Jami Masjid and a pyramidal structure crowned by a pillar of Asoka\(^\text{18}\).

A smaller, but architecturally more striking group of buildings—the College and the Tomb—is found at the Hauz-i-Khas, on the remains of an older structure of ‘Ala’uddin Khilji. The College is almost in ruins. The tomb which Firuz built for himself, is a square structure and its simple dignity and unpretentiousness command admiration. The effective combination of Hindu column and Muslim arch, and their exceptionally decorative appearance, make them more attractive.

**Khan Jahan’s Tomb.**

The mausoleum of Khan Jahan Tilangani (d. 1368-69 A.D.), the Prime Minister of Firuz Tughlaq, is of historical and architectural interest. It is situated a little south of the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya. The tomb marks a new departure. Instead of being square, like all its predecessors at

\(^{18}\) For details see J. A. Page, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. (A Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah)*, No. 52.
Delhi, the tomb chamber is octagonal, surmounted by a single dome and encompassed by a low arched verandah. The Tilangani tomb served as the model for the tombs of the Sayyids and the Lodis.

Lal Gumbad.

The tomb of Kabiruddin Auliya, locally known as Lal Gumbad, possibly erected during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (1389-92 A.D.), deserves mention. It marks the revival of the more animated colouristic style of the Khiljis, which had been out of fashion for more than half a century.

Kali Masjid.

The mosques of Firuz Tughlaq’s reign are remarkably uniform in style. But Kali (Kalan) or Sanjar Masjid built by Khan Jahan’s son Jauna Shah, is planned on quite unusual lines. Instead of the area in front of the prayer chamber being an open court, it is divided into four by arcades crossing it at right angles. In appearance it is plain and massive and is a multi-domed structure.

Tughlaq Style.

Tughlaq monuments are vigorous, virile and strong, wholly sincere in purpose and free from sham. They strike awe and terror in the hearts of the visitors. Though the Tughlaq Sultans were orthodox Muslims, they were not altogether in-
different to beauty and no escape was possible from Indian traditions of architecture. They took to the device of contrast of colour for heightening the aesthetic effect. Much of the mentality underlying and controlling the design was fundamentally Indian. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the longer the Muslims remained in India, the more deeply imbued did their art become with Indian feeling.¹⁹

_Tombs of the Sayyids._

In spite of the new movement which Lal Gumbad happened to inaugurate, broad features of the Tughlaq style held ground down to the end of the Afghan dynasties of Delhi. The chief and best examples of architecture of the Sayyid period are the tombs of the kings and nobles. They follow the pattern of the Tilangani tomb, each succeeding structure being an improvement on the design of its predecessors.

In the mausoleum of Mubarak Shah, the central dome was raised substantially higher, pinnacles (_guldastas_) were added and the finial was replaced by an arched lantern. The height of the verandah was also increased.

In the tomb of Mohammad Shah the architects went a step further by providing subordinate

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kiosks (chhatris) and second range of pinnacles (guldastas). Blue enamelled tiling to give emphasis to decorative features, the elaborate and highly refined treatment of surface ornaments, the lotus finials and other Indian motifs, were innovations and the distinctive traits of the Sayyid architecture.²⁰

Lodi Buildings.

With the rise of the Lodis, Indo-Muslim architecture developed into a charming Indian style. The Pathans had become thoroughly Indianized and Hindu tradition if not positively un-Islamic had no repugnance in their eyes.

The Lodis did not build any new Delhi. The tomb of Bahlul is the best preserved specimen of Lodi architecture. It is a modest size mausoleum of one storey. Here for the first time we come across with lean-to roofing which attained its luxuriant perfection in the Turkish Sultana palace at Fathpur-Sikri.

Sultan Sikandar Lodi transferred his capital from Delhi to his newly founded city of Agra. Though Sikandar lived and ruled in Agra he wished his earthly remains to be buried in Delhi. Not far from Safdar Jang lies the mausoleum of Sikandar Lodi in the midst of a large and ruined quadrangle, more extensive than that of Sikandrah. Enamelled tiles of various colours have been

(20) Ibid., pp. 594, 595.
used in a variety of patterns both inside and outside the building indicating a marked tendency towards a richer and more lavish display of ornament. A still more important feature of this tomb is the use made in it of the double dome. This invention along with the walled enclosure for the tomb played an all-important part in the evolution of Mughal architecture.\textsuperscript{21} The Lodi style does not represent only the departure from the simple, severe and sloping architecture of the Tughlaqs but is a link between the Pathan and the Mughal. The Mughals may not feel grateful for the empire they wrested from the Lodis but they are certainly indebted to them for what they inherited in the field of art and architecture.

\textit{Sur Interregnum.}

The empire of the Mughals was founded by Babur in 1526 A.D., but he left no impression whatever on the Indian building tradition. Babur’s son and successor Humayun lost and and regained the throne of Delhi. During the interval another dynasty of the Afghans, the Surs, held sway over the country. Appearing like a bright comet on the horizon of Hindustan, Sher Shah did splendid work in the field of politics and administration, art and architecture. His short but glorious reign is a landmark in the history of Indo-Muslim architecture.

Sher Shah built a new city of Delhi, the founda-

\textsuperscript{(21) Ibid., p. 595,}
tion of which had been laid by his rival Humayun Padshah under the name of Din Panah which later on became famous as Shergarh and is now known as Purana Qila.

Within the citadel of Sher Shah's Delhi the only extant buildings are the Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque and another red stone structure octagonal in shape known as Sher Mandal, a corruption of Sher Manzil, and wrongly labelled as Humayun's Library.

Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque.

As in administration, so in architecture we see the spirit of nationalism at work—a Sur legacy far too important for the Mughals. Outwardly the Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque,—neat, well-proportioned with domes and pointed arches,—is Muslim but the interior has a decisively pleasing Hindu atmosphere. Fergusson's remark that Pathans built like giants and finished like goldsmiths, applies nowhere better than in the style of this mosque.

Sher Shah's Mausoleum.

The contribution of Sher Shah's mausoleum at Sahasram in the evolution of Indo-Muslim architecture is too great to be emphasized. There is a link, a stage of development from the tomb of Sher Shah to that of Humayun; and Humayun's tomb is a connecting link between the Taj and the mausoleum of Sher Shah.
The construction of the tomb was begun by Sher Shah himself and completed by his son Salim or Islam Shah. It is situated in the midst of an artificial lake and impresses the visitor by its excellently designed background, massiveness, manly grace and delicate finish.

From Sher Shah’s death in 1545 A.D. until Akbar laid the foundations of the fort of Agra in 1564 A.D., with the exception of Humayun’s Tomb, examples of the building art are rare.

Humayun’s Tomb.

As in the case of Babur, Humayun also did not exercise any direct influence on the contemporary architecture but his mausoleum, built eight years after his death by his widow Haji Begam, “is not only one of the most arresting examples of the building art in India, but it is also an outstanding landmark in the development of the Mughal style” 22. It is the first garden-tomb of Indian Mughals and is of special interest as being to some extent the model of the inimitable Taj. In spirit and in structure Humayun’s tomb stands as an example of the synthesis of two of the great building traditions of Asia—the Persian and the Indian. Havell describes it as “a Persianized version of Sher Shah’s tomb” 23. Sir Sayyid

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(22) Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period), Bombay, p. 96.

Ahmad Khan is very lavish in his praise of the building. A poet has eulogized the monument thus:

Har ke khwahad ke bebinad shakl-i-Firdaus-i-barin,

Gu biya in qasr wa in bagh-i-Humayun ra bebin.24

Jahangiri Mahal.

With the accession of Akbar building activities descended into happy channels and more of Indianization was the watchword. Within the fortress-palace of Agra only one building of the days of Akbar, Jahangiri Mahal, remains intact. The Jahangiri Mahal exemplifies a stage of transition between the Hindu type of palace as seen for instance in the Man Mandir at Gwalior built towards the end of the fifteenth century, and the domestic requirements of a Muslim ruler in the sixteenth century.

There were two other palace fortresses of this class built by Akbar, one at Lahore, and the other at Allahabad. The workmen engaged at Lahore appear to have been more imaginative in their ornamental accessories than their fellow-craftsmen at Agra.

The palace fortress at Allahabad begun in 1583 stands at the junction of the Ganges and Yamuna. It is larger than Lahore and Agra. The opulent style of the Zanana Palace, the only monument which has escaped destruction, suggests the growing wealth and power of Akbar.

Of an entirely different class from any of the foregoing is the fort at Ajmer built in 1570 A. D. and evidently devised to function as a spearhead to Akbar’s advancing frontiers.

**Fathpur-Sikri.**

Akbar’s greatest building activities began in 1569 A. D., when he laid the foundation of Fathpur-Sikri, near Agra,—a wonderful memorial of his tact and genius as a statesman and a builder. Space fail to enumerate even in the most summary fashion the architectural marvels of this dream-city, the romance in stones. Fergusson considers it impossible to conceive anything so picturesque in outline or any building carved to such an extent, without the smallest approach to being over-done or in bad taste ²⁵.

The buildings at Sikri consist of two broad categories, religious and secular, and for beauty and richness of design rank amongst the finest in India. The Jami `Masjid, a copy of one at Mecca and extensively inlaid with marble and enamel,

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is second to none in the country. The white marble shrine, in the courtyard of the mosque, covering the mortal remains of Shaikh Salim Chishti, is one of the most beautiful specimens of Mughal architecture. The Southern gateway of the great mosque, known as Buland Darwaza or Lofty Portal, a name justified by the fact that it is the highest of Indian gateways, and among the largest in the world, is "one of the most perfect architectural achievements in the whole of India."  

Of the domestic buildings Jodh Bai’s palace is the largest, but Raja Bir Bal’s house and the Turkish Sultana appartments, are the most charming and elegant. Both are minutely carved from top to bottom, exteriorly and interiorly with geometrical and other patterns. In some cases, such as in the Khwabgah and Bibi Maryam’s Kothi, the brush of the painter has taken the place of the sculptor’s chisel, and we find the columns, walls and ceilings decorated with frescos.  

The most curious and striking structures are the Panch Mahal and the Diwan-i-Khas. They are full of interest to the student of Indo-Muslim architecture, the artist, and the antiquarian. Perfect co-ordination between its structural and decorative elements, is necessary for a great school


of architecture. "If we are to distinguish between fine building and noble architecture", observes Professor Lethaby, "this organic unity must be the test." And Akbar's architecture has passed this test. It was his policy to make everything meet halfway whether in politics or in religion or in art. He experimented with the principles of Sulh-i-Kul (peace with all) and Sultan-ul-'Aql (Lord-Reason) in statecraft and the same philosophy is imprinted in mystic lines of the architecture of the red stone city of Sikri.

Sikandarah.

The last important building in which Akbar was personally concerned was his tomb at Sikandarah, near Agra, which was commenced by himself and completed by his son Jahangir in 1613 A.D. It is composed of five square terraces, diminishing as they ascend, and the only edifice of the period at all resembling it is Akbar's five storeyed pavilion, or Panch Mahal, at Fathpur-Sikri, designed after the model of a Buddhist Vihara. The absence of the traditional dome or Chhatri on the top storey, has given rise to speculations. Some say that the tomb looks truncated having no head. But a thorough scrutiny of the upper storey brings home the point that the cenotaph of the Sun-worshipper Akbar was purposely left open—open to the rays of the Sun.

The mausoleum is one of the most ambitious

(28) W.R. Lethaby, Medieval Art, pp. 12, 13.
productions attempted by the Mughals. To many the structure might appear architecturally incongruous and ineffective. But Jahangir honoured his father with a tomb which harmonized with the taste and character of Akbar.

Sikandarah not only enshrines the mortal remains of Akbar but is his living personification. The style is unique and there seems reflected the artistic, eclectic and cosmopolitan nature of the versatile monarch.

*I‘timad-ud-daulah.*

Another famous building of Jahangir’s reign at Agra, the tomb of I‘timad-ud-daulah, a distinguished nobleman and father of Jahangir’s queen Nur Jahan, by whom it was built in 1628 A. D., is almost equally exceptional in other ways. The lavishly ornate spotless white marble mausoleum marks the supreme triumph of feminine influence on Mughal architecture and is a thing of rare beauty. Nur Jahan’s creation stands in a class by itself and represents a new trend—the transition from the Indianized art of Akbar’s reign to the Persianized style of Shah Jahan’s time. Its *pietra dura* inlay, corner minarets, choice of riverbank site, its arrangement of lawns and parterres, pools and fountains, and pathways and streamlets—all is sure to have inspired the architect of the Taj*.

(29) Cf. N. L. Chatterji, “Itamaduddaulah’s Tomb at Agra”, *Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum, August, 1954,*
The Age of Marble:

With the accession of Shah Jahan the lyrical age of Indo-Muslim architecture began. Shah Jahan, like Akbar, had unlimited ambition for building. But there was a marked transformation in temper and treatment. It was an age of marble as against red sandstone. The style became more Persianized and the traditions of Akbar received a set-back.

Buildings Aat gra.

Shah Jahan built many buildings within the Agra fort. The most important of these are the Khas Mahal (Private Palace), the Shish Mahal (Palace of Mirrors), the Musamman Burj (Octagonal Tower), the Diwan-i-Khas (Hall of Private Audience), the Diwan-i-‘Am (Hall of Public Audience), and the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque).

The Khas Mahal or the haram of Shah Jahan, also called Aramgah-i-Muqaddas (Holy Abode of Rest), “With all its feeble prettiness, but at the same time marked with that peculiar elegance which is found only in the East”⁵⁵, still reminds of its past glory. The Diwan-i-Khas, mentioned in Persian chronicles as Ghusl Khanah (i.e. Bath), is “one of the most elegant of Shah Jahan’s buildings, being wholly of white marble inlaid with coloured stones, and the design of the whole being in the best style of his

The Moti Masjid is a chaste structure of white marble situated on a high ground sloping from west to east, and commands a good view of the imperial buildings. The central chamber is surmounted by three graceful domes resting on a triple row of pillars which, in all distant views, in the eloquent words of Bayard Taylor, “are seen like silvery bubbles which have rested a moment on its walls, and which the west breeze will sweep away.”

*Taj Mahal.*

All the architectural experiences recede into the background when compared with that materialized vision of loveliness know as the Taj Mahal, a monument which marks the “perfect moment” in the evolution of Indo-Muslim architecture. The broad conception of this unique memorial can only be attributed to the imaginative mind of Shah Jahan himself, but it was the genius of Ustad Ahmad Lahori, entitled as *Nadir-ul-‘Asr*, which translated his ideal into such a perfection of architectural accomplishment. The Taj is not only the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal but Mumtaz herself if analysed poetically and that is why it is unrivalled for its tender beauty in the whole of the world.

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(31) Ibid., II. 308,

(32) Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)*, p. 116,

(33) Cf. Author's article “Architect of the Taj”, Supra, No. IV.
Buildings at Lahore.

The alterations in the group of palaces within the fort of Lahore were similar to those effected at Agra, a number of Akbar's sandstone structures being swept away to make room for pavilions of a more approved type. In their place rose most of the buildings towards the northern side of the enclosure such as the Diwan-i-‘Am, the Khwabgah (Bed Room), the Shish Mahal, the Musamman Burj and the Naulakha, but some of these have again been subjected to modifications and elaborations at a later date\(^{34}\).

Palace at Delhi.

After a reign of eleven years at Agra, Shah Jahan desired to move his capital to Delhi. The foundation of the city of Shahjahanabad was laid in 1638 A. D., its principal feature being the palace fortress, the Qila h-i-Mu‘alla now known as Lal Qila or Red Fort.

Though the palace at Agra is perhaps more picturesque, and historically certainly more interesting, than that of Delhi, the latter had the immense advantage of being built at once and on one uniform plan. What Shah Jahan built at Agra is soberer, and in somewhat better taste than at Delhi. Nevertheless, ‘the palace at Delhi is, or rather was the most magnificent palace in the

\(^{34}\) Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period), pp. 110, 111.
East—perhaps in the world”\textsuperscript{35}. “Every feature of this plan is regular and formal, most of it being laid out in squares. there is hardly an oblique line or curve in the entire scheme. The finest art was lavished on the succession of palaces along the eastern wall so that when in its prime no series of buildings could have been more resplendent”\textsuperscript{36}.

The great hall of the Diwan-i-‘Am is the central feature of the eastern side of the court which is entered through the Naubat Khanah (Music Gallery). The inside of the hall is divided up by columns into three aisles. The western facade is adorned with ten columns supporting engrafted arches. Set in a recess in the centre of the back wall is a marble baldachin known as the \textit{Nashiman-i-Zill-i-Ilahi} (the seat of the shadow of God). Here on ceremonial occasions the famous Peacock Throne (\textit{Takht-i-Ta’us}) was installed, that jewelled magnificence since destroyed, but illustrations of which are preserved in some of the Mughal miniature painting.

The Rang Mahal (Palace of Colour), so called from coloured decoration with which it was formerly adorned, was the largest of the apartments of the royal haram, and in the time of Shah Jahan was known as the Imtiyaz Mahal (Palace of Distinction). ‘Abdul Hamid Lahori writes of it: “In

\textsuperscript{(35)} Fergusson, \textit{History of Indian and Eastern Architecture}, II, 309.

\textsuperscript{(36)} Percy Brown, p. 111.
excellence and glory it surpasses the eight-sided throne of heaven, and in lustre and colour it is far superior to the palaces in the promised paradise.\(^{37}\)

A beautiful feature of the Rang Mahal is the Nahr-i-Bihisht, or the Canal of Paradise, which passes through it, and its setting besides being a gracefully ornate conception, accords perfectly with its architectural surroundings. It consists of a shallow marble basin sunk in pavement, the perfumed water bubbling up out of a silver lotus flower on a slender stem rising from the centre. The design of the basin also consists of a large lotus-form of delicately modelled petals contained within a square bordered frame, the whole patterned so exquisitely as to move Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan to remark that “the waving of the plants and flowers under the dancing water is nothing less than a scene of magic (‘\textit{Alam-i-Tilismat}’).\(^{38}\)

The Diwan-i-Khas was also known as the Shah Mahal (Royal Palace). Fergusson considers it “if not the most beautiful, certainly the most highly ornamented of all Shah Jahan’s buildings. It is larger, certainly, and far richer in ornament than that at Agra, though hardly so elegant in design; but nothing can exceed the beauty of the inlay of precious stones with which it is adorned, or the

\(^{37}\) Also Cf. \textit{Asar-us-Sanadid}, Chap. II, pp. 9, 10.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., Chap. II, p. 11.
general poetry of the design”89. It is round the roof of this hall that the famous couplet runs:

Agar firdaus bar ru'e-zamin ast,
Hamin ast-o-hamin ast-o-hamin ast!

Jami Masjid.

The Masjid-i-Jahan Numa or the Jami Masjid was built on a hillock outside the fort within the precincts of the city of Shahjahanabad. It was finally completed in 1658 A.D. The advantage of the height gives it a commanding appearance. The interior of this sanctuary is as logical in its design as the exterior. It is one of the finest and most elegant mosques of the world and one of the masterpieces of Shah Jahan. Against the background of red sandstone, the insertion of white and black marble produce a singular aesthetic effect. The inscription on the fourth door of the central Chamber reads:—

Gar za taq-o-qubbah-i-maqsurah ash ju'enishan,
Hech natawan guft ghayr az kahkashan-o-asman;
Fard bude qubbah gar, gardun na bude sani-ash,
Taq bude taq gar, juft-ash na bude kahkashan.40

Aurangzeb.

Whatever the causes, whether personal, political or both, the architectural productions during the

(39) Fergusson, II, 311.
(40) Cf. Asar-us-Sanadid, Chap. III, pp. 7, 8,
later half of the seventeenth century were less numerous and of a lower standard than those erected before. The buildings that were built under Aurangzeb reveal his morose disposition and orthodox ideals.

In 1662, Aurangzeb added the small but chaste Moti Masjid or Pearl Mosque to the buildings in the fort of Delhi. The Pearl Mosque does not belie its name as it is a choice marble structure of the most polished type.

The Jami* or Badshahi Mosque at Lahore, erected in 1674 A. D., "is a building of considerable merit and the latest specimen of Mughal architectural style"41.

In the now decayed city of Aurangabad, the "Delhi of the South", the mausoleum of Rabiy‘ah Daurani, wife of the Emperor Aurangzeb, built by his third son ‘Azam Shah in 1678 A. D., is illustrative of the decline and deterioration in taste and style and in the building art in general.

Aurangzeb himself lies buried in the court of the tomb of Shaikh Zain-ud-din at Khuldabad, a small hamlet just above the caves of Ellora, and with him also sleeps the Tartar glory.

(41) Fergusson, II, 321. Also see Percy Brown, pp. 120, 121,
These are some of the gems of the Indo-Muslim architecture. But without the courts and corridors connecting them, without the running water and blossoming gardens, without laughing beauties and singing birds and the havoc wrought by time and terrene, they loose all their meaning and more than half their beauty. Situated in the middle of desolation all round, they look like jewels torn from their settings.
IX

Origin and Authorship of Qutb Minar

Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century a heated controversy raged over the origin and authorship of the Qutb Minar. Scholars like Cooper and Sleemann maintained the alleged Hindu origin of this great tower. But a strong stimulus was provided when Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a well-informed orientalist, put forward before the world that this splendid fabric was the creation of Rai Pithaura or Prithvi Raj. Sir Sayyid played the role of a true historian and it does credit to the catholicity of his heart and unbiased outlook. Major-General A. Cunningham¹ and Walter Ewer² have fully refuted the arguments of Sir Sayyid supporting the Hindu origin of the Minar. But it is interesting to note that Sir Sayyid Ahmad had already modified his own views in the second edition of Asar-us-Sanadid (Newal Kishore Press, 1895) which was published in his lifetime as he died in 1898 at Aligarh. He subscribed to the view that the Qutb Minar “was a minar of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque built by Eletmish.”³

(2) Asiatic Researches, vol. XIV, Calcutta, 1822.
(3) Asar-us-Sanadid, 2nd ed., pp. 54-57.
Another Controversy.

The controversy seemed to have subsided with the dawn of the present century establishing the Muslim origin of the Qutb Minar. But another controversy continued as to whom should the authorship of the Minar be ascribed—to Qutbuddin Aibak or to Sultan Eletmish, his protege and successor? The official view-point effected a compromise between the two and held that the construction of the minar was begun by Qutbuddin Aibak, and Eletmish finished it. Still some historians come forward with a theory to support the Hindu origin of the Qutb Minar.

Conception underlying construction.

The Buddhists are known to us as great tower-builders. To use the Buddhist language, ‘Jaya Stambha’, or the ‘tower of victory’ was also adopted by Jains to commemorate their exploits. According to some, Hindus excelled in a class of monuments to which the Qutb Minar belongs. But even Havell, a staunch upholder of the Buddhist-Hindu traditions in art and architecture, goes only to the extent of regarding the Qutb Minar ‘a saracen modification of the Indian type, of which the two towers at Chittor are the best extant examples.’ He nevertheless accepts that the tower of Qutbuddin was a mazanah having no connection with the adjacent mosque. But the truth must be searched out of the narrow province of the Hindu or Buddhist art traditions.
Every mosque has its necessary adjunct, minars, attached or detached, from where the muazzin should summon the faithful for prayer. Vincent A. Smith (History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon) regards the Qutb Minar as a detached minar of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, which subsequently came to be regarded as the tower of victory proclaiming the might of Islam as a new force and a potent factor in the lands of the infidels. "The minaret", as Sir George Birdwood observes, "is the one original feature the Saracens contributed to architecture." Commenting on the Qutb Minar, Mr. Surendra Nath Sen remarks: "The minar is so obviously Islamic in style and character that we may safely dismiss the story of Rajput origin as absolutely unfounded."

Essentially Islamic.

Therefore we have reasons to subscribe to the views expressed by Fergusson and John Marshall when they hold the Qutb Minar to be the most perfect example of a tower known to have existed anywhere. The whole conception of the minar, and almost every detail of its construction and decoration, is essentially Islamic. Towers of this kind were unknown to the Indians, but to the Muslims they had long been familiar whether as Mazanahs attached to the mosque or as pre-standing towers like those at Ghazni. Today the only monuments of note

(5) Sen, Delhi and Its Monuments, p. 4.
that are known to survive at Ghazni are the tomb of Mahmud the Great and two minars or the towers of victory, the one erected by Mahmud himself and the other by one of his successors, Masud. For us the minars are especially interesting as being the prototypes of the Qutb Minar and analogous to the towers of Damghan in Persia and Mujdah and Tauq in Mesopotamia. The towers at Chittor and Mandu, erected at a later date, are but poor imitations of the Qutb Minar in planning and characteristic features. As far as the Qutb Minar is concerned, the calligraphic inscriptions and elaborate stalactite corbelling beneath the balconies, both of which can be traced back to kindred features in the antecedent architecture of Western Asia and Egypt, are equally distinctive of Muslim art and do not form only a patch-work on the outer surface of the minar and hence not an afterthought.

**Objects of construction.**

The objects underlying the construction of this lofty column, called Qutb Minar, according to A. Cunningham, are twofold. The first Muslim conquerors were an energetic race, whose conceptions were as bold and daring as their actions. When the zealous Muslim looked on the great city of Delhi, the metropolis of the princely Tomars and the haughty Chauhans his first wish would have been to humble the pride of the infidel; his second, to exalt the religion of the Prophet. To attain both of these objects, the Muslims built this lofty column from whose summit the *Muazzin's call*
to prayer could be heard on all sides by Hindus as well as by Muslims. This noble monument also towered majestically over the loftiest house in the city. Some writers express doubt as to whether this minar served the purpose of a Mazanah. Mr. Surendra Nath Sen argues that the very height of the minar rendered it useless for the purpose of a Mazanah. But the fact that the Qutb Minar was actually used as a Mazanah might be inferred from the statement of Shams-Siraj ‘Affi who, about 1380 A. D., records that the magnificent minar in the Jama‘ Masjid of Old Delhi was built by Sultan Shamsuddin Eletmish. The fact is placed beyond all doubt by Abul Fida who wrote about A.D. 1300. He describes the Mazanah of the Jama‘ Masjid at Delhi as made of red stone and very lofty, with many sides and 360 steps. Now this description can be applied only to the Qutb Minar, which, as it at present stands, has actually 379 steps. But we know that the minar was struck by lightning during the reign of Firuz Shah Tugnlaq. The puritanical Sultan rebuilt the upper two storeys in 1368 A. D. and perhaps, these nineteen steps were added by him. This fact also illustrates the difference between the design of the first three storeys of the minar and the two uppermost. To hold that the three lower storeys were the outcome of Hindu workmanship and only the remaining two upper storeys belong to Muslims, is to ignore glaring historical facts.

Nagiri Inscriptions.

Much confusion has been caused by the presence
of Nagiri inscriptions on the Qutb Minar. Mr. Beglar in the Archaeological Survey Report (Vol. IV) has pointed out three Nagiri inscriptions in support of his theory that the Qutb Minar is of Hindu origin:

(i) On the plinth outside to the right side of the entrance is inscribed “Samvat 1256”.

(ii) On the wall of the passage of the inside door to the left “Samvat (1. 256”.

(iii) Under the lowest arch-stone “Samvat 1256.”

Mr. Beglar argued that the building must have been constructed very early, prior to Muslim conquest. Maj-Gen. Cunningham was shown all the three inscriptions. He asked Beglar, his assistant, to insert the missing figure before Samvat 256, and here the novice broke down before the master. The missing numeral could be one only giving the date Samvat 1256. So the date, converted into Christian era, gives the year 1199 A. D., as the year of the completion, (perhaps of the first storey or at best the second).

Others put forward the word ‘Pirthi’, inscribed on the minar, as giving an indication, rather a positive proof, that the mighty tower was built by Prithvi Raj. But if the inscription ‘Pirthi” had been of an old date, it must have been noticed by eminent experts like Cunningham, Beglar, Walter Ewer, E. Thomas and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan,
The word finds no place in the records of the researches of these archaeological experts. It is sheer fraud practised by someone to create confusion in the existing order of things, and certainly in more recent times. One thing more must be kept in mind. The despoils of Hindu temples and buildings were freely used in the construction of Muslim buildings. Hence, pieces of stone having some inscription can be discovered in a purely Muslim building. That inscription should not be treated as the conclusive evidence regarding the authorship or origin of a building. It must be weighed and tested along with other relevant facts.

Muslim Genius.

Mr. Beglar holds that the geometrical progress in the distances between the bands of beautiful inscriptions on the Qutb Minar, could not be the work of "barbarous Muhammadan conquerors, but of intellectual Hindus". Such an assumption betrays a total want of knowledge of the history of the Islamic peoples not only in India but in Arabia, Spain, Persia and Central Asia. By the close of the twelfth century, when Muslims established their power permanently in India, "it was no longer a case of their having to be tutored by their new subjects in the art of building", as John Marshall puts it, "they themselves were already possessed of a highly-developed architecture of their own, as varied and magnificent as the contemporary architecture of Christian Europe; and the Muslims, moreover, who conquered India—men of Afghan, Persian and Turkish blood—were endowed with
remarkably good taste and a natural talent for building. The picture that some writers have
drawn of them as wild and semi-barbarous hill-
men descending on an ancient and vastly superior
civilization, is far from truth.”

So, when the Muslims conquered Northern India
and built the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque and the
Minar, they had outgrown the stage of barbarity of
the pre-Islamic age of Arabia or the nomads of
Turkistan. The Muslims had already created a
civilization superior to any in the then existing
world. They were not devoid of intellectualism
which was surely not a monopoly either of the
Hindus or the Greeks. If the Musalmans had
developed anything in the decorative art, it was
certainly the geometric design, which was almost
a passion with them either in planning a garden or
carving jali work of stone to beautify their palaces
and mosques.

Inscriptions.

History of the Qutb Minar is written in its own
inscriptions. Mr. Walter Ewer took great pains
in deciphering them. The fruits of his labour are
preserved in a paper by him in the Asiatic
Researches.⁶

Another attempt was made by E. Thomas, in
collaboration with Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan⁷. A

⁶ "An Account of the Inscriptions on the Cootub Minar”,
vol. XIV, Calcutta 1822, pp. 480-89.
⁷ Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi.
recent and masterly survey of the whole inscriptions can be had in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica edited by Ghulam Yazdani (1911-12). A perusal of these records leaves no shadow of doubt as to the authenticity and genuineness of the inscriptions. The partnership of so many sultans of Delhi in the construction and repair of this minar is clearly marked.

Who built this Tower?

Now the only question which remains to be considered is, which of the Muslim sultans should be regarded as the builder of this noble and massive edifice? Apparently the race for authorship of the minar is between Qutbuddin Aibak and Eletmish, his son-in-law and successor. There is one inscription, Al-Amir-ul-Isfahalar-ul-Ajall-ul-Kabir (the amir, the commander of the army, the glorious, the great) in the first and the lower-most band of the basement storey of the minar. It refers to Qutbuddin Aibak and Mr. Thomas declares it to be “a further record of his (Qutbuddin’s) active participation” in the erection of the building. Mr. R. N. Munshi, on the other hand, holds that Shamsuddin Eletmish was the actual builder of the Qutb Minar. He criticises the above-mentioned inscription and accounts for it differently. He says, “The very inception of Altamash’s (Eletmish’s) career from his purchase as a slave was solely indebted to Kutbuddin (Qutbuddin)—So it is this deep sense of gratitude and gratefulness

(8) The History of the Kutb Minar, Bombay, 1914.
which, we think, led Sultan Altamash (Eletmish) to inscribe on the minar the name of his master and father-in-law—the name that should have been so dear to him”. He gives reason and relies on the statements of Shams-Siraj, Abul Fida, Sultan Firuz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi who call the minar by the name of Sultan Eletmish. One of the inscriptions read that the erection of this minar was ordered by Shamsuddin Eletmish. But this inscription is contradicted by another which runs: ‘The completion of this edifice was ordered by the King, helped by the heavenly grace, the Sun of Truth and Religion, Eletmish”.

Two other Inscriptions.

Apart from one inscription giving the titles of Qutbuddin Aibak, there are two other inscriptions to the name of Mohammad bin Sam, that is, Sultan Shahabuddin Mohammad Ghori. The explanation advanced by R. N. Mushi is that the consideration which led Eletmish to inscribe the name of Qutbuddin Aibak on the basement of the lower storey, also motivated him to inscribe the name of Mohammadbin Sam. That is to say, it was sheer gratitude and gratefulness on the part of Eletmish. But Mohammad bin Sam was the master of Qutbuddin Aibak, who ruled his territories of Hindustan in his name. It, therefore, must be attributed to Qutbuddin, not to Eletmish, who did not owe allegiance to Ghor at the time of his accession. Eletmish sought the investiture from the Khalifah of Baghdad in order to ensure his supremacy and independence over the Indian territories. He had
nothing to do with Ghor or Mohammad Ghori. But Qutbuddin was a slave of Mohammad bin Sam and he engraved the name of the latter on the Qutb Minar, as he did on the gateway of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque.

But the statement of Shams-Siraj, Abul Fida, Firuz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi still remains to be contradicted. “The statements of Abul Fida, Shams-Siraj, and Sikandar Lodi”, observes Cunningham, “all of which agree in calling this pillar the minar of Altamish (Eletmish), may, perhaps, be explained as conveying only the popular opinion, and are certainly not entitled to the same weight as the two inscriptions on the basement storey, which record name and title of Mohammad bin Sam, the Suzerain of Qutbuddin Aibak, whose name is now attached to the pillar. The absence of Altamish’s (Eletmish’s) name in the inscription of the lower storey is, I think, a conclusive proof that he himself did not claim it as his own work”. There is much weight in this argument and the concensus of opinion is in favour of the fact that Qutbuddin was the founder of the Qutb Minar, and only finished (at the most) the first storey. Eletmish, his son-in-law and successor, completed the unfinished project of his master. However, it should be noted that the Qutb Minar is named not after Qutbuddin Aibak but after Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki of Ush (near Baghdad), who lies buried near by, and is popularly known as Qutb Sahib. He was a disciple and apostolic successor to Shaikh Muinuddin Chishti.
To conclude, Mr. R. N. Munshi says: "The name of a Hindu Raja is very erroneously associated by some with the Minar known to us as the Kutb Minar. But a stambha or a pillar of Rai Pithaura or a Prithvi Minar would surely be a mad absurdity. What reason or reasons can be assigned to the building of this mighty minar by a Hindu Raja? The name of the Kutb Minar which is traditionally handed down to us from posterity is a proof positive that the Minar is out-and-out a Mohamedan edifice". Also, there is much force in the assertion of Ziauddin when he says that no better and stronger proofs can be adduced in support of the origin and authorship of the Minar unless the dead were to rise from their graves and claim on oath this splendid fabric as their own creation.
Religiosity of 'Umar Khayyam

Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the Bough,  
A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse—and Thou  
Beside me singing in the Wilderness—  
And Wilderness is Paradise enow.  

—Khayyam

'Umar Khayyam needs no introduction. Born at Naishapur in Khorasan in the latter half of the eleventh century of the Christian era, and dead within the first quarter of the twelfth, 'Umar has been raised to the pinnacle of prominence and popularity from the limbo of oblivion in which he had otherwise been destined to live. Today, Khayyam's adherents hail from all over the world disregarding the barriers of race and religion. He is worshipped as an apostle who preached the gospel of "eat, drink and be merry,"—a doctrine having the charms of its own, and most practical in many ways.

Khayyam's outlook of life and the world has been a matter of great controversy and speculation. Zealots of various schools of philosophy and religion try to snatch away Khayyam within their fold. Some believe him to be a mystic of high order. Others regard him to be a man of religion. There
are also others who condemn 'Umar Khayyam as the most sensuous of men, having nothing to do with religion or philosophy, satisfying his lust with women and wine. Cold critics hold that Khayyam offers nothing categorically. He was a poet, pure and simple, and in his flights of poetic imagination wrote what he felt and perceived at different times and in varying circumstances. He has no cut-and-dried system of thought whatsoever. But a dispassionate study of Khayyam based on his Rubaiyat reveals the man and his philosophy.

The venom poured by Khayyam on the instability of the world and its passing glory, the emphasis on the Present, the homage paid to wine, the all-wise, and a disregard for worldly pursuits owes its gradual hardness as Khayyam moves on and to expound a philosophy of life, characteristic of himself.

Khayyam teaches that a man must care for the Present as he thinks it fruitless to brood over the dead Past which is not to return. The Future is unforeseen, and no one could foretell what is to come. Far-sighted and sagacious persons may ridicule it as unwise, but Khayyam knows that the element of accident plays the determining role in a man's life. Time at one's disposal is very short; hence he hastens to make the best of it:

Ah, fill the Cup- what boots it to repeat
How Time is slipping underneath our feet;
Unborn Tomorrow and dead Yesterday,
Why fret about them if Today be sweet!
One Moment in Annihilation's Waste,
One Movement, of the Well of Life to taste—
The Stars are setting and the Caravan
Starts for the Dawn of Nothing

—Oh, make haste!

Notwithstanding the outward profession of
profligacy and frivolity there is a deep and touching
strain of sobriety in Khayyam, the man and the
philosopher. Khayyam is not inconsistent, neither
does he indulge in hasty generalisations. He ponders
over the matter, argues, and then comes to a
conclusion—a creed for himself, an article of faith
for his admirers almost sacred like any book of
religion. Khayyam says:

Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint, and heard great Argument
About it and about: but evermore,
Came out by the same Door as in I went.

Our philosopher is in search of Truth, the
Ultimate Reality, and no one can challenge his
honest endeavours. But lo! he returns dissatisfied
from the doors of the doctors of religion and
philosophy, the gods on earth. He then turns to
Heaven:

Then to the rolling Heav'n itself I cried,
Asking, "What Lamp had Destiny to guide
Her little Children, stumbling in the Dark?"
And — "A blind Understanding!" Heav'n
replied,
Religion is a matter of belief and blind following. It is a folly to test it on the scales of reason. Providence wanted to satisfy an inquisitive mind with an unquestioning faith, the very antithesis of the man and his mind. Khayyam wanted to know something about God and the Universe, and he was disappointed. Someone whispered into his ears that the intellect of a man is limited. Man is a finite being and it is impossible for a finite being to know the Infinite God, the Supreme Intellect. He clearly saw the futility of human intellect and he "divorced the barren reason."

Khayyam never rebelled from God rather he became a staunch believer in Predestination and the Will of God:

The Ball no Question makes of Ayes and Noes,  
But Right or Left as strikes the Player goes;  
And He that toss'd Thee down into the Field,  
He knows about it all—He knows—He knows!

Oh Thou, who didn't with Pitfall and with Gin  
Beset the Road I was to wander in,  
Thou wilt not with Predestination round,  
Enmesh me and impute my Fall to sin?

Khayyam believed that he is not responsible for his doings. He is only a puppet dancing on the world's stage at the instance of others. There is no sense in being gloomy and downcast or to repent for what is known as sin. Khayyam cheers
us: Get up and be merry and he would say:

How long, how long, in infinite Pursuit,
Of This and That endeavour and dispute?
Better be merry with the fruitful Grape;
Than sadder after none, or bitter Fruit.

Khayyam tried and failed, and he failed on the right side. What Khayyam had the boldness to avow and makes of it no secret, others conceal and confuse. They grope in the dark and after a mirage, unattainable and incomprehensible. The mystery of heaven is still unsolved. God, worshipped revered, and dreaded is still unknown. God is Truth and the Truth is God and Khayyam, following in the footsteps of the righteous, believed as a matter of serious conviction that Truth could not be explored nor analysed. And hence,

But leave the Wise to wrangle, and with me
The Quarrel of the Universe let be;
And, in some corner of the Hubbub coucht,
Make Game of that which makes as much of Thee.
Sharqī Architecture at Jaunpur

Timur’s invasion shattered to pieces the central power at Delhi and the distant provinces assumed independence—a dark period in the history of Imperialism but very fruitful from the point of view of art and architecture. The year 1400 A.D. may be termed as the “pivotal year” of this movement. The independent kingdoms under the patronage of their rulers developed particular styles of architecture of their own. They were rebels against the Imperial style of architecture at Delhi as was the case in the domain of politics until everything heterogeneous was swallowed up by the advancing tides of the Mughal conquest. But the short period of their glory is most remarkable, and at the same time an interesting study. Among such mushroom states one of the most notable was that known as the Sharqī or “Eastern” Sultanat with its capital at Jaunpur forty miles north-west of Benares (now Varanasi).

City of Jaunpur.

The city of Jaunpur was founded by Firuz Shah Tughlaq in 1359-60 when he was encamped at Zafarabad, on the southern bank of the Gomti (four miles south-west of Jaunpur) to commemo-
rate the name of his eccentric cousin, Prince Juna, known in history as Mohammad Tughlaq. It is an established fact that the new city was reared up on the site of an old one (whatever might have been the original name). Jaunpur continued to be a “valuable bulwark” of the Delhi Empire until it became independent under the Sharqi Sultans.

Sharqi Dynasty.

The founder of the dynasty, Khwaja Jahan was appointed to the Government of the eastern provinces by Nasiruddin Mahmud Tughlaq with the title of Malik-ush-Sharq or the “Lord of the East” and took up his residence at Jaunpur. Khwaja Jahan, originally named Malik Sarwar, was an eunuch given by Salar Rajab to his grandson Mohammad. Khwaja Jahan died in 1399 A.D. after he had declared himself independent of Delhi in 1394 A.D. He was shortly after succeeded by his adopted son Mubarak, who first assumed the title of Sultan-ush-Sharq or the “King of the East”. Mubarak died in 1401 A.D. and the vacant throne was at once filled by Mubarak’s younger brother Ibrahim with the title of Shams-uddin Ibrahim Shah harqi, a prince of varied talents, whose long reign is the most glorious in the short annals of Jaunpur. During Ibrahim’s long reign of 43 years the sway of the Sharqi Kings was firmly established over the fairest provinces of Northern India, from Kanauj to Bihar, and from Bahraich to Etawah.
Ibrahim Shah Sharqi was ambitious of founding a city in the heart of Hindustan that would become the spiritual and cultural capital of Islam in India, and it must be said to his credit that Jaunpur did attain to that glory and became a second Baghdad. The sway of the Sharqis covered nearly the whole of the ninth century of the Hijra era.

Jaunpur Monuments.

The architecture of Jaunpur is confined almost entirely to Muslim mosques. Strangely enough, no Muslim city of India has suffered so much at the hands of the Musalmans themselves as this. Unfortunately many of its finest monuments were ruthlessly destroyed or mutilated by Sikandar Lodi in a fit of spiteful vengeance after his defeat of Husain (1452-78), the last sultan of Jaunpur. Sikandar Lodi carried out the work of destruction with unusual completeness and raised to the ground even the gates of the mosques and would have destroyed the Masjids themselves but for the remonstrances of the Mulas. Not a single residential building of the time of Sharqis, even in ruins, can now be traced. Hence the mosques are the sole data of the study of the Sharqi architecture at Jaunpur.

The fort.

Before dealing with the Sharqi buildings a brief mention must be made of the fort of Firuz Shah Tughlaq, decorated with the mosque and Hammam
by Ibrahim Naib Barbak, Firuz’s brother. The fort of Jaunpur, the ancient Karar Kot, no longer exists except as a ruin. It is an irregular quadrangle on the north bank of the Gomti, formed by a stone wall built round an artificial earthen mound. The principal gateway of the fort still remains, and is attributed to the reign of Akbar. The spandrels of the arch are filled with glazed tiles and the walls are divided into panels with ornamental niches.

The Hammam of Ibrahim is almost a perfect model of a Turkish bath. The structure of the great part is below the present level of the ground, and the style of the edifice is as striking as its spacious dimensions.

Fort Masjid.

The masjid of Ibrahim Naib Barbak in the fort is the oldest of all the buildings in Jaunpur and for want of any other name may be conveniently called the “Fort Masjid”. It is a long narrow building of the early Bengali type, that is, a simple arcade supported on carved Hindu pillars, with three low domes in the middle. It has no minars, their place being taken by two stone pillars placed at a short distance in front of the mosque, only one of which is now standing; but the position of the second is marked by its broken plinth.

Sharqi Architecture.

But the Fort is not to be reckoned among the chief
attractions of Jaunpur. The noble mosques of the Sharqi period, unique in style and unrivalled in grandeur by such as depend, for their beauty, only on elegance of design and elaboration of material and not on the facile glory of rare marbles and bright enamels, still draw visitors from all over the world. These mosques are constructed entirely of stone, mortar, and concrete. The walls are of ashlar masonry, set with fine and well wrought joints. Internally throughout, the columns, roofs, and domes are of stone, whilst the exterior of the domes and roofs, parapets and floors is floated with cement, marble being sparingly used for the decoration of the interior. An extract from Fergusson’s description of the Atala Masjid will give an idea of the general features of the Jaunpur style. “It consists”, he says, “of a courtyard, on the western side of which is situated a range of buildings, the central one covered by a dome, in front of which stands a gate-pyramid or propylon of almost Egyptian manner and outline. This gate-pyramid by its elevation supplied the place of a minaret which none of these masjids possess. The three sides of the courtyard were surrounded by colonnades, on each face was a handsome gateway. These Jaunpur examples are well worthy of illustration and in themselves possess a simplicity and grandeur not often met with in this style. An appearance of strength, moreover, is imparted to them by their sloping walls.”

Atala Masjid.

The Atala Masjid is the earliest and finest
specimen of the Sharqi style of Jaunpur mosque and the best preserved and most ornate and beautiful of all. In point of size, it stands about midway between the Jami and Lal Darwaza masjids. The mosque though founded in 1377 A. D. by Khwaja Kamil Khan very little progress was made until the reign of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi who brought it to completion in 1408 A D. and hence, was indubitably responsible for the character of its design.

The general design of the masjid is similar to that of the great mosques at Delhi and Ajmer; but its style of ornamentation belongs to the later period of the Alai Darwaza at Delhi. In plan, it is a quadrangle, surrounded by cloisters of two storeys on three sides, with the masjid itself on the west. The grand feature of the mosque is the highly decorated propylon or great central arch, with a smaller propylon on each side of it.

The masjid proper is divided into five compartments; the central room covered by a dome. The corner rooms are cut off from the rest of the building with a private entrance from outside and they, most probably, were exclusively used by the ladies of the royal family—a characteristic feature of Jaunpur mosques. The dome is considerably lower than the top of the propylon, but it could be seen indistinctly from the front, through the trellises of the small windows decorating the screen wall under the great arch. The gateways in the middle of each of the other sides of the quadrangle
are similar in design to the central part of the mosque, each presenting a lofty propylon outside with a dome behind it. Black marble has been largely used in the decoration of the interior of the grand dome.

Khalis Mukhlis Masjid.

The next mosque in point of age and belonging to the reign of Ibrahim Sharqi is that known as Khalis Mukhlis situated in the Mohalla Dariba along the north bank of the Gomti river. The masjid was built by Malik Khalis and Malik Mukhlis (after whom the mosque is named), governors of Jaunpur under Sultan Ibrahim for the convenience of Sayyid Usman of Shiraz driven from Delhi by the irruption of Timur. The mosque consists of a domed hall and two wings, the dome masked by a low facade of the character peculiar to Jaunpur, but there is no ornament to break or relieve the sombre massiveness of the building. It is most commonly known by the name of Char-Ungli, given to it by reason of the famous stone still to be seen on the left of the main entrance leading to the prayer chamber. It has the miraculous property of measuring four 'unglis' (fingers) of any size. The stone is much revered and worshipped by Muslims and Hindus alike.

Jhanjhir Masjid.

This mosque lies in the Sipah Mohalla along the bank of the Gomti. It derives its name from the series of lattices (jhanjhiris) in the screen over the
main arch. Gen. Cunningham is mistaken when he calls it as “Zanzeer” which he guessed was due to the chain-like appearance of its ornamentation. It was built by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi himself in the honour of Hazrat Sa‘id Sadr Jahan Ajmali. Nothing now remains except the great propylon. The mosque was much smaller than any of the others, but the front of the propylon yields to none of them in richness and beauty of ornamentation. The style of decoration is similar to that of the Atala Masjid and it is most likely that both are the works of the same architect.

**Lal Darwaza Masjid.**

The sole remaining work of Mahmud’s reign (1440-1456) is the mosque of Bibi Raji, or as it is more commonly called, the Lal Darwaza Masjid in memory of the “high gate painted with vermilion” belonging to the palace which Bibi Raji built at the same time close by. It stands near the village of Begamganj at some distance outside the city to the north-west. Bibi Raji, the founder of the mosque, was the queen of Mahmud Shah Sharqi and she outlived her husband for many years. With the exception of this mosque Sikandar Lodi destroyed all the palace-buildings and now nothing remains of them but the name of Lal Darwaza.

The mosque of Bibi Raji is the smallest of all the Jaunpur masjids, and the general design and style being similar to that of Atala and Jami masjids, but the walls are much thinner and the whole building is on a lighter and less massive scale. In front
of the dome there is an entrance hall which is wanting in the other mosques. The Lal Darwaza is more decidedly Hindu in execution and treat. ment, the dome, the great entrance and the three gates are the only arched construction in the whole building. In this mosque, the ladies' galleries are placed alongside the central hall.

Jami Masjid.

The Jami Masjid, or to give its full title, the Masjid Jami-ush-Sharq of Husain Sharqi is the largest mosque and last among the buildings of Jaunpur. Diverse accounts are given regarding the reason for its foundation. Some attribute the design of the mosque to Ibrahim Sharqi who wished to save an old hermit, Hazrat Khwaja 'Isa' the voluntary labour of walking barefooted from his dwelling hard by to the Masjid Khalis Mukhlis, a mile distant for the Friday prayers. No one associates any part of the building to Ibrahim, but it is possible that some such design may have occurred to him.

The plan of the Jami Masjid is essentially the same as that of the Atala Masjid; but there are many differences of detail, of which the most marked is the high platform on which it stands, all other masjids being raised but little above the ground level. The masjid is divided into five distinct compartments, the great domed roof being in the middle with a pillared room at each end. The central room is called gumbad or "the dome", the pillared rooms are called chhat or "flat-roof",
and the end rooms, chhapra, or the "vaults". According to Kittoe, this dome is a "wonderful piece of workmanship, the exterior shell being many feet apart from that of the interior, and is formed of different segments of a circle.". The flat-roofed compartments on each side of the central domed room have two storeys. The upper rooms are provided with trellises (jhanjhiri or jali) with an entrance from outside, and hence must have been used as the Zanana gallery.

**Characteristic Features.**

The characteristic features of the Jaunpur style of architecture are three-fold: propylon, surface decoration, and the Zanana gallery attached to the main building, but it is the former which gives the mosques at Jaunpur their distinctive character. Archaeological experts are divided on the usefulness of the propylon hiding a single dome, and its success as an architectural measure as it can only be seen in the most advantageous way from the direct front. John Marshall, though praising the device as it gave the mosque an imposing appearance and accentuated the importance of the prayer chamber, says: "Few things indeed, in Muslim architecture are so anomalous as the juxtaposition of these flat, abruptly squared, propylons and of the graceful domes immediately behind them. It is an anomaly of which no architect imbued with the true spirit of Islamic art could have been guilty". And he further blames the Hindu craftsmanship for this, according to him, defect of construction and composition.
Though the dome is undoubtedly the most majestic covering for a single chamber, but when seen from without, it appears to overpower a room whose walls are not proportionately lofty and hence, the effect of any such building could not be pleasing. Therefore to lessen the weight of the dome, the Pathan architects of Jaunpur would claim the honour of being the first in India to unite domes and their adjuncts into a happy synthesis,—so original, so quickly perfected and hardly imitated elsewhere. The dome was retained as a symbol of a Muslim mosque and for the sake of an imposing internal roof to a central chamber.

The Style.

"The style", remarks V. A. Smith, "while it has much of the massiveness of the Tughlaq buildings at Delhi, is less severe and more attractive, a curious hybrid of Muslim and Hindu". But the mosques of the Tughlaqs are less ornate than the mosques at Jaunpur, nor is there anything in them to match the imposing propylon screens which adorn the latter. There is no truth in the assertion that the cloisters of these masjids are the remains of the old Hindu temples which had been appropriated and converted as was done at Delhi in the construction of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. The true cause of the admixture of the Muslim and Hindu styles at Jaunpur, according to Fergusson, was the employment of Hindu masons and architects by their Muslim masters in building a house of prayer for the faithful. Besides these, newly converted Hindus were also employed who strictly
adhered to their previous traditions in art and craft. Fergusson's theory receives a powerful support from the simple but valuable records of the architects themselves in Nagiri character inscribed on these mosques. They have put down their names, and the date when a particular building was completed.

The style of ornamentation is purely Hindu, the lotus emblem being predominant, and even the name of God in the Qibla (direction towards Mecca) is inscribed on Buddhist bell. Jaunpur is still a pleasure resort for all admirers of art. The glimpses of its monuments viewed from the different parts of railway embankment, where it crosses the valley of Gomti, reminds one of its past glory and provides a strong stimulus to miss the train for the next.
XII

Sher Shah, Akbar and the Link

Historians have ignored, rather overlooked Salim or Islam Shah, the son and successor of Sher Shah Sur, and they have failed to do him justice. He has been subjected only to a passing notice. Nirod Bhushan Roy in his "Successors of Sher Shah" concluding Islam Shah's reign pays him a glorious tribute.

Islam Shah's reign enjoys a unique position. He stands on a different footing as compared with other monarchs of Medieval India. Keeping our hands clean from the controversy regarding his character and being satisfied with the remarks of Abul Fazl, the arch enemy of Sur dynasty when he says: "Few princes on record in military skill, in policy, justice and good government have ever equalled these two", that is Sher Shah and Islam Shah and the contention of Erskine that "his (Islam Shah's) character, as given by historians, is not exactly what one would expect from the public transactions of his reign", are sufficient to allow him a noble portraiture of his character. His disgraceful conduct at Sambala where he ordered the Niyazi women to be dishonoured and other fiendish acts are blots on his good name but it should be remembered that they belonged to the age and not
to the man as every monarch, without any exceptions, in the Middle Ages had occasionally fallen into such barbarities and beastly ways of revenge.

**Delhi Sultans.**

In order to determine the real place of Islam Shah in Indian History, a brief survey of Delhi sultans prior to the accession of Sher Shah is the prime requisite. The Muslims came to India as early as 712 A.D., and were fully established on the Indian soil in the thirteenth century. The native population of the country, mainly Hindus, rendered their submission and owed allegiance to a Musalman ruler only due to the fear of punishment and disaster. Muslims never identified themselves with the interest of the state nor did the Hindu subjects treated Muslim rulers as their lord according to the Indian conception of kingship. It was more or less a fearful bargain when Hindus bought their lives, happiness and freedom of conscience by paying arbitrary tributes and obedience. Hindus were outclassed from the affairs of the state. Sher Shah was the first who thought of a noble plan to govern the country in the interest of the people and based the administration on their goodwill. He realized that the loyalty of all the sections of the population could only be gained through a just and impartial government free from sectarian or religious considerations. Every person must be given full chance to develop his talents and serve the state according to his abilities. Intellect is not a monopoly of a particular person or race. Therefore, he started this novel experiment and
embarked upon a bold enterprise, which was almost foreign to the Hindus and the Muslims alike, and we find that he did all the spade-work, levelled the ground, and put the affairs of the state on the right lines. His reign is also remarkable for numerous institutions—their germination and growth—and the names of the few, for example, revenue, currency, commerce, roads and ‘sarais’, police and justice still herald his name with pride. He is also entitled to our praise for his army arrangements and his remodelling of the whole structure of the government from bottom upwards, as there was an unnatural process order of the day to start from the top down-wards.

It is usual that after paying homage and tribute to the ideals and achievements of Sher Shah, historians pass on to Akbar. Sher Shah is treated as the precursor and forerunner of Akbar, a man who tried something but his ideas reached their logical conclusion and attained culmination in the reign of the other. But there is an important gap, a lacunae between the reigns of these two sovereigns. There is a straight pathway, a bridge between the two extremes. There stands one between the two shining personalities of the world, between the one who conceived and the other who achieved. The glories of these two great luminaries had eclipsed the soft and soothing glares of the moon which also deserves the same praise.

A Link.

And he is Islam Shah. Islam Shah is a connect-
ing link between Sher Shah and Akbar. The space between the death of Sher Shah and the accession of Akbar—a considerable interval of course—was a period of transition. It covers nearly eleven and a half years, two-thirds of which was occupied by Islam Shah. The Civil War which followed the death of Islam Shah and the Mughal Restoration on the throne of Hindustan practically had no effect and did not change or disturb the work done by Sher Shah and consolidated and improved by Islam Shah. In the case of the Civil War different claimants were competing the race in which the throne was the stake and in the case of the latter, Humayun had no time and no inclination to attempt anything substantial in this direction. Islam Shah should not be treated or compared with Jahangir or Shahjahan who inherited a stable government, a full treasury and an equipped army and allowed the traditions of their ‘illustrious predecessor’ to continue on in most respects. Islam Shah was given a dim notion, a bare outline and no one would blame him if he would have preferred a policy of complete departure. His real merit consists in realizing their utility and usefulness and his consequent adoption and adaptation of the same. If he had been reactionary like Aurangzeb, he would not have been accused of anything as he would have been reverting to the same old policy, which had become almost natural, and system of government based on military strength which was dominant note not in India alone but a characteristic feature of medieval ages.
Sacred Trust.

Sher Shah, the Tiger Lord, the champion of Sur dynasty and the Morning Star of Indo-Muslim national revival, entrusted his son with a sacred trust of noble and beneficial institutions, a healthy project of the creation of an Indian nationality, a sound and just system of administration and a ground levelled for popular government to hold in trust for the "child of his age", Akbar the Great, and it is evident that Islam Shah discharged his duties well, and the preservation of the traditions of the previous rule is his greatest contribution. Islam Shah kept all the institutions of his father intact. He ordered the construction of "sarais" in each of the intervals of the two built by his father. It is also a fact that the condition of the Hindus was never better before than in the time of Sher Shah and Islam Shah. Like an honest trustee he removed the thorns, irregularities and defects of his trust, made it more bright and pure and caused them to be handed over to the beneficiary, in the same condition, when he assumed the reign of the government for himself. Under the Lodis the institution of sovereignty had fallen from its ideals, both Hindu and Muslim. It was nothing but a primus inter pares. Sher Shah though a lover of supreme authority, consulted the Afghan nobles on important matters of policy and action. It was Islam Shah who revived rather gave a clear cut interpretation to the office of kingship, which found its full scope at the hands of Akbar. If Islam Shah had not kept things in order or if he had reversed them altogether, it would have
been difficult, if not impossible, for Akbar to gather all the scattered links and proceed on so rapidly towards realizing the dreams of Sher Shah, and sow the seeds of new ideas and schemes of his own choice on the ground made equipped for the purpose. Therefore we may safely hold that Islam Shah, in a way, is responsible for the glories of Akbar.
Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (the Martyr), also known as Mir Ahmad and affectionately called "Miyan Sahib", was born to Sayyid Mohammad 'Irфан's second wife Najah or Afiiyah daughter of Sayyid Abu Sa'id (d. 1779), a disciple of Shah Waliullah Muhaddis Dehlavi (1703-1763), on Monday, November 29, 1786 (6th Safar, 1201 A. H.) at Rae Bareli, now a district of the state of Uttar Pradesh in the Indian Union. According to the family tree, he was the direct descendant,

(1) The name of Sayyid Ahmad’s mother is differently given as Najah and Afiiyah. Sayyid Mohammad ‘Irfan’s first wife, Naqiyyah, daughter of Sayyid Mohammad Mu’in died early leaving a female child. Cf. Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, 1, 51, 58,

(2) Makhzan-i-Ahmadi, p. 12; Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, 1, 56, 57, 80. Mohammad Ja‘far Thanesari, author of Tawarikh-i-Ajibah (popularly known as Sawaneh-i-Ahmadi), has somehow given the date of birth as 1st Muharram (1201 A. H.) (p. 3) which is not correct.

(3) In the eighteenth century, Rae Bareli was in the Sarkar (division) of Manikpur in the Subah (province) of Allahabad. Cf. District Gazetteer, “Rae Bareli.”
in the thirty-sixth degree, of Prophet Mohammad’s son-in-law Hazrat Ali, the fourth Khalif.

Of the ancestors of Sayyid Ahmad, one Sayyid Rashiduddin, it is said, for the first time migrated with his family from Medina and settled in Baghdad, where he died. His son, Sayyid Qutbuddin, immigrated to Ghazni. In 607 A. H. (1210-11 A. D.), Sayyid Qutbuddin with his relations and disciples (Murids), came to Hindustan. Sultan Eletmish (1210-1235) treated him with honour and reverence. But Sayyid Qutbuddin did not stay in Dehli. He proceeded eastward and settled at Kara, near Allahabad. Afterwards, he was appointed as Shaikh-ul-Islam at Delhi.

After six generations, Sayyid Qutbuddin II moved from Kara to Jais, near Rae Bareli. His son, Sayyid Alauddin, lived in Jais. But Sayyid

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(4) Nadvi, Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid p. 45; Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I, 27.


(7) Barani, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, B.I.S., pp. 348, 349. Also see Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century, pp. 139, 164, 173.

(8) Jais is the birth-place of the famous poet Malik Mohammad Jaisi (1490-1542). His Padmavat is well-known. Jais is now a part of Rae Bareli district. Cf. District Gazetteer, “Rae Bareli”, s.v.
Alauddin’s son, Sayyid Mahmud, got an appointment as the Qazi of Nasirabad about ten miles from Rae Bareli, where he settled. After his death, his son Sayyid Ahmad succeeded as the Qazi at Nasirabad. But because of some personal reasons he resigned his post and went to Rae Bareli.

Sayyid Shah ‘Ilmullah (1623-1685), one of the great-grandfathers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, became a disciple (murid) of Shaikh Adam Binnauri (d. 1053 A H./1643 A. D.)¹⁰, a prominent Khalifah deputy, styled as Khalifah-i-A‘zam and Khalifah-al-Zamani) of Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi (1563-1624)¹¹. Daulat Khan, a zamindar of Lohanipur, Rae Bareli, gave to Shah ‘Ilmullah ten bighas of land on the banks of the river Sai’. The latter built a hut and a mosque on this piece of land and settled in Rae Bareli in 1640. The place became known as Da‘irah Shah ‘Ilmullah or Tukiah Shah ‘Ilmullah. It was here that Sayyid Ahmad was born and mostly spent the first forty years of his life¹².

(9) Ibid., s, v.

(10) Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, Anfas-ul-‘Arifin, p. 33. One of Sayyid Ahmad’s grand-uncles, Sayyid Mohammad Sabir (d. 1779), was also a disciple of Khwaja Mohammad Sjddiq, son of Khwaja Mohammad Ma‘sum, son of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, Mehr. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I, 49.

(11) For details about Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi see author’s book, A Social History of Islamic India, chaps. IX and X.

Sayyid Ahmad’s father, Sayyid Mohammad ‘Irfan, used to reside in Lucknow in connection with some employment. He died in 1800 A. D. when Ahmad was a boy of thirteen. He is buried in Rae Bareli\(^3\)

*Early Career.*

The *maktab* ceremony of Sayyid Ahmad, in keeping with the time-honoured Muslim custom, was performed on February 15, 1791 when he was four years, four months and four days old (reckoned according to Islamic calendar). Learning and piety being the family distinctions, no stone was left unturned to get him thoroughly educated. But he negatived all efforts and turned a deaf ear to all counsels and discourses. He attended school for three years but could not proceed beyond recognizing the three “Rs”\(^4\). On the other hand he was very fond of adventures, manly sports, gymnastics, swimming, and wrestling\(^5\). He also learnt sword-fighting, shooting and archery. As a result, he developed a robust physique and possessed great physical strength\(^5\). But being born in a reputed family of theologians and because of constant association and discourse with the learned, he acquired a fairly good knowledge of Persian

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\(^3\) Ibid., p. 53.

\(^4\) *Makhzan-i-Ahmadi*, p. 12; *Arwah-i-Sulasah*, p. 98.

\(^5\) *Tavarikh-I-Ajibah*, p. 4; Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, pp. 46, 48, 49; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, 1, 59, 60.

\(^6\) Ibid., p. 60.
and Arabic and was well-grounded in theological lore.º

At the age of about seventeen, Sayyid Ahmad, with some of his friends, left Rae Bareli for Lucknow in search of livelihood. He stayed there for about seven months without much success. Afterwards, he left for Delhi and, in 1807, became a disciple of Shah Abdul ‘Aziz (1746-1824), son of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi. He was initiated into Chishtiah, Qadiriiah and Naqshbandiah orders and was subsequently appointed a khalifah.

In 1808, Sayyid Ahmad returned to Rae Bareli. The same year, he was married in his own family to Zohra, daughter, of Sayyid Mohammad Raushan. A year after the first child, a daughter, Sarah was born in the wedlock.

By the end of 1809, he left Rae Bareli the second time, for Rajasthan and sought employment with Nawab Amir Khan (1768-1834), son of

(17) Ibid., pp. 73, 74; II, 357.
(18) Lucknow is about fifty miles from Rae Bareli.
(19) Makhzan-i-Ahmadi, pp. 13-15; Tawarikh-i-‘Ajibah, p. 8; Hayat-i-Tayyabah, p. 273; Waqat-i-Ahmadi, p. 5.
(20) Makhzan-i-Ahmadi, p. 14ff.; Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I, 64-79.
(21) Ibid., p. 76; Makhzan-i Ahmadi, pp. 18, 19.
(22) Ibid., pp. 82-84, Hayat-i-Tayyabah, p. 289; Waqat-i-Ahmadi, I, 22. Amir Khan was not a Pindari. See Prinsep, History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of Marquess of Hastings, I, 49. Also see Buckland, Dictionary of Indian Biography, p. 12.
Mohammad Hayat Khan. He was a great leader of men, brave, courageous, and had a large, well-equipped and well-trained army under his command. Sayyid Ahmad stayed in the camp of Amir Khan for about seven years. From the contents of a letter and his own statement, it appears not improbable that the Sayyid had a mission in his mind while serving the Nawab, namely, to see Amir Khan in the role of a possible Saviour of the decadent glory of Islamic polity in India. But on November 9, 1817 Amir Khan concluded a treaty with the British East India Company according to which the former was recognized as the first Nawab of Tonk. Amir Khan died in 1834 as a good ally of the British.

Sayyid Ahmad felt disillusioned at the turn of events. He left the service of Amir Khan and came back to Delhi in 1818.


(24) According to Muhammad Latif he was "a petty officer of horse". *History of the Panjab*, p. 437.


Beginnings of the Movement.

Sayyid Ahmad stayed in Delhi for about a year, He also toured the adjoining districts of the Doab, e., g., Meerut, Ghaziabad, Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar (all in Uttar Pradesh), with a view to induce Muslims to follow the Shari'at and also probably to explore the possibilities of an armed uprising to restore Muslim political dominance, and assess the attitude and reaction of Muslim masses towards his activities.

At Delhi, Sayyid Ahmad began to enroll disciples (murids). When the two stalwarts of Muslim orthodoxy in Northern India, Sayyid Abdul Hai' (d. February, 1828) and Shah Mohammad Isma'il Shahid (d. May, 1831), also got themselves enrolled amongst the disciples, the movement of Sayyid Ahmad definitely entered into a more popular and prosperous phase. It had a tremendous

(29) Waza‘-i-Ahmadi, I, 47; Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad, I, 123-127.

(30) Sayyid Abdul Hai' was the nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of Shah Abdul 'Aziz, son of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi.

(31) Shah Mohammad Isma'il was the nephew of Shah Abdul 'Aziz. He was the son of Shah Abdul Ghani, the fourth son of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi. Shah Mohammad Isma'il Shahid should not be confused with Sayyid Isma'il, the son of Sayyid Ahmad's brother Sayyid Mohammad Ishaq and Waliah. At the time of the second marriage of Waliah after her widowhood to Sayyid Ahmad in 1820, Sayyid Isma'il was just a child of five or six. See Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I, 54, 143.
effect on the common mind. Sayyid Ahmad’s fame spread far and wide. People flocked to him in large numbers to enter into his discipleship (muridi) with the result that a large band of devoted followers gathered round him. It is interesting to note that the Sayyid was always dressed like a soldier and carried with him a sword or dagger and gun or revolver all the time.

In June 1819, Sayyid Ahmad returned to Rae Bareli. He stayed here for about two years. He spent most of his time in touring the neighbouring places like Kanpur, Allahabad, Benares (now Varanasi), Lucknow and Sultanpur (all districts of Uttar Pradesh now), preaching the gospel of true Islam, enrolling disciples, persuading the Muslims to stick to the Shari’at and inviting them to jihad-fi sabi-lillah. He laid particular emphasis on the reform among women whom he considered be to more superstitious by nature. He vehemently condemned the observance of un-Islamic Hindu custom by Muslim widows not to marry again after the death of their first husbands. He exhorted them to remarry and himself set an example by marrying Waliah, the widow of his elder brother.

(32) Ibid., pp. 113-22; Waga-i-Ahmadi, I, 45; Makhzan-i-Ahmadi p. 35; Latif, History of the Panjab, p. 437.

(33) Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I, 120, 174, 175.

(34) See Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, s. v.
Sayyid Mohammad Ishaq (d. April, 1819) in 1820\textsuperscript{35}. In 1821, Sayyid Ahmad decided to perform the *Hajj*\textsuperscript{36}. He left Rae Bareli the same year by the end of July for Calcutta *en route* to Arabia by boat sailing down the river Ganges. About four hundred persons accompanied him. He proceeded rather slowly, halting at important places on the banks of the river, preaching as usual, enrolling disciples, and receiving rich presents. He reached Calcutta in November, 1821 and stayed there for about three months. Thus he was able to come into contact with the Muslims of the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Bengal\textsuperscript{37}. According to Muhammad Latif "the force of his eloquence, coupled with his religious fervour, and the sanctity attached to his declared mission, gained for him a large number of followers from among the Mahomedan population"\textsuperscript{38}.

He embarked from Calcutta in February, 1822 with a party of about seven hundred as more people had joined him on the way. The pilgrims reached Mecca on May 21, 1822. In October, he visited Medina and returned to Mecca by the end of the

\textsuperscript{(35)} Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, pp. 73-76. Sayyid Ahmad had two brothers, elder than himself; (i) Sayyid Mohd. Ibrahim (d. 1808), and (ii) Sayyid Mohammad Ishaq (d. 1819). The latter is buried in Rae Bareli.

\textsuperscript{(36)} See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v.


\textsuperscript{(38)} Latif, *History of the Panjab*, p. 437.
year. In April, 1823, Sayyid Ahmad touched Bombay and stayed there for a fortnight. In June, 1823, he was back in Calcutta and came up the Ganges upto Allahabad. He was in Rae Bareli on April 29, 1824.

During this trip Sayyid Ahmad was also presented arms and ammunitions by his admirers. The articles which he himself purchased on the way were mostly guns, rifles and pistols. The financial position of Sayyid Ahmad and party was now better than before.

On his return,Sayyid Ahmad threw himself body and soul into preparations for an armed opposition to the enemies of Islam. To him an unbeliever was an enemy of God, no matter whether he was Indian or foreign—Sikhs or Britishers. Perhaps his greatest mistake was to alienate the sympathies of both at the same time betraying a lack of imaginative grasp of the vitals of the situation. Indeed, he was neither a diplomat nor a strategist. His was a simple soul overflowing with sound belief and sincerity of purpose—to regain Muslim political predominance and to rescue Islam of his own denomination; and apparently the death of a martyr (Shahadat) was the ultimate and highest bliss. Consequently, he decided to fight the Sikhs first.

The Hijrat.

(39) Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I, 236, 239.
With the beginning of the year 1825, the jihad campaign was in full swing. Tours were organized and invitations (da'wat) were extended to the believers to come in and join. Shah Isma'il and Maulana Abdul Hai, were most prominent in these activities. The movement appears to have attracted adherents from all over the country. Sayyid Ahmad decided to migrate (hijrat) from Indian territories and to make what is now the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan his centre from where to wage the holy war more effectively. Hence, on Monday, January 16, 1826 he moved out of Rae Bareli with about six hundred Mujahids (holy warriors). He chose rather a circuitous route evidently avoiding the Sikh territories. He reached Sind via Gwalior, Tonk and Ajmer. In Sind, he was generally suspected as an spy of the British and was coldly received.

He left Shikarpur (in Sind) on July 20, 1826, crossed the Bolan Pass and reached Quetta. Here also he did not get any active support from Mihrab Khan, the chieftain of Baluchistan, or the masses. He started from Quetta on August 22, 1826 and reached Qandahar on September 1, 1826. He encamped outside the gates of the city. Purdil Khan, the chief of Qandahar, put a ban on Sayyid

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(41) Latif, History of the Panjab, p. 437; Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I, 244.
(42) Ibid., pp. 277-281.
(43) Ibid., pp. 296-300, 307.
(44) Ibid., pp. 319, 320, 322.
Ahmad to take any Qandahari with him; none-theless, about three hundred men joined the ranks of Sayyid Ahmad. He also asked him to leave Qandahar as soon as possible. The Sayyid marched from Qandahar on September 7, 1826 and touched Ghazni on 26th of the same month. After a brief halt of two days, he started from Ghazni on September 28, 1826 and entered Kabul in the first week of October. He stayed there for about a month and a half. In Kabul, he was welcomed warmly but could not get substantial support from the Afghan chiefs as they were fiercely engaged in internecine warfares. In the third week of November, 1826 he left Kabul for Peshawar and reached Charsadda in Hashtnagar by the end of the month. He finally encamped at Naushera (Naushahra) on December 19, 1826. Here the response was favourable and enthusiasm tremendous, and the ranks of the Mujahids began to

(45) Ibid., pp. 324, 325.

(56) Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyah, I, 316; A history of the Freedom Movement, I, 584, 585; Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I, 328.

(47) Charsadda, called Peucelaotis by Greek historians, had superseded Peshawar as the capital of Gandhara at the time of the invasion of Alexander, the Great. See Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, p. 48,
swell. Now everything was ready for waging jihad against the Sikhs.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the tribesmen who joined Sayyid Ahmad, were motivated more by the jealousies and rivalries amongst themselves than by a zeal for jihad. The Yusufzais were at this juncture apprehensive of the designs of the Durrani (Abdali) chief Yar

(48) Tarikh-i-Ahmadiakh, I, 316; Captain C. M. Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana, informs Sir C. F. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi: "It is stated by many that his (Sayyid Ahmad's) present adherents amount to nearly 100,000 men. I am not aware of the exact number and I am inclined to think that Statement considerably exaggerated; there can be no doubt that a very numerous party is assembled under his Banner and that the minds of men have been strongly moved by the spirit of his martyrdom he is endeavouring to diffuse". (Dated 3rd March, 1827). See Foreign Department Political Proceedings, No. 32-Dated 30th March, 1827.

(49) The Afghans may be broadly divided into two, viz., (i) the Western Afghans, of whom much the most important are the Abdalis (now known as the Durrani) and the Ghaljis (Ghilzais), and (ii) the Eastern Afghans, namely, the Yusufzais and other kindred tribes of the Peshawar plain and the valleys to the north of it. Cf. Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, pp. xiv. For genealogies of Western and Eastern Afghans see Ibid., pp. 12, 13. A Yusufzai, in his own estimation, is better than the Pashtu-speaking Durrani; he is the aristocrat, and he is the Afghan proper. Ibid., p. 14. The Yusufzais proper, except a few dwelling in the Chachh east of the Indus, were entirely independent of the Durrani government, were under no obligation to furnish troops, and acknowledged no allegiance but to their own chiefs. Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, etc., pp. 193, 215. They were the mainspring of opposition to the Sikhs. Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, pp. 295-299.
Mohammad Khan Barakzai of Peshawar who had gone over to the side of their great enemy Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839). Secondly, the Ghaljis (Ghilzais modo Persico), former rulers of Afghanistan, were hostile to the Durranis, the then rulers. The Yusufzais and Ghaljis considered Sayyid Ahmad’s jihad campaign a happy augury and hailed him as their deliverer. But the Sikhs also were not without friends; they had their supporters in the ranks of the Afghans. The holy war (jihad) lost much of its holy character and Islamic spirit when political considerations and personal factors silently crawled into it.

In the Field of Action.

The Sikhs were not unaware of the activities

(50) An offshoot of the Abdali or Durrani tribe. Traditions affirm that Zirak, the progenitor of the Barakzais was a contemporary of Timur. Ibid., pp. 12, 223.

(51) Latif, History of the Panjab, p. 438.


(53) Ibid., p. 302; Latif, History of the Panjab, p. 438.
and movements of Sayyid Ahmad⁵⁴. According to some, in keeping with the injunctions of the Shari‘at, Sayyid Ahmad had already sent an ultimatum to Ranjit Singh calling upon him either to accept Islam or to pay Jaziyah (Poll-tax); otherwise the sword would decide the issue⁵⁵.

The issue was to be decided by the sword. Sardar Budh Singh Sindhianwalia, a relation of Ranjit Singh⁵⁶, crossed the Indus and took his position at Akora (town on the river Landai in Peshawar district), sixteen miles east of Naushera, Sardar Budh Singh was joined by Khawas Khan, the nephew of Amir Khan Khatak, the chief

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(54) Ranjit Singh in a conversation with Captain C. M. Wade, who was on a mission to Lahore, said, “I send Sirdar Budh Singh with a force to punish them (the Afghans); after he had arrived there, a short time he heard of the approach of man of the name of Sied Ahmed, a religious enthusiast who had been travelling through Afghanistan and exciting the Afghans to wage a holy war against the Sikhs and all infidels. They supposed he was inspired—put faith in his words, and flocked to him in great numbers from all directions until he succeeded in collecting nearly a lakh (Italics mine) of men. Budh Singh wrote to say that they had invested his position and had become very daring”. “Captain Wade’s Report of his Mission to the Court of Ranjit Singh”, *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 3—Dated 12th October, 1827.


of Akora. Sayyid Ahmad decided upon a night assault (shabkhor). The Mujahidin were led by Allah Bakhsh Khan. They attacked the Sikhs in the early hours of December 21, 1826 and it was a success.

The first successful encounter with the Sikhs turned the table in favour of Sayyid Ahmad. Fresh recruits from among the tribal people began to gather under his banner. At the request of his new associate Khadi Khan the chief of Hund (village and the Indus ford-head), Sayyid Ahmad decided to establish his headquarters at Hund. Khadi Khan perhaps invited Sayyid Ahmad to Hund with an ulterior motive. Hund was exposed to Sikh inroads. The presence of Mujahids there was expected by Khadi Khan to serve as a deterrent. The fact is verified by the subsequent betrayal of Khadi Khan. Moreover, it should be noted that the eagerness of the locals for loot threw jihad in the background. Another encounter with the Sikhs soon after Akora, which took place at Hazro (now in the district of Campbellpur), proved that the booty, not Islamic

(57) “Lahore Akhbar”, dated February 1, 1827 wrongly says that Khawas Khan Khatak joined Sayyid Ahmad. Foreign Department Political Consultation, No. 28, dated 30th March, 1827. As a matter of fact Khawas Khan joined Budh Singh. See Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I, 346, 347.


(59) Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, II, 78-80.
state was the real issue with the tribal people—a hard fact of life around which the whole history of the people of this land revolves.

On Thursday, January 11, 1827, Sayyid Ahmad assumed the authority of Imam with the unanimous consent of the tribal chiefs, Shaikhs and Ulama and the Mujahidin in general. Next day, his name was included in the Khutbah of Friday. The Hindustani Mujahidin addressed Sayyid Ahmad as Amir-ul-Muminin (Lord of the faithful), among the local population from now on he was known as "Sayyid Badshah", and the Sikhs called him Khalifah.

The star of Sayyid Ahmad as a reformer and a fighter in the name of God, was now in the ascendant. His strength considerably increased. An important new convert was Fath Khan of Panjtar (in the Khudu Khel hills north of Swabi), who proved of much help to him in many ways. Yar Mohammad Khan of Peshawar, seeing the growing influence and popularity of Sayyid Ahmad, and the general attitude of the Yusufzai tribe against him, thought it prudent to enter into an alliance with the Sayyid. A concentrated and unified action

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(61) Ibid., I, 374.

against the Sikhs was also agreed upon between the parties.

Time was ripe to take the field against the Sikhs. Sardar Budh Singh was holding out to the west of Indus at Shaidu, between Akora and Jahangira. Budh Singh, according to Sikh version, "called upon Syed Ahmad to know what his plans were. He wrote to Syed to tell him that if he harboured design against the State and to cross the River and give him battle, and that if he was merely a Fakeer it would be no part of his calling to disturb the country; to which Syed replied that he would take the Fort of Attock in the first place and then give Bhooahd Singh battle afterwards". Of course, the plan was to besiege and take the fort at Attock. But before an attack on Attock a battle with Budh Singh had to be fought.

Sayyid Ahmad marched out of Hund in the first week of March, 1827. Yar Mohammad Khan was already with his force on the western bank of the river Landai. The *Mujahidin* also crossed the Landai river, passed through Naushera and a conjunction with the forces of Durrani Sardars of

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(64) Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 384, 385.

(65) *Foreign Department Political Consultation*, No. 26—Dated 30th March, 1827. For details of correspondence between Sayyid Ahmad and Budh Singh see *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, I, 385-387.
Peshawar was effected. It is alleged that Yar Mohammad Khan was not sincere in his promise and had secret understandings with the Sikhs. He even tried to take the life of Sayyid Ahmad through poisoned food. However, the Sayyid survived and the encounter took place the next day. When victory was touching the feet of Sayyid 'Ahmad, Yar Mohammad’s treachery accounted for the complete rout of the Mujahidin. In the words of Ranjit Singh: “The fanatics attacked Bhudh Singh, who dispersed and routed them with great slaughter. Yar Mohd. Khan had joined the insurgents, but seeing the hopelessness of the part he had taken, tendered his submission which I accepted.” The Maharaja had every reason to celebrate the victory with firing of cannons, illumi-


(69) *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 3-Dated 12th October, 1827.
nation, and a royal feast. From now onwards the Durrani accepted the yoke of Ranjit Singh finally and created all possible obstructions in the way of Sayyid Ahmad.

Sayyid Ahmad retreated to Chunglai in the Chamla Valley. He did not despair. He tried to infuse fresh vigour and love of Islamic ideals in the hearts of the tribal people. He made an extensive tour of Yusufzai territories including Chamla, Buner and Swat and set up his centre at Khar in Bajaur. He also established contact

(70) Zafarnamah Ranjit Singh p. 181. We do not know on what authority Olaf Caroe observes: "The Sikh commander had prudently entrenched a position near Shaidu, between Akora and Jahangirah, and succeeded in beating off the tumultuous assault of the tribesmen, but with heavy losses including Budh Singh himself, who was slain at the crisis of the battle. Ahmad claimed a victory, and was able to extract an agreement from Yar Muhammad in Peshawar to respect the territories of the Yusufzai and exempt them from revenue-raising forays". The Pathans, p. 303. Syad Muhammad Latif observes: "Lahore was visited this year (1827) by a cholera epidemic, which carried off a large number of the inhabitants, among them being Sardar Budh Singh, Sindhanwalia, who had recently fought so bravely against the Eusafzai Pathans. The Maharaja showed much concern for the sardar's health, and, hearing of his indisposition, sent immediately Hakims Aziz-ud-din, Hakam Rai and Jawadgir to attend him; but the patient died, much to the alarm of the Maharaja, who went to live at Shahdera, across the Ravi, during days of the pestilence, leaving the city to be ravaged by the disease." History of the Panjab, p. 439.

(71) Yar Mohammad Khan was nicknamed as "Yaru Singh". Cf. A history of Freedom Movement, 1,589; Mehr. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, 1,4400.
with several other tribes, e.g., Afridis, Khalils, and Mohmands. Sulaiman Shah, the ruler of Chitral, assured full co-operation and promised to join personally the Sayyid’s forces in case of an invasion of Kashmir. During his stay at Khar, Sayyid Ahmad married Fatimah—his third marriage—in 1828.

Shah Isma‘il was deputed to concentrate in the district of Hazara, where he achieved considerable success in converting people in favour of jihad. Twice skirmishes between the Mujahidin and the Sikhs also took place at Damgala and Shinkiari (September-October, 1827). “Shah Isma‘il who had been known for his oratorical gifts and scholarship proved himself an excellent organizer and a fearless leader on the field of battle.”

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(72) In between the Eastern and Western Afghans, and to some extent keeping them apart, are interposed the highlanders. The Afridis were one group of them. They are not in the true Afghan line and are pre-eminently the Pakhtuns, or Pashtuns. They are one of the tribes who never fell under the effective sway of any recorded imperial authority. Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. xv, 14.

(73) They are the people of Roh. They looked down upon Durrans as inferiors. See Ibid., pp. 13, 14, 187, 420; Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Part I, vi, viii, ix; Part II, Annotations, p. 64; Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, 1, 200, 205-7.


(75) Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, 1, 430, 431; II, 5.

(76) Ibid., II, 40, 41.

(77) Ibid., 7-20; *A History of Freedom Movement*, 1, 590,
The *jihad* became purely political when Sayyid Ahmad decided to deal with the Durrani tribes first for without it success against the Sikhs was an impossibility. An indecisive encounter with Yar Mohammad Khan took place at Utmanzai, a village in Hashtnagar, in 1828. Many of the tribal Khans proved treacherous as usual and deserted the ranks of Sayyid Ahmad in favour of the Durrani. Soon after Khadi Khan of Hund also went over to the side of the Sikhs and openly opposed the Sayyid and his movement. The cause of conflict and desertion was something fundamental, namely, *Shari'at* vs. tribal nomadism. “The Afghans like a king but detest a master”, goes the proverb. They despised to be subservient to anything; no matter whether it was the *Shari'at* of Islam being enforced by an *Imam* of the faithful.

Now, Sayyid Ahmad had to shift his headquarters to Panjtar. Ventura, the French general in the service of Ranjit Singh, made two futile attempts to oust the Sayyid from here. It had a heartening effect on the morale of the *Mujahids*, and provided a breathing spell to Sayyid Ahmad.

To fight with his Afghan adversaries appeared to Sayyid Ahmad a logical corollary. In August, 1829, the Battle of Hund was fought and Khadi

(79) Ibid., pp. 64, 78-83, 88-93.
(81) Ibid., 81, 82, 94-102.
Khan was killed. This created more complications. The relations and supporters of the deceased joined hands with Yar Mohammad Khan Durrani, who came out to avenge the death of Khadi Khan. In September, 1829, Yar Mohammad Khan was defeated and killed at the Battle of Zaida, a village in Samah, the Yusufzai plain\(^{82}\). Thus, the two outstanding opponents of the Sayyid were removed from the scene. Needless to say that naturally his camp looked more courageous, confident and cheerful.

Sayyid Ahmad thought opportune to turn his attention towards Hazara and Kashmir. The chances of success appeared bright as the Muslim population between the valley of Kashmir and the Indus were unwilling subjects of the Lahore Darbar. Accordingly, he crossed Attock by the end of 1829; but he was repulsed by the Sikh troops under General Allard and Hari Singh Nalwa\(^{83}\). He was compelled to retire to the west of the Indus\(^{84}\). His plans to penetrate into Kashmir were also frustrated for the time being mainly because of the opposition of Painda Khan of Amb as he did not allow the Mujahidin to cross his territories to enter into Kashmir\(^{85}\). Consequently, Sayyid Ahmad decided to measure swords with Painda Khan,

\(^{82}\) Ibid., 108-137; Latif, History of the Panjab, p. 441.

\(^{83}\) Foreign Political Department Proceedings, No. 33-Dated 15th April, 1831; Latif, History of the Panjab, p. 441; Mehr Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, II, 141-144.

\(^{84}\) Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, p. 303.

\(^{85}\) Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, II, 147-154, 156-158.
and the latter was defeated in the battles of ‘Ashra and Amb in March, 1830. He entered into an agreement with the Sayyid and stipulated to render active help in the jihad. Soon after an encounter with the Sikhs took place at Phulra (1830) in which the Mujahidin suffered heavy losses.

Fresh troubles arose when Yar Mohammad Khan’s brother, Sultan Mohammad Khan Barakzai, the new Durrani governor of Peshawar, championed the cause of his late brother. He was supported by several other Khans who were reluctant to pay the ‘Ushr (tithe) and did not see eye to eye with the enforcement of Shari‘at in general. Sayyid Ahmad made a descent into the plains of Peshawar. The Battle of Mayar (also called Battle of Toru) was fought with the

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(86) *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 33-Dated 15th April, 1831.


(88) Ibid., pp. 175-185.

(89) For details see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v.

(90) Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, II. 154, 227-236. Sultan Mohammad Khan took the fortress of Hund out of the possession of the Mujahidin and gave it to Amir Khan, brother of Khadi Khan (Ibid., II, 154-156). The Mujahidin were able to reoccupy it later on (Ibid., II, 215, 216). Ahmad Khan of Mardan refused to pay ‘Ushr and ran to Peshawar for help against the Sayyid. In the meanwhile, Mardan was attacked and captured by the Mujahids. Rasul Khan, brother of Ahmad Khan was installed as the Khan of Mardan (Ibid., II, 218-225).
Durrani. Sultan Mohammad Khan was defeated. Sayyid Ahmad entered Peshawar without further resistance late in the summer of 1830.

Finding no way out Sultan Mohammad Khan appealed to the mercy of Sayyid Ahmad. He promised to join the jihad and not to deviate from the path of the Shari'at. Hence, Sayyid Ahmad restored Peshawar to Sultan Mohammad.

The power of the Sayyid was now at its zenith and established his reputation as the most important figure in the politics of the region. But the undercurrent of discontent against him and the strict enforcement of the Shari'at, was also gaining momentum side by side. The tribal 'Ulama sullenly brooded over the loss of their power, position and privileges. The Khans resented the subjection to the Imamate of Sayyid Ahmad. The tribal chiefs had submitted to the might of the Mujahidin and not to the Imam as such. The local fighters in jihad were merely mercenaries actually actuated by the greed of ghanimah (booty). The decree of the Sayyid that “all young women of marriageable age should at once be wedded, and that the

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(91) Ibid., pp. 237-248, Latif, History of the Panjab, pp. 441, 442; Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, p. 303. Toru is a village in Samah about four miles south of Mardan. See Peshawar Gazetteer, s.v.

(92) Latif, History of the Panjab, p. 442; Olaf Caroe, The Pathans, p. 303; A History of the Freedom Movement, 1, 595, 596; Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, II, 261-266.

(93) Ibid., pp. 267-277.
Yusufzai should resign their custom, prevalent among the Khans, whereby daughters and sisters were only disposed of to the wealthy in return for large dowries", cut across a peculiar maxim of the tribe\(^4\). It only added insult to injury when people were made to understand by the enemies of the Sayyid that it simply meant the assigning of the tribal maidens one by one to his needy Hindustani followers\(^5\). It was one thing that people in general were impressed by his piety, appreciated his devotion to God, and admired his courage and bravery, but it was entirely a different matter to imbibe the same zeal and spirit; more so when his Shari‘at slashed the centuries old social set up and up-set the political economy of the area\(^6\).

Sayyid Ahmad committed the mistake of his life when he tried to find out theological solutions for peculiar political and local problems. The restoration of Peshawar to Sultan Mohammad Khan was a blunder\(^7\). If jihad against the Muslim chiefs of North-West Frontier was possible in accordance with the Shari‘at, the retention of Peshawar by the Mujahidin and turning it into a military base would not have been unjustified on the same grounds. With Peshawar in his possession Sayyid


\(^{95}\) Olaf Caroe, *The Pathan’s* p. 305.

\(^{96}\) Cf. Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, passim.

\(^{97}\) For Sayyid Ahmad’s attitude and his arguments see Ibid., pp. 267-277. Also compare ‘Ubadullah Sindhi, *Shah Waliullah aur unki Siyasi Tahrik*, p.169.
Ahmad would have been more effective in encountering the Sikhs and keeping tribal people within his range. Surely, Shari'at has nothing to do with strategy and its upholder was neither a von Clausewitz nor an Ata Turk.

The history repeated itself and with greatest fury. A widespread rebellion against the Sayyid and his Shari'at broke out by the end of the year 1830. Sultan Mohammad Khan was its unofficial leader. The Mujahidin at the court of Peshawar and various other places were murdered in cold blood. Sayyid Ahmad’s life’s work was undone. He had no option but to leave the Yusufzai hills. He migrated to Pakhli in Hazara and made Rajduwari his headquarters in January, 1831.

Undaunted by reverses, Sayyid Ahmad began to work out his plans for jihad afresh. He established contact with the chieftains of the neighbourhood, persuading them to join hands in freeing Kashmir and Hazara from the clutches of the Sikhs. During this time, the Mujahidin along with the local population successfully encountered


(99) *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 33–Dated 15th April, 1831.

(100) Cf. Ibid; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid II*, 290-346.

(101) *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 33–Dated 15th April, 1831.
the Sikhs at Bhogarmang and Muzaffarabad\(^{102}\). With the coming of spring Rajduwari became unsafe. So, Sayyid Ahmad shifted his camp to Balakot considering it impregnable\(^{103}\).

Sayyid Ahmad’s presence in the area was a constant source of trouble and anxiety to Prince Sher Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, who had been deputed to achieve the extinction of the Sayyid menace. Sher Singh planned to attack Balakot directly. Sayyid Ahmad on his part also resolved to fight the battle of his life here\(^{104}\). The Battle of Balakot, at the bottom of the Kaghan Valley, was fought on Friday, May 6, 1831. Discipline and generalship, superior number and better equipment, won the day for the Sikhs. Sayyid Ahmad along with his chief lieutenant Shah Isma‘il, died fighting on the field. Colonel Alexander Gardner observes: “Syad Ahmad and


\(^{103}\) Balakot is a small town in the sub-division of Mansehra, in the district of Hazara. It is situated on the Kaghan river and is protected on three sides by high mountains. Cf. *Hazara Gazetteer*, s. v. That the Sayyid considered it inaccessible is evident from the letter dated April 25, 1831, written to Nawab Waziruddaulah of Tonk. See Nadvi, *Sirat Sayyid Ahmad Shahid* pp. 225, 226; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 368-370, 377, 378.

\(^{104}\) *Wasta-i-Ahmad*, III, 751; Mehr, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 381, 382. Sayyid Ahmad is reported to have said: “The field of Balakot has both—Lahore and Paradise. Either we shall see Lahore in case of victory or shall go to Paradise in case of *Shahdat*, i.e. death while fighting in the way of God. See Ibid.
the *maulvi* (Shah Isma'il), surrounded by his surviving Indian followers, were fighting desperately hand to hand with the equally fanatical Akalis of the Sikh army. They had been taken by surprise and isolated from the main body of the Syad's forces, which fought very badly without their leader. Even as I caught sight of the Syad and *maulvi* they fell pierced by a hundred weapons. Those around them were slain to a man, and the main body dispersed in every direction.” He sarcastically adds: “I was literally within a few hundred yards of the Syad when he fell, but I did not see the angel descend and carry him off to Paradise, although many of his followers remembered afterwards that they had seen it distinctly enough.”

According to Captain C. M. Wade, “the

(105) Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, pp. 171, 172. There is no use discussing the theory of *ghaibubat* or the concealment or disappearance of Sayyid Ahmad alive from the field of Balakot, only to reappear later on. The passage of time as full one hundred and thirty years have passed since then, is the strongest argument against such a belief. Moreover, Ghulam Rasul Mehr considers the *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner* pure fiction. See *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*, II, 289n., 414n. We do not see any substantial reason to disbelieve Colonel Alexander Gardner here. On the contrary, Gardner’s statement illuminates many dark corners relating to the Battle of Balakot which are evident in the narrative of Ghulam Rasul. In the first place, Gardner clarifies that Sayyid Ahmad was cut off from the main body of his force and finds support from Mehr when he comes to the conclusion that Sayyid Ahmad advanced all of a sudden to attack the Sikhs in contravention of the agreed and decided plan of action. See Ibid., pp. 394-404. In the second place, Gardner mocks at the belief of *ghaibubat* though it is now accepted on all hands, including Mehr. (Ibid., pp. 405-416), that Sayyid Ahmad died fighting at Balakot,
Syed’s body was identified and burnt by the Sikhs.” Ranjit Singh “ordered a royal salute to be fired and the city of Amritsar to be illuminated in honour of the event”\textsuperscript{106}. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Governor-General of India, directed Captain Wade to “offer the congratulation of the Governor-General to His Highness (Maharaja Ranjit Singh) on the event”\textsuperscript{107}.

**An Estimate.**

Sayyid Ahmad Shahid is the third in the series of the \textit{Mujaddids} (Regenerators) of Indian Islam following in the wake of \textit{Mujaddid Alfi-Sani} Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi and Shah Waliullah Dehlavi. It is not only unfair but unhistorical to brand Sayyid Ahmad’s movement as “Indian Wahhabism”\textsuperscript{108}. Sayyid Ahmad’s teachings have an indigenous origin. He is a link between the Religio-Political Reform Movement of Orthodox Islam in India as


\textsuperscript{107} Foreign Political Department Proceedings, No. 40—Dated 17th June, 1831.

initiated by Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani and the climax of Muslim reaction and communalism resulting in the creation of Pakistan.

When Sayyid Ahmad opened his eyes, the Indian sub-continent was under the grip of political anarchy, social breakdown and moral degradation. The Muslims were like the leaves of autumn—pale, lifeless, and a burden on the trunk of Islam. There was no central authority. Even the shadow of the Mughal Empire had disappeared in the darkness. The nucleus of the small independent Muslim kingdoms was also dropping out one by one like the beads of a rosary. The dawn of the nineteenth century saw British Imperialism firmly rooted on Indian soil—a natural and historical answer to political chaos and social turmoil.

Under the circumstances, Sayyid Ahmad considered only one honourable course open to him and his Muslim brothers, that is, to fight the forces of aggression whether Hindu, Sikh or Christian. He believed in the orthodox interpretation of the Quranic verse: anzalna al-hadid fih-i-bas-un shadid. He also concurred with the Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani that “Shari’at is under the shadow of the sword”. (al-Shara’tah’tal-saif)

(119) “And, I created iron which is very dangerous in the form of weapons”. Quran, 57 : 25. For a commentary upon the verse see Abul Kalam Azad, Khutabat, pp. 25, 26.

Hence, Sayyid Ahmad carried the Quran in one hand and sword in another. Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi tried to win over those who had political influence and military power. Shah Waliullah also endeavoured to canvass support for Islam and Muslim community in political and military circles. But Sayyid Ahmad himself jumped into the field of action, armed to the teeth, and died fighting for the cause of Islam. Evidently, he was a practical man. He believed more in action than sermons. He himself took the lead and did not hesitate in doing the humblest type of work\textsuperscript{111}, though no work is undignified in Islam if it is not unlawful. He symbolizes the transition from the theological preachings of the \textit{Mujaddid (Alf-i-Sani)} and metaphysical and mystical discourses of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi. He was the true representative of militant Islam.

But what was the net result of his activities? Undoubtedly, according to Islam, he attained martyrdom (\textit{shahadat}) for him and his sympathizers it was no mean satisfaction. His passionate devotion to Islam is commendable but his holy war for the glorification of Indian Islam was somewhat untimely and mis-calculated. He failed to take a correct stock of the situation. Of course, jih\text{ad} was the need of the hour but not with the sword, nor directed towards non-Muslims. The jih\text{ad} would have been better waged within the Muslim society itself. The disintegration of the Mughal Empire and the rapid disappearance of the inde-

\textsuperscript{111} Cf. Mehr, \textit{Sayyid Ahmad Shahid I}, 61, 62, 176; II, 466.
Independent Muslim kingdoms founded on the bones of the Timurids, were due more to the moral laxity, social degeneration and mutual jealousies and rivalries among the Muslims themselves than external forces and factors. Sayyid Ahmad should have tried to remove the ills of the Islamic body-politic first. He made a start in the right direction but, perhaps, his religious enthusiasm blurred his vision. He rather unconsciously slipped into the political labyrinth which led him nowhere. Before a recourse to arms, the believers should have been armed with ethical precepts and social sense. Even in the North-West Frontier, the centre of his activities, the desertion, treachery and hostility of the tribal people might appear staggering, showing thereby that the movement failed to strike its root in its homeland. The domestic quarrels were more important to the tribesmen than a fight for Islam. However, it must be said to his credit that Indian Muslims mostly gathered round the banner of orthodoxy and communalism even if they did not improve morally and socially.

It is difficult to agree with Mohammad Ja'far Thanesari (112) Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, (113) and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (114) that Sayyid Ahmad Shahid did not propose to fight the British. It is equally

(112) Tawarikh-i-Ajibah, pp. 14, 15, 57, 70, 71.
too much to subscribe to the view of Mirza Hairat Dehlavi\(^{115}\) that Sayyid Ahmad was instrumental in bringing about a rapprochement between Nawab Amir Khan of Tonk and the East India Company in 1817. Again, there is no truth in the assertion that Sayyid Ahmad acted as a stooge of the British Government.\(^{116}\) But it appears certain that the Sayyid considered the British either a lesser evil or unbreakable, either, at least, not worthy of immediate attention or found himself helpless against the might of England. Here also he completely missed the point. It should have been seen that it was the British who were the real threat. It should have been clear to him that the Nizam of Hyderabad-Deccan, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore, Sirajuddaulah of Bengal, Nawab-Wazirs of Avadh and even the Mughal Emperor had suffered reverses at the hands of the East India Company. The failure of Muslim potentates was a signal to muster greater strength and to do what could be done in India. The migration to North-West Frontier was an escape from realities.

Ghulam Rasul Mehr argues that Sayyid Ahmad considered the British more dangerous than the Sikhs and the statement of the Sayyid is there to support the supposition\(^{117}\). It is also true that Sayyid Ahmad regarded India a *Dar-ul-harb* and

\(^{(115)}\) *Hayat-i-Tayyabah*, p. 292.

\(^{(116)}\) See *Supra*.

*jihad* was not possible while remaining inside the the Indian territories. He, therefore, migrated to North-West Frontier, which was expected to be more responsive to his mission, to establish a secure centre\(^{118}\). But it may very well be brought forward that Sayyid Ahmad had no political wisdom and insight to see the consequences of such a move. Obviously, the Punjab was the first stumbling block in the way of the establishment of an Islamic state, and a rupture with Ranjit Singh, the Akbar of Modern India, was inevitable.

The picture becomes clearer when we go through the Despatch (dated March 3, 1827) of Captain C. M. Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana, who informs Sir C. F. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi: "The man (i.e., Sayyid Ahmad) who is engaged in exciting the commotion (in the North-West Frontier region amongst Muslim tribesmen against the Sikhs) made himself notorious about two years ago by attempting to promote similar designs in Hindustan from which, I believe, he was directed by Government to desist or leave the country. He availed himself of the last alternative..."\(^{119}\). Ghulam Rasul Mehr has also unwittingly provided clues to the refutation of his own thesis and indirectly corroborates the position as mentioned by Wade. Mehr says: "At ‘Azimabad (Patna, Bihar), some Shi‘as complained to the British officer that Sayyid Ahmad intends to wage *jihad* against the English...

\(^{118}\) Ibid., pp. 277-281.

\(^{119}\) *Foreign Department Political Proceedings*, No. 32—Dated 30th March, 1827.
But the officer ignored the complaint considering it an offshoot of Shia-Sunni rivalry. According to Mehr, similar complaint was made to the officials of East India Company about Sayyid Ahmad's anti-British attitude during his stay in Calcutta but to no response and no notice was taken of it by British officers. The inference is obvious: either there was a clear understanding between the British Government and Sayyid Ahmad or at least the Government were given to understand that the jihad was exclusively directed against the Sikhs. Cunningham also observes: "He was careful not to offend the English". To credit Sayyid Ahmad with diplomacy is to break the argument by stretching it too far and is a negation of his whole career and personality. In this context the contention of Dr. Mahmud Husain, "To deal with one enemy at a time is common sense", also makes little sense.

Shah Wajiullah Dehlavi considered the Marathas the first enemy of Islam in India. He succeeded in breaking their power through Ahmad Shah Abdali (1722-1772) at the Battle of Panipat (January 14, 1761) though the harvest was reaped by the victors of Plassey at Buxar in 1765. Similarly, Sayyid

(120) Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, I, 209.
(121) Ibid., p. 219. At another place Ghulam Rasul Mehr puts the following in the mouth of Sayyid Ahmad: "...a Sayyid has come from Hindustan with the intention of rescuing the country from the clutches of the Sikhs", Ibid., p. 345.
Ahmad concentrated his energies and resources against the Sikhs. His activities in Northern India which was under the sway of the East India Company, were not unknown to them\(^{124}\). The British diplomacy thought it convenient to connive at the *jihad* by passive neutrality\(^{125}\). We find instances where Muslims employed in the services of the Company freely and warmly welcomed Sayyid Ahmad and actively supported him with

\(^{124}\) W.W. Hunter’s observation, “The preaching of Sayyid Ahmad in 1820-22 passed unheeded by the British Authorities (*The Indian Musalmans*, p. 36), does not hold water in the light of the facts stated above.

\(^{125}\) Cf. *Foreign Department Political Proceedings*, No. 41-Dated 17th June, 1831. In this connection a passage from Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan is worth quoting: “At this time thousands of armed men and large stores of munitions of war were collected in India for the Jihad against the Sikhs. Commissioners and Magistrates were aware of this and they reported the facts to Government. They were directed not to interfere, as the Government was of opinion that their object was not inimical to the British. In 1826, these Jihadis against the Sikhs reached the frontier, and they were afterwards continually strengthened by recruits and money from India. This was well-known to Government, and in proof of this, I will cite the following case:—A Hindu Banker of Delhi, entrusted with money for the Wahabi cause on the frontier (that is to say *Hundi* or bills of exchange), embezzled the same, and a suit was brought against him before Mr. William Fraser, late Commissioner of Delhi. The suit was decided in favour of the plaintiff, Moulavi Ishak (Shah Mohammad Ishaq), and the money paid in by the defendant was forwarded to the frontier by other means. The case was afterwards appealed to the Sudder Court at Allahabad, but the decision of the Lower court was upheld.” *Review of Dr. Hunter’s Indian Mussalmans*, p. 15.
arms, ammunitions and finances. There was no ban put on them by the British Government to be aloof from the Sayyid and his movement. It was only by the year 1839, that the movement became anti-British and then it was ruthlessly suppressed.

The Marathas could not forget the defeat of Panipat. The Sikhs could not think in better terms about Indian Muslims. Sayyid Ahmad’s anti-Sikh activities earned double dividend for British Imperialism—the annexation of the Punjab (March 29, 1849) and the suppression of 1857 uprising, that was more Muslim in nature than an all India affair, with the active co-operation of the Sikhs.

(126) Mehr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, 1, 158-161, 195-205, 209-216, 223, 238, 239. The Nawab of Tonk who was a good ally of the British throughout supported the Sayyid and his family. Ibid., passim; Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp. 186, 190.

(127) Dr. Mahmud Husain says: “It was only after the Panjab was conquered by the British that the followers of the Sayyid and the British came into conflict.” A History of the Freedom Movement, I, 579. It is incorrect. The Punjab was conquered and annexed in 1849. See Supra. The Secretary to Government St. George writes (Dated 18th June, 1839) to the Secretary, Government of India, Fort William, about the anti-British activities of the Wahhabis in South India. Cf. Foreign Department Secret Consultation, No. 20-Dated 10th July, 1839.

Sayyid Ahmad’s work was not totally undone. The blood which oozed out of his throat calmed to a great extent the militant zeal of his followers. His mission descended into the peaceful channels of *tabligh* on which he himself had failed to pin his whole attention though it is open to challenge whether it did any good to the Indian Muslims or to India as a whole.

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*(Note—Explanatory note has been *added only to the books and documents which are important but hitherto less known to scholars. Other works in general have been referred to in the footnotes).*

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Amirnama of Basawan Lal Shadan of Bilgram, composed in 1240 A. H. (1824 A. D.). It is a biography of Nawab Amir Khan of Tonk. Ms. in the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta. It has been translated into English by H T. Prinsep under the title “Memoirs of the Puthan Soldier of Fortune the Nuwab Ameer-ood-Doulah Mohummud Ameer Khan”, Calcutta, 1832.

Al-Iqlisad fi Masā‘il al-Jihad of Mohammad Husain Batalavi, n. p, 1888. An attempt has been made to declare jihad in India unlawful; definitely pro-British.


Bahr-i-Zakhkhar of Wajihuddin Ashraf of Lucknow, compiled in the last two decades of the
eighteenth century. It is a "vast compilation" devoted to the lives of saints and mystics mostly Indian and many contemporary with the author. Ms. in British Museum.

_Diwan_ of Momin Khan, the well-known Indian poet of Urdu and Persian, contains some quartrains (Qita‘at) and odes (Qasidahs) about Sayyid Ahmad and the _Mujahidin_. Ms. in Rampur Library.

_Fatawa-i-‘Azizi_ of Shah Abdul ‘Aziz, Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1322, A. H.

_Itthaf al-Nubala al-Muttaqim_, etc. of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal, Kanpur, 1289 A. H. (1872 A. D.)

_Makhzan-i-Ahmadi_ of Sayyid Mohammad Ali Matba‘ Mufeed-i-‘A M, Agra, 1299 A. H. (1882 A. D.). Sayyid Mohammad Ali was the eldest nephew (sister’s son) of Sayyid Aahmad. The former was elder in age than the latter. Hence, the early career of Sayyid Ahmad passed before the author’s own eyes.

_Manzurah-us-Sa‘d fi Ahwal al-Ghazah wa al-Shuhada_ also known as _Tarikh-i-Ahmadian_ of Sayyid Ja‘far Ali Naqvi (1795-1871) of Gorakhpur, 2 vols. With an intention to take part in the _jihad_ Sayyid Ja‘far Ali Naqvi reached North-West Frontier about a year before the Battle of Balakot. He has based the accounts of the early career of Sayyid Ahmad on _Makhzan-i-Ahmadi_. The later
portion of the work is mainly written on the basis of author’s own experiences. It is a detailed and to a great extent authentic biography of Sayyid Ahmad. The work was compiled in 1272 A. H. (1855 A. D.). The Mss. of the work are available in Nadvat-ul-Ulma, Lucknow and the Punjab University Library, Lahore.


*Maktubat*, 2 vols. Ms. in possession of Sayyid Abul Husan Ali Nadvi of Lucknow. It is a collection of letters of Sayyid Ahmad, Shah Isma‘il and Sayyid Hamiduddin, Sayyid Ahmad’s sister’s son, most of which have been written from North-West Frontier to their friends and relations in India.

*Maktubat-i-Imam-i-Rabbani* or Letters of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, 3 vols., Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1877.

*Manba ‘ul-Ansab* of Sayyid Mu‘inul Haq, retouched and improved by Sayyid Ali Ghazanfar better known as Jarullah. It is a detailed work on genealogy and Sufism and makes some references about Sayyid Ahmad’s ancestors. Mss. in Khuda Bakhsh Library, Bankipur, Patna and Kutub Khana-i-Asafiyah, Hyderabad-Deccan.

Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Ziauddin Barani, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, B.I.S., Calcutta, 1891.

Tiqsar Juyud-ul-Ahrar min Tazkar Junud-ul-Abrar of Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, Bhopal, 1295 A. H. (1878 A.D.). The author’s father, Sayyid Aulad Husain Kannauji, was one of the admirers of Sayyid Ahmad. He makes some positive remarks about the latter, e.g., he had no connection with Wahhabism or that Sayyid Ahmad was killed at Balakot thereby refuting the theory of ghaibubat (concealment or disappearance). He also asserts that Sayyid Ahmad did not want to fight the British.

Tazkirat-us-Sa'adat of Shaikh Ahmad Akbarabadi, Allahabad, 1880. It gives some information about the ancestors of Sayyid Ahmad.

Tazkirat-ul-Abrar. Sayyid Mohammad Nu'man (d.1779), uncle of Sayyid Ahmad, wrote a book entitled A'ilam-ul-Huda dealing with family and ancestral accounts. Maulvi Sayyid Fakhruddin (d. 1326 A.H.) made improvement and added some more information and named the work as Sirat-i-'Ilmiath. Hakim Sayyid Abdul Hai', son of Maulvi Sayyid Fakhruddin, made further additions and the
work is finally known as Tazkirat-ul-Abrar. Ms. in Nadvat-ul-Ulama, Lucknow.


Wasaya al-Wazir ala Tariqat al-Bashir wa al-Nazir of Nawab Waziruddaulah (d.1864), ruler of Tonk, Rajasthan, 2 vols., Matba‘ Mohammadi, Tonk, 1284, A.H. It contains scattered personal references to Sayyid Ahmad, Shah Isma‘il and others.


C. URDU

Abdul Hai’, Hakim Sayyid. Armughan i-Ahbab, published in the Ma‘arif, Dar-ul-Musannifin, Azamgarh, February, May, and June, 1939. It is a diary and reflects upon the movement of Sayyid Ahmad.

Arwah-i-Sulasah, n.p., n.d. It is a collection of three works of anecdotes: (i) Amir-ul-Rawayat of Amir Shah Khan of Aligarh; (ii) Rawayat-i-al-Tayyab of Maulana Mohammad Tayyab Deobandi; and (iii) Ashraf-ul-Tanbih, a commentary on some of the anecdotes. It was collected and published by Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanavi. It contains some anecdotes relating to Sayyid Ahmad, Shah Isma‘il and Maulana Abdul Hai’.


Ahmad, Prof. Sayyid. *Musalmanon ka 'Uraj wa Zawal*, Delhi, 1947.


*Sarguzasht-i-Mujahiddin*, Lahore, 1956.

*Jama'at-i-Mujahidin*, Ilmi Printing Press, Lahore, n. d.


*Tazkirah Imam-i-Rabbani*, 2nd ed., Al-Furqan, Lucknow, 1368 A. H.

*Tazkar-i-Shahid* (Shah Isma'il), Al-Furqan, Bareilly, 1356 A. H.


Sadiqpuri, Abdur Rahim. *Al-Durar-i-Mansur fi Tarajim Ahl-i-Sadiqpur* also known as *Tazkirah-i-Sadiqah*, n. p., 1927.


Shikarpuri, Mirza 'Ata Mohammad Khan. *Roznamcha*, 4 vols., vol. III deals with Sayyid Ahmad and is mainly based on latter's letters (*Maktubat*). The work throws light on Sayyid Ahmad's stay in Sind. The Ms. is in the possession of Sayyid Ali Mohammad Rashidi of Karachi.

Thanesari, Mohammad Ja'far. *Tawarikh-i-'Ajibah* or *Sawaneh-i-Ahmadi*, 3rd ed., Islamia Steam Press, Lahore, n.d. This was the first book in Urdu on Sayyid Ahmad. The author says that the Sayyid wanted to fight the Sikhs only and not the British.

Mohammad Ja'far Thanesari has also written another book known as *Tawarikh-i-'Ajib*, popularly known as "*Kala Pani*" covering the period 1863-1883 including a detailed account of the Ambala Case, 1863-64, Lahore, n.d. It was completed in
1303 A. H., that is, five years before the Sawaneh-i-Ahmadi.

The Tawarikh-i-'Ajib or Kala Pani and Tawarikh-i-'Ajibah or Sawaneh-i-Ahmadi, are two different works.

Waqai‘-i-Ahmadi also called Tarikh-i-Ahmadi and Tarikh-i-Kabir, 4 vols., Ms. in Nadvat-ul-Ulama, Lucknow. The ruler of Tonk, Rajasthan, Nawab Waziruddaulah (d. 1864) and his son and successor Nawab Mohammad Ali Khan (accession 1865), were interested to get the life-history of Sayyid Ahmad and his holy war compiled out of the stray records and oral testimony before it was too late to do so. With this end in view almost all the persons possessing any information about the Sayyid, were invited to Tonk. The compilation of the work began in 1274 A. H. and the first volume of the book was ready by 1278 A. H.

Waqai‘-i-Ahmadi is the principal source of information about Sayyid Ahmad and his jihad.

D. ENGLISH


Ali, Shahamat. *The History of Bahawalpur, etc.*, London, 1848. It is an abridged translation of Pir Ibrahim Khan’s history called *Tarikh-i-Bahawalpur* by C. A. Storey.


*A General Report on the Yusufzais*, Lahore, 1864


Supplement to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1938.


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Pearse, Major Hugh, Ed. *Memoirs of Alexander*


History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of Marquess of Hastings, 1813-1823, London, 1825.

Rose, H. A. A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the North-West Frontier Province, 3 vols., Lahore 1911-19.


Raverty, Major H. G. Notes on Afghanistan, etc. London, 1888.


Wahabie Trial at Patna, The, 1871 (Official Report), n.d.

Yasin, Mohammad. A Social History of Islamic India, Lucknow, 1958.

E. OFFICIAL RECORDS

(GOVERNMENT OF INDIA)

(a) Letters and Despatches relating to Sayyid Ahmad:

(i) Foreign Department Political Consultation, No. 28, dated 30th March, 1827; Memo of Notes taken from the Lahore Akhbar, dealing with the expedition of Sardar Budh Singh against Sayyid Ahmad. This Memo was sent to the Government of India at Calcutta by the Residency at Delhi on March 8, 1827.

(ii) Foreign Department Political Proceedings,
No. 32, dated 30th March, 1827; from Captain C. M. Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana to Sir C. F. Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi, dated March 3, 1827; gives a summary about Sayyid Ahmad and his activities.

(iii) *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 3, dated 12th October, 1827; Captain C. M. Wade’s report on his Mission to the Court of Ranjit Singh; deals with the Battle of Akora, near Attock.

(iv) *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 33, dated 15th April, 1831; from Captain C. M. Wade to B. Martin, Resident at Delhi, dated March 21, 1831. It deals with the Pathan rising against Sayyid Ahmad and his migration to Hazara.

(v) *Foreign Political Department Proceedings*, No. 39, dated 17th June, 1831; from C. M. Wade to Foreign Secretary, Government of India, dated May 17, 1831; gives details about the success of the Sikhs at Balakot and burning of the dead body of Sayyid Ahmad.

(vi) *Foreign Department Political Proceedings*, No. 40, dated 17th June, 1831; from Foreign Secretary to Government of India to Captain C. M. Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana, dated May 23, 1831.

(vii) *Foreign Department Political Proceedings*, No. 41, dated 17th June, 1831; from C. M. Wade to H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Governor-General of India, dated May 18, 1831.
(viii) Foreign Department Political Consultations, Nos. 27 to 33 in general, dated, March 30, 1827.

(ix) Foreign Department Political Consultations, Nos. 4 and 5, dated 20th April, 1827.

(x) Foreign Department Political Consultations, No. 42, dated 6th May, 1831.

(xi) Foreign Department Political Consultations, Nos. 39 to 42 in general, dated 17th June, 1831.

(b) Letters and Despatches relating to Wahhabi Movement in India (Early Period):

(i) Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Nos. 29 to 31, dated 14th August, 1939.

(ii) Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Nos. 59 to 62, dated 20th November, 1839.

(iii) Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Nos. 20 to 25, dated 10th July, 1839.

(iv) Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Nos. 112 to 115, dated 10th July, 1839.

These documents throw a flood of fresh light on Sayyid Ahmad and his activities vis-a-vis Government of India and their attitude and help to arrive at sober conclusions. Needless to say that these
documents have not attracted the attention of the scholars in the field so far. The documents are preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.
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(1605 - 1748)

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