

INDIA DURING MUSLIM RULE

by

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(Late Nazim of Nadwatul Ulama)

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INTRODUCTION



MOTHERLAND is a common expression, more or less universal, for the land of one's birth. It is because the service of our homeland is instinctively regarded by all of us as a bounden duty devolving on every man. For it is a natural, inborn moral impulse of man worthy to be called a human being, many an ennobling example of supreme sacrifice for its sake can be found in the annals of all climes and times. Deathless songs of warm affection and attachment to the land of one's birth have been sung not by the poets alone; even the people sorely pressed in their native lands but commanding fame and honour in an alien country could never forget their land of birth. A Persian poet has given articulation to the same feeling in these verses.

Not once the love of motherland slackened its
hold on my heart;

On the alien soil, though, I was renowned and
well-thought.

Hāfiz of Shīrāz, too, pays tribute to his birthplace in these words:

Ah! the streams of Ruknābād and its blowing
breeze,

Make Shīrāz a mole on the cheek of the seven
lands.

Muslims have never lagged behind any other people in

their love for the motherland; in fact, the prophetic teachings which recognise strength of character alone as the test of true faith, have made them the worthiest sons of the land they have inhabited. In appreciating the boons conferred by the lands of their birth, in the search and development of the hidden treasures of their countries, in the quest of knowledge and furtherance of their arts and culture and in maintaining a trustworthy chart and compass of the past endeavour of their forefathers, the Muslims have always been ahead of their contemporaries. Historiography, in particular, received their special attention since it received impetus from the meticulous care Muslims had to take in the preservation of a trustworthy record of the sayings and acts of the Prophet of Islam. In the very beginning of their literary career, when they started compiling the Traditions, they had to collect the biographical details of the narrators of these Traditions and had also to frame the rules of *isnād* or historical criticism for the evaluation of voluminous narratives and the biographical data collected for the purpose. To whatever country they went thereafter the taste cultivated for collecting historiographical and biographical details and their critical evaluation set spurs to their attention for portraying the past happenings and achievements of their adopted homelands. In many a country of their descent they have thus been the precursors of historiography and study of the growth of nations.

To whichever country the Muslims took the torch of Islam, it witnessed a great revolution exhibiting a tremendous upsurge in the people in numerous spheres of social and political life. The touch of Islam unfolded the hidden potentialities of each country, lying dormant for thousands of years, in a variety of brilliant colours of light and shade. Taking a leap from the obscurity of dark ages, each one of these countries took its rightful place in the comity of nations and made valuable contributions towards enriching human knowledge and culture. And what is more, all these

lands also adopted these newcomers as their beloved sons and daughters.

No country conquered by the Muslims was ever treated by them as a milch cow or a beast of burden. Nor they ever acted as parasites of a conquered land: they never contrived to transfer the riches of the country they held in hand to the land from which they had hailed like the nations of the West. Rather, they diffused the most valuable treasure they had with them—the wealth of faith in One God and prophethood—and dispersed their conviction in virtues of human dignity and equality, their administrative skill and practical genius and their refined taste of arts and culture among the people of their adopted land. In every sphere of life, social or intellectual, in manners and customs, in arts and culture they inevitably impressed their mark. The forces they set in motion had always had profound and lasting effect upon society and culture, arts and literature of the land conquered by them. They established peace and order, planned and set up new cities, developed agriculture and commerce, promoted fine arts and architecture, set up educational institutions and cultivated new branches of learning not known to those countries. The lands they conquered were actually reborn, with a renewed zest and vigour, in a new and brighter world.

Spain, or Andalūsia, as called by the Arabs, has the same story to tell. In a weak and deplorable state on the eve of Muslim conquest, it had never been a land important enough to attract the eyes of an ambitious invader. For the first time in recorded history, after the Muslims had conquered Spain, or, more appropriately, conferred their blessings upon it, that the country showed its face to the civilized world. Then, the country suddenly began to emit its hidden gifts of nature and, not long after, it became a land coveted by the sky aspiring conquerors—a dreamland of poets and chroniclers, the fount of arts and literature, in short, the

centre of the then civilized world. Historiography and geography, jurisprudence and philosophy, graphic arts and architecture were set in motion in entirely new casts and moulds and new cities like Murcia, Valencia, Jaen, Seville, Almeria, Granada and Madina Sidonia sprang up where rose such monuments of magnificent fantasy as the Mosque of Cordova and Alhambra of Granada.

This is exactly what happened in many other countries—Egypt, Syria, Iran and Turkistan, to name only a few. All these lands were like ponds of water, without any inlet, getting polluted and stinking. The Byzantine and Sāsānian empires were no more than instruments of exploitation for their dependent lands: vast sums were extracted under all manners of pretences from a ruined and decayed peasantry and artisans for the benefit of a small but privileged class with enormous latifundia. Not one of these countries had achieved, on the eve of Muslim conquest, any distinction in culture and civilization, arts and literature, commerce and industry; nor could any one of these boast of a poet or a man of letters, a legist or a thinker of outstanding merit and ability. There arose with the touch of Islam, as if by a magic wand, the great cities of Basra, Kūfa, Mosul and Baghdad in Iraq; Damascus, Haleb (Aleppo), Hāms, Hama, Nablūs (Shechem), Al-Quds and Trāblus (Tripoli) in Syria; Fustāt, Qasta, Cairo, Asyūt, Mansūrah and Damietta in Egypt; Samarkand, Bukhara, Shash (Tashkent) and Khwārisim in Tarkistan; and Ray, Hamadān, Nishāpūr, Shirāz, Tūs and Isfahān in Iran.¹ In every one of these flourishing centres of civilisation were born innumerable masterminds who created a rich and varied culture much of which is of permanent importance in the history of mankind.

1. We have enumerated but a few names of the cities which attained eminence for one reason or the other, merely by way of illustration, as it would require a long treatise to give an account of the innumerable cities built under the Muslim rule.

The same story was repeated in North Africa, a great plateau extending from Libya to Morocco. The dominant feature of the contumacious Berber tribes preceding the rise of Islam in that the region was nomadic anarchy, internecine fights and forays, idolatry and superstition, which rejected every authority excepting the tribal custom, inasmuch as that the very name of these people had become a synonym of barbarism. Over the entire region such cities as existed in antiquity had dwindled to ruined towns of little importance since the nomadism of Berber tribes extirpated every trace of civilised existence. Without arts or laws and almost without any sense or language these uncultured people had always been a hornet's nest for their earlier conquerors. But no sooner did Islam make its debut in this troubled land than the cities of Qairawān, Fez, Maknās, Morocco, Bāja, Sūsā, Sarqastā, Bugiā, Tilmīsān and Tunis sprang up where countless erudite scholars of Traditions, exegesis, jurisprudence, literature, lexicology and history engaged themselves in the pursuit of these sciences. Universities like Jam'i Qairawān and Jam'i Zaitūnia were established whose literary contributions shall be valued and cherished till Arabic language and Islam continue to flourish in the world.

The spectacle India presented was not different from other countries before the advent of Islam. Isolated from the rest of the world, the country was cut off by the sea in the south and east and the great chain of Himalayas in the North-West. The world had only a hazy idea of the land and its inhabitants. It was considered to be an extensive and fertile land, irrigated by innumerable rivers, great and small, whose people were devoted to philosophic ideals of *Vedāntā*, practised penance and self-mortification and delved into the problems of mathematics and astrology.

The world had been able to peep into this closed land only occasionally through the windows opened by an

ambitious conqueror like Alexander or a traveller like Alberūni.¹

India had preserved its culture and social structure without any noticeable change for more than a thousand years with the result that stagnation and decay had set in almost in every field of life. Its artisans and entrepreneurs were not engaged, like those in the adjoining lands, in introducing new stratum in the old and static Indian culture, arts and literature, nor were there any visible signs of change in the development of its resources, mode of agriculture, commerce and industry or other fields of creative endeavour.² At last the Muslims entered this ancient land and entrusted to its care the most precious gifts they had—the gift of belief in pure and unalloyed monotheism, human dignity and equality, a social system free from distinctions of caste and class, an exquisite culture refined and enriched by the consummate intellectual and creative genius of different peoples and a clean and effective system of administration evolved and perfected by a long and varied experience. In fine, it was a whiff of fresh air which rejuvenated and integrated different streams of thought and sciences, arts and culture and gave

1. Alberūni, who came in the train of Maḥmūd of Gazni, gives a vivid description of India in his book entitled '*Tahqīq ma li Hind min Maqālātīn Maqbūlatīn fil 'Aql wa Mirzūlatīn*'.
2. Tuzuk Bābri contains a vivid description of India and its fauna and flora which cannot be better described than in his own words. "Hindustan is a country of few charms. Its people have no good looks; of social intercourse, paying and receiving of visits there is none; of genius and capacity none; of manners none; in handicraft and work there is no form or symmetry, method or quality; there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, no muskmelons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water, no good bread or cooked food in the bazars, no hot-baths, no colléges, no candles, torches or candle sticks... Except their large rivers and their standing-waters which flow in ravines or hollows, there are no running waters in their gardens or residences. Their residences have no charm, air, regularity or symmetry. (Memoirs of Bābur, pp. 518-20)

birth to a tremendous pulsation of the people in many spheres of social, intellectual and political life of the country.

It was in this country that the valour of the Turks, perseverance of the Mongols and the stately pride of the Afghans mingled with the Islamic ideals of justice and compassion. The venturesome characteristics of the dauntless and chivalrous people coming to India from abroad blended with the mild and pacific disposition of the dwellers of this great land. The spirit of adventure, knowing no fear and defying every danger, came to terms with the soul of serenity, mild and soft, which knew no other language save that of love and harmony, through the integrative and moderating influence of Islam. And the culture thus coming into being by this happy accord of ideas and ideals could justifiably be called Indo-Islamic; its administrative set-up was a union of Turkish, Indian and Islamic systems, generally known as the Moghul system of administration; and its design of construction as Indo-Islamic architecture.

The fusion of these diverse cultures and ideals gave birth to multiform and many sided geniuses. When it appeared in the person of 'Alāuddīn Khiljī (d. 716 : 1316), it displayed unrivalled skill, studied tact and phenomenal energy in controlling the fluctuating market, enforcing stability in prices by developing agriculture and acting upon a judicious tariff policy, and introducing social reforms for the welfare of the people.

The spirit of this composite culture often took the shape of a love-song, charming and enchanting, in a poet like Amir Khusrū (d. 725 : 1325) whose lyrics of unlimited beauty of diction and flow and ingenuity of expression in several languages made him the greatest poet of his age. His poems composed six centuries ago are still fresh and are capable of touching the inner chords of heart even to this day.

The soul of this harmony can also be witnessed in the great saint, Khwāja Nizāmuddīn Auliya (d. 725 : 1325) whose love of God and unbounded compassion for the humanity still illuminates the path of righteousness.

In a monarch who strove for justice, beneficence, mercy, kindness and moderation, embodying the spirit of this composite genius, one has to look for Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq (d. 790 : 1388). The country had never before witnessed, as the historians tell us, peace and tranquillity reigning supreme under that kind-hearted king. Canals were dug, justice was dispensed to all, crimes became a thing of the past and amiable relations between different communities inhabiting the land became proverbial. The same ideal guided the administrative genius of Sher Shāh Sūrī (d. 952 : 1545) whose legislative and administrative measures, clean and efficient management of the State affairs have left their mark in the shape of the greatest national highway running from the farthest corner of the country in north-west to Sonārgāon in the east. This great road had not only rest houses for the travellers but also ensured the safety of wayfarers from one corner to another—and all this was achieved within a brief period of five years.

‘Abdur Rahīm Khān:Khānān (d. 1005 : 1595) was another product of the same literary and practical genius. Dauntlessly brave, as well as generously liberal, he rose to become a great general and source of strength to the Moghul empire but, at the same time, he also occupied a distinguished place as a man of letters, the master of a pure and unaffected style both in prose and verse.

The fineness of taste and artistic bent of this cultural genius found expression in Jahāngīr (d. 1037 : 1627). He developed horticulture and gardening, introduced grafting and brought about improvement in dresses and cookery. It was the same creative urge which expressed itself through Shāh Jahān (d. 1078: 1666) who blended architecture with the skill of a jeweller on a higher scale to create such

magnificent monuments as the Taj Mahal, Jami Masjid and Red Fort.

If one were to look for the indomitable courage, determination and grit, administrative talent and capacity to be watchful of the smallest detail connected with the business of governance, one would have to cast one's glance over Aurangzeb (d. 1118 : 1707). By extending his dominion to the far south, which had frustrated the ambition of many an emperor before him, he was the first monarch to give a viable shape to the unity of Indian sub-continent. A pious and God-fearing soul that he was, the compilation of *Fatāwā Alamgīrī* and the purging of the anti-Islamic mores and customs bear testimony to his catholicity and reformative zeal.

And, those in quest of the flowers of this genius possessing sublimity of intuitive vision and exalted spiritual integrity capable of unfolding the inner content of true faith and the aim and purpose of divine guidance shall have to direct their eyes to Sheikh Sharafuddīn Yahyā Manerī (d. 786 : 1384) and Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindī Mujaddid Alf Thānī (d. 1034 : 1624). It was the same tutelary spirit which could be witnessed in the sober reflections and the wise counsels of Shāh Walī Ullah Dehlavī (d. 1176 : 1762).

Indian Islam, thus, constituted a world in itself: a world within the world of Islam with its own distinctive administrative pattern, cultural attainment and thought content. The achievement of Islam in India was not limited to one of its greatest and enduring conquests; for, it also made, in this land, important contributions to every branch of the classical Arab tradition, introduced a new stratum into the Islamic culture, struck upon new ideas in arts and literature and created a distinctive style of architecture.

It was but necessary to take stock of these achievements of the Indian Islam, if only to shed light on the valuable gifts it has bequeathed to humanity. It was all the more necessary to make an assessment of the cultural

synthesis, the atmosphere of amity and cooperative endeavour ushered in the country by the genius of Islam in order to strengthen the hands of the people aspiring to revive the spirit of harmony between different sections of the Indian people. This task could have, however, been accomplished only by a steady and untiring historian who had waded through the vast literature produced during the course of centuries with the avidity of a legatee looking forward to the lost treasure inherited by him.

Andalūsia, or the Arab Spain, was fortunate enough to have one of the distinguished annalists in Muhammad Lisānuddīn ibn al-Khatīb (d. 776 : 1374) whose *al-Ahātato fi Akhbār-i-Gharnāta* in three volumes is no less than a short encyclopaedia of the capital of the last Muslim kingdom in that country. For the first time he gave detailed information regarding geographical situation of Granada and its suburbs, the habits and customs of its inhabitants, the dresses worn by the people and numerous other particulars, such as, composition of armed forces, arms used by them, social and cultural life of the community, etc., never touched upon by earlier historians.

Another work of immortal worth portraying the life and time of Arab Spain is the *Nafah ut Tib-i-Lighasn il-Andalus ar-Ratib* by Ahmad al-Maqqarī al-Maghribī al-Mālikī (d. 1041 : 1632), which is a fitting epilogue to the brilliant traditions of historiography of Spanish Islam. The book is a literary miscellany of biographical accounts, arts and literature, anecdotes and achievements of both native and foreign men of distinction even remotely connected with the then Spain. The first and third parts, out of its four volumes, are mostly drawn from the narratives of Lisānuddīn al-Khatīb and lack proper arrangement like the former; still, the book occupies a prominent place on account of its elegant style and fluency of diction.

Among the Muslim countries, all of which showed a

keen interest in the cultivation of historiography, Egypt comes on the top. Taqī-uddīn Ahmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī's (d. 845 :1442) great work entitled *Kitāb-ul Muā'iz Wal 'Aitbār-i-fi-zikr il-Khutāt wal-Athār* in two volumes is a general chronicle encompassing a wide range of subjects, such as, the demographic details of Egypt's towns and cities, its highways and roads, imperial castles, bath houses, hospitals and caravan-serais, bridges and tanks, mosques, madrasahs, and shrines and churches. Al-Maqrīzī has given a graphic account of the habits and customs of the people, fairs and festivals, the system of administration, judicial set-up, organisation of armed forces and many other similar details, but most of his descriptions revolve round Cairo, the capital of Fātimide Caliph Mu'izuddīn I' Dīn Illāh. The book thus gives a most vivid account of the culture and architecture of the Fātimide Caliphate. The great work of al-Maqrīzī was carried forward to completion by another son of Egypt, Rashid 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak (d. 1311 : 1893) who later on penned two more volumes under the title of *Al-Khutāt ut-Taufīqiyaht al-Jadīdah*. The *Khitāt* literature is thus an outstanding example of Egyptian Interest and industry in recording its past events and achievements in the minutest detail, which, by and large, also exhibits the loving regard of the Muslims for their motherland.

Baghdād remained, for five hundred years, the throbbing centre of Muslim arts and culture, literary activities and religious life deserving a detailed chronicle portraying the social, cultural and demographic aspects of its hey-day of glory. The debt the people of Baghdād owed to this great city was discharged by Hāfiz Abū Bakr ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Khatīb al Baghdādī (d. 463 : 1071). His ornate chronicle commonly known as *Tarīkh Baghdād*¹ has been published recently in 1931, eight hundred years after its composition

1. Full name of the book being *Li-Misr al-Qāhrah wa-Mudināh wa Balādha-al-Qadimah was-Shahīrah*.

In fourteen volumes comprising 6411 pages. It is essentially a biographical "history" giving an account of 7831 scholars and eminent personalities who achieved distinction in different fields of life, but the first 133 pages of it are devoted to the geographical situation, short history, archaeological monuments, architectural designs of castles and mosques, administrative system and numerous other details about the crafts and callings of the people and prices and wages. These details are, however, too brief for Al-Khatib pays particular attention to the biographical annals which are still regarded as the most catholic chronicles of its kind in the Arabic literature.

Alongside the general chronicles, a regional and biographical yet prolific work pertaining to Syria was written by Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 : 1176). Then, for eight hundred years after him—during which Syria had to undergo numerous upheavals and revolutions—its another son Muhammad Kurd 'Alī (d. 1373 : 1953), ex-President of the Academy of Arabic Literature, Damascus, compiled an all-comprehensive history delineating the social, cultural, developmental and literary activities of the intervening period. The book includes even the details pertaining to development of agriculture, commerce, imports and exports, industry and manufacture, mineral deposits, manpower and livestock, economic conditions and welfare activities, customs, dialects and local characteristics of the different regions. Muhammad Kurd 'Alī's labour of love deserves, in truth and reality, the gratitude of his countrymen no less than that of every student of history.¹

1. We have mentioned here only a few of such regional, dynastic and biographical chronicles which have been written by the sons of the soil to which they pertain. It is neither necessary nor possible to make a reference to all the other general or historical works of different countries, Amir Shakiḥ Arsalān (d. 1366 : 1946)

[Continued on next page]

The period of Muslim rule over India deserves to be treated as an era singularly distinct from the millennium of the ascendancy of Islam in other countries. The regime of Islam in India cannot, of course, lay a claim to have initiated the process of Islamic culture, its system of administration or the traditions of classical Arabic literature; nevertheless, it made valuable contribution to their enrichment and development. Indian Islam was yet another everlasting amaranth in the bequests gifted to the world by different Muslim peoples. From the very beginning of Muslim rule in India, literary activities started with full zest which, in due course, produced hundreds of authors, literateurs, poets and historians. But, as most of these chroniclers were connected with the royal courts, they generally speak of the victories won by their benefactors, anecdotes of the imperial courts and household stories of reckless philanthropy, the miraculous deeds worked by the saints or weird events come across by them. There are only a few biographical works of eminent personalities and erudite scholars or works describing the cultural and literary attainments of their age. A few such writings occasionally penned during the period also fail to give sufficient details required for a correct assessment of the characters described or their achievements. Almost all the historians of the period were, by and large, indifferent to the geographic, social, cultural and demographic accounts of the land; they hardly ever paid any attention to record the administrative or judicial system, welfare projects, developmental activities or fiscal policies of the rulers. Social and cultural life of the people, their customs and habits or fairs and festivals seldom attracted their notice. Lacking these glimpses of the everyday life of

has attempted a comprehensive review of such historical literature of Muslim countries in his monumental work *Al-Hilal ul-Sundsiya fil Ikhbar il-Undliya*, published in three volumes. Amir Shakib Arslan wanted to complete the work in eight volumes but his untimely death did not allow him to write the subsequent volumes.

the people, these annals are not unoften narratives of the battles fought or splendours of the imperial courts.

If anybody goes through these chronicles, mostly written in Persian and marred by a florid and verbose style, rhetorical ingenuities and verbal conceits, he would hardly ever be able to spot the beauty and richness of the cultural attainments of this era. The cultural and social aspects of the medieval India referred to in these annals, if at all, lie buried under the debris of endless turmoils of war, incredible accounts of campaigns and victories or personal valour exhibited in the battle-field, stories of cold-blooded murders or lavish bounties by the kings presented in a grandiose and flaunting style. Anyone scanning these records feels as if he is passing through a dark and dingy tunnel, only occasionally enlivened by a streak of light or a puff of fresh air. He can never find out in his long journey that there were delightful sights missed by him, nor can he ever see the shape and colour of the dresses worn by the people, the coinage and prices of the times past nor even the administrative and judicial system of the age he wants to explore. In this surrounding darkness he often comes across the annals like *Tārīkh Firūz Shāhī* of Ziauddin Barnī (d. 858 : 1453), *Tuhfa Firūz Shāhī* of *Sirāj Afīf* or *Tārīkh Firishṭa* of Muhammad Qasim Bijāpuri which hold before his eyes a view of the populace, living and moving, but even these glimpses are momentary and hazy.¹ It is, therefore, not at all surprising if some historians of today who want to re-write history of medieval India to fit into their preconceived mould or Ideology quote verse and chapters from these chronicles to present Muslim rulers and kings as heartless brutes, devoid of all intelligence and culture and knowing

1. *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fadl and few other chronicles like *Bādshāh Nāmah* and *Ma'āthar-i-Alamgiri* are the few exceptions, no doubt, but they all relate to the reign of a particular king.

no other language except that of fire and sword.¹

What India needed was a biographer like Ibn Khallikān, an annalist like Hājī Khalīfa and a word painter like Al-Maqrīzī who could have portrayed the great cultural attainments of this ancient land, a perennial source of civilisation in truthful and vivid colours. Thank God that Maulānā Hakīm Syed 'Abdul Hai, ex-Rector of Darul Uloom Nadwatul 'Ulama was gifted with all these qualities, who, being a historian, biographer and a penman, could adequately represent all the three abovementioned writers of yore. His accomplishment was nothing unusual since many an industrious encyclopaedists have to their credit such a prolific output as could be produced only by a literary academy.

Maulānā 'Abdul Hai wrote, first of all, *Nuzhatul Khawātir* which is a biographical dictionary of 4,500 scholars and men of genius born in India during the past thirteen hundred years of Islamic era in eight volumes.² Following in the footsteps of Ibn Khallikān (d. 681 : 1282) the Maulānā's pen never deviates from the path of moderation and accuracy in the appreciation of the characters mentioned in this

1. One cannot but recall here the studied effort made by British historians like Sir H. M. Elliot who laboriously summarised and collected extracts from the writings of medieval historians dealing with the conquests and revolts, fratricides and works of blood with the avowed objective of educating the 'native subjects' and 'bombastic Babus' how 'in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh' they had 'been plunged into the lowest depths of wretchedness and despondency' and what 'immense advantages were accruing to them under the mildness and equity' of the British rule.' (Introduction by H. M. Elliot : The History of India as told by its Historians, 1867-77, Vol. I, pp. xxi and xxii). Unfortunately few students of history today being conversant with the original sources written in Arabic and Persian, the scholars have nowadays to depend on these summaries available in the English language.
2. All the eight volumes of this book have since been published by the Dai'ratul Ma'arif Osmania, Hyderabad

monumental work. Thereafter he inscribed a directory of the noted religious scholars of India under the title *Ma'ārif ul-'Awārif fī Anwār ul-'Ulūm wal-Ma'ārif*.¹ In it he has attempted a comprehensive review of the beginning and development of classical and Islamic sciences in India, the curricula followed from time to time and the system of education prevalent in different stages of its development.

The author then diverted his attention to the present topic which had been overlooked by almost every historian, if only because the information about it lay scattered in different libraries in the shape of treatises, discourses and monographs, published or unpublished, on the subjects akin to or even totally unconnected with the topic. No one could be expected to sift and gather all the required details without spending a life time as a devoted scholar patiently wading through all that seemingly irrelevant material on diverse topics. The earnest, steady and continued devotion to the task by the author was, in truth and reality, no less than collecting the nectar of flowers regardless of any reward except the love of his self-imposed assignment and keen desire for its accomplishment.

The Maulānā's researches took the shape of present volume named by him as *Jannatul Mashriq wa Matl'a un-Nūr il Mashriq* (Paradise and Bright Dawn of the East). In it he describes, first, the physical features and geographic divisions, structure and climatic conditions, agricultural productions including fruits and herbs, and then gives the details of population, religions and languages of the country. In the next section he sets forth the political divisions of the country under Muslim rule, then the administrative system and the important cities and towns with a brief but critical

1. The book was brought out by the Academy of Arabic Literature, Damascus, under the title *As-Thaqāfat ul-Islāmīa fīl Hind* in 1958 and thereafter its Urdu version was published by Dārul Musannafin, Azamgarh as *Hindustān men Islāmī Ulūm-o-Funoon*.

assessment of the salient features of different dynasties of the period.

Before passing on to the story of the establishment of British rule in India he gives a brief description of the Muslim kings and emperors of Delhi. In the third section of the book he recapitulates the events of the first war waged for the independence of India, known by the erstwhile rulers of the country as the sepoy's mutiny of 1857, whose failure resulted in passing over the sceptre of authority in India from the East India Company to the British Crown. This is followed by such details as the area, population, revenues, etc. of the erstwhile Muslim princely States along with a brief but valuable account of their past history. Hyderabad, the then premier Indian State, and its educational and cultural activities are naturally portrayed in greater detail.

The Maulānā died in the beginning of 1923. When India became free, 24 years after his death, it was divided into two sovereign independent countries (now three) which, in due course, integrated the princely States acceding to them. Also, the demographic data given by the author was rendered out-of-date owing to the reorganisation of States in India on linguistic basis and the increase in population professing different religions and speaking different languages. It was, thus, but necessary to take a note of all these subsequent changes to bring this work up-to-date before it could see the light of the day. The task fell on the elder son of the author, Dr. Syed 'Abdul 'Alī, who was also a keen student of contemporary affairs. Dr. Syed 'Abdul 'Alī also added a chapter on the political struggle launched for the liberation of the country from foreign yoke, giving its brief history and the causes leading to the success of the movement which would be found immensely useful by the non-Indians desirous of knowing about that epoch-making event of the contemporary era.

The last and the most important section of the book from the viewpoint of historical research, contains a descri pt

of the political, social, revenue, and administrative structure of the country, historical monuments, works of public utility and measures undertaken for the common weal of the people during the period of Muslim rule in India. This portion of the book throws light on some of the achievements of the period, which have very often been ignored by the Western as well as by the Indian historians including even the Muslim scholars and their universities and academies engaged in historical research.

The chapter dealing with the system of administration gives details of the political set-up, revenue system, administration of justice, public welfare and reformatory measures, structure of armed forces and their strength, layout of camps during campaigns and the changes brought about in it from time to time. The author also describes the feasts and festivals, principal holidays and the etiquettes and court ceremonials of the period.

In another chapter of the book he has collected valuable details about the Muslim almanac and the length and subdivisions of months, days and hours, weights and measures, coins, system of assessment and the income from land revenue, *Ushr* and *Khirāj* of the governments under different rulers. Only those can realise the labour involved in this task who have had to go through thousands of the pages for collecting similar data for a research work.

Another chapter of the book is devoted to the description of welfare activities and works of common weal undertaken by the Muslim rulers. The chapter includes a list of the monuments of Indo-Islamic architecture, public thoroughfares, canals, gardens, mosques and madrasahs which shows the pains he has taken in collecting the details not normally given in the chronicles of the period. The chapter also mentions the principal hospitals and poor-houses as well as important shrines and mausoleums of the saints of the medieval India. Finally, he gives a brief description of the ingenious creations and inventions of the period which

throws light on the creative genius and ingenuity of the people.

The standard of literary and historical research being what it is these days, one hardly comes across a work which can enlighten or bring to light new facts not commonly known to scholars of the subject. The trend nowadays is to complete one's thesis as early as possible and bring it out with the least possible delay. But, the author of the book who had completed it after years of tiresome labour, never tried to bring it to light. It remained lying with his numerous other manuscripts for a quarter of a century. There can be no denying the fact that any single section of this work required more diligent research and contained much more valuable information than can be found in the scores of books brought out these days, yet the author, like our forbears, applied himself lifelong in the pursuit of knowledge for the pleasure of God and his own intellectual satisfaction without the least thought of displaying his wares. Achievement of the end he had in view and the satisfaction of his conscience were rewarding enough to provide him with a tranquil happiness that left nothing more to be desired by him. A Persian poet, Shāh Ajmal Allahābādī, has expressed the same feeling in this couplet—

"Fire of love keeps the shop of heart alight;
So what, if the market I have, is tight."

There have been several other works of the kind which have remained unnoticed for long long years but the Providence ultimately caused them to see the light of the day.

This was exactly what happened with this book also. Twice was it saved from destruction by the beneficent care of God. First, in 1923, Maulānā Syed Sulaimān Nadwī made over its manuscript to a Press in Delhi which was then the only publishing concern in India possessing Arabic type, for printing the book on behalf of Dārul Masannafīn (Shibli Academy), Azamgarh. Only 292 pages were printed by the

Press and the remaining manuscript remained buried in a heap of waste paper for years to be moth-eaten at several places. The author's son, Dr. Syed 'Abdul 'Alī, somehow retrieved it from being lost for ever and filled in the worm-eaten gaps with the help of original sources and other works of the author. But, before it could be brought out it was once again weather-bitten by moth and rust. This time it fell to the lot of the writer of these pages to labour hard over it to bring the manuscript into shape again. Some pages were corrected with the help of the printed portion of the book obtained from Dārul Musannafīn while the remaining part had again to be rechecked and the blighted gaps completed with the help of original sources. Now the manuscript has been prepared afresh with the help of Maulānā Abul 'Irfān Nadwī and Nazr ul-Hafeez Nadwī to whom I owe heartfelt gratitude.

The family of the author had preserved this work as a precious patrimony ; yet, it was no more than a trust committed to the care of one's progeny. Not unoften such manuscripts, howsoever valuable, are destroyed by the vagaries of weather, accidents or even carelessness—many a personal library would bear witness to such irreparable losses. Therefore, the heirs of the author decided to discharge their obligation to the author by making this work a common property of the people for whom it had been written.

And, God, in His mercy, also provided the means for discharging this obligation. My reputed friend, Dr. Muhammad Mu'īd Khān, Secretary, Islamic Culture Board, arranged for its publication by Da'iratul Ma'ārif Osmania, Hyderabad. As the book had been primarily written to enlighten the Arabic speaking world about the Muslim period of Indian History, it was considered necessary to retain the portions dealing with the physical geography of the country as these chapters were essential for a proper appreciation of the history of India. But for its Urdu and

English versions these sections have been deleted for obvious reasons. Only those portions of the book have been retained which are relevant to the Muslim period of Indian History and have not been treated in detail in other historical works of the medieval period. Those who want to go through the whole of this work, as written by the author, may refer to its Arabic version.

I feel pleasure in presenting this valuable gift to my countrymen and hope that my humble contribution in its publication would be blessed by God and received with favour by those who happen to go through it.

The book has been rendered into English by Mohiuddin Ahmad.

Lucknow,
August 10, 1977

Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi
Daira Shah Alam Ullah,
Rae Bareli.

The Moghul Empire under Aurangzeb (d.1707)



CHAPTER ONE

PROVINCES AND IMPORTANT TOWNS

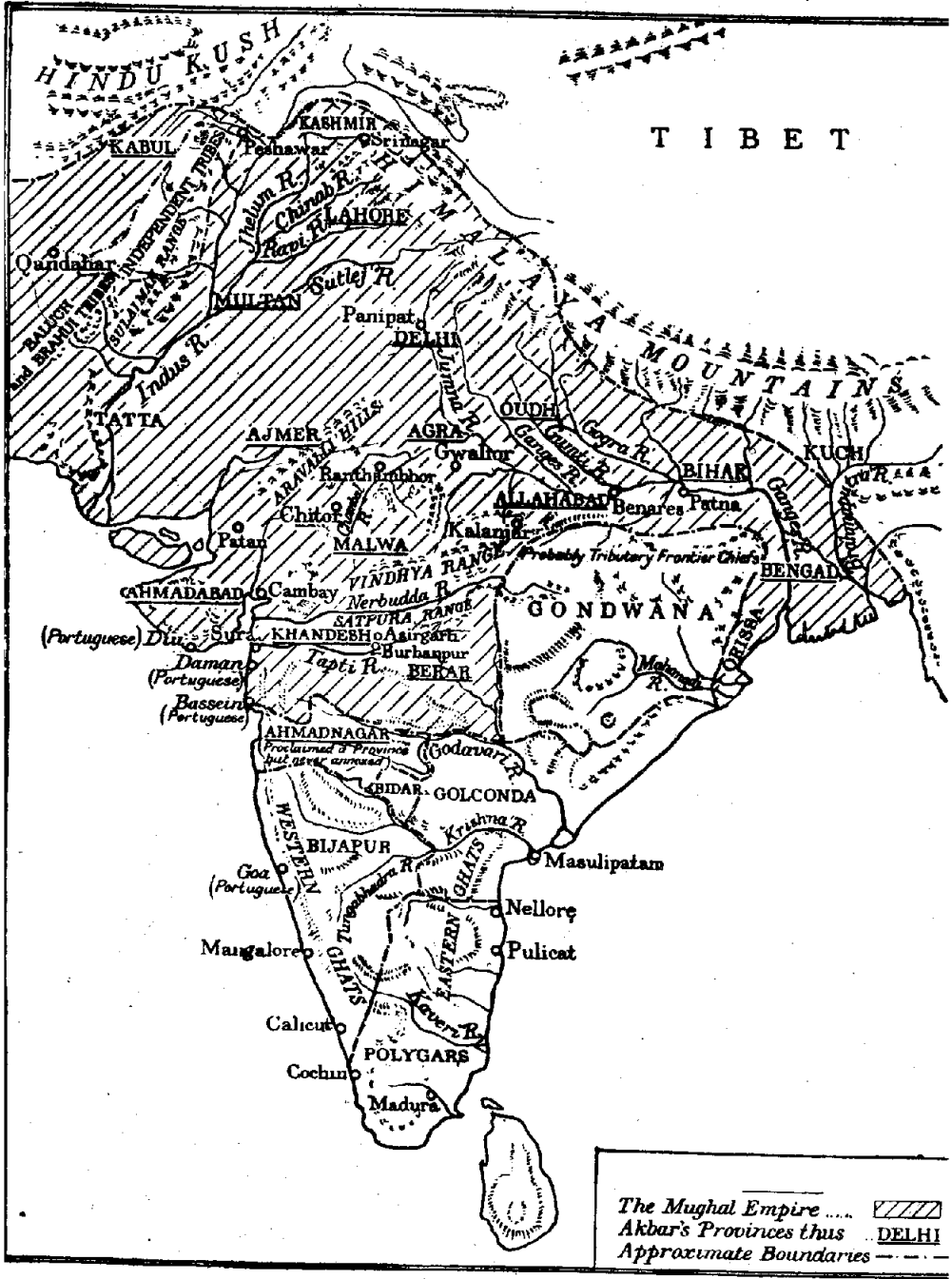


DURING the time of Aurangzeb the Moghul empire consisted of twenty-two *sūbās* or provinces which were further sub-divided into *Sarkārs* and *parganās*. The then provincial divisions were (1) Shāhjahānābād, (2) Akbarābād, (3) Allahābād, (4) Oudh, (5) Bihār, (6) Orissa, (7) Bengāl, (8) Aurangābād, (9) Berar, (10) Khāndesh, (11) Ajmer, (12) Gujarāt, (13) Tatta, (14) Multān, (15) Lahore, (16) Kashmir, (17) Bidar, (18) Hyderabad, (19) Malwā, (20) Bijāpūr, (21) Kābul and (22) Qandahār (Kandahār). The last two, namely Kābul and Qandahār lay outside India, and therefore we have described here the cities and towns of the remaining twenty *sūbās* only which still form part of the Indian sub-continent.¹

1. Under Aurangzeb (1658-1707) the Moghul Empire reached its greatest extent: from Ghazni to Chittagong and from Kashmir to the Karnatak. It was the largest single State ever known to India from the dawn of history to the rise of British power. As compared to the 22 *sūbās* under Aurangzeb, the realm of Akbar, divided into 12 *sūbās* extended from Qandahār to East Bengal and from Kashmir

[Continued on next page]

The Moghul Empire under Akbar (d. 1605)



(1) Shahjahanabad

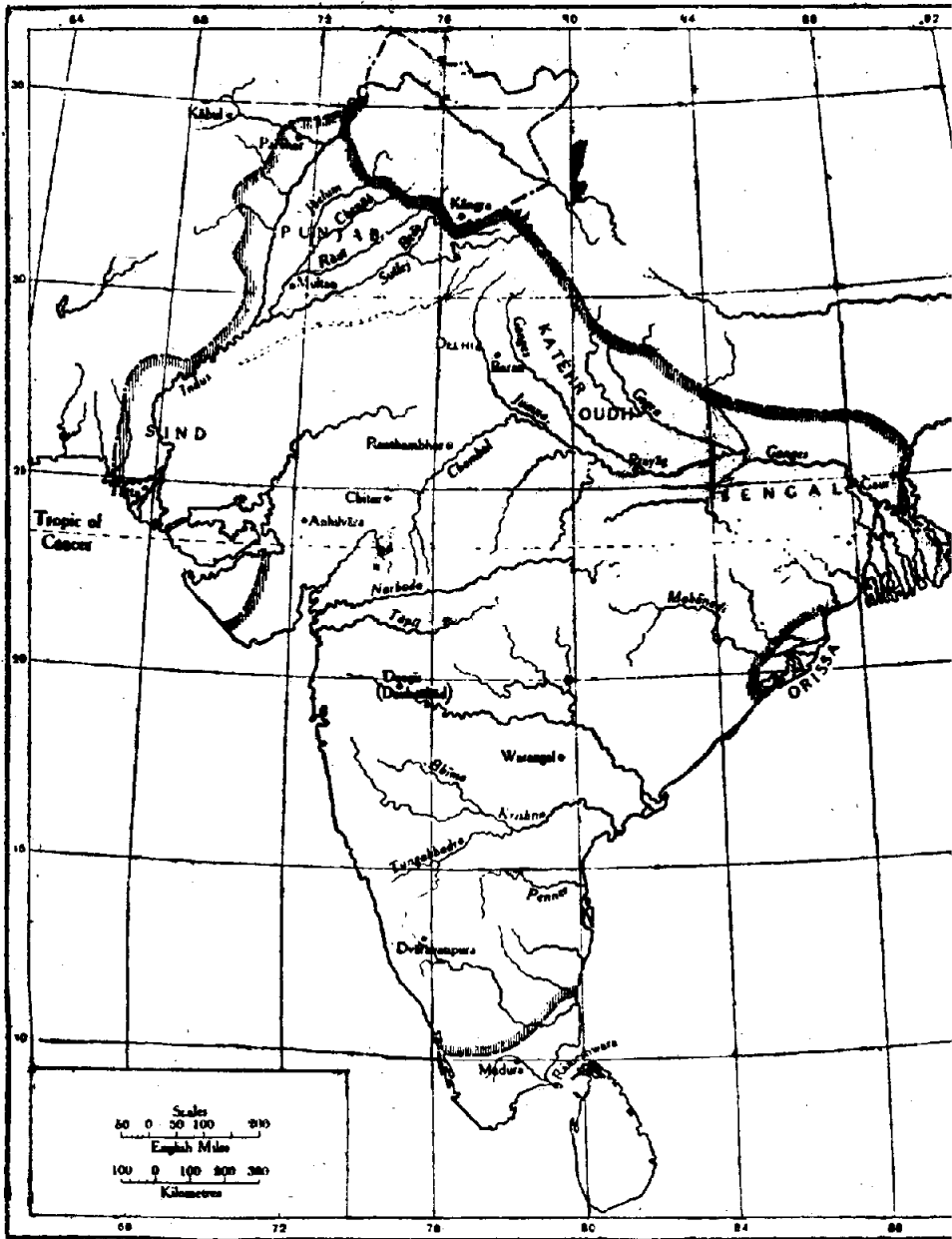
The province occupied a portion of the Upper Ganges Plains bounded by Allāhābād on the east; Lahore on the west; Ajmer on the south; and Sub-Himalayan strip of Kumaon hills on the north. The province, 274 Km. in length and 225 Km. in breadth had been parcelled out into eight *sarkārs* and 229 *parganās*. The names of the eight *sarkārs* were (1) Shāhjahānābād, (2) Sirhind, (3) Hisār Fīrūza, (4) Sahāranpūr, (5) Sambhal, (6) Budāun, (7) Riwāri and (8) Nārnaul.

The principal city of the *sūbā* Shāhjahānābād was Delhi,¹ the centre of Moghul empire at its height of glory and power. A beautiful and fortified city, it encompassed several towns built from time to time, one of which was

to Narbada. Akbar (1556-1605) pushed his frontiers in Deccan to the upper course of river Krishna, thus adding three more *sūbās* of Ahmadnagar, Berar and Khāndesh to his dominion but the annexation of these new *sūbās* was merely in name for the territory was not completely subdued. The third great empire, in fact larger than that of Akbar, during the Muslim period was presided over by 'Alāuddin Khilji (1296-1316). 'After Alāuddin established his authority, by defeating the Mongols, over the region upto Kabul and Ghazni, the eastern frontiers of the empire extended up to Bengal. Rajputana States were his tributary kingdoms while most of the Central India and Gujarāt were under the direct control of the governors of the Central government. Yadava, Hoysala and Kakatiya kingdoms were also reduced to the position of tributary States but Devagiri in Deccan was ruled by a governor appointed by the Centre. According to Ziāuddin Barni, 'Alāuddin had divided his empire into eleven provinces besides the Khalsa or Centrally administered territories.

1. Sir Syed Ahmad Khān, writes in the *Āthār us-Sanādīd*, (Kanpur, 1904,) that the first king of Delhi, who built the city and won the battle of Mahābhārata in the 15th Century BC was the Pandava King Yudhishtra. (p. 25). (Also see *Mā'āthar ul-Umarā*, Vol. III, P. 4) Delhi is situated in 28°31' N and 77°12' E

India under the Khiljis (1290—1320)



called Dillī. The earliest known city of Delhi, near ancient Indraprastha,¹ is believed to have been built by a Tomar Rajpūt Raja Anangpāl² in 440 Vikrmī. It is also related that Raja Dihlū³ of Kannauj built the city (on the site where the Kutb Minār now stands), and named it Dillī before Alexander invaded India. When Prithvī Rāj ascended the throne in 1170, he expanded the city and enclosed it with a high wall around 1200 Vikrmī, which came to be known as Qila Ra'i Pithora.⁴

Qutbuddīn Albak assumed the title of Sultān, after the death of his master in 1206⁵ and became the first king of Delhi. He built Kaushak Sufaid or the White Palace and also the Mosque called Quwwatul Islam⁶—the Might of Islam—to commemorate the capture of Delhi accomplished in 1192. He also established an educational centre under the name of Madrasah Mu'izziyah. Ghiyāsuddīn Balban who ascended the throne in 1266, founded another city under the name of Ghiyāspūr in 1280 and built a Red Palace⁷ or Kaushak Ahmar (to the south-east of the Qila of Rā'i Pithora, of which a few traces now remain). Six months after assuming the reign of government, Mu'izzuddīn Kaikubād (1287-1290) shifted his capital to Kilokhri on the banks of Jamuna which soon became a prosperous city pulsating with life and luxury.⁸ It was here that another Red Palace or, Kaushak Lal, was built by Sultān Jalāiuddīn

1. *Ma'āthar ul-Umarā*, Vol. 111, p. 474
2. *Āthār us-Sanādīd* p. 75
3. *Firishṭa*, Muhammad Qasim, *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, Urdu Translation by Fidā Ali (Hyderabad, 1932) Vol. I, p. 35.
4. Prithvī Rāj, also known as Rā'i Pithora was defeated by Shahābuddīn Muhammad Ghori in 1192, who founded the first Muslim Kingdom in India which included Delhi.
5. The year of coronation as given by Sir Syed Ahmad Khān is 602: 1205 (*Ibid*, p. 44).
6. *Āthār us-Sanādīd*, pp. 79 and 163
7. *Ibid*, p. 80 and *Firishṭa*, Vol. I, p. 324
8. *Barnī*, p. 131

India under the Slave Kings



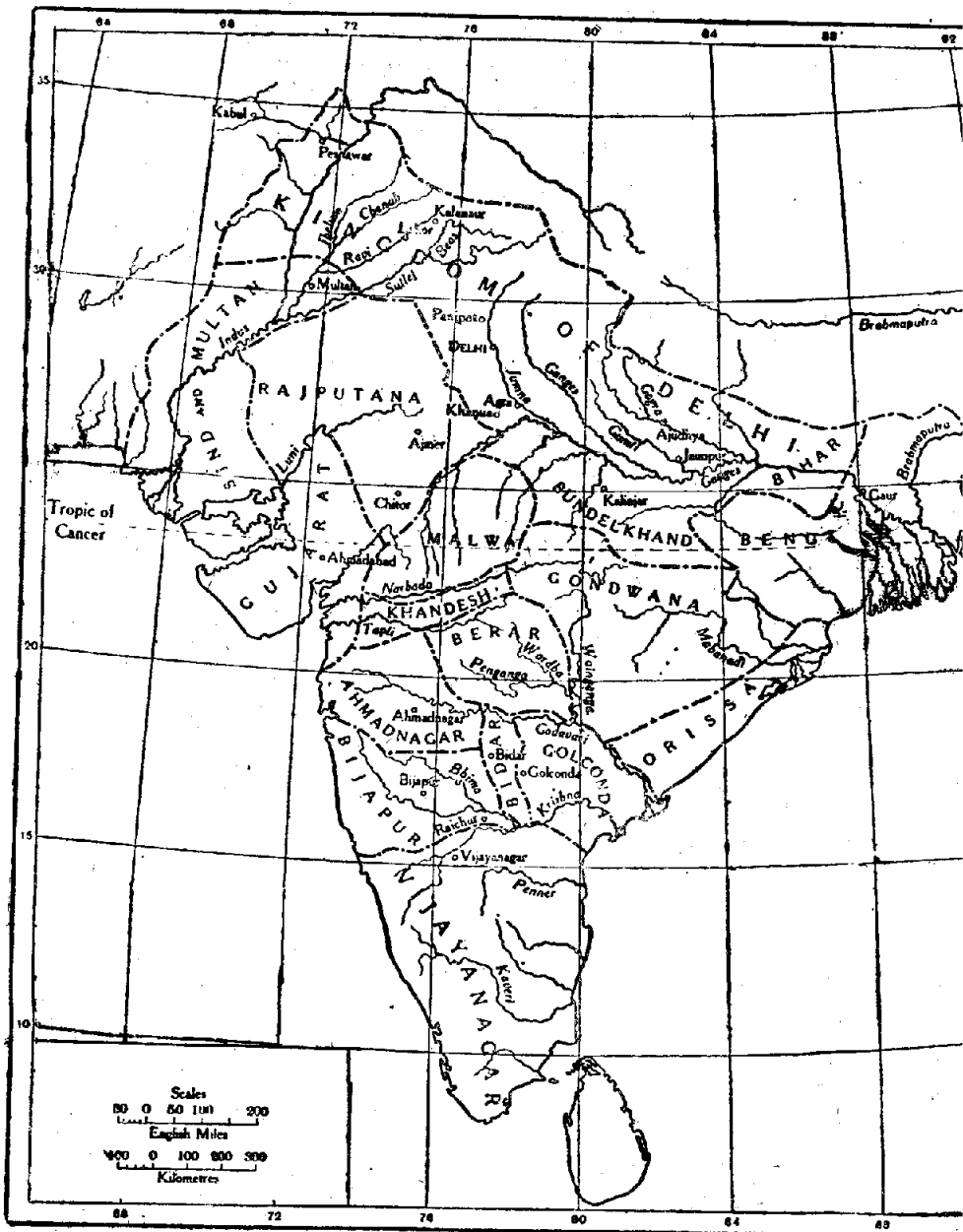
Fīroz Khiljī after ascending the throne in 1290.¹ This new city was also known as Mu'izzābād, after the name of its founder. Yet another city was built at Delhi in 1303 by 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī (1296-1316) at Sirī² (about 5 Km. south-west of Delhi). It was a big fortress town with the Emperor's residential palace known as Kaushak Sabz (Green Palace).³

Another capital was built at Tughlaqābād by Ghiyāsuddin Tughluq in 1321 about 8 Km. south-east of Lal Kot, the city of Anangpāl. The fifth capital built during the Muslim rule was Jahānpanāb situated at a site between Dillī and Sirī. Muhammad Tughluq started linking up the walls of Old Dillī on the one side and Sirī on the other, in 1326, so as to enclose the suburbs that had grown up between them. The work had, however, to be given up owing to the exorbitant cost of the project. Muhammad Tughluq also built a palace called Hazār Sutūn having a thousand marble pillars.⁴

Fīroz Shāh Tughluq transferred his capital in 1354 to a new town, Fīrozābād⁵ by name, which was sixth in the series (about 13 Km. north of Dillī), on the western bank of Jamuna. The Seventh capital was Sher Garh, a town rebuilt by Sher Shāh Sūrī on the ruins of Sirī⁶ in 1541.

1. *Āthār us-Sanādīd*, pp. 83/84
2. *Archaeological Survey of India, Report, 1936-37*, p. 41. General Cunningham, however, identifies it with present village of Shāhpur and Carr Stephen also supports the view (*Car Stephen*, p. 84-85)
3. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, however, says that Kaushak Sabz was also built by Jalāluddin Khiljī, (*Āthār us-Sanādīd*, p. 84)
4. *Āthār us-Sanādīd*, p. 87. Another palace known as Qasr-i-Hazār Sutūn was built by 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī (*Arch. Sur. Report, 1938-39*, pp. 142-43).
5. 'Afif, Shams Sirāj, *Tārīkh Fīroz Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1891, p. 100 and Khāfi Khan. vol. I, p. 363.
6. Humāyūn had, according to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, started construction of a new city which was completed by Sher Shāh Sūrī, (*Āthār us-Sanādīd*, p. 95 and *Mirāt-i-Aftāb Numā*). The city was situated near Kotla.

The Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan



Shāh Jahān, too, built a new capital,¹ the eighth one, between 1638-1658 at Delhi (about 3 Km. north of Firozābād) on an elevated ground by the side of the river Jamuna. The city, occupying the northern part of the Delhi triangular plain lies in 77° 12' east and 28° 38' north latitude. The old city of the present day Delhi, Shāhjahānābād or Jahānābād, as it was then known, is still confined within Shāhjahān's walls, constructed in seven years at a cost of four lakh rupees, which were 6,664 yards (6093.5 metres) long, 4 yards (3.66 metres) wide and 9 yards (7.32 metres) high. This outer wall had 27 towers, each with a dome of 10 yards (9.14 metres) diameter, and 14 gates. On the eastern side of the city there stands the Lāl Qila or the Red Fort, roughly in the shape of a quadrant with royal apartments overlooking the river, bounded by a massive red stone wall. The ramparts of the fort, 75 yards (67.58 metres) high from the base and 10 yards (9.14 metres) wide and protected by a trench 3600 yards (3204 metres) in circumference, 25 yards (22.9 metres) deep and 10 yards (9.14 metres) wide were completed at a cost of one and a half lakh of rupees in 9 years.

The Red Fort contains a number of graceful and elegant buildings which, fairy-like in their beauty and jewel-like in decoration, can be classed among the wonders of the world. The two most precious possessions of the Red Fort are Diwān-i-Ām and Diwān-i-Khās. The first is a magnificent building with 60 red sandstone pillars supporting a flat roof. Its royal balcony contains some of the finest

1. *Āthār us-Sanādīd*, p. 99.

2. According to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan the Red Fort involved an expenditure of rupees fifty lakhs (*Āthār us-Sanādīd* p. 99) and an equal amount was spent on the construction of other palaces and mansions (*Mirāt-i-Āftāb Numa*). The expenditure estimated by Sir Richard Burn on the construction of the Fort is six million rupees (£750,000) vide *Cambridge History of India*, Delhi, 1971, Vol. IV, p. 206.

pietra dura works. The *Dīwān-i-Khās* is smaller and has a pavilion of white marble once inlaid with precious stones. All along the retaining wall overlooking the river there are pavilions and palaces, mosques and *hammāms*, each one of which is more graceful than the other.

The *Jāmī Masjid*, also built by *Shāhjahān*, is the largest in India and matchless in its beauty amongst the mosques all over the world.

Shāh 'Abdul Āzīz Dehlawī (1746-1824) has paid this meed of praise to this city of world fame in these words :

Dillī is the lord, others are serfs ; this is the pearl and
others simply oyster shells.

Save Hijāz, Quds and Najaf, Dillī excels the towns one
and all ;

Pride of all cities are its denizens, in looks and morals
but vainglorious not,

A seminary if thou visits there, nothing but books thine
eyes shall meet ;

And how many mosques with minarets long which take
the shine out of sun.

Why not ? It is the gem of all cities where fathers are
known by fame earned by sons.

Where Jamuna's watercourse runs as a stream beneath
the pavilion of heavens.

Innumerable historical monuments can be seen around the city of Delhi. One of these, *Qutb Mīnār*, is 234¹ feet high (with a base diameter of 47 feet² 3 inches and consists of 5 storeys of red sandstone and white marble enclosing a spiral staircase of 376 steps. It is regarded as one of the most perfect towers of the world.)³

1. 71.33 metres.

2. 14.33 metres.

3. *Cambridge History of India*, Delhi, 1965, vol. III, p. 578. Sir Syed Ahmad Khān says in *Āthār us-Sanādīd* (p. 170), that the *Qutb Mīnār* was originally 300 feet (91.44 metres) high, of which two storeys have since been dismantled.

We now mention the names of other important cities of the *sūbā* Shāhjahānābād which were known either as centres of learning, arts and crafts or were headquarters of the *sarkār* sub-divisions.

Sahāranpūr¹ was a populous city celebrated for its educational institutions and mosques.

Kalyar² had a large number of mosques and monasteries of Sūfī saints; one of which was of Sheikh 'Alā'uddīn Sābir Kalyarī. Now it is a dilapidated town.

Deoband³ was once a prosperous suburban centre in Sahāranpūr *sarkār*. It has now an educational institution catering for higher studies in classical Arabic courses. The institution was established by Maulānā Muhammad Qāsim Nānautwī (d.1879).

Gangoh⁴ was another well-known town of Sahāranpūr. A noted divine Sheikh 'Abdul Quddūs hailed from Gangoh.

Burhāna was once a flourishing town. It was the birth-place of Maulānā 'Abdul Ha'ī ibn Haibat-ullah Burhānwī.

Phulat, once a suburban town of Delhi, it now forms part of Muzaffarnagar district. The family of Shāh Walī-ullah belonged to this town.

Amroha⁵ was then a beautiful and flourishing town. It was at a distance of three days' journey from Delhi.

Sambhal⁶ lying at a distance of one day's journey from Amroha, was quite a populous city.

Murādābād,⁷ lying on river Rāmganga, was a populous city famous for its utensil manufacturing industry.

Sahsawān⁸ was a suburban centre under the *sarkār* of

1. 29.58N and 77.23E
2. Near Roorkee in Sahāranpūr district of U. P.
3. 29.42N and 77.43E
4. 29.47N and 77.17E
5. 28.54N and 78.31E
6. 28.35N and 78.37E
7. 28.51N and 78.49E
8. 28.4N and 78.45E

Badāon (Budāun). It had the distinction of being the home town of numerous eminent scholars and theologians.

Badāon¹ (Budaun) was a thriving city during the medieval ages. Captured by Qutbuddīn Aibak in 1196, (it remained a major governorship under the early Muslim Kingdoms. The Jami Masjid of Badāon, built by Shamsuddīn Iltutmish in 1223 AD was once one of the largest and most massive mosques in India). Delhi could be reached from Badāon in twenty days.

Bareilly² was one of the major cities, lying on the banks of the river Rāmganga at a distance of 196 Km. from Delhi. It was an industrial centre noted for the quality of its swords and daggers, saddles, cloth of certain qualities, brasswares etc. but now it is known for wood-works.

Shāhjahānpūr³ was a populous city on the left bank of the river Deoha. The fort and the mosque built by Nawāb Bahadur Khān during the reign of Shāhjahān are the two buildings of antiquarian interest.

Rāmpūr,⁴ a city near Morādābād, was the stronghold of the family of 'Alī Muhammad Khān whose sons later founded there a princely State (which existed till its merger in Uttar Pradesh after independence).

Sirhind⁵ also known as Sahrund, meaning, the lion's den, was a prosperous city. It is the home town of Sheikh Ahmad ibn 'Abdul Ahad, the founder of Mujaddidiya order of mystics whose shrine still exists in Sirhind.

Binnaur⁶ was a township in the suburb of Sirhind. Syed Ādam ibn Ismā'il Binnaurī (d.1643) belonged to this town. Now it has dwindled into a village.

1. 28.2N and 79.10E
2. 28.22N and 79.27E
3. 27.54N and 79.57E
4. 28.48N and 79.5E
5. 30.38N and 76.29E
6. 29.23 and 78.11E

Nārnua¹ was a city famous for its mosques and madrasahs. Sheikh Nizāmuddīn Nārnauī, a saint of the Chishtiyah order, belonged to the place. He died in 990 A.H.²

Hānsī³ was a beautiful and fortified city with a battlement wall running round it. Several eminent persons such as Sheikh Fakhruddīn Hānswī, author of *Dastūr ul Haqā'iq* and Khatīb Jamāluddīn N'omānī hailed from Hānsī.

Sadhura⁴ was once a well-known township where exists the tomb of the mystic Sheikh Shāh Qāmis ibn Abī-al-Hayāt al-Qādrī.

Sāmāna⁵ was another suburban township near Sirhind.

Sunnām was once a major town. The noted legist, Zīāuddīn Sunnāmī, author of *Nisāb-ul-Ihtisāb* belonged to the place.

Kaithal⁶ was once a major city to which belonged Syed Kamāluddīn Tirmidhī and Sheikh Kamāluddīn Kaithalī.

Pānīpat⁷ was a populous city near Delhi well-known for the battles fought near it.

Pail⁸ was a suburban town of Sirhind.

Sonepat⁹ was a city lying between Delhi and Pānīpat.

Thānesar,¹⁰ once a major city because of its sacred temple, was captured by Mahmūd of Ghaznī in 1014 A. D.

Bhatinda¹¹ was a fortified city. It was captured by Muhammad Ghori in 1190-91.

Sohna¹² was a town near a hot water spring.

1. 28.2N and 76.14E
2. *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann) p. 607
3. 29.6N and 76.0E
4. 30.23N and 77.33E
5. 30.9N and 76.15E
6. 29.49N and 76.26E
7. 30.23N and 75.57E
8. 29.23N and 77.1E
9. 29.N and 77.18E
10. 29.58N and 76.56E
11. 30.11N and 75.0E
12. 28.15N and 75.5E in Gurgaon district.

Hisār¹ (also known as Hisār Firūza) was founded by Firūz Shāh² near a hot water spring. It was a beautiful city of gardens and palaces:

(2) Akbarabad

Lying to the east of Delhi, the *sūbā* of Akbarābād was bounded on the north by the river Ganges, to its south by Mālwā, and to the east by the province of Allāhābād. The *sūbā* was 282 Km. in length, from east to west, and 161 Km. wide from north to south; had a revenue of 98 million *dāms*³ and was divided into 13 *sarkārs* and 264 *parganās*.

The *sarkārs* of the *sūbā* Akbarābād were (1) Akbarābād, (2) Bārī, (3) Alwar, (4) Tajara, (5) Erichh,⁴ (6) Kālpi, (7) Salutar, (8) Kannaui, (9) Koil, (10) Baroda, (11) Mandāwar, (12) Mandlāpūr and (13) Gwalior.

Among the prominent cities of the province Akbarābād was the most celebrated. It was, in the beginning a mean village in the *parganā* of Bayāna. Sikandar Lodī built a city, on the left bank of the river Jamuna, and named it Bādāl Garh. It continued to be the capital of Ibrāhīm Lodī. Babar laid several gardens and built palaces and *hammāms* to beautify the city.⁵ Akbar shifted the site of the city to the right bank of the river and built a large number of buildings of red sandstone befitting his new capital.⁶

The name of the city was changed from Agra⁷ to Akbarābād⁸ by emperor Shāhjahān, Akbar's grandson. The city lying 188 Km. south-east of Delhi, is essentially the city

1. 29.10N and 75.46E

2. *Cambridge*, vol. III, p. 589

3. A copper coin. Five *dāms* had a par value of 1/8th rupee.

4. Erichh, a town in Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh situated in 25.47 latitude and 79.8E longitude is 68 Km. north-east of Jhansi town.

5. *Memoirs*, p. 520

6. Shaikh Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, Part II, p. 856

7. 27.10N and 78.5E

8. *Cambridge*, vol. IV, p. 90

of the Tāj Mahal, held by the travellers and art critics to be the world's most sublime building. Shāhjahān built this magnificent mausoleum over the tomb of his wife Arjumand Bānū. On the east bank of the Jamuna is the elegant tomb of 'Itimād-ud-Daula (built 1628-30) and 8 Km. north-west of the city is Sikandra, Akbar's burial place, containing a noble building with a fine setting. There is also the Jāmi Masjid, built by Shāhjahān's daughter Jahān Arā, besides Akbar's fort and numerous other monuments. It was the second most beautiful city after Delhi during the Moghul period.¹

Gwalior² city is dominated by a fortress built on a rocky escarpment, around which are scattered houses and mosques built of sandstones. The city has also a few natural tanks or *sāgars*.

A Marāthā princely State under the Scindias existed in Gwālior (during the British period). The city has the tomb of Sheikh Muhammad Ghaus.³

Dholpūr⁴ lies 38 Km. south-east of Agra. The houses of the city were built of red sandstone found in abundance in the nearby hills. A sikh princely State was set up subsequently as a tributary of the British Government.

Bharatpūr⁵ rose to importance under the Moghuls. The city, 55 Km. west of Agra and 153 Km. south of Delhi, was surrounded by mud ramparts and a wide trench. A Jat princely state existed there during the British period.

Dig⁶ was a fortified city,⁷ lying 93 Km. north-west of Agra of which the ruins can still be seen. It was once considered

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1. Sujān Rāy, *Khulāsatut Tawārikh* (Edited by M. Zafar Hasan), Delhi, 1918.
 2. 26.14N and 78.10E
 3. Built around 1564, the tomb has a fine perforated stone screen, *Cambridge*, vol. IV, p. 535
 4. 26.42N and 77.53E
 5. 27.15N and 77.30E
 6. 27.28N and 77.20E
 7. Sūraj Mal Jāt built the forts of Dig and Kumbher in 1730.

to be an impregnable city.

Mathura¹ is a sacred city of the Hindus where, according to traditions, Lord Krishna was born. The city has numerous temples. Mahmūd of Ghaznī plundered the fortified city in 1018 and demolished some of the temples which were later re-built.

Fatehpūr Sīkrī.² Akbar built a new capital city on an elevated site at Fatehpur Sīkrī, some 37 Km. from Agra. The city contained royal palaces and gardens, mosques, *madrasahs* and *hammāms*. A number of nobles also got their residences constructed at the place but the city was ultimately abandoned.

Kalpi³ is an ancient city on river Jamuna. Principal manufactures during the Moghul rule were sugar-candy and paper. The ancient fortified city of Kalpi fell to Qutbuddīn Aibak in 1196.

Erichh was an old and famous town which has been the birth-place of several eminent scholars.

Kannauj,⁴ now a town in Farrukhabad district, was once a fine city surrounded by a rampart. It was once the capital of India.⁵ In 1018 it fell to Mahmūd Ghaznī and was again captured by Qutbuddīn Albak in 1194. Thereafter it became a provincial headquarter under the early Muslim dynasties. The town still contains ruins of numerous ancient monuments. It could be reached, during the medieval period, in 10 days from Delhi.

Koil,⁶ also known as Kol, had a handsome appearance. The city being occupied by numerous gardens and palatial buildings, had a strong fortress which fell to Qutbuddīn

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1. 27.28N and 77.41.E
 2. 25.5N and 77.40E.
 3. 26.8N and 79.45E
 4. Ancient Kanyakubja. (27.3N and 79.58E)
 5. Harsh made it his capital in the 7th century.
 6. 27.54N and 78.6E

Aibak.¹ Known as Aligarh now, it had the celebrated College founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khān which was later converted into Muslim University.

Ētawah² is a well-known town by the side of the river Jamuna. It had a strong fort which was captured by Qutb-uddīn Aibak.³

Bayāna, now a suburb of Agra, was a populous city with the fine buildings, markets and mosques, dominated by a fort known as Thankar. It was conquered by Sultan Shahāb-uddīn Ghori in 1196⁴ A.D.

Jalesar⁵ was a small but beautiful town having well laid out gardens and markets.

Māraha,⁶ a town about 74 Km. north-west of Farrukh-ābād, was a noted centre of mystic Sheikhs having the monasteries of Sāhib-ul-Barakāt and Sāhib 'Alam.

Suhāwar⁷ was a suburban town of Kannauj.

Alwar.⁸ Lying 158 Km. south-west of Delhi, Alwar is dominated by a fort on a conical hill and backed by a range of hills.

Farrukhabad⁹ was a big city on the right bank of Ganges, about 64 Km. from Kannauj. It was built by Nawāb Ghazanfar Jang (Muhammad Khān Bangash) who founded the city and gave it the name of Moghul Emperor Farrukh Siyar¹⁰ (1713-19).

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1. *Cambridge*, vol. III, p. 42
 2. 26.47N and 79.2E
 3. *Cambridge*, vol. III, p. 43
 4. *Cambridge* vol. III, p. 44
 5. 26.8N and 79.21E
 6. 27.44N and 78.35E
 7. 27.48N and 78.51E
 8. 27.34N and 76.38E
 9. 27.24N and 79.37E
 10. *Cambridge*, vol. IV pp. 352-53

(3) Allahabad

The province of Allāhābād had Bihar to its east, Agra to the west, Oudh to the north and Bāndhogarh to the south; 257 Km. in length from east to west and 193 Km. in breadth north-south; the annual revenues amounted to 376 million *dāms*; and comprised 10 *sarkārs* and 47 *parganās*. The *sarkārs* of the *sūbā* were : (1) Allāhābād, (2) Ghāzīpur (3) Banāras, (4) Jaunpūr (5) Chunārgarh, (6) Kālinjar, (7) Kora, (8) Mānikpūr, (9) Karā and (10) Bhat.

The region occupies gangetic plain and slopes of the Central Indian tableland to the south and is irrigated by Ganges, Jamuna, Ken, Sarjū, Bharna and Gomti and their tributaries.

Allāhābād,¹ the principal city of the *sūbā*, lay 70 Km. west of Banāras, on the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Jamuna. It has been one of the most sacred places of Hindus where they annually repair for taking a dip for the remission of their sins. Akbar built a strong fort² there and changed its name from Prayāg to Allahbās³ which was re-named as Allāhābād by Shāhjahān.

Banāras,⁴ (Varānasi) lies in a commanding position on the concave crescent formed by the left bank of the Ganges. The city, hallowed by Hindu legend, has ever had a large number of Brahmins and purohits, and an array of temples running into thousands. Among the most conspicuous are Vishveshwara (Vishwanāth, the golden temple of Shiva) and the Durga temple (a 17th century Marāthā building). The city is a pilgrim centre since it is believed that anybody who dies there attains salvation. There is also the observatory of Rājā Jay Singh, built during the reign of Muhammad

1. 25.28N and 81.54E

2. *Cambridge*, vol. IV, p. 583 and *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. I, part II, p. 828

3. *A'in-i-Akbari*, vol. I, part II, p. 828

4. 25.20N and 83.0E

Shāh, which contains numerous erections and installations for astronomical observations. The number of mosques in the city is also by no means inconsiderable amongst which the one built by Aurangzeb is most famous.

The city has now Banāras Hindu University and is known for the manufacture of silk fabrics, gold and silver threads and gold filigree.

Jaunpūr¹ lies on the left bank of the Gomti river about 48 Km. north-west of Banāras. An ancient city, it was formerly the capital of Sharqī dynasty. The city, founded by Firūz Shāh Tughluq after the name of his brother Mūhammad Tughluq (Fakhruddīn Jūnā),² was first called Jūnāpūr which later became Jaunpūr. The city has a large number of architectural monuments, mostly mosques and madrasāhs, erected by the Sharqī Sultāns; one such educational institution, once famous throughout the country, was established by Malik-ul-'Ulama Shihābuddīn of Daulatābād.

Karā,³ now a dilapidated suburban town, was once a populous city with a large number of palatial buildings surrounded by a strong rampart. The city was captured by Qutbuddīn Aibak⁴ after which it remained the provincial headquarters of the Slave Kings for a considerable time.

The tomb of our progenitor, Syed Qutbuddīn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Hasanī al-Husainī al-Madanī, is at Karā.

During its hey-day of glory the principality of Karā was considered as one of the most fertile areas of the country; its chief exports being wheat, rice and sugarcane. Cotton fabrics were also exported to Delhi which was at a distance of 18 days' journey from Karā.

1. 25.46N and 82.44E

2. *Ā'in Akbarī*, vol. I part I p. 829

3. 25.42N and 81.22E, 66 Km. from Allahābād in the north-east corner of the district.

4. Syed Qutbuddin Muhammad al-Hasanī captured Karā according to Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh, vol. II (Allahabad, 1877), p. 460

Kālinjar¹ had a strong fort on a conical hill surrounded by a fertile valley accessible through a difficult and strong tract and a dense forest. Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī conquered Kālinjar around 1021.

Chunārgarh,² lying on the river Ganges south of Banāras, was a fortified city above a hill top with a fine climate.

Mirzapur³ is still a well known city on the river Ganges about 72 Km. south-east of Allāhābād.

Ghāzīpur⁴ is another city and a district of the same name on the river Ganges at a distance of about 185 Km. north-east of Allāhābād. Its chief exports, during the Moghul period, were rose-water and attar.

Mānikpūr⁵ was a town on the Ganges above Allāhābād facing Karā on the other side of the river. It was the home town of Sheikh Hisām-ul-Haq Chistī.

Salwan⁶ (Salon) was a notable urban centre not far from Mānikpūr. The tomb of Shāh Pīr Muhammad Solwanī exists in the town.

Jā'is⁷ was another town about 6 Km. from Salon known for its export of cotton fabrics. It was the birth-place of several eminent persons, one of whom was Muhammad Bāqar Jā'isī⁸ (Malik Muhammad Jā'isī).

Nasīrābād, a town at a distance of 3 Km. from Jā'is, was known for the divines like Qāzī Mahmūd ibn Al-'Ula al-Hasanī al-Husainī and Syed Dildār 'Alī ibn Muhammad Moī'n al-Husainī, a Shī'a mujtahid.

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1. 25.1N and 80.29E
 2. 25.7N and 82.54E: Tradition assigns its fort to a high antiquity, built by Bhartrihath, brother of Vikramaditya of Ujjain. (A.S.R., Vol. XI, p. 128)
 3. 25.10N and 82.37E
 4. 25.34N and 83.35E
 5. Facing Karā across river Ganges in District Pratāpgarh.
 6. 26.2N and 81.28E
 7. 26.16N and 81.38E
 8. Author of *Padmāvat*

Rae Bareilly¹ district lies on the river Sa'ī. The town has a fortress, erected by Sultān Husain Sharqī, and the tombs of 'Adil-ul-Mulk Jaunpūrī, Sheikh 'Abdus Shakūr Abdāl and of some other divines. It has also the honour of being the home town of several other personages noted for their piety and learning, such as, Shāh 'Alam Ullah and his son Syed Muhammad, Muhammad 'Adl, Syed Ahmad Shahīd, Syed Muhaddith, Syed Qutb-ul-Huda, Syed Abū Sa'eed, and Syed Muhammad Zāhir.

My youth bade farewell to boyhood days upon this glebe;
It is here I touched the soil first as a newling babe.

Korā,² an ancient town, was the birth-place of Sheikh Jamāl ul-Auliā, a famous sufi saint, and other theologians. Another town, Jahānābād, was founded near it during the reign of Shāhjahān.

Kānpūr³ was, in the beginning, a military cantonment which gradually achieved a unique industrial development in the northern India. Its principal manufactures are leather goods and textiles.

Fatehpūr⁴ is a district and a town of the same name between Allāhābād and Kānpur. The name of the town was changed from Sakrāval⁵ to Fatehpūr by Akbar after defeating Khān Zamān Shaibānī Khān in 1567.

Haswah⁶ is another town near Fatehpūr about 5 Km. from it. Sheikh 'Alāuddīn Shahīd, Maulānā Syed 'Abdus Salām ibn 'Alī Abī-al-Qāsim al-Husainī al-Wāstī and other scholars belonged to the town.

1. 26.14N and 81.16E

2. In district Fatehpūr, U. P. situated in 26.7N and 80.22E

3. On the south bank of river Ganges, 69 Km. south-west of Lucknow and 394 Km. south-east of Delhi (24.28N and 80.24E).

4. 117 Km. north-west of Allahabad (25.55N and 80.52E)

5. Abul Fazl gives the name of the place as Sakrāval while Badā'uni and Nizāmuddin Ahmad call it Mangrawāl.

6. A decayed town in 25.52N and 80.55E south-east from Fatehpur, of which it now forms a suburb town.

(4) Oudh

To the east of Oudh lay the *sūba* of Bihār; to the west was the *sarkār* of Kannauj in *sūba* Akbarābād; to the south was Manikpūr *sarkār* of Allāhābād; and in the north it was bounded by the foothills of Himalayas. The region is irrigated by the Gogra, Sarjū, Gomti and Sa'i rivers. The annual revenues of the *sūba* amounted to 264.54 million *dāms* and it was apportioned into five *sarkārs* viz. Oudh, Gorakhpūr, Bahraich, Khairābād and Lucknow.¹

Oudh draws its name from Ayodhyā, which is regarded by the Hindus with special veneration since it is believed to be the birth-place of Rāmā. In the ancient times and also during the Muslim period it often remained the capital of different monarchs.² Two graves in Ayodhyā are supposed to be those of Prophet Sheeth and Prophet Ayyub (Job).

Fyzābād³ was built by Shuj'ā-ud-daula near Ayodhyā as his capital town. He also got constructed a number of buildings at the place. Wood engraving was once its renowned handicraft product.

Lucknow⁴ is the old capital and still a large city lying on the river Gomti. After Asaf-ud-daula made it his capital in 1775 it soon developed into a big city. A large number of magnificent buildings were erected during the reign of the Nawābs of Oudh (1724-1754) of which the Imāmbārās

1. Oudh had 138 parganas during the reign of Akbar (*Āin-i-Akbarī* vol. I, pt. II. p. 846).
2. Fyzābād, also known as Ayodhyā is first spoken of as Khosla by Satapatha Brāhmanās, as one of the ancient countries of Vedic Aryans. (*The History and culture of Indian Peoples*, vol. I, p. 254.) It was the capital of Khosla kingdom during the Hindu period. In the eighteenth century, the governors of Oudh, specially Sa'adat Khan and Safdar Jāng made it their alternative capital while Suj'āuddaula made it his capital after his defeat at Buxur. The Nawābs of Oudh shifted their capital to Lucknow in 1775.
3. 26.47N and 82.12E
4. 26.55N and 80.59E

are of antiquarian interest. The city is known for the Chikan and pottery works.

Lucknow has been the home-town of many an eminent saint and scholar, such as, Sheikh Muhammad 'Azam, Shāh Muhammad Mīnā, Sheikh 'Abdul Qādīr, Mulla Nizāmuddīn, the compiler of the *Nizāmī* curriculum, and his son Mullā Bahrul-'Uloom. Another mystic saint, Shāh Pīr Muhammad (d. 1669) also lies buried in a tomb near the mosque built by Aurangzeb on an elevation by the side of the river. His learning and piety attracted a large number of students to the *madrasāh* established by him¹.

Bahrā'ich² is an ancient city and the burial place of Syed Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzī.³

Gorakhpūr⁴ lies in the strip of *tarā'i* country south of Himalayan range. Sākhū, a type of teak, is exported from Gorakhpūr.

Unnām was a new town in the *sarkār* of Lucknow, which developed from a village in the olden time.

Ghosi⁵ was a suburban town of Gorakhpūr *sarkār*. Now it forms part of 'Azamgarh district in Uttar Pradesh.

Bilgrām⁶ was a well-known town near Qanauj to which belonged several scholars and divines. Two of the eminent personalities belonging to Bilgrām were Maulānā Syed Ghulām 'Alī Azad (d. 1785) and 'Allāmā As-Saiyid Murtaza Zabīdī (d. 1790), author of *Tāj-ul-'Urūs*.

Hardo'ī,⁷ now a city as well as district, was formerly a big town in the *sarkār* of Lucknow.

1. *Khazinatul Asfia*, vol. I p. 482-83

2. 27.34N and 81.38E

3. Syed Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzī was the son of Salār Sahū and Māmal, sister of Mahmūd Ghaznavi.

4. 26.45N and 83.24E

5. 25.57N and 26.19E

6. 27.11N and 80.2E

7. 27.28N and 80.10E

Gopāmaū¹ was a fairly big town near Bilgrām. It gave birth to many doctors of religion like Qāzī Mubārak and Muftī Wajīhuddīn.

Pihānī² was another town near Gopāmaū.

Sihālī³ was a noted town, now in district Bārābankī, where Sheikh Qutbuddīn Ansārī was born.⁴

Fatehpūr⁵ was a town near Sihālī where noted theologians like Sheikh Hosāmuddīn, Sheikh ‘Abdul Ghanī, Maulānā Kamāluddīn and others were born.

Rudaulī⁶ was a big town in district Barābānkī known for the shrine of a mystic saint, Makhdūm Sheikh Ahmad ‘Abdul Haq.

Bānsa,⁷ another big town in Bārābankī district near Rudaulī is still famous for the shrine of an eminent saint and scholar Shāh ‘Abdur Razzāq Bānswī.

Khairābād⁸ was a populous city and headquarter of the *sarkār* during the medieval ages. Several eminent scholars, such as, Sheikh Sa‘aduddīn, Muhaddith Sifat Ullah, Maulānā Fazl Imām, Maulānā Fazl-i-Haq⁹ and Maulānā ‘Abdul Haq were born there.

Lāharpūr,¹⁰ a town near Khairābād, was the birth-place of Shāh ‘Abdur Rahmān and Shāh Mujtabā Qalandar.

1. 27.32N and 80.18E
2. 27.37N and 80.12E
3. In Fatehpūr Tahsil of District Bārābankī, Sheikh Qutbuddīn Ansārī was the progenitor of the famous house of scholars named after Firangi Mahal.
4. In the 37th year of his reign, Aurangzeb awarded the haveli known as the Firangi Mahal to the sons of Mulla Qutbuddīn (*Farhat-un-Nazrin*, Aligarh University Manuscript, p. 80).
5. 27.10N and 81.14E
6. 26.45N and 81.45E
7. Now a small town 1 Km. from Barāgāon in Bārābankī district.
8. 27.32N and 80.43E
9. Maulānā Fazl-i-Haq Khairābādī was exiled to Andaman for participation in the war of Independence, 1857. He died in Andaman.
10. 27.42N and 80.55E

Hargāon¹ was another town near Khairābād, where Ahmad ibn Mas'ūd and some other scholars were born.

Muhān,² also known as Mohān, was a well-known town of Oudh. It now forms part of Kānpūr district.

Sā'inpūr,³ now known as Safīpūr, was the home-town and burial place of Sheikh Safīuddīn 'Abdus Samad Chishtī.

Neutanī⁴ was a suburban town of Mohān, to which belonged Qāzī Zīāuddīn.

Amethī⁵ is a town about 13 Km. east of Lucknow. Sheikh Nizāmuddīn was born there.

Bijnor⁶ was a well-populated town about 13 Km. to the south of Lucknow.

Daryābād⁷ was an ancient town near Rudaulī.

Kākori⁸ was a populous town north-west of Lucknow.

Sandīlā⁹, still a big suburban centre, was a well-known town near Hardo'ī.

Firangī Mahal in Lucknow was a palatial building built by an European merchant. Aurangzeb awarded it to the sons of Mullā Qutbuddīn who established the famous Firangī Mahal *madrasāh* which produced a galaxy of erudite scholars. The place is in the heart of the city.

(5) Bihar

The *sūba* of Bihār was bounded by Bengal on the east, Allāhābād and Oudh on the west, and Himalayan and Hazaribāgh hill ranges on the north and south. About 193 Km.

1. 27.46N and 80.45E
2. 26.47N and 80.41E
3. Now Safīpūr in Unnao district.
4. In the district Unnao
5. 26.45N and 81.12E
6. 26.44N and 80.55E
7. 26.53N and 81.34E
8. 26.52N and 80.48E
9. 27.4N and 80.30E

in length with an average breadth of 177 Km., the plain of Bihar forms part of the middle Ganges plain irrigated by the Ganges, Son, Karamnāsā, Puhpun rivers and their tributaries. The annual revenue of the *sūba* was 380.73 million *dāms*; a notable fort existed at Rohtās; and the *sūba* was divided into seven *sarkārs* and 240 *parganās*. The *sarkārs* of the province were: (1) Bihār Sharif, (2) Hājīpūr, (3) Monghyr, (4) Champāran, (5) Sāran, (6) Tirhut and (7) Ruhtās.

Patna¹ was the chief city and capital of *sūbā* Bihār. It was also known as 'Azīmābād after the name of Prince 'Azīm-us-Shān, the third son of Shāh 'Alam.² The city lies 459 Km. north-west of Calcutta on the right bank of the river Ganges. It was noted for its export of opium and gunpowder.

Buxar³ lies by the side of Ganges at a distance of two days' journey from Ghāzīpūr.

Bihār,⁴ a town of considerable proportions, was a populous city and capital of the region for a long time both in the Hindu as well as in the Muslim periods. It has now dwindled to a small town, know as Bihār Sharif, and contains the shrine of the famous mystic saint, Makhdūm Ahmad Ibn Yahyā Manerī (d. 1370).

Manyer⁵ was an important town in the *sarkār* of Bihār where several families of noble descent had taken up residence.

Phulwārī was another important suburban town of

1. 25.37N and 85.13E

2. In 1706 Aurangzeb recalled 'Azīm-us-Shān from the governorship of Patna. (Cambridge, vol. IV p. 301).

3. 25.35 N and 84.1E

4. Situated in 25.11N and 85.32E. It is supposed to be the capital of ancient Magadh. The old remains of the place consist of an old fort and ruined Buddhist and Brahmanical buildings (A.S.R., vol. II, pp. 291-4).

5. Ibrāhīm Qawwām Farūqī, author of *Fathang Ibrāhīmī*, written between 862 : 1458 and 879 : 1474 gives its name as Manyar.

'Azīmābād within the limits of Bihār *sarkār*.

Rājgir¹ town and seat of the *parganā* was situated on plain between two parallel ranges of Rājgir hills. The place has a pleasant climate where, near a closet by the side of a famous hot water spring, Makhdūm Yahyā Manerī spent several years in penance and meditation.

Monghyr², a famous old town and district south-east of Patna, lies to the south of the river Ganges. The town was known for the fine ivory and ebony work.

Bhāgalpūr³ is situated to the south-east of Monghyr on the left bank of the Ganges. It was a famous town and the birth-place of several scholars and persons of rank and authority.

Gayā⁴ occupies a unique place in the sacred places of Hindus. Bodhgaya⁵ contains the greatest temple (Maha-bodhi Vohora) of the Buddhists besides several other important ancient shrines.

Shāhābād⁶, a district about 805 Km. south-east of Delhi, had the populous town of Arrah. It was also known by the name of its headquarter.

Hājipur⁷ was a famous town (in Muzaffarpūr district situated at the confluence of Gandak with the Ganges). For a long time headquarter of the governors of the kings of Bengal, the city was founded by and named after Hājī Iyās

1. The place is identified by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton with Rājāgrīha, the residence of Buddha and capital of ancient Magadha and by General Cunningham with Kusa-Nagarapura visited by Hienun Tsang and called by him *Kin-She-lo-pu-lo*. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol XXI, Oxford (1908), p. 72
2. 35.23N and 86.30E
3. 25.15N and 87.2E
4. 24.49N and 85.1E
5. Six miles from Gaya to its south lies the village of Bodhgaya on the west bank of Nilanjana (Niranjana).
6. 25.34N and 84.46E
7. 25.41N and 85.21E

(also known as Shamsuddīn Bhangra), King of Bengal (1345-58). It was known for the good quality of fruits grown there specially bananas and mangoes.

Sahsarām,¹ lying in Shāhābād district, was once a well-known city of Bihār. It contains the magnificent mausoleum of Sher Shāh Sūri (besides several other ancient and medieval monuments).

Muzaffarpūr² was celebrated for its numerous and extensive mango-groves and lichi gardens. Several other delicious fruits were grown there.

(6) Bengal

Bengāl, bounded on the east by the Lushai and Chittagong Hill tract regions, Blhār on the west, Himalayas on the north and the Bay of Bengāl on the east, stretched from east to west in a length of about 644 Km. and from north to south nearly 322 Kms. With an annual income of 380.73 million *dāms*, it had been parcelled out into 12 *sarkārs* and 1109 *parganās*. The *sarkārs* were (1) Jannatābad, (2) Bakula (3) Ghorā Ghāt, (4) Bārbakābād, (5) Barūhā, (6) Sonārgaon, (7) Sylhat, (8) Chatgāon, (9) Sharifābād, (10) Satgāon, (11) Madāran and (12) Mahmūdābād.

Lakhnautī³, or Gaur, the former capital of the Pala and Sena dynasties,⁴ had a fort with high battlements. Humāyūn gave it the name of Jannatābād⁵ in 1538. The city lay about 16 Km. from Mālda (1563 Kms. east of Banāras), but it is difficult to identify the place now.

Sonārgāon⁶ was a remarkable town during the Hindu as well as the Muslim periods, and was also known for the fine

1. 24.57N and 84.1E

2. 26.7N and 85.27E. It was also known as Tirhut.

3. 24.54N and 88.8E Abul Fadhal gives its old name as Godhi.

4. *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 601

5. *Cambridge*, Vol. IV, p. 30 and *Āl'n-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, Pt. II p. 764

6. 23.40N and 90.36E

muslin produced there, but now it is an insignificant village.¹

Bārbakābād was built by Bārbak Shāh (1459-74). The city was known for a fine variety of cloth known as *gangājal* and the delicious bananas and oranges exported from there.

Sylhet² *sarkār* lay 483 Km. to the north of Calcutta on the right bank of Surmā river. Its headquarter, bearing the same name, embowered in groves was famous for its fine quality of oranges and Keura, an aromatic herb. The hilly tracts of Sylhet supplied several other kinds of incense and medicinal herbs like aloes, chinroot, etc.

Sharīfābād was another town reputed for its good breed of bulls.

Satgāon³ was situated by the sea coast about one Km. from the Hooghly port.

Madāran⁴ was an ancient town known for the diamond mines.

Dinājpur⁵ city lay 337 Km. to the north of Calcutta. During the medieval period the residential quarters, markets, etc. surrounded a fine *maidan* in the heart of the city. The Jāmi Masjid of the city was a fine piece of architecture.

Burdwān,⁶ now included in West Bengal, lies on the left bank of Damodar 93 Km. to the north north-west of Calcutta. Although a populous city, most of its houses in

1. Lying across river Brahmaputra in Dacca district, and known by the name of Palnām, the ruins of its dilapidated buildings and mosques tell the story of its past splendour.

2. 24.53N and 91.55E

3. Old name was Saptagrām lying in 22.38N and 88.25 near Hoogli

4. The *sarkār* of Madāran lay in the east of Bengāl adjoining Orissa, during the reign of Akbar (*Al'n-l-Akbarī*, vol. I pt. II, p. 759.)

5. 25.51N and 80.40E. The district now forms part of Bangla Desh excepting its northernmost corner which was taken out of it in 1947 to make the Indian territory.

6. 23.16N and 87.54E

the olden days were made of mud. Only a few had brick work with spacious courtyards and attached gardens.

Rangpūr¹ was the first town founded by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyār Khiljī, the conqueror of Bengāl, on the river Ghaghat about 386 miles to the north of Calcutta.

Murshidābād² was founded by Nawāb Murshid Qulī Khān³ in 1704, during the reign of Aurangzeb, when he changed the seat of government from Dacca to Murshidābād. The city, lying on the left bank of Bhāgīrathī, is situated 193 Km. to the north of Calcutta.

Chatgāon⁴, now known as Chittagong, was also once called Islāmābād.⁵ About 483 km. to the south of Calcutta on the mouth of the Karnaphuli river, (the port has been known to the civilised world from the earlier centuries of Christian Era.)

Dacca⁶ was renamed Jahāngīrnagar in 1608 after the capital of Bengal was shifted there from Sonārgaon. Situated on the left bank of the Būrhī Ganga, it became one of the most populous and beautiful cities of Bengāl. The city was once world famous for its extremely fine muslin and another variety of fine cloth called *jāmdānī*. It is at a distance of 290 Km. to the north-east of Calcutta.

Calcutta⁷ has developed into a magnificent city from a mean settlement built by the English merchants, 160 Km. above the mouth of Hooghly branch of the river Ganges. The East India Company made it the capital of its possessions in India where the Governor-General appointed by

1. 25.45N and 89.18E

2. 24.11N and 88.19E. Two-third of the erstwhile Māldā district is now a part of Bangla Desh and the remaining three-fifth that of India.

3. *Cambridge*, Vol. IV p. 364

4. 22.21N and 91.53E

5. *Cambridge*, vol. IV, p. 287

6. 23.43N and 90.26E

7. 22.34N and 88.24E

the Company had his residence. The capital was transferred to Delhi on the occasion of coronation of King George V in 1911 when the then Viceroy Lord Harding also took up his residence at the new capital. Calcutta, however, still remains the commercial capital of India and the largest city of the country.

(7) Orissa

The *subā* of Orissa, 193 Km. in length and 161 Km. in breadth, had 11 *sarkārs* and 232 *parganās*. The annual revenues of the province amounted to 40.410 million *dāms*. It had two important cities.

Cuttack¹ was the old capital, on Mahānadi delta, with one of the strongest forts of the region.

Puri² is situated on the Bay of Bengal. As a seat of the well-known shrine of Jagannath (Lord of the world) it draws large crowds of Hindu pilgrims every year. (The temple built in the twelfth century stands in an enclosure of about 120 other temples towering above them with its round ended tower, which stands 175 metres high). The idol of Vishnū, the Chief god, and his brother (Balhadra) and sister (Subhadra) are taken out in huge cars or raths, pulled by enthusiastic pilgrims, during the car festival each summer (to their garden house Gundicha, about two miles from the temple).

(8) Aurangabad

The *subā* of Aurangābād had the province of Bidr to its east, the *sarkār* of Jālnā marked its western end, Burhānpūr in Khāndesh was on the north and Bījāpūr on the south. From north to south the province was 241 Km. long while its average breadth, east to west, was 161 Km. with 8 *sarkārs* and 80 *parganās* and its revenues amounted to

-
1. 20.28N and 85.54E
 2. 19.48N and 85.42E

516.28 million *dāms* annually. Its leading cities were as follows :—

Aurangābād¹ was a splendid city commanding a strategic position on the road leading to the southern India. A city of mosques, imposing buildings and beautiful markets, it was surrounded by the circular Mahādeo range, a continuation of Satārās, with ravines of streams issuing from the hills. Its principal manufacture was himrū, a silver and gold laced silk cloth, which was exported to Hyderābād and other towns.

Malik 'Ambar² had established the new capital of Khirkī³ in 1610, which was further developed by Aurangzeb in 1657 and renamed as Aurangābād after his own name.

Daulatābād⁴ was once a mighty and delightful city which rivalled Delhi in excellence. The city was divided into three parts; Daulatābād, having the buildings constructed by Khiljī and Tughluq kings and nobles, the second portion was called Kataka⁵ and the third, Devagirī had a strong fortress built upon a conical rock 550 metres high, scraped to a height of 137 metres, almost perpendicular, from the base. The entrance to the fort was led through a narrow gorge.

In 1294 the fort of Devagirī capitulated to 'Alā'uddīn through a truce concluded with Rājā⁶ of Devagirī. It was later on captured by Qutbuddīn, son of 'Alā'uddīn in 1317.⁷ Now the forte is all that remains of Devagirī.

1. 19.53N and 75.23E
2. A minister of Nizām Shāh, King of Ahmadnagar
3. *Cambridge* Vol. IV p. 262
4. 19.57N, and 75.15E
5. Kataka was walled and fortified by Muhammad Tughluq when he shifted his capital to Daulatābād. There he built three concentric lines of defence: Daulatābād, the seat of the sultan and his army, Kataka, and the fort itself. (*Futūh*, pp. 226 and 357)
6. Rām Chandra of Deogir. Firishta, however gives his name as Rām Deo.
7. *Firishta*, Vol. I. p. 418

Ahmadnagar,¹ a picturesque city of parks and gardens was built, 113 Km. north-east of Poona, by Nizām-ul-Mulk Ahmad bin Hasan al-Bahrī of Nizāmshāh dynasty.²

Junnār³ was a town of considerable proportions and the seat of a provincial government under the Bahmanī kingdom of Deccan.

Poona⁴ had a fine climate. It was the capital of Marāthā kingdoms.

Satārā⁵ had a strong fortress built by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (1534-1558), King of Bijāpūr.

Bīr (also known as Bhir)⁶ was another populous town to the east of Aurangābād.

Sholāpūr⁷ achieved fame under the Marāthās. Now it is a centre of textile industry.

Rauza, near Daulatābād, was known because of the tombs of Sheikh Burhānuddīn Gharīb and several other mystics and religious scholars.

Khuldābād¹ lies at a distance of 9 Km. from Aurangābād and is marked by the tomb of Emperor Aurangzeb.

Elora⁸ was in Aurangābād district 9 Km. north-west of the town. It is now famous for the rock-cut temples and caves which extend along the face of a semi-circular hill for a mile and a quarter.

The most unique is the Kailāsā temple—Kailāsā means paradise which suggests the eternal bliss enjoyed by the gods resting there. The rock containing Kailāsā temple has been cut away both externally and internally from the remaining monolithic replicas of structural temples that

1. 19.5N and 74.48E
2. 'Alī Muhammad Khan, *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Vol. I, p. 51
3. It lay to the west of Daulatābād (*Cambridge*, Vol. III p 419)
4. 18.31N and 73.55E
5. 17.42N and 74.2E
6. 19.0N and 75.50E
7. 17.40N and 75.50E
8. 19.57 N and 75.13E
9. 20.2N 75.13E

stand in a three-sided pit. It stands in a great court averaging 154 feet (46.46 metres) wide by 276 feet (84.125 metres) long at the level of the base, entirely cut out of a solid rock, and with a scrap 107 feet (32.39 metres) high at the back. A portico gives access to the 15 ft. (7.62 metres) high podium on which the pile rests. The main temple comprises a pillared hall, a small cell, housing the Phallic emblem of Shiva, and an ambulatory with subsidiary chapels. In front of the court a curtain has been left, carved on the outside with the huge forms of Shiva and Vishnu and their congeners and with rooms inside it. On the bases of the pillars there are inscriptions in the ancient characters. In the front portion of the court, which is a few feet lower than the rest, stand two gigantic elephants. Turning to the east, ascending a few steps, there is the great court occupied by the temple, whose base measures 164 feet (50.013 metres) from east to west, and by 109 feet (33.223 metres) where widest from north to south. The hall housing the temple is 100 feet (30.48 metres) high. The walls outside bear rich carvings, mainly relating to the story of Shiva and to the Rāmāyanā and the figures of lions, elephants and other animals. In all, there are 72 idols in the temple. On the rear side of the main temple there are other temples also, but these are smaller in size. These archaeological remains are so old that it has not been possible to ascertain the period when they were built.¹

(9) Berar

The boundaries of Berār were marked by river Varda on the east, *subā* Khāndesh on the west, river Penganga on the south and river Tāptī on the north. The province was

1. The temple caves can be divided into three distinct series—Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain—and are arranged chronologically. In age the caves vary from about the fifth to the ninth or tenth century. The main temple was built by Krishnā I, the Rashtrakuta King of Malkhed (Archaeological Survey Report of Western India, Vol. V).

322 Km. in length and 241 Km. in width, and it contributed 607.27 million *dams* to the coffers of the State. The *subā* was divided into 10 *sarkārs* and 200 *parganās* which had the following prominent towns :

Elichpūr¹ was the chief town and a flourishing centre of trade and commerce containing numerous splendid buildings built by the Bahmanī kings.²

Gāwīl³ (also known as Gāwīlgarh in the northern Berār) was a stronghold of the Bahmanī kingdom where Ahmad Shāh Walī I built a fort during 1425-28. It became the capital of Berār under the 'Imād Shāhī dynasty. The water of a spring in the town was used to polish the swords, daggers, etc.

Malkāpūr⁴ was a respectable town founded by Malik 'Ambar Habshī.

Nizamābād,⁵ a town in Bālāghāt, was built by Āsaf Jāh Nizām-ul-Mulk Qamaruddīn Khān in 1728 (above the ruined pass of Fardāpūr).

Shakarkhelda⁶ town had a splendid mosque built of black stones. A pond in the rear portion of the mosque was a source of producing saltpetre worth one lakh *dāms* annually.

Naruāla⁷ had a strong hill fortress (erected in 1486 during the reign of Shihābuddīn Mahmūd Shāh).

Bīrāgarh town was noted for its diamond mines and cloth of fine quality woven at the place.

1. 21.18N and 77.33E
2. Elichpūr became the chief military station of Berār under the Mughals.
3. 21.22N and 77.25E
4. 20.53N and 76.17E
5. 18.40N and 78.10E
6. Renamed as Fatekhhelda by Nizām-ul-Mulk Āsaf Jāh to commemorate his victory over Mubārīz Khān, governor of Mālwa in 1724, the city is situated in (20.13N and 76.27E) Buldāna district (Imp. Gaz., vol. XII, p. 86.
7. 21.16N and 77.0E

Balāpūr was an ancient town situated in 20.42N latitude and 76.52E longitude.

Shāhpūr¹ was a populous town, founded by prince Murād, son of Akbar, at a distance of 9 Km. from Balāpūr.

Māhūr², now in 'Ādilābād district, had a strong hill citadel.

(10) Khandesh

Khāndesh was bounded by Berār on the east, Mālwa on the north and west, and Jālna on the south ; its length from east to west was 121 Km. and breadth from north to south 80 Km ; and the administrative division of the *subā* consisted of six *sarkārs* and 113 *parganās*. The area was irrigated by the river Tāptī and its tributaries while it yielded a revenue of 369.07 million *dāms* annually.

Burhānpūr,³ a fine city of gardens, mosques and madrasahs was founded in 1400 on the western bank of the river Tāptī, by Nasīr Khān of Khāndesh and named after his spiritual mentor Sheikh Burhānuddīn 'Arab.

Asīr,⁴ also known as Asīrgarh, lying to the north of Burhānpūr, had a strong fortress standing on a precipitous isolated hill. It was built by a Hindu Chieftain, Āsā Ahīr by name, from whom Nasīr Khān of Khāndesh captured it in 1400.⁵

1. *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I pt. II, p. 916

2. Māhūr was in the south of Berar on the bank of river Penganga

3. 21.17N and 76.16E. The city was built on the site of an old Hindu town named Basāna or Gajāna. (Cunningham, ASR. Vol. IX (1885), p. 119)

4. The hill fort is situated in 21.28N and 78.18E, 47 Km. from Burhānpūr on an outlying spur of the Satpura range at a height of 850 ft. (276 metres). Firishta derives its name from Āsā Ahīr but its original name was Asthamgīr, a corruption of Aswathamāgīrī. Abul Fadl also says that the place possessed a shrine of Aswathama. (Cunningham, ASR, Vol. IX, (1885) pp. 118-19.

5. *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 297

Bāglāna,¹ a fortress town surrounded by swamps and thickets, was a stronghold of certain Hindu chiefs. Shāhjahān reduced these fortresses and made the territory a part of Khāndesh *sarkār*.

(11) Ajmer

The *subā* of Ajmer lay between Akbarābād on the east and Dipālpūr on the west while its northern and southern boundaries were marked by Delhi and Gujarāt respectively. The distance between Amber in the eastern corner and Dipālpūr in the west was 270 Km. whereas the width of the province from south to north was 241 Kms. Divided into 9 *sarkārs* and 123 *parganās*, the annual income to the State exchequer from the province of Ajmer was 583.79 million *dāms*.

Ajmer,² a large and important as well as one of the oldest cities of the *subā*, was enclosed by an outer city-wall with a number of lofty and imposing gates. The distance from Delhi to Ajmer is 443 Kms. The shrine of Khwāja Mu'innuddīn Chishtī (d. 1235) is the principal object of interest in Ajmer.

Nāgaur³ was known for its attractive market. The fort of Nāgaur, rising above the Shivalak hills overlooking the town, was built by Muhammad Bāhlīm⁴ during the reign of Bahrām Shāh Gaznavī (1118-1152).

Udaipūr,⁵ the capital of the erstwhile princely state of Udaipūr lies south-west of Ajmer. The Rānā of Mewār ruled the State.

1. Bāglāna was a small Rajput State between Gujarāt and Deccan.
2. 26.27N and 74.42E
3. 27.11N and 73.46E
4. Governor of Punjab who established himself in Nāgaur to defy the allegiance to Bahrām (*Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 35)
5. 27.42N and 75.33N

Jodhpūr¹ was a populous city 483 Km. to the south-west of Delhi. The ruler of the princely State of the same name claimed descent from the Rāthor clan of the Rājput̄s. The city is noted for its manufactures of brass utensils and fine ivory work.

Jaipūr² takes its name from the famous Maharājā Sawāi Jai Singh, by whom it was founded in 1728, about 274 Kms. south south-west of Delhi. One of the most beautiful cities in India, it has been built on a regular plan—rectangular blocks, divided by cross streets with markets at each crossing. In the midst of the city is the noble palace of the erstwhile Maharājā. Besides the Palace, other places of interest are the Observatory and the splendid collection of old-time weapons.

Tonk,³ also known as Muhammadābād, lies on the river Banās. The onetime princely State of Tonk was founded by Nawāb Amīr Khān in 1817 whose progeny ruled over the State (until it was merged in Rajasthān).

Būndī⁴ lies 394 Kms. south south-west of Delhi. It is situated in a gorge surrounded by wooded hills. The Chief of Bundi was the head of the Hāra sect of the great clan of Chauhān Rājput̄s.

(12) Lahore

The province of Lahore was bounded by Delhi on the east, Multān on the west, Kashmir on the north and Dipālpūr in Rajasthān on the south ; 289 Km. in length and 138 Km. in breadth, the *subā* was divided into 5 *sarkārs* and 316 *paraganās* whose annual revenues amounted to 893.07 million *dāms*. The principal cities of the province during the Muslim period were as under.

-
1. 26.18N and 73.4E
 2. 26.55N and 75.52E
 3. 26.11N and 75.50E
 4. 25.27N 75.41E

The great city of Lahore¹ is situated on the bank of river Rāvī, a tributary of the river Sind. Lying at a place where the traditional thoroughfares to India, Afghānistān and Iran converged, the city had the honour of being the capital of many kingdoms of the old. Lahore has fine historical buildings and lovely gardens, and a fort built by Akbar.

Siālkot² was known to the Arab historians as Sanilkot and Salkot. Lying to the north of Lahore, at a distance of 105 Km., it has been the birthplace of such eminent scholars as 'Abdul Hakīm, the noted grammarian, and Sir Muhammad Iqbāl.

Nagarkot,³ Now known as Kāngra, the town was once called Qila Bhīm. The city is situated high up in the sub-Himalayan ranges 182 Km. to the north-east of Lahore. Mahmūd of Ghaznī captured the strong fortress of Nagarkot in 1008.

Jammū⁴ is a famous city lying on the slopes of Lesser Himalayas by the side of the river Tawi. It was the summer capital of the Mahārājā of Kashmir.

Batāla⁵ was a prosperous town having good residential quarters and markets.

Qādiān⁶ was a suburban town of Batālā. Mirzā Ghulām Ahmad Qādiānī, the founder of Qādiānism was born there.

Kasūr⁷ (Qasūr) was a fine city to the south-east of Lahore. It had several gardens and bazars.

Kalānūr⁸ was a leading town known for its gardens and fine markets.

1. 31.37N and 74.26E

2. 32.31N and 74.36E

3. 32.5N and 76.18E

4. 32.44N and 74.54E

5. 31.49N and 75.14E

6. A town in Gurdāspūr district of East Punjab

7. 31.7N and 74.31E

8. 32.0N and 75.10E

Phillaur¹ was another town of considerable importance with a strong fortress.

Jullandar² is a big city, 129 Kms. to the east of Lahore. It was a splendid town with several gardens.

Hoshiārpūr,³ still a city of considerable importance, was once known for its imposing buildings and delightful gardens.

Amritsar⁴ was then known as Ambersar. One of the great cities of the *subā*, it was a populous town, centre of trade and commerce and had well laid out gardens and parks. The city was surrounded by groves of fruit-bearing trees.

Lying 58 Kms. east of Lahore, Amritsar is the sacred city of the Sikhs where Gurū Nānak compiled the Garanth Sāhib. The famous Golden Temple is situated in the heart of the city.

Ferozepūr⁵ was one of the chief cities of the province. Firoz Shāh founded the city 74 Km. to the east of Lahore.

(13) Kashmir

Kashmir⁶ was bounded, on all the four sides by the western Himalayan ranges. The boundaries of Kashmir touch Tibet on the east, Afghānistān on the West, Khurāsān (Chinese Turkistān) on the north and *subā* Lahore on the south. Ringed round with snow-capped mountains of the lesser Himalayan ranges lies the Kashmir valley, 193 Km. in length and 97 Km. in width, with soft and fertile land.

1. 31.0N and 75.49E

2. 31.19N and 75.18E

3. 31.32N and 75.57E

4. 31.37N and 74.55E

5. 30.55E and 74.40E

6. The *subā* of Kashmir was a *sarkār* under the provincial governorship of Kābul during the reign of Akbar (*Ā'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 106). The first Muslim independent kingdom of Kashmir was established by Shāh Mirza in 1346 and conquered by the Moghuls in 1544.

The accessible hill slopes in the valley are covered with terraced fields of fine fruit trees and flowers—walnut, pomegranates, almond, grapes, apple, cherry, peach, banana, fig, mulberry, jujube, etc. among the fruits and flowers like violet, saffron, narcissus, lilly, hyacinth and jasmine. Among the noted manufactures of Kashmir are woollen Kashmirī shawls and papier mache articles. Kashmir was once also known for good quality paper and book binding. Following were the prominent urban centres during the medieval period.

Srinagar¹ lies along the bank of the Jhelum and the lovely 10 Km. long Dal lake.

Islāmābād² also lies on the Jhelum 32 Kms. to the south-east of Srinagar. It is a manufacturing centre of fine Kashmirī shawls.

Shāhābād,³ known for the fine quality of fruits grown there, is at a distance of 22 Km. to the south-east of Islāmābād.

The town of Shopiān, lying at a distance of 19 Km. from Srinagar, is a charming place because of its delightful waters, healthy climate and wonderfully rich carpet of mountain flowers.

Pampur⁴ is now a village 40 Km. from Srinagar where saffron is grown.

(14) Multan

The boundaries of the *subā* Multān extending from Ferozpūr on the east to Sīwistān on the west measured 648 Kms. while its breadth from Khatpūr on the north to Jaisalmer on the south was 193 Kms. The province was divided

1. 34.19N and 74.30E
2. 33.43N and 75.17E
3. 33.32N and 75.16E. Once a favourite residence of early Moghu Emperors, now a small town.
4. Abul Fadi gives the name of the village as Ranpūr.

into 88 *parganās* and three *sarkārs* of Multān, Bhakkar and Dipālpūr.

Multān¹ was the capital of the province. Known as Bait-uz-Zahab, the house of gold to the Arabs, the city had achieved fame for the fine quality of its silken clothes, floor-mattings and carpets.

Uch² was a leading city, lying on the banks of the river Sind, having imposing buildings and several gardens.

Talīmba³, a town, was the birthplace of several scholars, (such as Sheikh 'Abdullah Talambī and his brother 'Azīz Ullah Talambī).

Bhakkar⁴, a beautiful city, with much scenic beauty lay scattered along the banks of the river Sind. In the midst of the city there was the fine building of a monastery. Abul Fadl says that the city was formerly known as Mansūrah.

Bhakkar is not mentioned in the pre-Islamic annals of India as it was built during the Muslim rule. It is related that a saint, Syed Muhammad ibn Shuj'ā Makkī arrived at the place one fine morning and exclaimed: "God has brought the crack of dawn for me on a blessed land." The Arabic word *bukr* used by the Sheikh for morning gave it the name of Bukr which was later changed to Bhuksar and Bhakkar. The author of *Tahfatul Kirām* says that the place where Bhakkar lies, was once a village known as Farasta.⁵

Sukkur⁶ (Sukkar) lay opposite to Bhakkar across the

1. 30.12N and 71.31E
2. 29.13N and 71.9E
3. 30.31N and 72.15E
4. Six rivers united by it in several branches; two branches lie to the south, one to north. The town at the latter branch is called Bhakkar. (*Ain-i-Akbari*—Blochmann; p. 465). Mansūrah also remained the capital of Arab possessions in Sind for a long time (*Al-Bulāzurī*, p. 445) Bhakkar was situated not far from Rohrī.
5. *Tuhfatul Kirām* by 'Alī Sher Qan'ey (Delhi, 1304 A. H.), Vol. III, p. 117
6. 27.42N and 68.55E

river Lohri, a tributary of Sind.

Bhāwalpūr¹ city, 80 Km. to the south of Multān, was founded by Nawāb Bahāwal Khān I.

Siwī² (Sibi) was an ancient town and headquarter of the *parganā* whose borders extended up to the valley of Khurāsān.

Shikārpūr³ was also a new town founded during the Muslim period.

Alor⁴ was another ancient town of considerable importance for it was once the capital of Sind. The town, however, fell into ruins after its population migrated to Bhakkar.

Durbela was a suburban town near Bhakkar.

(15) Tattah

Gujarāt lay to the east of *subā* Tattah, Makrān to its west, Bhakkar to its north and the Arabian Sea to its south. The province was 414 Km. long from Bhakkar to Makrān while its breadth, from the village of Badain to Lohri, 161 Km. The average annual yield of the *subā* was 66.15 million *dāms*.

Tattah⁵ (Thatha or Tatta) was, during the Muslim period, a flourishing city renowned for its magnificent buildings and markets. Jām Nizāmuddīn, the ruler of Sind, founded Tattah in 1494. It is related that the city took its

-
1. 28.24N and 71.47E
 2. 29.30N and 67.55E. The present district of Sibi in Baluchistān derives its name from Siwī (*Gazetteer of Baluchistān*, Vol. III (1907), p. 2.)
 3. 27.57N and 68.40E
 4. Alor, the capital of Sind was a large town adorned with all kinds of palaces and gardens. It was situated on the bank of Sihūn, which they call Mehrān (*Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. I, p. 138, on the authority of *Chach Nāmah*). Ruins of the town lie between Bhakkar and Khairpūr (*Elliot and Dowson*, Vol. I p. 363).
 5. 24.44N and 67.58E

name from *that* which means sheep in Hindi.

Siwistān¹ was also a leading city of the *subā*. Surrounded on all sides by sandy deserts, where acacia trees could only grow, musk-melon was the sole crop raised by the river-side. A hill nearby Siwistān had a spring whose water had some medicinal properties, and was revered by the local Hindu population.

Siwistān has been variously known to historians as Sehsawān and Sehwān. Yaqūt Hamawī has also made a mention of the city in *M'ujam-ul-Buldān*. The journey from Siwistān to Multān took 10 days.

Lahri Bandar² was a famous seaport of Sind formerly known as Debul. It lay in Sind delta, near the mouth of Indus. The ravages of time have left no trace of the city after its inhabitants migrated to Dhār Rājā, another seaport in the vicinity.

Hyderābād³ is comparatively a new city. At the site, or near it, where it now lies, stood a strong fortress of Nirūn which fell to Muhammad ibn Qāsim early in 712. The citadel became desolate and devastated in due course of time. Ghulām Shāh Khān built another fortress in its place in 1768-69 and gave it the name of Hyderābād.

Karāchi⁴ was also a harbour like Debul and Lahri Bandar.

Amarkot,⁵ the birth-place of Akbar, lay at a distance of 145 Kms. from Hyderābād.

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1. Also known as Sahwān, Siwistān lay on the right bank of Indus. Lakhi (Lukhee) was little south of Sahwān (*A'in-i-Akbarī—Blochmann*, p. 356). The borders of Siwistān touched the limits of Makrān according to Elliot (Vol. I, p. 138 on the authority of *Chach Nāmah*.)
 2. The seaport of Debul was situated about twenty-four miles to the south-west of the modern town of Tatta. (*Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 2)
 3. 25.25N and 68.38E
 4. 24.51N and 67.4E. Elliot is of the opinion that Karāchi represents the site of Dabul (Vol. I, p. 375)
 5. 25.21N and 69.46E in Tharpārkar district of Sind.

Kāhān¹ was a well-known town in Siwistān. Other towns of the *parganā* were Pātar,¹ Tilhati, Būbkān,² Hālā Kundī and Rāhūb.

(16) Gujarat

The *sūbā* of Gujarāt was 485 Kms. in length and 435 Kms. in breadth, having 9 *sarkārs* and 188 *parganās*. It had 13 seaports. The annual revenues of the province totalled up to 583.79 *dāms*.

Kanbāyah,³ now known as Combay, lying on the Gulf of Combay, was formerly a big harbour where large vessels anchored. The city was once known for its mosques and fine buildings.

Sūrat⁴ is a town in southern Gujarāt, near the mouth of river Tāpti, but it has now nothing left of its former grandeur. It had a 10 Km. long outer-wall running round the city. Khwāja Safar Rūmī, governor of Combay, had built a fort at Sūrat during the reign of Muhammad III (1537-1554) of Gujarāt.⁵

Rānder, also known as Rāniar, was once a flourishing town and seaport. Now it has stepped down to an unimportant suburban town of Sūrat.

Navsāri⁶ was a famous city with a good harbour where lived the chief priest of the Parsees.

Broach⁷ was a well-known seaport of India. The principal exports of the town were lac and indigo. Hamawī, an Arab historian and geographer has mentioned the city, in

1. 29.18N and 68.57E

2. Batār and Busikan, as mentioned by Abul Fadl.

3. 22.19N and 72.38E

4. 21.12N and 72.52E

5. The fort was built for the protection of the maritime trade which had been much harassed by the Portuguese ever since their establishment at Diu (*Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 339-40).

6. 21.7N and 37.40E

7. 21.41N and 73.1E

M'ujam, both as Brūj and Brūs.

Somnāth,¹ lying on the coast of Kathiāwār, was a big city but perhaps more famous for the sacred temple it contained. The city fell to Mahmūd of Ghaznī in 1026-27.

Jūnāgadh² lies in the vales of Girnār hills crowned by an ancient fortress at Girnār. Muhammad Tughluq changed its name to Jūnāgadh. Thereafter, Mahmūd Begarha (1459-1511), Sultān of Gujarāt, founded the new city of Mustafābād at Jūnāgadh. The city, however, still retains the name given by Muhammad Tughluq, where the Pathan ruler of the princely State used to live (before Independence).

Barodā,³ ruled by the Gaekwārs of Barodā (before integration of the State in the Indian Union) was a stronghold of Marāthās. It was once known by the name of Barwarda.

Ahmadābād⁴ lies 80 Kms. to the north of the Gulf of Combay, on the bank of river Sābarmati. Formerly capital of the Ahmad Shāhī rulers of Gujarāt, it was founded by Ahmad I (1411-42). Then, one of the greatest cities of India, Ahmadābād was fortified by a strong rampart around the city with 360 wards or *mohalās* within. Rich in buildings of considerable architectural beauty, its suburbs extended up to 43 Kms. As a commercial centre, its principal exports were indigo, cotton, opium and silver and gold embroidered silk cloths. It is related that the city had 1000 mosques, each of which had two minarets, and the most magnificent of these was the Jāmī Ahmad Shāh. The city also abounded in lovely gardens and recreation spots. A mosque on the model of Ka'aba was built 8 Km. outside the city. Nothing of the past grandeur of Ahmadābād, except some of the architectural remains of Ahmad Shāhī

1. 21.4N and 70.26E. Somnāth occupied an elevated site on the north-west of the city of Patau, on the western coast of the Gujarāt peninsula, overlooking the sea and close to its walls. (J.A.S.B.; 1843; p. 73)
2. 21.31N and 70.36E
3. 20 0N and 73.16E
4. 23.2N and 72.38E

dynasty can be seen now.

Mahmūdābād was founded by Mahmūd Begarha (1459-1511) near Kheda, at a distance of 19 Km. from Ahmadābād. Mahmūd Shāh II added gardens and multitudes of splendid edifices to this city and transferred his capital to it from Ahmadābād.

Chāmpāner. Mahmūd Begarha captured the fortress of Chāmpāner in 1484 and caused a city, Mahammadābād by name, to be built there.¹

Nahrwālā² was an ancient town in Gujarāt. Formerly known by the name of Anhilvārā and Fatan, it is presently called Patan. Sheikh Muhammad bin Tāhir Patnī, author of *Majm'a-ul-Bahār*, belonged to Patan.

Diu³ is situated on the south coast of Kathiāwār, on a useless, waste region, although it has an excellent harbour. The place is reported to have been captured by Mahmūd of Ghaznī.⁴ Diu, later on became a Portuguese possession after they had treacherously murdered Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt in 1537⁵.

1. *Firishtā*, Vol IV, p. 406. Abul Fadl, however, gives its name as Mahmūdābād, which is not correct. (*A'in-i-Akbarī* Vol. I, pt. II, p. 933).
2. 23.52N and 73.10E
3. 20.42N and 71.1E
4. After the sack of Somnāth, Mahmūd was informed that Pramdeo, as *Firishtā* calls him (variously styled as Brahmdeo and Bhīmdeo by Briggs and Wolsely Haig), had taken refuge in the island of Khandana. The place, also mentioned as Khandaba and Kandana by the historians is identified as Gundevi near Sūrat and Beyt Shankhodar, and is said to be located at the north western extremity of the peninsula of Kathiāwār by Wolsely Haig. The fact that none of these places are 40 *farsankh* from Somnāth, as *Firishtā* specifies without giving the direction, cannot be ignored in locating the place correctly. Viewed in this light the location of Diu suggests it to be the most convenient place for taking refuge after the fall of Somnāth.
5. Bahādur Shāh had permitted the Portuguese by a treaty to build a fort at Diu in 1534, on the condition of paying custom dues to Bahādur Shāh (*Cambridge*, Vol. III, pp. 324, 333).

(17) Malwa

The province of Mālwa was bounded by Bāndhū¹ on the east, Gujarāt and Ajmer on the west, Narwār² on the north and Baklānā³ on the south; the *sūbā* was 394 Kms. in length and 370 Km. in width; and irrigated by the river Nabadā and its tributaries it was rich in agricultural produce like wheat, opium, musk-melon, sugarcane, mangoes and grapes. With 12 *sarkārs* and 360 *parganās*, its annual revenues amounted to 240.70 million *dāms*.

Ujjain⁴ stands on the right bank of the river Sipra. It was formerly a large city enclosed by an outer wall and several edifices of which the ruins can still be seen.

During the Muslim rule, it was a popular city with a fine market and paved thoroughfare. The city had several temples of Hindu gods and goddesses and also a big *madrāsāh*. It also had an observatory⁵ whence astronomical phenomena specially the point at which the sun attains the highest altitude could be ascertained.

Traditions assign Ujjain as seat of the famous Raja Vikramāditya from whose reign the Bikramī era is reported to have commenced.

Chanderī⁶ was a leading city of Mālwa which exported cotton cloth to Delhi. The city was a flourishing commercial centre. The Muslim governors of Mālwa had Chanderī as the seat of their Government but, later on, it fell into obscurity under the Marāthās.

1. Bāndū or Bandūgarh was an old fort on Rewa hills situated in 23.41N and 81.31E. Muslim historians refer to Bāndhū, and Baghel, as the Rājā of Bāndhū. (*Cunningham, A.S.R.*, Vol. VII, p. 22).
2. It was the place, according to Blochmann where Abul Fadl was murdered. It lies in Long. 77.58 and Lat. 25.39 (*A'in-i-Akbari—Blochmann*, p. 129)
3. In Khāndesh.
4. 23.9N and 75.43N
5. Built by Rājā Jal Singh of Jaipur.
6. 24.42N and 78.11E

Mandū¹ has a historic fort on the summit of a flat topped hill of the Vindhya ranges. It was built by Haushang Shāh Ghori (1405-34) who made it the capital of his independent kingdom of Mālwa. Now it lies in ruins.

Saronj was once a big city. Now an insignificant place it forms part of Tonk² in Rajasthan.

Bhilsa³ was a fortified town of considerable importance. Shamsuddīn Iltutmish took his arms to Bhilsa in 1234. It has now dwindled to a small village in Ujjain district.

Rāisen⁴ occupied an strategic position with its fort standing on the northern end of a spur of the Vindhyas, the town lying at the foot of the hill. Sher Shāh Sūrī captured the fort in 1543.

Asta⁵ was a flourishing town both during the Hindu as well as Muslim era, but nothing of its former greatness having been left now, it has been reduced to a village near Bhopāl.

Dhār⁶ could be reached from Delhi in 24 days. Tradition assigns it to be the seat of Rājā Bhoj.⁷

Sārangpūr,⁸ one of the prominent cities of Mālwa, is stated to have been founded by a mystic, Shelkh Sārang, a grandee of Fīroz Shāh who later turned an anchorite. Now Sārangpūr remains as a modest town.

Bhopāl,⁹ still a famous town with numerous mosques, markets and gardens, had been the seat of a *sarkār* of

1. 22.21N and 75.26E
2. 26.11N and 75.50E
3. 23.32N and 77.51E. Now known as Vidisha, it lies on the river Betwa, in Bhopāl.
4. 23.20N and 77.47E
5. it was a town in *Sārangpūr Sarkār*.
6. 22.35N and 75.20E
7. *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, part II, p. 88.
8. 23.34N and 76.31E. The place has been the seat of famous Rānā Sāngā and Bāz Bahādur.
9. 23.16N and 77.36E

Mālwā. It was about Bhopāl that Nawāb Siddīq Hasan Khān (d. 1889) had said :

Thou hast reached Bhopāl, tarry, my heart ;
The desire of thy drooping spirits, now made short.

(18) Bijapur

The boundaries of Bijāpūr *sūbā* touched the borders of Gulbarga on the east; Aurangābād on the north and Arabian sea coast on the south-west. The province was divided into 8 *sarkārs* and 85 *parganās* and yielded a revenue of 106.49 million *dāms*.

Bijāpūr,¹ formerly an insignificant village, was turned into one of the most magnificent cities of India by the Sultāns of 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty. In 1495, Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh built the city and a strong fortress which served as the capital of subsequent 'Ādil Shāhī kings of Bijāpūr. Gol Gumbaz under which lies Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh's tomb, is one of the largest of its kind, and unquestionably the most striking monument in Bijāpūr, and one of the most impressive specimen of architecture in the whole of India.²

Gulbarga³ is an ancient city. 'Alā'uddīn Hasan Shāh Gangū Bahmanī founded an independent kingdom in 1347 and made Gulbarga his capital, renaming it as Hasanābād.⁴ The tomb of Syed Muhammad Yūsuf al-Husaini, popularly known as Khawājā Gesū Darāz, is a famous shrine⁵ at Gulbarga.

Naldurg⁶ had a strong fortress with high ramparts, above the ravine of the Bori river, which is attributed by traditions to Rājā Nal.

Shāhdurg was another fortified town near Naldurg

1. 16.50N and 75.47E

2. *Cambridge*, Vol. IV, p. 57

3. 17.19N and 76.54E

4. *Firishṭā*, Vol. III, p. 11

5. The shrine was built by Aurangzeb in 1687.

6. 17.49N and 76.20E

which was built by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I (d. 1580) of Bijāpur.

Vijayanagar,¹ ruled by Sadāshivarāya, was a splendid city in the full plenitude of prosperity, protected by seven fortifications, the kings residential citadel elevated above all those surrounding it. The city had not only gorgeous palaces and temples but also fine markets and irrigation and water supply system. The Bahmanī Sultān Muhammad I and his son made repeated but unsuccessful efforts to capture the city. Finally, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I formed a confederacy with Sultān Husain Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar, 'Alī Barīd Shāh of Bidar and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golcondā to capture Vijayanagar in 1565.²

(19) Bidar

Bidar was bounded by Tilangānā on the east, Aurangābād on the west, Khāndesh on the north and Gulbargā on the south; the length of the province was 314 Km. and 185 Km. in width; and it had 6 *sarkārs* and 170 *parganās*. The two prominent cities of the *sūbā* were Bidar and Nānder.

Bidar³ was founded under the name of Ahmadābād, in 1430 by Ahmad Walī Bahmanī.⁴ In 1656 Aurangzeb took the city (from the king of Bijāpūr) and renamed it as Muḥammadābād. The town was celebrated for its bidriwares which consisted of an alloy of copper, lead, tin and zinc, and was

1. 15.20N and 76.30E. The kingdom was founded by Sangama I, whose dynasty ruled from 1339 to 1483 (*Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 377.)
2. After a fierce battle fought on January 5, 1565, at Talikota, on the Khon river, near the Krishna, Sadāshivarāya gave way to the victors, who, following their success, invaded Vijayanagar. The capital was taken and given over to plunder, and only a few buildings escaped the general devastation. (*Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 448-49 and *Firishtā*, Vol. IV, pp. 65-70).
3. 17.57N and 77.39E
4. *Firishtā*, Vol III, p. 132. Bidar had been the capital of Rājā Vijaya Sen, who succeeded the Guptas in AD 319.

inlaid with silver and gold.

Nānder¹ was then a populous city (and exported fine muslin, copper and brass vessels).

(20) Hyderabad²

The Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golcondā, founded by Qutb ul-Mulk, extended up to Carnatic including Hyderābād. With the annexation of Golcondā, during the reign of Aurangzeb, the whole of the Deccan was subdued and parcelled out into 22 *sarkārs*, namely (1) Muhammadnagar, (2) Maidak, (3) Kolās, (4) Malangaur, (5) Elgandal, (6) Warangal, (7) Khammet, (8) Dewar Konda, (9) Bālkonda, (10) Mustafānagar, (11) Bhongīr, (12) Akankarā, (13) Koilkonda, (14) Khānpura, (15) Murtazānagar, (16) Machchhlipatan, (17) Nizāmpatan, (18) Rājmundrī, (19) Vellore, (20) Sarīkākol, (21) M'adan Almās³ and (22) Arcot.

During the Tānā Shāhī reign the total revenues of the province amounted to 8.80 million *hauns*. As stated in *Tārīkh Khurshed Jahī*, the *haun* having a par value of a paisa less in three and a half *rupiah*, the total revenues came to 24.78 million *rupiahs*.

Hyderābād⁴ founded by Qulī Qutb Shāh,⁵ was the seat

1. 19.9N and 77.27E
2. By the end of the year 1689, Aurangzeb was the unrivalled lord of Deccan like northern India. He annexed Bidar, Kalyānī and Gulbargā, lying to the north-east of Bijāpūr, in 1657; Poona and Chākan to its extreme north were occupied in 1660; Sholāpūr was ceded to the Moghuls in 1668; Golconda submitted to Aurangzeb in 1685 followed by the fall of Bijāpūr in 1686, and by 1689 Rājgarh also capitulated. Thus the imperial boundaries in the south reached from the west coast to the northern frontiers of Goa and inland to Belgaum and the Tangbhadra river, dipping south-eastwards to the Coleroon river, north of Tanjor, through the centre of Mysore.
3. Perhaps Golconda where diamonds were found.
4. 17.20 N 78.30 E
5. Governor of Telingānā district under Sultan Muhammad Shāh Bahmani, who assumed the royal dignity in 1512.

of the provincial government under the Moghuls and also remained the capital of the erstwhile Āsaf Jāhī princely state of Hyderābād. Among its numerous places of archaeological interest Chār Minār and Mecca Masjid are the most imposing buildings of this seat of the gorgeous court.

Golconda,¹ where the Qutb Shāhī kings lived, had a strong and extensive fortress on a rocky ridge of a granite hill.

Kandahār (not to be confused with Qandahār in Afghanistan) was a town in the western taluk of Nānder district in Hyderābād.

Maidak,² a well-known town of the ancient period, had a fort standing on the summit of a hill.

Arcot,³ lying 80 Km. to the south-east of Madrās, was the chief town of Carnatic during the reign of Āsaf Jāh I (1724-48).

Warangal,⁴ with one of the strongest fortresses in India, had been the capital of Kākatiya rājās of the Deccan.⁵ Muhammad Tughluq captured Warangal in 1335.⁶

Rajabandri,⁷ also known as Rajahmundry, was a prosperous city about 451 Km. to the north-east of Madrās.

Vellore⁸ was also a rich and populous town to the south-west of Madrās.

Machchhlīpatan,⁹ now known as Masulipatam, was a thriving coastal town on the Coromandal coast from where cloth was exported to Iran. The East India Company had

1. 17.23 N and 78.27 E
2. It had a fort supposed to have been built in the fourth century by Somadeva, the Rājā of Kandahār.
3. 12.56 N and 79.24 E
4. 17.58 N and 79.40 E
5. *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 98
6. *Firishtā*, Vol. II, p. 12 and *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 150
7. 17.0 N and 81.48 E
8. 12.55 N and 79.11 E
9. 16.9 N and 81.12 E

established an agency at Masulipatam which was ultimately ceded to the British by Nizām-ul-Mulk.

Trichinopoly¹ was also a large and prosperous city of the time, lying about 306 Km. to the south-east of Madrās on the banks of the river Kāveri.

Murtazānagar,² also called by the name of Guntūr, was a leading city of the *sūbā*. It was situated at a distance of 370 Km. to the north of Madrās.

Chināpatam,³ then a big city, is now known as Madrās.

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1. 10.50 N and 78.46 E
 2. 16.18 N and 80.29 E
 3. 13.4 N and 80.17 E

CHAPTER TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

Political system of the Muslim Monarchs

THE political system of the Muslim kings is generally divided into two categories; first, that governed by the *Sharī'ah* and secondly the policies guided by political exigencies. The first one, that is, *Sharī'ah*, is the law ordained by God, such as, that regulating the five tenets of Islam and other virtuous deeds. The political policy, on the other hand, concerns itself with the administrative business of the state and the maintenance of law and order. This, too, can be classified into two parts, viz. administering the country in accordance with the concepts of justice and equity, enforcement of equitable laws, spreading education, promotion of public weal, defence of the land, etc. as required by the *Sharī'ah*. Deviation from these principles, which is denounced by the *Sharī'ah*, can be termed as unjust or tyrannical polity.¹

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1. Islam, however, rejects the division of religion and politics which is purely a Christian concept, accepted by the Muslims under the influence of the West. The author has referred to these classifications here for a better appreciation of the political and administrative policies followed by the Muslim rulers of India.

Chingiz Khān had also formulated a code of laws, called *Yāssā*—from which *Siyāсах* meaning politics is derived—which continued to be the supreme law of the lands ruled by his progeny. They scrupulously adhered to the *Yāssā* until they captured the south-eastern lands of Kirghiz steppe, Iran, Iraq and other countries. But by the time the Mongols entered India they had accepted Islam and had become conversant with the *Sharī'ah*, the teachings of the Qur'ān and Islamic way of life. Nevertheless, instead of accepting the *Sharī'ah* as the only rule of conduct governing both public and private life, they contrived an amalgam of laws, some divinely ordained and others upheld by their national conventions. On the one hand, they allowed the *Qāzīs* to guide them in religious matters, to administer the trusts and settle personal affairs having a direct bearing on religion, such as, marriages, inheritance, etc. But, on the other hand, they continued to follow the *Yāssā* in political affairs¹ and other matters taken out of the purview of *Sharī'ah* as, for example, interdiction of quarrels amongst them. The Mongols used to appoint another dignitary known as *Hājib* for the administration of these customary usages.

Theft, adultery, wilful lies, lying or giving of false evidence, sorcery, spying were punishable by death under the *Yāssā*. It dealt with in a similar manner with those who caused loss to their business partners thrice or did not restore the runaway slave to his owner. If the arms left

1. An interesting incident cited by Wolseley Haig shows how even the Moghul kings of India occasionally had recourse to the code of *Yāssā*, overlooking the injunctions of the *Sharī'ah*, to meet their personal ends. He writes that Akbar chanced to see and fall in love with an extremely beautiful woman, the wife of one Sheikh 'Abdul-Wasī, and sent a message to the Sheikh reminding him of the article in the code of Chingiz Khān to the effect that the husband of any woman whom the sovereign may desire is bound to divorce the wife and surrender her to his lord. The Sheikh was complaisant, divorced his wife and retired to Bidar in Deccan. (*Cambridge*, Vol. IV, p. 86)

behind or dropped by a soldier were not restored to him by the man following him, he too was to be put to death.

The code of Chingiz Khān treated matters of religion indulgently. Religious teachers, mendicants, physicians, criers of the mosque and persons performing burial ceremonies were exempt from taxes and all religions were equally respected.

Every soldier embarking for the battlefield had to present himself before the king and show him his entire baggage including even the needle and thread. Any default in this regard was punishable. Every soldier was required to present some gift to the King on return from war and the women were to carry out the duties of their menfolk drafted for active service.

The Mongol troops had commanders over every ten or hundred cavalry or infantry-men as described by Maqrīzī in the *Khutat-i-Misr*.

The Muslim Dynasties of India

Quite a number of Muslim dynasties, such as, the Slaves, Khiljīs, Tughlaqs, Saiyids, Afghāns and Moghuls have wielded the sceptre in India. In delineating their administrative set-up we have divided these dynasties into two categories.

(1) Slave and Khilji Dynasties

The Slave and Khiljī kings followed more or less the same type of administrative system with a fairly extensive official hierarchy, of which the important offices are mentioned here.

Wazīr.—As the head of the imperial secretariat, he held the highest post and was next only to the King. His functions included administration of the realm, supervision of the state revenues and expenditure and all other important matters related to these. The *Wazīrs* were assisted by *Mushrif* (accountant) and *Mustaufi* (auditors) who used to

keep him posted with the necessary details of income and expenditure. The *Wazirs* were also known as *Khwāja-i-Jahān*.

'Arz-ul-Mamālik. The post was equivalent to Chief of the Staff of modern times. Being responsible for the maintenance and administration of armed forces, he also inspected the troops and approved the appointment to all ranks. Anybody desiring recruitment as an archer had to bend the different types of bows kept by the *'Arz-ul-Mamālik*. The rank of the candidate depended on his ability and prowess to bend these bows. Similarly, an intending horseman had to strike a drum while riding a galloping horse. The candidate for archer horseman had to shoot an arrow into a ball lying on the ground from the galloping horseback. The more expertise one showed in taking the correct aim, the higher one rank was given.

Hājib. There were different grades of *Hājibs*. Under the Chief *Hājib* were his deputies called *Nā'ib Hājib*, and then *Sharaf-ul-Hujjāb*, *Saiyid-ul-Hujjāb* and their assistants.

Quāzī. The *Qāzīs* were required to enforce the rules of the *Sharī'ah* and decide the civil and criminal suits of the people. A *Qāzī* was appointed in every *parganā* while the Chief Justice or *Qāzī-ul-Quzāt* had his headquarters in the Imperial capital. He was a member of the imperial court and was known as *Sadr-i-Jahān*.

Amīr Dād. The officer was charged with the responsibility of deciding the disputes between the grandees of the king. The expenditure on this office, paid as remuneration to the officer, was 50,000 *dinārs* annually.

Kotwāl. Combining the duties of committing magistrate and police, the officer was required to maintain law and order as well as to punish the criminals.

Amīr Kalīd-dār. A noble was appointed for the safe custody of the keys of royal apartments. It was his duty to open the gates, when required, and keep a watch over imperial *Haram* and its officers.

Amīr-Wakīl-dār. As the chief dignitary of the royal household, he supervised the royal kitchen, managed the supplies and held the charge over the imperial household servants.

Amīr Jāmdār. The officer was responsible for the preparation of royal dresses and all purchases relating to it,

Amīr Salāhdār. The officer held the charge of royal armoury as well as commanded the royal bodyguards during public and private audience of the king.

Amīr Tūzak. *Amīr Tūzak* was the master of ceremonies. It was his duty to notify the royal audience, make arrangements for functions and ceremonies and allocate seats to the dignitaries according to the ranks held by them.

Diwān-i'Arz. He presented the incoming despatches before the king and acted as an intermediary through whom the king communicated with his officials and the grandees.

Dabīr. All the edicts, proclamations and books on which royal seal had to be affixed were presented to the king by *Dabīr*. He also dictated letters on behalf of the king in accordance with the directions given to him.

Mushrif. He was charged with the duty of keeping an account of all State revenues.

Al-Mustaufī or *Mustaufī-ul-Mamālik* was the Accountant General who checked all accounts and kept a record of State expenditure.

Majmuā'dār. The officer was the book-keeper responsible for maintaining accounts of both the incomings and outgoings of the State exchequer.

Aqt'adār. was the governor or deputy of the king in the provinces. He held the command of the troops stationed in the provinces and supervised the collection of revenues.

Muqatt'a. was the administrative head of the *parganās*.

Akhor Begī. was the dignitary who headed the officers and servants attached to royal stables and grazing

grounds reserved for the royal animals.

Shahnā-i-fīl was the superintendent of royal elephants who controlled the expenses on elephant stables, *mahāwats*, etc.

Shahnā-i-'Imārāt. The officer equivalent to Engineer-in-Chief was responsible for the execution of public works, specially, the castles and palaces.

(ii) The Moghuls

The administrative set-up of the Moghuls practically remained unchanged during the long period of their rule. They, too, had a long list of dignitaries which has been given here under two categories.

In the first category were included those nobles and dignitaries who always accompanied the emperor in camps and cantonments, and counselled him in the management of the State affairs.

Wakīl-i-Mutlaq. He was the prime-minister,¹ and one of the highest grandees, who was the custodian of the royal seal. The importance of his office placed him only next to the emperor, above all other nobles and dignitaries. *Wakīl-i-Mutlaq* normally held one of the ranks between *Panj-hazārī*² and *Nuh-Hazārī*.³

Madār-ul-Muhām held the rank of a *Wazīr* and his business was to keep a watch over State expenses. The officer could be deemed as the Chief Secretary of the emperor. He was assisted by a number of *Mustafīs*.

Nobles holding the rank of *Chahār-hazārī*⁴ to *Haft-hazārī*⁵ were appointed as *Madār-ul-Muhām*.

Diwān-i-'Alā was the auditor of State revenues and

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1. *Aī'n-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann), p. 595
 2. Commander of five thousand troops
 3. Commander of nine thousand troops
 4. Commander of four thousand troops
 5. Commander of seven thousand troops

expenditure. An officer holding the rank of a *Hazar*¹ was appointed to this post.

Mir-Bakhshī supervised the administration of armed forces, approved the appointment of new recruits, presented them before the emperor and fixed their ranks and pay. The *Mir-Bakhshī* had three more *Bakhshīs* under him, one each for the horsemen, archers and artillery. The *Mir Bakhshī* was also appointed from amongst the nobles holding the rank of the commanders of a few thousand troops.

Sadr-us-Sudūr. The function of the *Sadar-us-Sudūr* was to look after the welfare of religious teachers, men of piety, orphans, widows and other poor and needy persons, to sanction stipends for them and to appoint the *Qāzīs*. He had also to be a grandee holding the rank of the commander of a few thousand troops.

Qāzī-ul Quzāt was required to enforce the rules of the *shari'ah* and ensure their observance by the people in their daily lives. He also decided cases relating to dissolution of marriages, payment of loans etc. *Qāzī-ul-Quzāt* was also a dignitary of the State holding a high rank.

Muftī-ul-Askar. Appointed from amongst the grandees of rank and authority, his function was to pronounce juristic opinion in accordance with the Hanafite school of Jurisprudence.

Muhtasib acted as the censor of public morals. It was his duty to check the use of intoxicants like liquor, opium and hashish, to suppress immoral practices and to interdict the entry of women of dissolute character in public gatherings and fairs. He was also required to control the market and put down hoarding, fraud and other malpractices.

Dārogā-i-Adālat. Acting as a special court of appeal for those who could not gain access to the king, he held the court daily from morning till noon and decided the law-suits

1. Commander of one thousand troops.

In accordance with the rules of the *Shar'ah* or the customary usages, as the case required. Such cases as he thought fit to be decided personally by the king, were referred to the latter for hearing in the imperial court held on each Wednesday.

Dabir was the royal amanuensis who took down the royal orders and edicts which were later copied by calligraphers. Such letters or orders bore king's titles as the top in golden letters and the royal seal was affixed by the *Amir-ul-Umrā* before being despatched.

Mir Tuzak was the Lord Chamberlain responsible for enforcing court etiquettes and making arrangements for the royal functions. It was his duty to obtain the orders of the emperor and notify the holding or cancellation of such functions.

Mir Atish. As the Lord of Artillery, he supervised all affairs relating to the establishment of the imperial heavy and light artillery.¹

Mir Sāman looked after the royal wardrobe, jewellery and ornaments.

Khan-i-Sāmān, a trusted grandee, had the charge of the imperial kitchen.²

Dāroghā-i-Ibtīya. The officer was responsible for the purchases required for the royal household.

Dāroghā-i-Jawahirkhana A *Dāroghā* was appointed for the imperial treasury of precious stones. The officer had to be a skilful jeweller capable of classifying the jewels

1. Involving, as it did, the command of the Imperial artillery, which was always parked round the fortress or palace or the tents occupied by the emperor, this office carried with it the custody of the emperor's person and the guarding of the palace gates and walls. (*Ma'lumāt ul-Afāq*, Eritish Museum No. fol. 79b cited in *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 155).
2. Blochmann gives the name of this officer as *Mir Bakāwal* (*Al'n-i-Akbari*, 60/61). It, however, appears that the designation of *Mir Bakawāi* in Akbar's time was subsequently changed to *Khān-i-Sāmān*.

and other precious stones.¹

Dāroghā-i-Kutub Khānā. It was his duty to properly maintain the royal library.

Dāroghā-i-Ghusalkhānā. This officer was charged with the responsibility of informing the emperor about the presence or absence of dignitaries entitled to attend the *Diwān-i-Khās* (court of private audience).

Dāroghā 'Arz-i-Mukarrar. The cases relating to revenue affairs and grant of *jāgīrs* requiring a revision of the earlier orders were brought to the notice of the emperor by *Dāroghā 'Arz-i-Mukarrar.*

Dāroghā Dāk Chaukī. He read out all letters and communications to the emperor received from the outlying areas and *sūbās.*

*Dāroghā-i-Khawāsān.*² He was the superintendent of all the menial and maid servants attached to the royal household.

Akhor Begī was responsible to the emperor for proper maintenance of royal stables, grazing grounds reserved for them and the establishment required for these.

Shahnā-i-Fīl was responsible for the royal stables of elephants and all matters relating thereto.

Kotwāl was the custodian of law and order with extensive powers to protect the life and property of the citizens and to root out theft and brigandage.

The provincial set-up of the Moghul administration consisted of the following officers :

Sūbedār was head of the civil administration as well as the armed forces stationed in a *sūbā.* Holding a *mansab* between *Seh-Hazārī*³ and *Haft-Hazārī,* he had the overall

1. *Aī'n-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann) pp. 15/16.

2. Abul Fadl says that there were several *dāroghās,* appointed from chaste women for each section of the Harem. *Dāroghā-i-Khawāsān* should, therefore, be the Chief of these *dāroghās.* (*Aī'n-i-Akbarī,* Blochmann, p. 46)

3. Commander of three thousand troops

charge of provincial administration ranging from maintenance of law and order and collection of revenues to the maintenance of imperial forces. Normally the *Subedars* were paid 24 lakh *rupiahs* annually but they were also granted a *Jāgīr* and were occasionally rewarded for meritorious work. The *Sūbedars* had their headquarters in the capital of the provinces or in some important and central town of the *Sūbā*.

Bakshī was also a *mansabdār*,¹ appointed by the Emperor. His duties comprised selection and posting of military personnel, superintendence of the mustering for branding and verifying the troopers' horses and similar other matters connected with the armed forces.²

Dīwān. Being the book-keeper of the provincial government, he was responsible for keeping the accounts of income and expenditure of the *sūbā*. The *Dīwān* was appointed by the emperor but the order for his appointment was issued under the seal of the prime-minister. He was assisted by a *Peshkār* (personal Assistant), *Dāroghā Kachehrī* (Court Inspector), *Mushrif Daftar* (Accountant) and *Tahwīldār* (Treasurer). These officers were provided with a contingent of subordinate staff consisting of *Munshī Kachehrī*, *Huzūr Nawīs*, *Sūbā Nawīs*, *Muharrir Khālsa*, *Muharrir Daftarān*, *Muharrir Daftar-pā'i-bāqī* and *Muharrir sar-rishta*.

Faujdar. He was the officer, at the provincial level, charged with the responsibility for maintaining law and order, imposing punishment on the criminals and gangs of robbers and putting down rebellions.

Sadar. He was an officer appointed by the emperor on the recommendation of the *Sadr-us-Sadūr*, and was attached to the *Subedār* to look after the welfare of theologians, mystics and the poor. He was authorised to grant stipends to such persons.

1. One holding the rank of the commander of few thousand troops

2. *Dastūr-ul-Inshā*, p. 232.

Qāzī. A Qāzī was appointed in every parganā for the administration of Justice. His office consisted of a *Muftī* (Legist), *Wakīl Shara'ī* (expounder of the *Sharī'ah* laws), *Muharrir Munāskha* (registrar of law suits) and *Mushrif* (accountant).

Muhtasib. Like the *Muhtasib* of the imperial capital, one was appointed in each city or a *Mohāl*, by the *Sadr-us-Sudūr*. His monthly remuneration was one hundred and fifty rupiahs in addition to a horse allowance of ten rupiahs.

Dāroghā-i-Adālat was required to hold his court from early morning till afternoon for the hearing of cases instituted against nobles and dignitaries so that the persons who could not approach the king or the governor should not be deprived of justice. The plaintiffs were allowed to present their cases in person or through their attorneys. The *Dāroghā* tried to compound the cases through mutual agreement of the parties but if his efforts failed, he asked the witnesses to be produced and communicated his decision to the civil authorities for execution of his judgement. The civil authorities were also required to devote two days in a week for this purpose.

Waqā'i Nigār. Reporters were appointed in each *sūbā*, *sakār* and *parganā* to inform the centre about every event, big or small. They sent two despatches every day; in the evening covering the news of the day and in the morning covering the happenings during the night. These despatches were delivered to *Dāroghā Dāk Chaukī* who immediately sent them to the capital for the perusal of the monarch. Thus the emperor kept himself informed of all happenings from Qandahār to Bengāl. Since the *Waqā'i Nigārs* could distort or misrepresent any event, four other officials holding different ranks viz. special *Waqā'i Nigārs*, *Sawāneh Nigārs* (biographers), *Khufiā Nawīs* (Secret agents) and *Harkārās* (postmen) were also required to send their reports. If any discrepancy was found in the reports received from different sources, the emperor instituted enquiries through other

agencies.

Kotwāl was posted in each city by the *Mīr Atish*. His duties were analogous to the *Kotwāl* in the Capital.

Thānadār performed the duties of the *Kotwāl* in the *parganās*

'Amal Guzār. It was his duty to collect *Ushr*¹ and *Khirāj*² as well as to adopt measures for the improvement of the quality of land and bringing waste land under cultivation.

Khazānādār. The officer was the local custodian of state income and was responsible for remitting it to the imperial treasury.

Qānūngo. A *qānūngo* or registrar of cultivated lands was appointed in every *parganā* to supervise the measurement of area sown and to maintain necessary records in this connection.

Tipakchī. A junior official was charged with the responsibility of recording the units of cultivated area, quality of land, name of the cultivators, the yield harvested and the revenues assessed thereon. One *tipakchī* was appointed for each big village or a group of villages.

Other Departments

Diwan-i-Sā'ir. This was also a part of the Tax Collection Department and was manned by a *Daroghā*, *Amīn*, *Krora*, *Mushrif*, *Tahwīldār* and a few other officials. The tax levied, on an income of forty rupiahs, was one rupiah from the Muslims and two rupiahs from the *Zammīs*.³ The

1. Literally '*Ushr* is the one tenth of agricultural produce and *Khirāj*, the tribute paid by a dependency. '*Amal Guzār* was thus the collector of land revenue. The Moghuls had actually taken over the system which they found in operation—a system which in its main lines was consistent with Islamic law but was based on the customary system of the land since the time of Hindu period.
2. Land revenue.
3. Non-Muslim subjects of the Muslim government whose security, personal freedom and religious rights was guaranteed by the State, but who were, unlike the Muslims, exempt from active service.

Christians were liable to pay 3½ per cent of their income while *Harbis*¹ had to pay four per cent.

Dīwān-Bāghāt. This was the department for promotion of horticulture. Its personnel consisted of a *Dāroghā*, *Amīn*, *Karorā*, *Mushrif*, *Tahwīldār*, *Bāghbān* and a hundred cultivators.

Dīwān-i-Bait-ul-Māl. The department was the custodian of properties left by persons without any legal heir. It also had a *Dāroghā Amīn*, *Mushrif*, *Tahwīldār*, and *Farrāsh*.

Dīwān-ul-'Amārah was the department constituted for execution of public works. Placed under the charge of a *Dāroghā*, it was provided with a *Mushrif* and a *Tahwīldār* and a number of engineers.

Balghorkhānā. These were the poor-houses established at public expenses for giving shelter to the old and incapacitated persons. Six such poor houses existed in 1611 when their number was doubled by setting up new *Balghorkhānās* at Dacca, Allahābād, Lahore, Delhi, Agra and Ahmadābād by Jahāngīr.

Māristān. Also known as *Darusshafa*, the staff of these hospitals consisted of a Muslim and a non-Muslim physician and one *Jarrāh* (surgeon) along with one *Amīn*, *Mushrif* *Mutawallī*. These hospitals normally existed in big cities like Agra, Delhi and Lahore. By an edict issued by Jahāngīr in 1611, *Māristāns* were established in all the cities where in addition to the free medicines and diet provided to the patients, a fixed amount was also awarded to them on discharge from the hospital.

1. A people at war with the Muslim government.

CHAPTER THREE

MILITARY ORGANISATION

THE Muslim sovereigns of India were chiefly Turks, Afghans or Mongols (Mughals) whose administrative policies were based, as stated earlier, partly on the *Sharī'ah* and partly on their own customary usages. Similarly, in the case of their military organisation, most of them followed the decimal system of the division of armed forces introduced by Chingiz Khān. Officers were appointed, according to this system, over the units consisting of 10, 100 and 1000 troops. The officers commanding one thousand men were known as *Umrā-i-Hazārā*, those over a hundred men as *Umrā-i-Sadah* and so on. *Pāik* was the name given to the ordinary soldier or footman. An officer known as *Arzul-Mamālik* or the officer-commanding made an annual inspection of the equipment and arms of his troops. Similar inspections were rigorously carried on before sending the troops on a battle-front.

'Alāuddīn Khiljī (1296-1316) was the first ruler to reorganise the armed forces and to fix annual salary of the soldiers of different grades: first grade got 234 tankās,¹ second grade 156 tankās and third grade 78 tankās².

1. Tanka, weighing one Tola, was both of silver and gold.
2. *Administration of the Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 234/35 and *Ferishtā* Vol. I, p. 389.

Sher Shāh Sūrī (1538-45) gave his whole-hearted attention to the overhauling of the military administration. The system of branding the horse of the contingents and a roster in which the name, personal features, height, age and address of each cavalryman were recorded, were introduced. The purpose was to prevent the assignees from producing borrowed infantry and cavalry at the time of periodical muster-parades before 'Arz-ul-Mamālik. He stationed the troops at different strategic points and ordered them to build a mud-fort wherever they camped. He forbade his troops to destroy the sown crops during the march of the forces, punished them if any such case was brought to his notice and paid compensation for the loss incurred on this account. Similarly, compensation was also paid for the destruction of crops or groves by the elephants drafted for the imperial forces. Sher Shāh also forbade to arrest any non-combatant during the war.

Salīm Shāh,¹ (1545-54) son of Sher Shāh remodelled the army further. He divided the armed forces into two broad categories, viz. small and big contingents. The smaller ones were further subdivided into troops and squadrons of 50, 200, 250 and 500 each while the bigger divisions consisted of 5,000, 10,000 and 20,000. He also ordered that each squadron of 50 cavalry should include two scribes, one knowing Persian and the other Hindustani language. For the administration of justice, he made it incumbent to appoint two judicial officers, one of whom was to be an Afghan and the other a Hindu. Salīm Shāh increased the number of military cantonments, extending them from Sonārgāon in Bengāl to Kābul.

During the reign of Akbar (1556-1605), nine more regulations were made for making further improvements in the

1. Jalāl Khān, son of Sher Shāh ascended the throne in 1545, after his father's death, and assumed the title of Jalāl Shāh, but he was commonly known as Salīm Shāh (*Firishāh*, Vol. II, p. 273).

organisation of armed forces.

1. In 1573, the eighteenth year of his reign, Akbar re-established the practice of the branding and verification of horses.¹

2. *Mansabs* or ranks were allocated to officers of the State, military or civil, beginning from *Dah-Bāshī* (Commander of the ten) to *Panj-hazārī* (commander of five thousand).²

3. A separate rank of gentleman troopers, called *Ahadīs* or *Yakkā-sawārs*, was constituted. These troopers were placed under the personal command of the Emperor.³

4. The cavalymen were allowed to keep two or three horses. They were known *Sawār-do-aspa* or *Sawār-seh-aspa*.⁴

5. The horses were divided into different classes. These were Arab horses, Mujannas, Turki horses, Yābūs, Tāzīs, Jangla, etc.⁵

6. The elephants of the army were also divided into five classes.⁶

7. Infantrymen were classified into three categories, viz. (1) Irānians and Tūrānians, (2) Hindustānīs and (3) Khālśa.

1. *Ai'n-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann), p. 265/66

2. *Ai'n-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann), p. 249. Towards the end of Akbar's reign a few men were promoted to the rank of *Haft Hazārī* (commander of seven thousand) which was the highest that a person not belonging to royal family could attain. The *mansabs* of the princes ranged from 7,000 to 10,000 during Akbar's reign. The number and ranks of the *mansabs* were later on increased during the reign of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb. (*The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 4)

3. *Ai'n-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann), pp. 259-60

4. *Ibid* p. 261

5. *Ibid.*, p. 243. Abul Fadl has added one more class of Persian horses but he also says that these resembled Mujannas horses.

6. The category was later on increased to seven, *Ai'n-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann), p. 246.

8. Salary was fixed for different categories of the imperial troops.

An Irānī or a Tūrānī trooper got 25 rupiahs per mensem, Indian, 20 rupiahs and Khālsa, 15 rupiahs. Similarly, if a cavalryman had an Irāqī horse, he got 30 rupiahs; if Mujannas, 25 rupiahs, if Turkī, 20 rupiahs; if Yābū, 18 rupiahs; if 'Arabī 15 rupiahs; and if a Jangla, 12 rupiahs. Another class of infantrymen, divided into three classes, got 15, 10 and 8 rupiahs respectively. The Matchlock-bearers had also a fixed pay of 7 rupiahs 12 annas, 7 rupiahs and 6 rupiahs 12 annas per mensem according to the grades they held.

9. Half of the expenditure on animals in the use of army was met from *Bait-ul-Māl*.

Strength of the Army

According to Firishta the army of Sultān 'Alauddīn Khiljī consisted of 4,75,000 well-equipped and accoutred horsemen.¹ But, during the reign of Fīroz Shāh the number of cavalry consisted of 80,000 to 90,000 only.² Infantrymen and the force consisting of slaves were in addition to it. Sher Shāh Sūrī had 1,50,000 cavalry, 25,000 infantry and 5,000 elephants. During the reign of Shāhjahān the armed forces consisted of 1,00,000 cavalry, 80,000 officers and 7,000 *Ahadīs*, some of whom were horsemen and matchlockers. Another force of 30,000 men including matchlock-bearers, heavy and light artillerymen, was in addition to these. The princes and grandees had an additional force of 1,85,000 cavalry under their command which excluded the forces allowed to be maintained by the *Faujdar*s and *Karorīs* for the administration of the *parganās*. The emperor's personal contingent, which always accompanied him in the capital and on excursions outside, numbered

1. *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 389

2. *Sirāj 'Affī*, however, mentions the strength of the force as 80,000 only (*Sirāj 'Affī*, p. 209).

35,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantrymen.¹

Artillery. These were of two kinds. The first of these consisted of 50 or 60 pieces of heavy artillery mostly of brass, which followed the emperor. These were taken on carts by the infantrymen. Each piece of artillery was attended by a *Gol-andāz* (cannonman) and a horse also accompanied each gun. One of these heavy brass guns was taken on a dais decorated with red flags and it accompanied the Emperor wherever he went.

There were other brass or iron pieces of heavy artillery, so ponderous, that twenty yoke of oxen were necessary to draw them along.

Naval Force

The naval force of Shāhjahān consisted of one thousand watercrafts each of which had 70 to 80 seamen,

1. The estimated strength of Moghul Army given by William Irvine in *The Army of the Indian Moghuls* is as follows :

Period	Cavalry	Matchlockers & Infantrymen	Artillery	Authority
Akbar	12,000	12,000	1,000	Blochmann p. 256
- do - *	3,84,758	38,77,557		
Shāhjahān	2,00,000	40,000		Bādshāhnāma, ii, p. 715 & Blochmann p. 254
Aurangzeb	2,40,000	15,000		Bernier
- do - *	3,00,000	6,00,000		Catron
Mohd. Shāh	2,00,000	8,00,000		Tārīkh-i-Hind of Rustam 'All

*Maintained by retainers, throughout the provinces.

Abul Fadi, however, says that Zamindars of the country furnished, during the reign of Akbar, four million four-hundred thousand men *Ai'n-i-Akbari*, (Blochmann, p. 241).

matchlock-bearers, artillerymen, archers, rocketmen, swordsmen, drum-beaters, iron-smiths, wood-workers, etc. In all, the total naval force consisted of 70,000 men. This fleet was stationed in the Gulf of Bengal and paid out of imperial revenues realised from that *sūbā*.

Order of Battle

The ranging of the army in order of battle was normally made in this manner. The heavy artillery was fixed on an elevated ground connected together by chains to prevent the horsemen of the other side from riding through the lines and cutting down the gunners. Behind the guns, zamburaks or long swivels resembling astrolabe with one or two pound balls fastened upon the saddle of camels were stationed. The camel rider fired on the enemy ranks with these guns.¹ Thereafter, matchlock-bearers were arrayed and last of all were the rows of horsemen.

The army ranged on the battle front was divided into three parts, viz. *Maimanah* (left-wing), *Mayassarah* (right-wing) and *Qalb* (the centre), also known as *Jarānfār* (*Jarānghār*). *Barānfār* (*Barānghār*) and *Qaul*. All the three parts consisted of the bravest soldiers, the emperor himself being present in the centre on an elephant. A red canopy was fixed with the saddle of the emperor's elephant. An advance party of scouts was stationed in front of these three divisions.

Conduct of Battle

As the hostilities began, the artillery duel went on along with the fire by matchlock-bearers and zamburaks. The archers were also ordered to take the aim at the enemy troops. While this duel went on, each side tried to break the barrier

1. The gun revolved on a swivel fixed on the pommel of the saddle, and the bombardier, sitting astride behind it, loaded and fired with wonderful quickness.

of chains to engage the enemy in hand to hand fight.

Mansabdars

As already stated the Moghuls had introduced *mansabs* or ranks ranging from *Dah-bāshī* to *Panch-hazārī* for the nobles and grandees. During the reign of Akbar the princes were conferred the rank of *Dah-Hazārī*. However, *mansabs* up to *Neh-Hazārī* were granted to the grandees by Shāhjahān and his successors, while those allowed to the princes went up to 60,000.

The number of each class of *mansabdārs* was fixed which could decrease owing to the death of any *mansabdār* but was never increased. It was incumbent on each *mansabdār* to maintain a fixed establishment of horses, elephants, camels, beasts of burden and carts commensurate with the dignity of his rank.

Here we give a table of the establishment of principal¹ *mansabs*.

Mansab	Horses	Camels	Mules	Elephants	Carts	Monthly Salary (Rs.)
Deh Hazārī (10,000)	680	160	40	200	320	60,000
Hasht Hazārī, (8,000)	540	130	34	170	260	50,000
Haft Hazārī (7,000)	490	110	27	140	220	45,000
Panj Hazārī (5,000)	340	80	20	100	160	30,000
Chahār Hazārī (4,000)	270	65	17	80	130	22,000
Seh Hazārī (3,000)	200	50	14	70	100	17,000

1. The table gives only principal *mansabs* by way of illustration and leaves out many intervening ranks, the total number of which was 66.

Mansab	Horses	Camels	Mules	Elephants	Carts	Monthly Salary (Rs.)
Do Hazāri (2,000)	150	30	7	40	60	12,000
Hazāri (1,000)	104	21	4	30	42	8,200
Neh Sadī (900)	100	20	4	30	40	7,700
Hasht Sadī (800)	82	20	5	28	34	5,000
Haft Sadī (700)	58	17	3	19	27	4,000
Shash, Sadī (600)	38	14	2	15	21	3,500
Pan Sadī (500)	34	13	2	11	15	2,800
Chahar Sadī (400)	20	5	—	10	12	2,000
Seh Sadī (300)	15	4	—	7	11	1,450
Do Sadī (200)	13	3	—	5	7	975
Yūz Bāshī (100)	10	2	—	3	5	700
Panjāhī (50)	8	1	—	2	2	250
Bastī (20)	5	—	—	1	—	135
Dah Bashī (10)	4	—	—	—	—	100

CHAPTER FOUR

ADMINISTRATIVE AND REVENUE SYSTEM

THE Slave kings placed a group of villages under an officer known as *Akt'adār*, who not only administered the area on behalf of the king but was also head of the forces stationed there as well as responsible for collection of land revenues. The system continued during the reign of Sultāns after the Slave dynasty came to an end, but another officer over a few *parganās*, called *Muqatt'a*, came to be appointed with exactly the same duties as *Akt'adār*.

Sher Shāh Sūrī divided his kingdom into several *subās* which were further sub-divided into districts and *parganās*. He appointed one administrator, *Shiqdār*, and a treasurer, known as *Fotadār*, in each *parganā* with two scribes, one of whom was to maintain revenue records in Persian and the other in Hindustani. A *Munsif* was appointed in each *parganā* for deciding revenue and criminal cases. The *Munsif* was also assigned the duty of keeping an eye on the administrators charge with the responsibility of maintaining law and order, so that they did not harass the peasants.

At the district level a *Faujdar* or deputy of the king holding overall charge of the district was posted. He was assisted by a *Sadar Shiqdār* and a *Sadar Munsif* who supervised the work of the administrative and judicial officers

respectively in the *parganās*.

In the provinces, a governor was appointed who supervised the local administration in the districts and *parganās*. Sher Shāh transferred his officials every two years.

Sher Shāh had ordered that the area sown should be measured at the time of every harvest and the revenue assessed in cash on the value of the produce, which was to be divided between the *zamīndār*¹ and the cultivator, after one third of it had been taken over by the State. The practice put an end to the disputes between the *zamīndārs* and the cultivators.

Akbar adopted the administrative system of Sher Shāh but he divided his empire into 12 *subās* (later increased to 15), which were composed of districts (*sarkārs*) and subdivisions (*parganās*). During the reign of Aurangzeb the number of *subās* was increased to 22.

The chief officer of a *subā* was *Sūbedār*, who was the head of the armed forces stationed in the *subā* and was deemed as a representative of the king. Some of the officers at the provincial level were: *Bakhshī*, *Dīwān*, *Sadar*, *Qāzī*, *Muftī*, *Wakīl Shara'ī*, *Muhtasib*, *Dāroghā-i-'Adālat*, *Kotwāl* and *Waqā'ī Nigār*.

In the districts the principal officials were *Faujdar*, *Bakhshī*, *Dīwān*, *Qāzī*, *Muhtasib*, *Dāroghā-i-'Adālat*, *Kotwāl* and *Waqā'ī Nigār*. All the district officers were placed under the *Sūbedār*.

The Chief Officer in the *Parganā* was *'Amal Guzār* or *Kārort*, responsible for collection of land revenue (*Ushr* and *Khirāj*). Other officials at this level were: *Khazānedār*, *Qanūngo*, *Tīpakchī*, *Thānedār*, *Waqā'ī Nigār*, *Qāzī* and *Dāroghā Sā'ir*.

Judicial Policy

As stated elsewhere, the administrative policy of the

1. Landlords

Muslim monarchs, from the very beginning, was based on the canons of the *Shraī'ah* and what they called *Siyāsat*, the principles devised by them from usage for running the administration. Accordingly, they gave over the administration of religious matters to the *Qāzīs* but kept their own grip over temporal affairs like punishment of the criminals, social justice and fair deal to their subjects. The sultāns of the Slave dynasty as well as the kings succeeding them allowed the *Qāzīs* only to enforce the five fundamental religious duties enjoined by Islam, to look after the trusts and welfare of orphans and to try cases relating to marriages, inheritance and loans. *Qāzī-ul-Quzāt*, holding charge of the *Qāzīs* at lower levels was a grandee of the king.

Similarly, an *Amīr-ul-Umrā* was appointed over the grandees of the State. He had to be a man of piety with commanding personality, for, acting as *Amīr-i-Dād*, he was empowered to hear the cases against persons of rank and authority. *Kotwāl* was responsible for enforcing social security and maintenance of peace in the realm. Another officer, known as *Muhtasib*, kept in check the unsocial practices like gambling, drunkenness, promiscuousness, supervised weights and measures and took action against short weighing and fraudulent practices in business affairs. All such cases were also brought to the notice of the King or the *Sūbedār* in the provinces.

Reform by Sher Shah

In addition to the *Qāzīs*, *Muftīs* and *Kotwāls*, Sher Shāh appointed another officer, known by the name of *Amīn*, to decide revenue and criminal cases and also to see that the populace was not oppressed by the administrative wing. Such *Amīns*, appointed in each *parganā*, had a *Sadar Munsif* in the district to supervise over them. If any such case was brought before the *Sadar Munsif*, he decided the matter and then sent a report to the King.

Reforms of the Moghuls

During the Moghul period, a *Qāzī* was appointed in every city, big or small. At the top was *Qāzī-ul-Quzāt*, a dignitary of the state and counsellor of the emperor. Since he always accompanied the king, he was also called *Qāzī-ul-'Askar*. All religious matters were entrusted to his charge and he was assisted by a *Muftī*, *Wakīl Shara'ī*, *Muharrir Manākhsha*, *Mushrif* and few other officers.

In the provinces the *Sadar Qāzī* was the superintendent of the *Qāzīs* in the districts, *parganās* and cities. Similarly, the provincial *Kotwāl* had the charge of *Thanedārs* in the *parganās*. Another officer, normally a man known for his piety and wisdom, was appointed by the Central Government to supervise the working of the religious courts of the *Qāzīs*. Known as *Dārogha-i-'Adālat*, he held his court daily from morning till afternoon so that all those persons who could not approach the king or a grandee could appear before him. *Dārogha-i-'Adālat*, either himself decided the cases in accordance with the *Sharī'ah* law or customary usage or referred them to the *Sūbedārs* or *Faujdar*s. The last mentioned officers were also required to devote one or two days in every week for deciding all cases referred to them after making due enquiries.

Imperial Court

The Moghul emperors held a court of justice once in a week. Wednesday was earmarked for the purpose when they sat in the *Dīwān-i-'Am* attended by a group of *Qāzīs*, *Muftīs* and religious doctors. *Nāzīr-i-'Adliā* or *Mīr 'Adl*, a special officer appointed for the purpose, presented the complainants one by one before the emperor who sympathetically listened to the grievances of the subjects and decided the cases on the advice of theologians.

If the case produced before the emperor pertained to a far off place, an edict was issued to the *Sūbedār* to restore

justice to the plaintiff or produce both the parties before the emperor.

The French traveller Bernier writes that 'the emperor (Ālamgīr) used to hold a court of justice once in every week when *Nāzir 'Adliā* presented the petitions before him one by one'.

Aurangzeb's sense of Justice

Aurangzeb gave the highest priority to the dispensation of justice. In addition to holding the Imperial Durbar daily, he sat in a special court known as *Daulat Khānā*, every day after the afternoon prayers where *Nāzir-i-'Adliā* presented the petitions of complainants before him. Thereafter the emperor held courts in the *Dīwān-i-'Am* and *Dīwān-i-Khās*, where again *Nāzir-i-'Adliā* produced the plaintiffs deserving a personal hearing before the emperor. The emperor gave a patient hearing to them and either wrote the orders with his own hand or dictated the orders passed by him. His industry in administration of justice was marvellous; for he often devoted the entire period between the afternoon prayers and the 'asr to decide the cases brought to him, and then attended to other official matters with a smiling and cheerful countenance.

Wakalat-i-Shari'ah

Aurangzeb was the first monarch of India who appointed *Wakil-i-Sharē'īs* in all *sūbā* courts with a wide jurisdiction over the subordinate courts in the districts and *parganās*. He always selected just and pious men for this post and charged them with the responsibility of making enquiries in all cases including even those brought against his own Imperial Majesty. He had also allowed the populace, through an imperial proclamation, the permission to lodge cases in the courts of the *Qāzīs* against the Emperor. He improved and systematised the practice followed in the appointment of *Muhtasibs*.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPERIAL PALACES

THE residences of the Slave kings and the subsequent Sultāns after them were known as *Dawlat-Khānā*. Besides other gates, the main entrance to the palace had three massive gates with raised platforms on either side of the threshold. On the first one musicians were posted to welcome the visiting dignitaries with beat of drums and blowing of trumpets. Guards were placed on duty on the second gate while the third gate, an imposing structure with an arched passage, led to a covered portico where a *Naqīb-un-Nuqbā* sat with a rod of solid gold in his hand, wearing a golden cap inlaid with diamond and other precious stones and adorned by peacock feathers. He had a band of *Naqībs* with him who also wore golden caps, had a brocade girdle round their waists, and held golden or silvery rods. In the colonnades on either side of this last gate *Kuttāb* or clerks were posted to record the date, time and name of the visitors. Only those who had previous permission of the king could enter the gate alone or with their companions, while others were asked to go back. The clerks also recorded important events of the day which was seen by the king before he went to sleep.

A curious custom followed by the earlier Sultāns was that if any dignitary did not pay a visit to the king without

adequate justification for three days or more, then he was not allowed to enter the palace by the main entrance. If anybody sought permission to remain absent for any reason, he had also to make some presentation along with his request. Similarly, one returning from a journey had to bring a gift for the king. Religious doctors and theologians normally presented a copy of the Qur'ān, mystics and mendicants made the gift of a rosary, a prayer mat or a *miswāk* (tooth brush of medicinal herbs) and the nobles gifted away horses, saddles or pieces of armament.

The last gate led to a wide courtyard containing an imposing hall called '*Hazār Sutūn*' for its wooden roof with delicate carving was supported by a thousand pillars. This was the State Hall where the kings held their courts.

The Moghul emperors built fine palaces, inside the forts at Lahore, Delhi and Agra and a few other places where they took up residence at one time or the other. The imperial palace at Delhi, inside the Lāl Qila, is built of exquisitely carved redstones and marble inlaid with precious stones.

Passing the deeply recessed portals, a vaulted hall was first entered which was occupied, during the Moghul times, by gate-keepers, musicians and other artisans. Then, facing the entrance to the palace, was the *Naubat Khānā* or Musicians Hall where expert craftsmen, such as, jewellers and portraitists could be seen at work. Beyond these buildings two paved roads led to the royal palaces, on either side of which were gardens and canals with numerous fountains. The *Naubat Khānā* made of red sandstone and rising to two storeys had a big hall with painted ceilings supported by exquisitely carved pillars. A part of it was used by officials; in others, the nobles visiting the emperor could stay for a night and a day. On the gigantic gate of this building the musicians played melodious tunes at fixed hours.

Beyond the building, in the middle of the great court stood a graceful modest structure of white marble

supported by four golden carved pillars. Here it was that the emperor sat every day and hence it came to be called *Nashīman-i-Zill-i-ilāhī* (Resort of the Shadow of God) or *Dīwān-i-'Am* (Court of public audience). The Grandees, princes and ruling chiefs of India came to pay their visit to the emperor every day and stood before him in order of precedence. The commoners, too, were permitted to see the emperor here and prefer their petitions or seek redress to their grievances.

Behind this building was a court containing *Dīwān-i-Khās*, a magnificent pavilion of white marble in the interior of which the the jewel-like decoration of walls with inlaid precious stones reached its perfection. No other royal structure could be compared to it in its fairy-like beauty and grandeur. The emperor held the court of special audience in this building, where only the high dignitaries, grandees and ministers were allowed to wait upon the emperor. It was also known as *Khilwat Khānā*, *Ghusl-Khānā* and *Daulat Khānā* besides *Dīwān-i-Khās*. It took the name of *Ghusl-Khānā* (Bath House) for Akbar had built a *Hammām* between the *Dīwān-i-Am* and private apartments of *Haram* at Agra where he used to consult his ministers and grandees about the affairs of the State after holding the court of public audience. Shāhjahān renamed it as *Dāulat Khānā*. Close to these buildings, by the side of outer battlement overlooking the river, lay a range of fine buildings with balconies hanging like fairy bowers over grim ramparts, gardens and *Hammāms* in the middle of which ran a beautiful water-course with ornamental fountains. There was hardly any other royal palace in the world which could exceed these structures in beauty and delicacy.

CHAPTER SIX

THE IMPERIAL COURTS



THE earlier Muslim monarchs, like the Slave kings and those succeeding them, daily held a court of public audience, either in the morning or in the afternoon, in *Diwān-i-'Am* or the State Hall. The king sat on a raised platform adequately furnished with cushions and pillows, in the manner people sit in prayers, sinking backwards upon the heels and placing hands upon the thighs. Close to the king on both sides stood his ministers and princes, the *Hājib* and his deputy, the *Wakīdār* and his assistant followed by *Sharaf-ul-Hujjāb* and *Saiyid-ul-Hujjāb* with his party. About a hundred *Nuqabā*¹ stood at the fag end of the royal court.

As the king sat down on the cushions, the *Naqībs* and *Hājibs* cried out '*Bism-illāh*' (In the Name of God). *Kabīr-ul-Umrā*, the highest grandee of the state stood besides the king moving gently a fan of peacock feather in order to keep the flies away. On either side behind the *Hājibs*, one hundred guards armed with the swords and shields, bows and arrows and spears were arrayed in attendance. The

1. Plural of *Naqīb*, meaning adjutant or aid-de-camp whose business it is to proclaim the title of his master and to introduce or present persons before his master.

Qāzī-ul-Quzāt, Khatīb-ul-Khutbā, Qāzīs, Faqīhs, nobles, men of piety, king's brothers and relations stood in rows before the king according to their order of precedence. They took their places in a way that the front view to the courtyard remained open where saddled horses were brought in rows of two for the inspection of the king. Then came elephants with their furniture and ornaments and the tusks plated with iron sheets, which meant that the prisoners condemned to death were to be trampled by these animals. These unfortunate persons were also brought and made to stand, with down-cast glance, on either side, near the *Hujjāb*. Last of all were stationed the king's slaves with unsheathed swords. Nobody could gain access before the king unless permitted by the *Hujjāb*.

During the reign of Timurids, or the Moghuls as they called themselves, the emperor sat every morning in a balcony overlooking the river. The wide space between the river and the fort was filled with the crowd who came for the *darshan* (view) of the emperor and bent or prostrated before him. Elephant fights or horse races were also held sometimes in this open space. The emperor spent two hours in this balcony enjoying the feats of trained animals or transacting business of state and then went to the *Diwān-i-'Am*. The emperor ascended the throne, elevated approximately to a man's height, while the princes, grandees and ambassadors stood before him with their hands placed on the navel. As soon as the emperor arrived, everybody present paid respect to him by placing the palm of his right hand on the forehead and bending his head downwards—the way of salutation being known as *kornish*. Often the emperor permitted the princes to take their seats who sat down on small seats provided to them which were known as *sandalls*. Behind these stood other persons of rank and authority and, last of all, commoners occupied the cloisters.

First of all, the royal horses and elephants bedecked with ornamental trappings and brocade coverings were

presented for inspection. Thereafter deers, oxen, hounds and falcons were brought before the emperor. *Akhor Begī* was charged to present the muster of royal horses while *Shahnā-i-fīl* brought the royal elephants. They were reprimanded if the emperor detected any defect in them. Similarly *Mutawallī Dāg* produced the newly branded horses of the higher *Mansabdārs*. These were also inspected minutely and *Tābeen Bāshī*, the officer responsible for the branding of horses, was rebuked for the shortcomings, if any.

Then the nobles and officers assigned any duty or required to set out for outlying areas took leave to depart from the court. Thereafter petitions submitted by the princes and nobles were presented. Important ones were gone through by the emperor himself while a summary of others were communicated to him by a minister. *Mīr Bakshī* then came forward with the petitions of *Mansabdārs*, *Mīr Atish* presented the applications of matchlockers, *Sadr-us-Sudūr* appraised the emperor of the petitions furnished by *Sadārs*, *Qāzīs*, theologians and others belonging to gentry or persons requiring financial assistance and *Nāzīr 'Arz-i-Mukarār* presented those orders granting *Mansabs*¹ and *Jāgīrs*² which deserved a review by the emperor.

The emperor spent five hours in the *Dīwān-i-'Am* and then went to hold the court of special audience in the *Dīwān-i-Khās*. Only the Prime Minister, *Sadr-us-Sudūr*, *Dīwān-ul-Kul*, *Mīr Bakshī* and the elect of the highest rank were allowed to present themselves in the *Dīwān-i-Khās*. The Prime Minister sought guidance about political affairs, *Dīwān-ul-Kul* about the royal estates and the stipends to be granted to newly appointed *Mansabdārs*, *Mīr Bakshī* appraised the emperor about the military affair and *Sadr-us-Sudūr* sought orders in regard to those who deserved assistance from the state funds. The emperor gave them suitable

1. Ranks
2. Fiefs

directions, ordered the royal edicts to be prepared, went through them and made corrections or himself wrote down the entire *firmān*.¹

Normally the orders or edicts corrected by the emperor were re-written by the calligraphists before being again presented to the king. A prince affixed the seal of the king and sent them with a note to the *Diwān-ul-Kul* who wrote the heading of the *firmān* with his own hand. These were later on sent to the *Wakil-i-Saltanat* for affixing the seal of Government known as *Muhr-i-Awāz* and then these were deemed to be the valid documents. His Majesty often asked expert craftsmen and engineers to be brought before him whom he assigned various tasks. Thereafter the emperor retired to private apartments and returned after 'Asr'² to the *Diwān-i-Khās* for consultation with the ministers, high officials and grandees who always remained standing in the presence of the emperor.

Day earmarked for dispensing Justice

All the Moghul emperors set apart one day in every week for dispensing justice to whoever sought the intervention of the king. Normally the day fixed for the purpose was Wednesday when a special court was held in the *Diwān-i-Khās* instead of *Diwān-i-Am*. The *Muftis*, *Qāzis* and '*Ulamā*' (theologians) had to be present on the occasion. *Nāzir-i-'Adliya* presented the plaintiffs one by one, the emperor gave them a patient hearing and decided the cases in accordance with the juristic opinions expressed by the doctors of law. If the complainant belonged to a far off place, the Governor of the *subā* was directed to decide the case after making thorough enquiries or to send back parties concerned to the emperor. Of all the Moghul emperors, Aurangzeb gave greatest importance to this task.

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1. Royal edict
 2. Afternoon prayers

CHAPTER SEVEN

'IDS AND OTHER FESTIVALS

THE earlier sultāns celebrated only the 'Ids—'Id-ul-Fitr and 'Id-ul-Azhā. On these days they came out of the palace in a procession of richly bedecked elephants with their princes, grandees, relatives, military commanders, and other officers of the royal household. An umbrella made of pure gold and silken threads was held over the king. In front of the procession were placed the royal slaves and three hundred heralds or *Nāqībs* who held in their hands clubs with golden handles. Behind the king rode the *Qāzīs* and jurists. On each turn of the road the king was greeted by a noble accompanied by his companions and officials. The royal procession was followed by drummers, trumpeters and other musicians and last of all were lancers with colourful banners. When the king arrived at the '*Idgāh*¹, the *Qāzīs* and nobles were first ordered to enter the '*Idgāh* after which the king dismounted and joined the prayers. On the occasion of '*Id-ul-Azhā*, the king struck a camel chosen for sacrifice with a lance and then returned to the palace.

The royal residence was decorated on these occasions. An ornamental pavilion covered by a spacious canopy was built within the Durbār Hall which was crowned by several

1. The mosque where 'Id prayers are performed.

cupolas. Artificial silken trees with overhanging silken flowers were fixed in between which were placed golden chairs. In the middle was placed the royal throne inlaid with precious stones. Similarly the solid gold parasol over the royal throne glittered with embedded diamonds, sapphires, rubies and emeralds. *Naqibs* and *Hājibs* raised the cry of *Bism-illāh* as soon as the king ascended the throne, and the grandees, princes and relatives of the king greeted him and made presentations. At the end of the ceremony all partook a grand feast held on the occasion.

The Moghul kings, particularly Akbar, added many more festivals of the Hindus and Parsees. He used to celebrate *Nawroz-i-Jalālī* (also called the 'Id of *Burj Sumbalah*), when he worshipped the sun and fire by prostrating before them. He had also adopted the custom of *Rākhī* (or tying a piece of cloth or wool round the wrist)¹. The Moghul emperors after Akbar gave up many of these practices and, therefore, we would make a mention of only those festivals which were celebrated till the end of the Moghul rule.

Nawroz. It commenced on the day when the sun in its splendour moved to Aries, and lasted till the nineteenth day of the month (Farwardīn). Two days of this period were considered great festivals, when much money and numerous other things were given away as presents; the first day of the month of Farwardīn, and the nineteenth, were considered as the time of *sharaf* or honour to the sun. The kings held the court of public audience on these days; the nobles and grandees presented gifts of horses, elephants, costly clothes and jewels while *mansabs* and *jāgīrs* were bestowed by the king on his nobles.

Sālgirah was the birthday of the king. The word *sālgirah* took the name from the woollen string, kept for

1. Blochman, on the authority of *Bada'ūnī*, *Al'n-i-Akbarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 193 and 286.

the purpose, which contained as many knots as the emperor's age advanced in years. The emperor was weighed, on the occasion, once each against gold and silver and 10 times against grains which were distributed among the poor and beggars. The birthday of the emperor was of importance for the royal household when the palace was decorated and the people also gave expression to their strain of joy. The *sāl-girah* was celebrated twice a year, once on the birthday according to solar year and again on the day reckoned in accordance with the lunar year.¹

'Id-ul-Fitr. The emperor used to go to *'Idgāh* for performing the special prayer of the day. He was accompanied by his grandees, nobles and a contingent of the army. On return from *'Idgāh*, a special court was convened. Gifts were presented to the king by the nobles, who, taking the article in their both hands, the left one being above the right hand, bowed down while making the presentation and got *mansabs* and *jāgirs* in return. Aurangzeb had given up the Parsee festival of *Nawroz* and ordered to celebrate the *'Id-ul-Fitr* for ten days.

'Id-ul-Azhā. Like *'Id-ul-Fitr*, the king went to *'Idgāh* with his entourage for performing the prayers and sacrificed a camel. On return, the emperor also held a court for accepting the gifts presented to him and giving away *mansabs* and *jāgirs*.

Other festivals. Some other festivals were also celebrated. On the night of the 15th of *Sh'abān*, candles were lit and alms given to beggars. During the month of *Ramadhān*, the mosques were normally decorated. Similarly, the birthday of the Prophet, the 12th of *Rabī-ul-Awwal*, was considered to be a festive occasion when the people illuminated their houses and held *milāds*. During the first ten days of *Muharram*, the custom was to make charities

1. According to the *Tūzak-e-Jahāngiri* (p. 163) and *Padishāhnāmā* (I, p. 243) the weighing of the Royal person was introduced by Akbar.

to commemorate the martyrdom of Husain. The ascension of the Prophet, believed to have taken place on the 27th of *Rajab*, was also a festive occasion when alms were made over to the poor and the needy.

Shāhjahān and the Moghul emperors before him used to give away 12 thousand rupiahs to the needy, beggars and poor on the occasion of *Muharram* and *Rabī-ul-Awwal*, 10 thousand rupiahs in *Rajab*, 15 thousand in *Sh'abān* and 20 thousand during *Ramadhān*. Aurangzeb ordered that apart from the alms given on special occasions, 10 thousand rupiahs should be doled out to the poor in each of the remaining months as well. Thus, during the reign of Aurangzeb, the total amount of charities was increased to 1 lakh 39 thousand rupiahs per annum from 69 thousand rupiahs spent by the earlier monarchs. Aurangzeb also used to order additional amounts to be given in charity on special occasions like 'ids.

CHAPTER EIGHT

TOURS OF THE MUSLIM KINGS



WHENEVER the Muslim kings went out to other provinces or on an expedition, they were normally accompanied by 35,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry and artillery consisting of 70 heavy guns. Besides these, a sizable party of nobles, officials and *ahadīs* along with different types of craftsmen, cooks, servants and businessmen also went with the royal party, all of whom numbered about three hundred thousand men. The royal camp dragged in its train almost like a travelling city and normally covered an area of 18 Sq. Kms.

The emperor and the great nobles were provided with tents in duplicate, one set being sent ahead to the next camping ground to be kept ready by the time emperor left the previous camp. *Mīr-i-Sāmān* was responsible for everything connected with the royal camp; he selected an elevated ground in the middle of the camping ground for His Majesty's tents and allocated lands for the nobles and officers. The Royal tent of an enormous size was enclosed on all sides by canvas screens. In the middle a gate of red cloth was erected which led to a big and handsome tent, known as *Khās-o-'Am*, where the emperor held his court like *Dīwān-i-Khāṣ* every morning and evening. Adjacent to it was pitched another smaller tent called *Ghuslkhānā*, where

the emperor conferred with high nobles and grandees. Another tent by its side was called *Khiwat Khānā* or private apartment where the emperor allowed only chosen counselors to come in. Yet another tent, *Khās-ul-Khās* or the very special one, was reserved for the emperor in which nobody could dare to enter. Alongside this tent were pitched the tents for the royal consorts and other ladies behind which lay the tents of the servants of imperial household. On both sides of the royal tents, stable tents of the royal horses were pitched and behind these were posted the guns of heavy artillery.

Facing the entrance of the royal tent, the tent containing *Tabal Khānā* (Drummers' House) was located and by its side was placed a *Naubat Khānā* where beating of drums accompanied by the playing of cymbals and blowing of trumpets was carried on, like the imperial palace, at fixed intervals. The tents containing the arsenals, wardrobe and kitchen of the emperor lay around these tents. The number of tents required for the imperial kitchen alone were reported to number at least fifteen. Along the enclosure encircling the imperial tents, accommodation was provided for the hunting dogs, leopards and other pet animals of the royal house. The princes and nobles had their camps at a distance from the imperial one, but all tents had their openings in the direction of the imperial tent. A number of horses were always kept saddled and caprisoned to be produced as soon as the emperor expressed a desire to ride out with his nobles. The emperor often rode on richly bedecked and ornamented elephants or horses fitted with golden trappings on these excursions.

CHAPTER NINE

COURT ETIQUETTES

ISLAM has prescribed a simple mode of salutation for all, great and small. During the earliest time of Muslim rule, even a commoner saluted the Caliphs simply by saying 'Assalām-o-'Alaikum Yā Amīr-ul-Momnīn' (Peace be on you, O Commander of the faithful) without the least hesitation or fear of incurring the displeasure of the ruler. However, after the sceptre of authority came to be wielded by the people belonging to Turkish races, they considered the way of salutation taught by the *Shar'ah* as inadequate and added regulations for paying regard to the monarchs whereby their subjects were required to show obeisance to them. Gradually these regulations tended to become more elaborate, and by the time of Akbar three distinct ways of making salutation to the king were prescribed.

The first of these was known as *Kornish* which meant that the person paying respect to the emperor should place the palm of his right hand on the forehead and bend his head downwards to the level of his hips.

The other way of salutation, called *taslim*, was performed by placing the back of the right hand on the ground, and then raising it gently till he stood erect and placed the palm of his hand on the crown of his head.

The third way of salutation prescribed by Akbar was prostration before him.

These various modes of paying respect to the emperor were prescribed for different occasions. One had to perform *kornish* while attending the court of public audience or presenting oneself before the emperor for any other business. Upon paying a visit to the emperor for the first time, or on returning from a journey, or upon receiving a *mansab*, a *jāgīr*, a dress of honour or an elephant, or upon being deputed by the emperor on some special errand, the rule was to make three *taslīms* but on other occasions such as receiving salaries or presents, only one *taslīm* was considered enough. The third form of salutation was reserved only for the elect nobles who were called to wait upon the emperor in the court of private audience. They performed the prostration of gratitude by bowing down their foreheads to the earth before taking their places.

However, prostration before anyone other than God being forbidden by the *Sharī'ah*, Shāhjahān discontinued the practice. Instead, he ordered that the courtiers should place both hands on the ground and then kiss them. The religious teachers and men of piety were exempted from this way of salutation known as *zamīnbos*. The theologians were allowed to salute the emperor in the way permitted by the *Sharī'ah*. Afterwards Shāhjahān discontinued the practice of *zamīnbos* also since it resembled prostration. *Kornish* however continued to be performed during his reign.

Aurangzeb forbade *kornish* too in 1671-72 and ordered that the manner of salutation permitted by the *Sharī'ah* was enough even for paying one's respect to the Emperor.

Apart from these etiquettes for salutation, Akbar had also made regulations for attending the imperial court. The courtiers used to sit in the presence of the earlier monarchs but Akbar ordained that while the emperor remained seated all those present in the court should remain standing with their arms crossed as in the prayer. Other regulations

made by him were that the eldest prince (the crown prince) should stand at a distance of one to four yards from the throne; the second prince from one and one-half to six yards and so also the third prince. Then came the elect grandees of the highest rank who were to place themselves at a distance of three to fifteen yards; after whom the senior grandees stood at a distance of three and a half yards; and, then other grandees and nobles.¹

In the *Daulat Khānā*, Akbar allowed princes to sit before him in the way one sits in the prayer i. e. sitting on the legs with heels upwards. The King too used to sit in the same posture on the throne. Those who received the order of seating themselves in the *Daulat Khānā* had first to perform the prostration of gratitude by bowing down their heads to the earth. In case permission to take a seat was granted, the grandees of highest rank had to seat themselves from 5 to 15 yards of the throne and the other nobles after them in the same order.

1. The grandees stood, as Abul Fadl states, on one side of the throne called *Yasāl*, while the other wing known as *Qar* was similarly occupied by 'Ulamā, men of piety and similar other persons, leaving the place before the throne free. (*A'īn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, (Blochman), p. 169).

CHAPTER TEN

CALENDAR, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The Measure of Time



As it is fairly well known the Muslims have always had the lunar year of 12 months according to which they have been observing 'Ids and other religious festivals. The Muslim era of *Hijrah* began with the migration of the Prophet of Islam from Mecca to Madina in A. D. 622; the event occurred in the month of *Rabi-ul-Awwal*, but *Muharram* of the old Arabic lunar year was retained by Caliph 'Umar as the first month of Muslim year.

The solar calendar depends on the sun, that is, the solar year consists of time taken by the earth quitting one determinate point and then returning to it after going round the sun. The Roman¹ year begins with the month of *Mehrjān*, followed by *Tishrīn I*, *Tishrīn II*, *Kānūn I*, *Kānūn II*, *Shabbāt*, *Azār*, *Nalsān*, *Ayār*, *Huzīrān*, *Tamūz*, *Ab* and *Allūl* (which were renamed under the Gregorian calendar as January, February and so on).

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1. Julian era was the first Roman solar year introduced by Julius Caesar which was modified by Augustus, and then finally superseded by the Gregorian Calendar in 1582.

The Iranian year begins with Nawroz and its first month is Farwardin. The other months of the Iranian calendar are Ardibihist, Khurdād, Tir, Amurdād, Sharewar Mihr, Abān, Azar, Dai, Bahman and Isfandyār.

The months of the Indian year are Chait, Baisākh, Jeth, Asārh, Sāwan, Bhādon, Khunwār, Kātik, Ag'han, Pūs, Māgh and Phāgun.

The names of the months making up Gregorian calendar are too well known. These have 30 or 31 days while the month of February normally consists of 28 days but at times it has 29 days.

Ilāhy Era

As already stated the Muslims of India had been making use of the lunar year of *Hijrah* from the very beginning for reckoning all events and regulating their religious observances. Akbar ordered Sheikh Fath Ullah Shīrāzī, in 1584, to introduce Ilāhy or Divine era as he preferred to call it. It had a solar year computed according to the astronomical table of Ilāgh Beg, with the old Persian solar months and beginning with the first Nawroz festival after Akbar's accession to the throne (i. e. 11th March 1556). Akbar named it as *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhy* and ordered that it should be used for all official purposes. The *Ilāhy* era continued till the end of Moghul rule after which it was replaced by the Britishers by the Gregorian calendar. *Ilāhy* era thus fell into disuse except in the erstwhile princely state of Hyderabad (where it continued till the merger of the State in the Indian Union).

Astronomical Time

The Hindu astronomers of old had divided 24 hours of a day and night into 60 equal parts and to each they gave the name of *gharī*. The beginning of the day and night was reckoned with sunrise and sunset. During the mean of *Rab'i* (autumn) and *Kharif* (spring) seasons the sun reaches

the point in its course of celestial sphere when the day and the night each consist of 30 *gharīs*. With the movement of the sun from these mean points, the *gharīs* of the night and the day begin to vary. However, for the sake of convenience these astronomers had also divided the day and night into eight equal parts, four of which were assigned to each, the day and the night, and named these parts as a *pahr*. Each *pahr* was supposed to consist of eight *gharīs*, although the eight *gharīs* made up a little more than a *pahr*.

Currency

During the different Muslim dynasties different coins were introduced by the rulers. Here we shall be giving the coins of different periods and their weights or exchange value in the current Indian currency.¹

Sultanate Period.

During the slave dynasty and subsequent sultanate period, the currency in common use was as follows :

1. Gold coin—It was called *tanka* and weighed one *toḷā* (or 11.6638 grams).
2. There was a *tanka* of silver also which had the same weight as that of the gold *tanka*.
3. There were two copper coins, both of which were called *jītal*. One of these weighed one *toḷa* and the other exceeded the first in weight by three fourth of a *toḷa* (or 20.4215 grams). Fifty copper *jītals* made up a silver *tanka*.
4. The most important of the monetary units current in the south India was *hun*, a gold coin weighing about 3 grams. During the Qutb Shāhī dynasty it was equivalent to three and a half rupees.

1. The value calculated by the author relates to the British period when this book was written. The value calculated according to current prices would be much more.

Moghul Period

1. During the Moghul period *asharfī* was the gold coin which was struck in different weights. The heaviest *asharfī* weighed one hundred *tolās* (or 1.166 kilograms) and had a par value of one thousand rupees. Normally, the emperors used to award these *asharfīs* to their nobles but gradually its weight was reduced. The *asharfī* in common use, however, weighed one *tolā* only and was roughly equivalent to 10 rupees of the later period. Another *asharfī* weighing one *māshā* less than a *tolā* (or roughly 10 grams) was valued at rupees nine during the reign of Akbar. By the time of Aurangzeb the par value of an *āsharfī* had increased to 17 rupees of the British period.
2. *Rupiah* was the silver coin during the Moghul period. It was, too, struck in different weights. The silver rupee in common use weighed a little less than a tola (11 *māshā* and 4 *rattīs*) and was equivalent to 16 *ānnās*.
3. *Paisā* was a copper coin weighing 1 *tolā*, 8 *māshās* and 7 *rattīs*. Its par value was equivalent to a *dām*.
4. *Dām* was also a copper coin having the same weight as a *paisā*. Five *dāms* were equivalent to 2 *ānnās* of the later period, i. e. 10 *dāms* were equal to 4 *ānnās* and 40 *dāms* equal to one rupee of the British period; 400 *dāms* made up 10 rupees, 4000 *dāms* made up 100 rupees, 40,000 *dāms* made up 1,000 rupees.

British Coins

Asharfī, also known as a sovereign or *ginnī*, was the gold coin with a par value of 15 rupees. Rupee was a silver coin weighing one *tolā* which had an exchange rate of 64 *paisā*. Four *paisās* made up an *ānnā* while every *paisā* had 3 *pies*; thus 12 *pies* made up an *ānnā*. *Athannī*, *chawannī* and *duwannī* were also silver coins equivalent to eight *ānnās*, four *ānnās*, and two *ānnās* respectively.

Measures of Weight

There have been quite a large number of units of weight in India but all these cannot be enumerated here. We shall be giving only the units in common use during the Muslim period.

1. *Habba*, also known as a *rattī* and *surkh*, was the smallest unit of weight. It was equal to $2\frac{1}{8}$ grains (or 0.1377 grams).

2. *Māshā* consisted of eight *rattīs*.

3. *Tolā* contained twelve *māshās*.

4. *Ser* or *seer*. The weight of *ser* has differed widely at different times. It was equal to the weight of 8 *dāms* in earlier times; during the reign of Akbar it was of 28 *dāms* but by the end of his rule Akbar fixed its weight at 30 *dāms* and five *tankās* (of one *tolā* and eight *māshā*). During the reign of Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb the *ser* was equal to the weight of 60 *dāms*. The *dām* of Aurangzeb's time weighed 14 *māshās*. Afterwards, the standard *ser* finally stabilised at 80 *tolās* (933.104 grams).

5. *Man* or maund was always of 40 *seers*.

Units of length

1. *Zār'a* was divided into 24 parts, each known as *Tasūj*, the latter consisting of two *habbās* which were equal in length to two barleys or six mustard seeds placed alongside. In certain parts of the country *zar'a* consisted of 24 fingers' breadth while one finger's breadth was reckoned as equal to the length of six barleys. In certain areas *zar'a* consisted of the length of one cubit, one span and two fingers' breadth; at times it was reckoned at 16 fingers' breadth and each finger-breadth was known as a *gīrah*. The *zar'a* used for measurement in the construction of buildings had the length of seven fists; in certain areas the thumb of the seventh fist was also included in one *zar'a*.

Sikandar Lodhī fixed the length of the *zar'a* at 32 fingers' breadth, Akbar standardised it at 41 fingers' breadth but

Shāhjahān again reduced it to 32 fingers' breadth.

2. *Jarīb* was the unit for measurement of land. In the earlier times it used to be of 50 or 55 cubits but Akbar fixed its length at 60 cubits and ordered that bamboos of appropriate length fitted with iron ends be kept for the purpose.

3. *Bigha* was the principal measure of land 60 cubits in length and breadth. If the land was of smaller size another measure known as *mukassar* which was of 36 square cubits, was used. Further sub-divisions of *bigha* were *biswah* and *Biswānsī*, each being $1/20$ th part of its higher unit.

4. *Meel* or Mile was known as *kurdah* in Persian and *Kos* in Hindi. Its length was equal to 5000 cubits while a cubit consisted of 24 fingers' breadth.

Division of Agricultural lands

Contemporary historians furnish no information on the subject of division of agricultural lands during the Muslim period. We have, therefore, given here the different types or division of agricultural lands obtaining in the erstwhile Asafjāhī State of Hyderabad which had maintained the system followed by the Moghul rulers of India. These classifications, made according to the possession and use of the land, were of five kinds, viz. *Khālsa Sharīfa*, *Sarf-i-Khās*, *Pāigāh*, *Jāgīr* and *In'ām*.

1. *Khālsa Sharīfā*. The income from *khālsa sharīfa* land was reserved for the personal use of the King. It was credited to *Bait-ul-Māl* and its accounts were supervised by an official called *Diwān-ul-Kul*.

2. *Sarf-i-Khās*. The income from the land falling under this category was credited to the imperial treasury and the king could spend it according to the needs.

3. *Pāigāh* was the land allocated to the grandees for the upkeep of military cantonments.

4. *Jāgīr* lands were of three kinds as enumerated here.

(i) *Al-Mutgha of In'ām-ul-Mutgha*.¹ This was the land granted by the king to the deserving persons. This type of land was inherited by the successors of the grantee.

(ii) *Zāti-Jagir*. This was a personal fief granted for life to the grantee. It was not inherited by his successors.

(iii) *Tankhwāh-i-Mahallāt*. The land granted in lieu of one's salary was known by this name.

5. *In'ām*. This was the land granted by the king as a reward to someone. Normally the land thus rewarded was smaller than a village.

Other categories of land

1. *Peshkash* land was given over to the landlords who had a free hand in its management but paid a stipulated amount to the king as land revenue irrespective of value of crop raised or its failure.

2. *Sarbasta*. The land falling in this category was also known as *muqatta*. The landlords' rights on such lands were restricted in comparison to the former type of land but the land revenue was payable to the king as described above.

3. *Pun Muqatta*. The landlords' rights in such lands were even more restricted but they were liable to pay a fixed amount as land revenue.

4. *Agarhār*. The land falling in this category was granted to the Brahmins for religious purposes. They were, however, liable to make presents to the king out of its income.

5. *Mukāsa*. The land was rented out for cultivation to any person who paid a fixed amount of land revenue.

6. *Umlī*. It was like the *Mukāsa* land, but reserved exclusively for the non-muslim cultivators.

1. *Al-Mutgha* is a Turkish word meaning the "red seal" affixed to the royal edicts granting an estate to someone as a reward.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

FISCAL RESOURCES

THE fiscal policy of the Muslim Rulers differed from monarch to monarch. Some of them levied only 'ushr¹ and khirāj² in accordance with the *Shari'ah* while others imposed different tithes and imposts; some charged poll-tax or *jizya* from the non-Muslims but others overlooked it. This, naturally, meant a wide difference in the total revenues of their kingdoms for some ruled from Kashmir to Bengal while the realm of others was too small as a popular adage said: The kingdom of Shāh Alam, from Delhi to Pālam.

Tax Structure

The tax structure of different kings are briefly mentioned here.

'Ala'uddīn Khiljī fixed the land tax at fifty per cent of the produce from all holders of the land whether they were village headmen, landlords or cultivators. In addition there were a number of other taxes like those on houses, grazing

1. A tenth of agricultural produce given by the Muslim cultivators to the State as land tax.
2. The land tax or tribute generally realised from the non-Muslim citizens of the Muslim State.

grounds, trades and callings. In all, there were 33 taxes levied by 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī.¹

Firoz Shāh abolished all tithes and taxes disallowed by the *Sharī'ah*.² He realised only *'ushr* from the cultivators, *zakāt* from the Muslims, *jizya* from the non-Muslims and *khums* or one-fifth share of the state out of the spoils of war and income from the mines.

Sher Shāh Sūrī introduced a schedule of rates for land-tax and other taxes and also ordered to undertake an accurate yearly survey of cultivated lands. He fixed the share of the Government at one third of the agricultural produce. Tax was realised from the traders twice; one was the custom duty when they entered a city and the other sales-tax when they had sold their goods.

Akbar promulgated a number of fiscal regulations and re-introduced the system of land survey. He divided the cultivated lands into two categories: firstly, the lands irrigated by rains and, secondly, those irrigated by canals and wells. The land-tax fixed for the former category of land was one-half of the produce and one-third of the produce for the lands of latter category. In the case of sugar-cane and other crops which require more labour, the land-tax fixed by Akbar ranged from one-fourth to one-seventh of the produce depending on the nature of crop and source of irrigation. The revenue system introduced by Akbar comprised 36 types of taxes.

Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr abolished eighty taxes in 1659. He laid stress, in 1668, in compliance with the principles and traditions of Islamic law which resulted in levy of *zākat* on Muslims instead of different commercial levies to which they had been subjected hitherto. Accordingly the Muslims were made to pay two per cent and a half of their savings; three per cent was paid by the Christians and five per cent

1. *Barni*, pp. 287-288.

2. *'Alī Shams Sirāj*, p. 254-257.

by the Hindus. In 1669, *jizyā* was imposed on all *zimmi*¹ non-Muslims.

As Estimate of the State Revenues

It is difficult to make any precise assessment of the total income of the State under different monarchs on account of the different fiscal policies pursued by them, the economic conditions prevailing under different regimes and the difference in the coinage under different rulers. It can only be said that :

(1) The tax structure consisted of (a) *'ushr* and *khirāj*, (b) other taxes (c) *jizya*, (d) presents made by the grantees to the sovereign. These presents consisted of precious stones, horses and elephants, costly clothes, arms and vases of gold and silver, and were made over to the king when the grantees returned from their assignments or the provinces governed by them and on the occasion of *'Id* or similar other festivals. (e) The state claimed all property left by its officers. The system last mentioned was introduced by the Moghul rulers of India.

(2) The rates of taxes were different during different periods. Some of the monarchs demanded one-half of the produce of land as land revenue while others took only one-third or even much less, that is, one-tenth of it; still others levied only *'ushr*, *zakāt* and *jizya* or added a few more taxes to augment the state income. The contemporary historians of the time more often wound up their narratives by giving a detailed account of the battles fought by the then monarchs rather than throwing light on the system of taxation followed by different kings. Some of the European travellers such as William Hawkins, Manucci, Catrou, Gemelli Careri

1. *Zimmi* is a non-Muslim subject of the Islamic State, who, for the payment of a poll or capitation tax, enjoys security of his person, property and religious beliefs. The persons thus afforded protection are exempted from military service. They are exempted from the payment of *Jizyā* if they volunteer for the defence of the realm.

and Francis Bernier have, no doubt, tried to assess the total revenues of the different regimes but their estimates given in terms of the currency of their own countries, are not reliable because some of them have based their estimates on the demands of land revenue alone while others have included some other taxes too. On the other hand, the estimated income given here has been obtained from the writings of historians, such as, Sarāj 'Afīf, Nizām-uddīn, 'Abdul Hamīd, Bakhtāwar Khān and others, who had been on intimate terms with the ruling circles of their time.

During the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq annual receipts of the State exchequer amounted to 6,85,00,000 *tankās*.¹ In addition to it the revenues from the lands lying between Jamuna and Satlaj, reserved for meeting the expenditure on royal household, was 80,00,000 *tankās*. As already stated elsewhere *tankās* were coins of silver and gold both. The estimates given here relate to silver *tankās* weighing one *tola* like the rupee of the present times.

The demands from the land-tax, in the time of Akbar, added up to 640,00,00,000 *dāms*, as mentioned by Nizām-uddīn in *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*.² The total revenues during the reign of Akbar were equivalent of Rs. 16,00,00,000, of the early British period.

During the later period of Jahāngīr's reign the income from land-tax amounted to 7,00,00,00,000 *dāms* which would be roughly equal to Rs. 17,50,00,000. This estimate of state revenues has been taken from the *Badshāh Nāmah*.

The state revenues showed an upward trend during the reign of Shāhjahān when the rates of certain taxes were revised. Shāhjahān imposed certain new taxes but reduced the rates of others in certain provinces like Ahmadābād and Deccan. The total income of the State showed a rise of one hundred crore *dāms* as a result of these re-adjustments.

1. Tarikh Fīrūz Shāhī (Calcutta, 1891), p. 296.

2. *Tabqāt-i-Akbari* p. 652 (Nadwatul Ulama MSS No. 66).

After the conquest of Daulatābād and Tilangānā, the State revenues rose further by eight crore *dāms*. Thus the total revenues of the realm under Shāhjahān amounted to 8,80,00,00,000 *dāms* which can be considered to have a par value of rupees 22,00,00,000. These estimates too, have been taken from the *Bādshāh Nāmah*.

The annual receipts of the State coffers, as given by Bakhtāwar Khān in *Mirāt-i-Alam*, during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgīr, was 924,17,16,082 *dāms* which was equivalent to Rs. 23,10,42,902.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS

IT is not possible to give a detailed account of the innumerable roads constructed by the Muslim rulers of India. We would, therefore, mention only the main and reputed thoroughfares of the Muslim period.

The highway connecting the famous city of Siwistān in Sind to Delhi passed through Multān covering a distance of 10 days' journey from Siwistān to Multān while it took fifty days to reach Delhi from Siwistān by this road.

The second main road connecting Delhi to Daulatābād, could be covered in forty days. On either side of the whole length of this road willow and other trees with plant branches were planted in a way that the traveller always found himself walking through a garden. On every mile the road had three caravansarais where the travellers could purchase necessary provisions required during the journey. The highway thus presented a pleasant picture of a pathway and bazars all the way from Delhi to Daulatābād.

The highway from Tilangānā to Malābār was provided with a caravansarai and royal guest house at every stop-over of the day's journey with the result that the travellers did not have to carry any provisions for the journey.

The fourth main thoroughfare ran from Delhi to Dhār in Mālwa. This road, which could be covered in 24 days; had

pillars at every mile indicating the distance from the two ends of it. All these roads were once the arterial highways always full of travellers. The famous traveller of Morocco, Muhammad Ibn Batutah, had seen and traversed these roads as mentioned by him in his memoirs.

Sher Shāh Sūrī constructed a number of roads after ascending the throne. They included one of the longest highways in the country. Starting from Bāl Nath Jogi near the fort of Rohtāsgarh, 193 Km. west of Lahore, this road went to Sonārgaon in Bengal¹ and could be covered, in those days, in four months. Of the other roads built by Sher Shāh Sūrī one ran from Agra to Jodhpūr and Chitor and two others from Lahore to Multān and from Agra to Mandū. On either side of all these roads were planted fruit trees. 1700 caravansarais were erected on these roads with separate lodgings for Muslims and Hindus. Each caravansarai had a stall for providing cool drinking water to the travellers and also warm water for taking bath, if one desired. The travellers were supplied with food and beddings, as well as fodder for their animals, free of cost, so that nobody had to bother about the outfit for undertaking the journey on these roads. Each caravansarai contained a well and a mosque with a *Mu'azzin* and an *Imām* in attendance. A contingent of the army along with a *Kotwāl* and other police officials kept the peace in each caravansarai.

When Islām Shāh (also known as Salīm Shāh) ascended the throne after the death of his father, Sher Shāh Sūrī, he doubled the number of caravansarais on these roads, constructed new mosques and wells of burnt brick, appointed servants for supplying water and other provisions to the travellers and stabled post-horses in the new caravansarais for the conveyance of the royal mail.

Akbar, too, paid attention to the upkeep of roads. In

1. This road is now known as Grand Trunk Road.

1574, he erected a well and a minaret at every mile on Agra-Ajmer road.

Jahāngīr was still more careful about the construction and maintenance of the roads. He ordered, in 1619, that on the road connecting Lahore to Agra shade trees should be planted on either side, minarets should be erected on every mile, a well on every third mile and a caravansarai with a mosque and well on every fifth mile. Jahāngīr also got the Lahore-Kashmir road constructed in 1622 on which 11 palaces were constructed on the stop-overs of the day's journey.¹

It might be mentioned here that four tracks lead to the valley of Kashmir. The first is the pathway via Pakhli, 241 Km. in length, with 35 stop-overs. The second one passes through Chaumukha, has 29 halts and is 164 Km. long. The third one, which goes through Pinanj has 23 stopping places and covers a distance of 159 kms. The fourth track enters the valley through Pīr Panjāl. It is the shortest route covering only 129 Km's. and has 8 halts in the plains and 12 in the hilly tracts. Jahangir got the fourth track converted into a regular road with caravansarais on it.

Shāhjahān also showed keen interest in the construction of roads. The road built by 'Alī Mardān Khān, Governor of Kashmir, from the vale of Kashmir to Rajori dates from the reign of Shāhjahān.

The ruins of wells, springs and caravansarais by the side of this road can still be seen at Tahna, Bahram, Gila, Sokhtah, Poshianāb, Shāchamarg and Hirāpūr.

Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr appointed an officer, in 1661, for undertaking the repairs of Lahore-Kashmir road, Agra-Aurangabad Road and Lahore-Kabul Road. The officer was also charged with the responsibility of getting the old caravansarais on these roads repaired and constructing new

1. Jahāngīr also constructed the road from Bengal to Attock which passed through Agra. The road had shade-trees planted on either side. (*Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 262).

ones of burnt brick with mosques, wells and shops, and making adequate arrangements for the safety of travellers. Large amounts were spent by Aurangzeb on the construction of bridges over rivers¹ and canals crossed by these roads.

Postal Services

Two methods were employed, during the Muslim period, for conveyance of the royal mail. One of these was known as *awlāq*—after the Turkish word meaning the royal horses—under which riders carrying the royal mail delivered the *dak* to the riders of post-horses at the next station at a distance of four miles.

The other method employed was to send the *dak* through runners. A mile, consisting of 5,000 cubits length, was divided into three parts. At each point, preferably outside the nearest village, a small building with three small cupolas was erected where the post-men always remained on the lookout for the incoming *dak*. These men carried a small stick of one yard on the one end of which a pair of brass cymbals were fixed. As soon as the mail-bag arrived from the previous station, the runner on duty took the bag in his right hand or carried it on his back in case it was heavier, and ran up to the next station with the ringing cymbals attached to the stick in his left hand. The royal mail thus conveyed from one station to another was carried to its destination faster than the post-horses. Ibn Batutah has also made a mention of this method in his memoirs.

The mailmen were required to cover a mile in an hour and thus they could convey the *dak* from Ahmadabad to Delhi in 12 days. If the *dak* was urgent, it was delivered in a week. Any delay by the runners in conveyance of the mail was punishable by fine up to one-fourth of a month's salary.

1. *Alamgir Nāmah*, p. 1085 and *Māthar-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 705.
2. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

TANKS AND CANALS



WE have been able to collect information only about a few of the tanks and canals built by the rulers of medieval India.

In 1230 Shamsuddīn Iltutmish got a tank constructed near Delhi. The tank, about two miles in length and one mile in breadth, covered an area of 276 *fidans*¹.

Muhammad ibn Batūtah, who had seen the tank, has thus described it.

“Outside Delhi there is a tank which is reported to have been built by Shamsuddīn Iltutmish. This tank near the *'Idgāh* supplies drinking water to the city. About two miles in length and one mile in breadth, the tank stores rain water: its western side near the *'Idgāh* is paved with stones which ends up in vaults erected one over the other, with each vault provided with stone stairs reaching the tank water. The top vaults are crowned by cupolas which have enough space for the excursionists to sit inside them and enjoy the sight. In the middle of the tank a two-storeyed cupola of delicately carved stones has been built. When the tank is full of water boats are used to reach

1. The fidan was roughly equivalent to 400 sq. yards.

the central building which has a mosque besides it, where mendicants and monks live. When the tank goes dry, sugarcane, cucumbers, water-melons and sweet musk-melons are cultivated in its bed."

Repairs of certain demolished portions of this tank were undertaken by 'Alauddīn Muhammad Khiljī in 1311 after which Fīroz Shāh again took steps to renovate it. Thereafter no other ruler of Delhi took care of this tank and it fell into disrepair.

Another tank was built by 'Alauddīn Muhammad Khiljī in 1296 between Delhi and Akbarābād. Ibn Batutah writes about this tank :

"The tank is surrounded by about 40 cupolas. Nearby is the habitation of musicians and the songsters by the name of Tarābābād, which contains a big market, a Jami Mosque and several other mosques. I have been told that even the chantresses of this place perform *Tarāwīh* prayers during *Ramadhān* and offer other prayers in congregation. The male singers are also reported to be very punctilious in offering prayers."¹

When this tank fell into ruins, Fīroz Shāh rebuilt it in 1354. He also constructed a beautiful building of a *madrasah* near it.

Public Works of Fīroz Shāh

In 1355, Fīroz Shāh took out a 150 mile long canal from river Satlaj to Jahjhar. Of the other important canals of Fīroz Shāh, one carried the waters of Jamuna from Mundi and Sarmorah hills to the arid tracts of Hānsī with seven other tributary canals. Thereafter, it was extended to Abāsīn where the city of Hisār-i-Fīrūzā was founded by him. A big tank was constructed near the city to store water of the canal.

Another canal was dug in 1356 from Khakhar to Hisār

1. *Ibn Batutah, Tuhfatun Nazār* (Cairo, 1287 A. H.) Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

Sarastl and Sar Kharrah where the city of Fīrūzābād was founded by Fīroz Shāh.

Another valuable canal built by Fīroz Shāh brought the water of Jamuna to his palace-fort of Fīrūzābād at Delhi.¹ Its water was also restored in a big tank.²

Yet another work of irrigation, whose author was Fīroz Shāh, irrigated the intervening tracts of Sirhind, Mansūrpūr and Sunnām.

Fīroz Shāh had also taken out a 48 Kms. long canal from the river Jamuna (near Khizarābad) to Sufaidūn. The canal was got repaired by Shahābuddīn, the Subedār of Delhi during the reign of Akbar and re-named as Nahr-Shahāb.³

Canals of Sultan Zainul 'Abdīn

Of the many canals constructed by Sultān Zainul 'Abdīn in the highland valley of Kashmir, one irrigated the vale of Marān hills and the other taken out of the river Sind supplied water to his palace in Naushera. Another canal was taken out from Shopiān to Zināpūr.

Dal lake in Kashmir valley discharges its water into river Jhelum. Sultān Zainul 'Abdīn constructed a dam to conserve and utilize the tail waters of Dal lake through irrigation canals.

A canal constructed earlier to irrigate the lands around Wular lake had proved unfeasible. Sultān Zainul 'Abdīn connected it with the river Yumar to irrigate waste lands.

Canals of Hyderabad

A big tank, known by the name of Ibrāhīm Patan, was

1. *Samsh Sirāj Afif, Fatūhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhi* (Calcutta, 1891), p. 230.
2. Known as Old Jamuna Canal, it is still in use. (*Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 587)
3. Besides cities, mosques, caravanserais, etc. Fīroz Shāh is credited with the construction of 150 wells, 100 bridges and 5 reservoirs (*Fatūhāt Fīrūz Shāhi*, p. 230 and *Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 175).

constructed in 1553 by Sultān Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh.

Husain Sāgar was built by Husain ibn Asad of Gulbarga, the son-in-law of Sultān Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh. The tank was constructed in 1558 A.D. at a cost of two takh *huns*.¹

In 1559 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I brought water to his capital and palace in Bijāpūr through a big canal from a distance of 39 kms.

During the reign of Akbar, Maulānā Nūruddīn of Sufaidūn constructed a canal from river Jamuna to irrigate the district of Karnal. Thereafter, he extended the canal by another 80 Km. to irrigate the arid tracts of the neighbouring districts.

Moti Tālāb

The Moti Tālāb or Pearl Tank taking its name from the crystal water it stored, was a big tank situated outside the fort on the western portion of the Jālnā city in Deccan. A reservoir was constructed during the reign of Malik Ambar who got it built in 1600, at a cost of Rs. 2,35,000 near Aurangābād. The cistern was constructed under the supervision of Dayār Khān by cutting a huge rock, which was capable of storing rain waters of a catchment area of 3108 hectares around it. The water from the reservoir was diverted into an underground channel, 14 cubits below the surface. This artificial conduit was 3133 cubits long, one cubit in width and two to three cubits deep with a pucca semicircular roof.

This reservoir having the average capacity of storing 28,14,973 Sa² of water was connected by two conduits of three cubits circumference, taken out from the place known as Chadar Bamba, to the Harsūl Canal. A flight of stairs after every 66 to 100 cubits led to the water of the cistern

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1. *Hun* was a gold coin with a par value of three and a half rupees of the time.
 2. Sa' is equal to 3½ seers or 3.27 Kgs.

where people could take bath in the pool.

Another underground channel conducted the water of Harsūl canal to the Katugilla tank from where it was conveyed to another reservoir near Delhi Gate. It was then taken to another storage in Shāhganj and thereafter supplied through underground culverts to the city.

This water supply showing an amazing mathematical precision and technical skill was constructed at a time when normally wells, tanks and canals were the only means for irrigation and supply of drinking water.

'Alī Mardān Khān took out a canal from river Ravi to Lahore in 1642 during the reign of Shāhjahān. This canal, 63 Km. long, was constructed at a cost of Rs. 1 lakh. But as the Emperor thought that the canal was not as useful as he had intended, he appointed 'Alā 'uddīn Tūnī to extend it further by 16 Km. to Shālāmār which is situate at a distance of 48 Km. from Lahore.

Nahr-i-Bihisht

The canal was taken out of Nahr Shahāb at Sufaldūn and brought to the Red Fort in 1645.¹

Nahr Akbarābādī Mahal

The canal was constructed by an espouse of Shāhjahān, belonging to Akbarābād, at a distance of 8 Km. from Delhi.

Some more Canals and Tanks of Hyderabad

During the reign of 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda, Mir Muhammad Sa'eed Urdistāni Mun'im Khān-i-Khānā constructed a huge tank at Hyderabad in 1649.

1. The canal passing through the scalloped marble cascade of Moti Mahal, Diwān-i-Khās and Rang Mahal in the Red Fort, was known as Nahr-i-Bihisht. (*Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 123).

Nahr Harsūl

It was constructed at Aurangābād by Nawāb Qamruddīn Khān. After it fell into disrepair it was renovated, according to *Hadīqatul 'Alam*,¹ at a considerable cost by his Minister Mir 'Alam Khān.

Nahr Ibrāhīm Patan

It was taken out during the reign of Asaf Jāhī rulers of Hyderabad at a cost of Rs. 10,56,000. The canal was 90 Km. long and drained its water in the famous Ibrāhīm Patan tank built by Sultān Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh.

Nahr Malkapur

The canal was also built during the reign of Asaf Jāhī rulers. It was taken out of the river Mūsā and conveyed its water to Husain Sāgar after covering a distance of 52 Kms.

Mir 'Alam Sāgar

A big tank in Hyderabad, was built by Abul Qāsim ibn Rāzī Husaini Tustrī, a minister of Asaf Jāhī rulers and popularly known as Mir 'Alam.

'Umdā Sāgar

It was constructed by Nawāb Bashīr-ud-daula in 1890. He also held the rank of minister in Hyderabad and his full name was Muhammad Mazharuddīn ibn Muhammad Sultān-uddīn ibn Fakhruddīn 'Umrī.

Ghiyāthuddīn Tughluq constructed a number of canals which find a mention in the annals of his time, but unfortunately nothing about their location and other details have been given by the historians. I have, accordingly, not been able to throw light on these works. Sultān Firūz Shāh constructed fifty canals but only six of them have been

1. *Mir 'Alam : Hadīqatul 'Alam*, Vol. II, p. 185.

mentioned by the chroniclers. Similarly, Bābar got a number of canals constructed in Agra. Sultāns of the earlier Muslim period and those of Deccan gave special attention to the means of irrigation for purposes of reclamation of waste lands. The historical accounts of the time, however, seldom give any details of these works and make only a passing reference to them. I had, therefore, to content myself with mentioning only those works of which I have been able to find any detailed account.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

GARDENS

INDIA abounded, from the ancient times, in fruit trees like mangoes, jack fruit, tamarind etc. but the Muslim rulers of the land, besides setting up new cities and settlements and providing means of irrigation, imported fruit and flower plants from far off lands and laid out large formal gardens. A large number of fruit plants, such as, dates, apple, coconut, lemon, orange, grapes—to name only a few—were imported by the Muslim rulers of India. These rulers coming from Iran and Central Asia took special delight in the romantic beauty of delicately laid out gardens and built such a large number of retreats of this kind that hardly any part of the country was deprived of these pleasuaces.

The number of gardens planted by the Muslim sovereigns were, in truth and reality, innumerable. No historian can claim to enumerate all the gardens laid out during the medieval period. We have, accordingly, tried to mention only the important gardens of the Muslim era.

The first Muslim monarch, as mentioned by the historians, who planted extensive gardens was 'Alā'uddīn Muhammad Khiljī. He laid out thirty gardens in Delhi, eighty in Sālorā and fortyfour in Chittor and imported seven varieties of white and black grape vines from abroad.

Grapes were sold at two *ratals*¹ for a *ḡtal* during his reign.

Sultān Zain-ul-'Abdīn of Kashmir had a garden of 518 hectares laid out at Zīnagar near Tarfḡām where fruit trees and flowers brought from distant places were planted amidst enchantingly flowing water courses.

The Sultan laid out many other gardens which made Kashmir a paradise on earth. One of the big gardens laid out by Sultan Zain-ul-'Abdīn was at Zināpūr.

Sultān Mahmūd Shāh had a large number of gardens planted in Gujarat. He was so enthusiastic about it that he gave cash rewards to all those who laid out formal gardens or even planted a single fruit-tree. The patronage of Mahmūd Shāh soon made the widows and invalids to plant fruit trees or lay out gardens on their back-yards and spare lands. A large number of fruit-trees were imported from abroad and the whole of Gujarat was soon virtually turned into a lovely garden. Different varieties of fruits, unknown to the region earlier, became available in great plenty.

One of the many pleasure gardens laid out by Mahmūd Shāh was named by him as Firdaus. It covered an area of 8 Km. in length and about one and a half Km. in breadth and had a hundred thousand fruit trees.

'Alāuddīn bin Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī had a large garden, known as Ni'āmatābād, laid out at Bedar which also contained magnificent palaces.² A number of poets including Azraqī composed eulogies praising this garden.

'Imāduddīn Mahmūd Gilānī, a minister of the Bahminī kings, laid out a delightful garden in Ahmadabad in which was grown, as stated by Firishta, saffron of good quality besides several other imported varieties of fruits and flowers. Mahmūd Gilānī also had a sumptuous garden laid out at Bijāpūr.

Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī planted a large garden containing

1. *Ratal* weighed half a *seer* or a little less than half kilogram.

2. *Firishta*, Vol. III, p. 150.

numerous varieties of fruit trees at Zafarābād in 1441. A similar enclosure was planted by Ahmad bin Hasan al-Baherī Nizām Shāh in Tikāpūr, by the name of Nizām-ul-Hadīqa, to commemorate his victory over the Bahminīs. In 1489, Ahmad constructed palatial buildings in the garden which gradually developed into the city of Ahmadnagar.

Murtaza Nizām Shāh I charged Ni'amat Khān Samnānī to lay a garden, Farah Bakhsh by name, at Ahmadnagar, but as it did not meet the approval of the king, another minister Salābat Khān raised another lovely garden in 1583. A number of poets composed eulogies extolling verdure and beauty of this garden. Salābat Khān laid out a few more gardens in Ahmadnagar and also encouraged others to do the same. It is reported that one of his gardens had five lakh fruit trees.

Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, King of Bijāpūr, ordered Shāhwār Khān to plant a garden at Bijāpur in 1601. It was such a fine garden, with enclosing ramparts, tanks and palatial buildings, that Muhammad Qāsim, the famous historian and another litterateur, Shillī, who had seen the garden have paid glowing tributes to it.

Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh laid out a spacious garden, six and a half Km. long and three Km. wide near Hyderabad. The author of *Hadīqatul 'Alam* states that besides fruit trees of numerous varieties the garden had also a big herbarium.

Bābar had four gardens laid out at Agra in which he got planted a number of fruit-bearing trees and flower plants imported from Kābul. Bābar also took keen interest in laying out canals and pleasure retreats. He was the first king to lay out gardens in accordance with a pre-determined plan of rectangles and straight lines with arcaded pavilions, water cascades, fountains, low terraces and many-sided water courses. One of the four gardens laid out by Bābar at Agra was known as Gulfishān. In it were grown different varieties of fruits, such as grape vines of Sahibī,

Habshī, Kishmishī species : pine-apple plants were brought to be planted in the garden from far-off places ; and the flogged causeways were shaded by such imported trees as cypress, cedar, poplar willow, sandal, etc. The incentive provided by the Moghuls to gardening and horticulture soon paid dividends, as mentioned in *Tuzk Bābrī* and *Aī'n Akbarī*, in the shape of abundance of fruits like water melon, coconut, banana, pistachio-nuts, apples, etc. Nawāb Quli Khān, the Governor of Kashmir during the reign of Akbar from 1589 to 1601, laid out a number of gardens and took steps to renovate the gardens planted by the earlier kings of Kashmir which had fallen into ruins. He introduced peach in the Kashmir valley by obtaining its plants from Kābul. He also invented the grafting of trees which, according to the contemporary historians, improved the quality of fruits and also increased their yield.

Lake Tiryāk in Kashmir, from which rises the river Bhat, better known as Jhelum; flows to Srinagar and then to Punjab, was enclosed by high embankments and surrounded by a series of palatial buildings and terraced gardens by Emperor Jahāngīr. Another garden was laid out by one of Jahāngīr's grandees, Nawāb Muqrrab Khān, at Kairana in which he had planted a large number of fruit and flower plants imported from abroad. It is reported that the Nawāb had grown almost all the varieties of mangoes in his garden which had also 300 cypress trees. Jahāngīr, who visited this garden, has made a mention of it in his Memoirs.

The world-famed Shālāmār garden of Kashmir was laid out in 1618 during the reign of Jahāngīr, by Shāhjahān by the side of the clear waters of Dal lake. A canal, about 460 metres long, was taken out of the Dal to connect it with another pool. The terraced pathway along the canal was shaded by rows of magnificent chunar trees and graced by green swards. This pathway led to a summer palace beyond which was another pool of crystal waters with a paved floor all round it and fountains playing within the pool at a

distance of every 15 paces. On the farther side of the pool was built another imposing pavilion, on either side of which were two smaller streams with fountains dancing within them, and bounded by the rows of chunars. Both the edifices in the Shālāmār garden were crowned by domes over the central vault around which were spacious halls having four doors. Two of these doors opened on the two sides of the canal while the remaining two led to the bridges over the canal. This lovely pleasure garden with the stately pavilions of exquisitely carved stones, excellently proportioned in structure, and in complete harmony with the charming background of the mountains had no rival throughout the great Moghul empire.

Later on Shāhjahān constructed a very large pleasure retreat at Lahore in 1642, at a cost of 6 hundred thousand rupees, on the pattern of Kashmir's Shālāmār garden which was laid out on a threefold terrace. On the upper terrace there is a pillared marble kiosk with a reservoir in the centre. Down this the water ripples into pond below, whence, it falls into another reservoir and passes to the extremity of the garden which has splendid cupolas, with numerous fountains dancing in the water courses. Shāhjahān laid out gardens in Agra, Ahmadabad and Delhi besides many other places. The one at Delhi¹ had a big pool of crystal waters from which flowed a canal, six cubits in width, with 112 fountains out of which 49 were made of silver. Like other Moghul gardens, arcaded pavilions of marble and red sandstone occupied the central position in its numerous parts surrounded by shaded causeways and intricate lace-work of waterways and fountains playing amidst plots of flower-beds and delicious fruit trees.

Another garden on the pattern of Shālāmār was laid out in 1649 at a distance of 4 km. from the Red Fort at Delhi by

1. Delhi's Shālāmār Garden was situated at a distance of about 10 miles from the Lahori Gate, outside the city (*Athār-us-Sanādīd*, pp. 287-88).

one of the wives of Shāhjahān known as Akbarābādī Mahal. The expenditure incurred on the construction of pavilions, canals and channels, as mentioned in *Bādshāhnāmah*, was two hundred thousand rupees.

Nawāb Jahān Arā, a daughter of Shāhjahān also constructed canals and pools, in 1649, along with palatial buildings within a garden laid out by her at Delhi.¹

Nawāb Zafar Khān of Tirhūt, the governor of Kashmir under Shāhjahān had four gardens laid out in the valley of Kashmir, one in Muzaffarabad, the other known as Bāgh-i-Gulshan in Būnakudal, the third one, Bāgh-i-'Ināyat, near the mausoleum of Sheikh 'Alī bin Shahāb Hamadānī and the fourth at Husnābād. Numerous flower and fruit plants not grown earlier in Kashmir were raised in these gardens.


Khān-i-Khānan Mirzā Abdur Rahīm, son of Bayram Khān, had a number of gardens laid out in Gujarat during the tenure of his governorship of the province. Khān-i-Khānan successfully raised, for the first time, the crop of yellow muskmelon of Kābul in one of his gardens which later on became common in India. Jahāngīr, who inspected Khān-i-Khānan's Fateh Bāgh at Ahmadabad, expressed his appreciation of the fine pleasure retreat.

Nawāb 'Alī Mardān Khān, a governor of Kashmir, got several gardens laid out in Kashmir. Two of his well-known gardens with stately palaces were situated in *pargana* Mūr and Naushehra. The former was known as 'Alīābād garden. Another governor of Kashmir during the reign of Shāhjahān, Nawāb Lashkar Khān, beautified the northern bank of Dal lake and constructed an imposing pavilion overlooking the lake. Saif Khān, the governor of Kashmir during Aurangzeb's time planted a garden by the name of Bāgh Saifābād in the Kashmir valley and another at Sirhind. Both these gardens contained dignified edifices.

1. The garden was located near Chāndni Chauk (*Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 284). Sir Syed has made a mention of numerous other gardens laid out in Delhi during the reign of Shāhjahān.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

MOSQUES OF THE MUSLIM PERIOD

HE mosques built by the Muslim monarchs of India are more in number than can be enumerated by any historian. The grandees and provincial officials, too, built mosques in far off cities and towns ; some of them are magnificent edifices built at considerable cost, but here we would give only a brief account of some of the principal mosques of the period.

Masjid Quwwat-ul-Islām

According to my researches the first mosque founded at Delhi was masjid Qubbat-ul-Islām or Quwwat-ul-Islām. A part of its structure was raised, in 1191, by Qutbuddīn Aibak over the plinth of a decayed temple of Prithvirāj. After paying a visit to Gazni in 1195 Qutbuddīn Aibak again took up, under the orders of Shahābuddin Ghori, the expansion of the mosque. The mosque was appreciably enlarged so as to provide space for thousands of worshippers. In 1230 Sultān Iltutmish further enlarged the mosque by throwing out wings of white sandstone to the main prayer chamber. The great Minār left incomplete by the side of the mosque by Qutbuddīn Aibak was superbly brought to completion by Sultān Iltutmish which, known as Qutb Minar,

still holds a pride of place among the archaeological monuments of India.

After 'Alā'uddin Khiljī ascended the throne, he took up a grandiose plan to enlarge the mosque and to erect another minaret but his death in 1315 put an end to his schemes. Masjid Quwwat-ul-Islām was seen by Muhammad ibn Batutah who has given the following description of it:

"It consists of a wide quadrangle with the walls, ceiling and floor of the prayer chamber built of ornately carved stones. It has thirteen domed vaults and a pulpit, all constructed of stones, with four open quadrangles. In the middle of the mosque stands the massive stone pillar of impressive height."¹

Jāmi Fīrūz Shāhi

The mosque was built by Fīrūz Shāh in 1353 near the shrine of Khwājā Nizāmuddīn at Ghīyāthpūr. According to certain historians the mosque was originally constructed by the two sons of Sultān 'Alā'uddin Khiljī, prince Khizr Khān and prince Shādī Khān in 1296. Combining the charm of artistically carved red sandstones with vigour and straightforwardness of style, the mosque had three chambers surmounted by domes.

Another Jāmi Mosque was built by Fīrūz Shāh within the palace fort of Fīrūzābād which, too, besides being wholly virile and strong in character displayed a pleasing ornamentation. As stated in *Fatuhāt-i-Fīrūz Shāhi*, one of the domes of this mosque was octagonal with doors on each of the eight sides whose borders were embellished by beautiful carvings and inscriptions. The mosque has not survived the vagaries of nature.²

1. *Ibn Batutah*, Vol. II, p. 16.

2. Sir Saiyid Ahmad Khān states that the dome of the mosque was in good condition during the reign of Jahāngīr (*Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 198).

Jāmi Sikandar

It was built at Srinagar in 1354 by Sultān Sikandar Shāh. The mosque, nobly planned to display dignity with beauty, was destroyed by fire. It was ordered to be rebuilt by Sultān Husain Shāh. After his death, his prime minister Ibrāhīm Mākri saw the wish of his master executed in 1503. Jahāngir, who saw the mosque, has paid a tribute to the superb workmanship of this mosque in his Memoirs.

Gulbarga Fort Mosque

It is a noteworthy piece of architecture modelled after the Cardova Mosque in Spain. Built during the reign of Bahmani kings,¹ it is of unique character as the whole of its area is covered by as many as 111 stilted domes. The central dome surmounting the main chamber is 75 feet (22.86 meters) high while the roof covering the entire area is 225 ft. (66.75 meters) by 168 ft. (21.21 meters). The mosque has two doors, one on the northern side and the other on the eastern end. According to the author of *Tārīkh Bijāpūr* six hundred thousand worshippers could offer prayers within this mosque.

Ahmadābād Mosque

A magnificent creation of Ahmad Shāh of Gujarat, this mosque was built in 1414. The central chamber, excluding the northern and southern wings, had 352 graceful columns covering 210 feet (64 meters) in width and 59 feet (17.98 meters) in depth. As stated in *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*² the mosque had three impressive entrances and its two minarets³ rose to a height of 186 cubits.

Atala Mosque

This mosque was built of sculptured stones by Sultān

1. It was built by Ahmad Shāh in 1367 AD.
2. *Sikandar b. Muhammad, Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, (Baroda, 1961), p. 38.
3. The minarets collapsed in the earthquake of 1819.

Ibrāhīm Sharqī on the site of a decayed temple (of Atala Devi). The Sultān used to offer Friday and 'id prayers in this mosque which also served as the seminary of Qāzī Shahābuddīn of Daulatābād. The mosque had long rows of chambers for the residence of students on either side of the mosque.

Jāmī Mosque, Jaunpūr

In 1438 Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī laid foundation of another Jāmī Masjid which was brought to completion after his death by his successors, Mahmūd Shāh and Husain Shāh. This mosque, too, was erected of sculptured stones and completed in seven years at a huge cost. The gigantic structure of the mosque towering starkly over the lofty plinth has hardly a peer so imposing in its proportions and so arresting in style.

The Ahmadābād Mosque

This mosque was built at Bidar by Ahmad Shāh, the Bahmanī King of Deccan, at a cost of two hundred thousand rupees. According to *Mukhtār-ul-Akhhār*, the mosque measured 100 by 24 cubits, of which the covered portion, running north-south, was 17 cubits in length and 10 cubits in depth.¹

Jāmī Mandu

Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī, the Sultān of Mālwā saw this mosque of exquisitely carved stones built at Māndu. Emperor Jahāngīr, who describes this mosque as charming in his Memoirs, says, "It is believed that the Mosque was constructed by Haushang, but the truth is that although it was founded by him, Mahmūd brought it to completion."²

1. *Syed Asadullah, Mukhtār-ul-Akhhār* (Gulbarga, 1294 AH), p. 224.

2. *Jahāngīr, Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī* (Aligarh, 1864), p. 189.

Bijāpūr Mosque

The mosque was constructed by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr in 1577. It was a towering edifice with an imposing appearance having a large prayer chamber. The arches of the mosque had been so designed that the voice of the pulpiteer could be distinctly heard from the remotest corner of the chamber. The engineering skill of its designers baffled many a European architect.

The Kannauj Mosque

The mosque was built, as stated in *Gharābat Nigār*,¹ by Sultan Ibrāhīm Sharqī in 1406. It occupied a commanding site, believed to have been the place earlier occupied by an old and decayed temple.

Jāmī Etawah

It stands by the side of the river Jamuna. The mosque having been built by one of the kings of Sharqī dynasty is a replica of the Kannauj mosque.

Jāmī Burhānpur

This mosque was constructed by 'Ādil Shāh IV, a monarch belonging to the Farūqī dynasty of Khāndesh. The mosque enjoying an air of distinction was built in the year 1564.

Bābrī Masjid

Bābrī Masjid was constructed at Ayodhya (Faizabad) in 1517. It is stated to have been built on the ruins of a temple and the kitchen of Sita, wife of Rām Chandrajī, and the place where the latter is reported to have been born.

Mecca Mosque

The construction of this mosque was started in 1614 by

1. Abdal Haq, *Gharabat Nigār* (Delhi, 1876), p. 36.

Muhammad Qutb Shāh. He spent 20,000 Huns on the mosque which he called *Bait-ul-'Atiq*, but he did not live long to see it completed. 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh and Abul Hasan Tānā Shāh renewed the construction of the mosque but it was ultimately brought to completion in 1686 by Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr who re-named it as Mecca Masjid. The author of *Hadiqat-ul-'Alam*, who has given these details, states that the mosque rising to a height of 49 cubits, measured 70 by 43 cubits.¹

Jāmī Masjid, Delhi

It was built by Shāhjahān as a part of the scheme of his new capital of Shāhjahānābād and it took six years to be completed at an expenditure of several hundred thousand rupees. The Mosque was built on a lofty mound at a distance of one thousand cubits to the west of the Red Fort. Red sandstone has been used in the construction of the courtyard, walls, ceilings, floor, cloisters around the three sides and four smaller domes at the angles but white marble joined by molten lead goes to make the frontispiece arches and the three lofty domes surmounting the main sanctuary. The two impressive tapering minarets crowned by marble pavilions and smaller domes, the three huge gateways on the northern, southern and eastern wings, the tank in the mid-courtyard and the white and black inlaid inscriptions of the Quranic verses around the arches and the minarets produce a pleasing grandeur and elegance that cannot be found in any structure elsewhere.

Motī Masjid, Agra

The mosque, within the Agra Fort, was erected by Shāhjahān in seven years at a cost of rupees thirteen lakhs. This mosque of white marble has an elevated basement, three vaults of 9 cubits circumference, three arcades forming

1. *Mir 'Alam, Hadiqat-ul-'Alam* (Hyderabad, 1369 A. H.), Vol. I, p. 284

the sanctuary covered by six smaller octagonal domes of 4 cubits diameter each and three bulbous domes. The mosque measures 148' 10" by 56 feet excluding the courtyard. The main hall is raised on a platform of about one cubit above the courtyard while the two minarets, $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits in diameter rise to a height of 170 cubits. A perforated screen of black marble graces the frontispiece, a tank in the courtyard provides facility for performing ablution while the white marble cloisters on the three sides with impressive gates impart it a spirit of peace and beauty.

Ajmer Mosque

The mosque was constructed by Shāhjahān as a part of the shrine of Khwājā Mo'inuddīn Chishtī. A flawless structure of white marble, the sanctuary of the mosque is 55 cubits in length and 10 cubits in width while its courtyard measures 70 by 14 cubits. The edict for the construction of this mosque was issued by the Emperor in 1627.

Agra Mosque

This mosque was got constructed by Jahānārā, the daughter of Shāhjahān, outside the Agra fort. The mosque was built of red sandstone and, as stated in *Bādshāhnamah*, it was completed at a cost of half a million rupees.

Masjid Fatehpuri

This mosque at Delhi was constructed, in 1650, by Nawāb Fatehpūrī Begum, one of the queens of Shāhjahān. The mosque measuring 45 by 22 yards (41.148 by 20.111 meters) has a white marble floor while the structure is of red sandstone.¹

Masjid Wazir Khān

The mosque was built at Lahore, during the reign of

1. *Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 284.

Shāhjahān by Hakīm 'Alīmuddīn Chinautī alias Wazīr Khān, the governor of Lahore. This architectural monument of surpassing beauty is still in good condition and used for congregational prayers.

Moti Masjid, Dethi

Under the orders of Aurangzeb this mosque was constructed within the Red Fort between Daulat Khānā and Bāgh Hayāt Bakhsh in order to enable the Emperor to perform the five daily prayers with the congregation. A remarkable house of prayer, it looks like a pearl on account of the flawless quality of marble used in its construction with consummate skill. The mosque was constructed at a cost of one lakh and sixty thousand rupees in five years.

Alamgīrī Masjid, Lahore

A red stone and marble structure combining virility with elegance and purity of style, it was built by Aurangzeb at a cost of five lakh rupees. The mosque is known as Shāhī Masjid of Lahore.

Alamgīrī Masjid, Banaras

This mosque is reported to have been built by Aurangzeb on the site of Visheshvara temple, which lay in ruins, with the material of demolished temple. It is one of the famous mosques of India.

Another mosque constructed by Aurangzeb at Banaras is located on the bank of the river Ganges. Its 28 minarets rising in slender prettiness to a height of 142 feet¹ (43.28 meters) dominate the city.

Alamgīrī Mosque, Mathura

This mosque of Aurangzeb is also reported to be

1. Originally the minarets were 50 feet higher but were shortened later on. (Distt. Gazetteer, Banaras, Vol. XXVI (1922), p. 245.

standing over the ruins of Govind Das temple at Mathura. The principal feature of this mosque is its beautiful design blended with solemn grandeur and strength.

Masjid Adhūnī, Deccan

Nawāb Mas'ūd Khān got this mosque constructed in 1665 at a cost of two lakh rupees. Artistically carved stones used in the construction of the mosque produce an extremely pleasing effect. The year of its construction has been calculated by adding the powers of the letters of the Quranic verse which says, "So turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque".

Motī Masjid, Delhi

There is another Motī Masjid at Delhi near the shrine of Sheikh Bakhtiyāruddin Kākī, the famous mystic sheikh. It was built by Shāh 'Ālam, son of Aurangzeb, in 1709. White marble enriched by gracefully inlaid margin of black marble used in the construction of this mosque produces an extremely pleasing effect.

Zinatul Masājid

Nawāb Zinat-un-Nisā, a daughter of Aurangzeb saw this mosque built by the side of the river Jamuna in 1719. It is an impressive edifice, made of red sandstone, while the three domes crowning the prayer chamber are of chaste white marble with an inlaid border of black marble. The spacious courtyard of the mosque accommodates a tank and the tomb of its founder.

Sunehrī Masjid, Delhi

Roshan-ud-Daula Zafar Khān built this mosque in 1721 during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. As the three domes and turrets of the mosque had been coated with gold, it was given the name of Sunehrī Masjid or Golden Mosque.

Sunehri Masjid, Lahore

Roshan-ud-Daula built another mosque at Lahore on the pattern of Sunehri Masjid of Delhi. It, too, had gold coated domes.

Sunehri Masjid, Delhi

Another golden mosque taking its name from the golden domes of its minarets was constructed of brilliant white coloured stone by Nawāb Jawed Khān during the reign of Ahmad Shāh.¹

1. The mosque was constructed in 1751 AD (*Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 335).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

NO trace of the formal educational institutions or *madrasahs*, as they later came to be known, is to be found during the early days of Islam. The first attempt to bring the study of different branches of learning under a systematic and standardised institution was made in the fourth century after *Hijrah*, when such a *madrasah* was established at Nishapur. Later on, the two institutions which achieved everlasting fame were the Nizāmiyah and Mustansaryah Universities of Baghdād. In India the early Muslim rulers do not appear to have been conversant with such formal educational institutions; for, they encouraged learned persons as well as those adept in any art of craft through liberal grants and benefactions to impart their knowledge and skill privately to students having an aptitude for the same.

Likewise, the religious doctors, too, taught the students privately either at their own houses or in the mosques and monasteries. Most of them did so only to seek the pleasure of God and they never accepted anything for the service rendered nor did they approach the kings and grandees for financial help in any form. Nevertheless, a number of later Muslim rulers and their nobles established numerous educational institutions which provided not only free boarding

and lodging to the teachers and students but they also paid handsome stipends to attract students to these institutions. We, however, mention here only the well-known *madrasahs* of the medieval India.

(1) *Madrasahs of Sind*

Madrasah Firūziyah was founded by Nasīruddīn Qabāchā when he was governor of Multān and Uch. As stated by Muhammad bin 'Abdul Wahāb Qazwaīnī in his marginal commentary on 'Aufī's *Lubāb-ul-Albāb*, a reputed scholar Minhajuddīn Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān bin Muhammad Juzjānī was appointed as the head of this institution in 1224.

Madrasah Multān was located in the monastery of Sheikhul-Islām Bahāuddīn Zakarya, the renowned mystic of Multān. Sheikh Mūsā and Sheikh Mujiduddin taught in this *madrasah* while Sheikh Abul Fateh bin Muhammad bin Zakarya was the head of the monastery. It has been mentioned in *Jāmi-ul-Uloom* that Sheikh Jalāluddin Husain bin Ahmad Husainī of Bukhara had been a student of the above-mentioned scholars.

Madrasah Siwistān. Siwistān had a large educational institution. When Ibn Batutah visited India during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, he paid a visit to this *madrasah* in 1333. In regard to the institution he says: "I stayed for a while in the big *madrasah* of this city and used to sleep on the roof of the institution during my stay there."

Madrasah Bhukkar was founded, according to *Tuhfatul Kirām*,¹ by Najmuddīn Muhammad Rafī' of Sind in 1747 while his Sheikh, Muhammad Mo'in bin Muhammad Amīn² was still alive.

1. Vol. III, p. 206.

2. Maulana Muhammad Mo'in was a noted scholar and mystic of his time. A disciple of Shāh Wallullah, he died in 1747. (*Nuzhat-ul-Khawātir*)

(2) *Madrasahs of Kashmir*

Madrasah Qutbuddin Purah: Sultān Qutbuddīn of Kashmir (d. 1393) had established a big *madrasah* at Qutbuddin Purah which, as stated in *Hada'iq-ul-Hanfiyah*, produced the noted Traditionist, Sheikh Jauhar besides several other reputed doctors of religion.

Madrasah of Sultān Zain-ul-'Abdīn: Sultān Zain-ul-'Abdīn of Kashmir was a patron of learning who established quite a few *madrasahs*. One of these, and a big one too, was the *madrasah* located near the imperial palace. The teachers appointed by him were men of learning who were paid handsome remuneration. The Sultān had also ordered to set up *pathshālās* and *maktabs* for the Hindus and Muslims in the temples and mosques throughout his realm and had earmarked the land revenues derived from certain areas for the maintenance of these schools. (*Tārīkh Kashmir*)¹.

Madrasah Srinagar: Mirza Burhānuddīn Tūnī, also known as Fādīl Khān, built a large *madrasah* at Srinagar while he was governor of Kashmir during the time of Aurangzēb. A mosque and a *hammām* were also constructed by him as an adjunct to the *madrasah*. He attached some cultivable land to this educational institution for its maintenance.²

(3) *Madrasahs of the Punjab*

Madrasahs of Lahore: Muhammad Fādīl of Badakhshan who was the Superintendent of Justice in the military cantonments during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, established this educational institution in the year 1634. Himself an erudite scholar, Muhammad Fādīl used to deliver lectures in the institution. A number of scholars had

1. Khwāja Muhammad 'Azam, *Tārīkh Kashmir* (Lahore, 1303 AH)

2. 'Abdul Baqī Nāhāvandī, *Mathar Rahimī*, p. 51

the honour of being taught by him (*Māthar-ul-Umrā*).¹

In another *madrasah* at Lahore the governor of the province Nawāb Qilich Khān Indjānī, used to teach law, exegesis and Traditions (*Māthar-ul-Umrā*).²

Lahore had yet another big *madrasah* established by Wazīr Khān near his famous mosque. Two scholars had been appointed in this institution by the founder who also created a trust for its maintenance.

Madrasah Sīālkot: The *madrasah* was established by an eminent scholar, 'Abdul Hakīm³ bin Shamsuddīn. Emperor Shāhjahān gifted out a number of villages for meeting the recurring expenses of the *madrasah*. 'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm taught in this *madrasah* for a long time and after his death his sons and grandsons continued to shed the light of guidance and learning in this institution.

Madrasah Thānesar: The *madrasah* was located near the tomb of Sheikh 'Abdur Rahīm (popularly known as Sheikh Chillī). The building of the *madrasah*, a masonry structure, occupied an area of 174 sq. feet and had three arcades on each of its three sides. On its eastern side, stood a big gate with a row of rooms for the students. The institution's building is reported to have been built by Dārā Shikoh in 1650.⁴

Madrasah Nārnaul was a big institution attached to the monastery of Sheikh Nizāmuddīn of Nārnaul. The *madrasah* produced a number of literary scholars.⁵

(4) *Madrasahs of Delhi*

Madrasah Mu'izziah was located in a big and fortress

1. *Shāhnawāz khān, Māthar-ul-Umrā* (Calcutta 1895), Vol. III, p. 71.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Author of several books, he was twice weighted in silver by Shāhjahān (*Nuzhat-ul-Khwātir*, (Hyderabad, 1955) Vol. V. p. 211.

4. The *madrasah* was converted into a Gurdwārā during the Sikh regime in Punjab (*Ibid*, p. 27).

5. The *madrasah* was built by Sher Shāh Sūrī in 1520 near the tomb of his grandfather (*Ibid* p. 28).

like building adjacent to the great mosque in which the Qarmatian fanatics fell upon a Friday congregation in 1237 when they made an attempt to overthrow the established religion during the reign of Razia Sultānā. Minhājuddīn states in the *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri*¹ that the Qarmatians attacked *Madrasah Mu'izziah* also as they thought it to be a moque. I have not been able to find further details in regard to this institution but I think it was founded by Sultān Qutbuddīn Aibak and named after his master Shahābuddīn Ghori whose title was Mu'izzuddīn. Maulānā Badruddīn Is'hāq of Bukhara was one of its teachers.

Madrasah Nāstriyah: This educational institution is believed to have been established by Sultān Shamsuddīn Iltutmish who named it after his father Nasīruddīn Mahmūd.

Qazi Minhājuddīn Uthmān bin Muhammad Jauzjānī was appointed head of this *madrasah* by Razia Sultānā in 1226.²

Madrasah Firūz Shāh: Firūz Shāh made arrangements for the education of his subjects on a vast scale. He built a magnificent building for this institution of higher studies near Hauz Khās, from which a canal supplied fresh water to the *madrasah*. Ziāuddīn Barnī writes in *Tārīkh Firūz Shāhi* that all secular and religious sciences were taught in this *madrasah*. Sheikh Jalāluddīn Rūmī (another scholar, not to be confused with the Persian mystic and poet of the same name) and his disciple Maulānā Yūsuf Jamāl Husainī were the two renowned teachers of this *madrasah*.³

Another *madrasah* was built by Firūz Shāh within the *Strī fort* near the big reservoir. The building of this *madrasah*, too, is reported by Barnī to be quite impressive. Maulānā Najmuddīn of Samarkand was one of the teachers in this institution.⁴

1. *Minhāj Sirāj, Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri* (Lahore, 1952), p. 98.

2. *Ibid*, p. 97.

3. *Ziāuddīn Barnī, Tārīkh Firūz Shāhi* (Calcutta, 18 (2), p. 565.

4. *Firishṭa* Vol. 1, p. 148.

Firūz Shāh built yet another *madrasah* at Delhi near the tomb of his son Fateh Khān (d. 1374). The headstone installed at the grave of Fateh Khān bore, according to *Firishṭa*, the impression of the holy Prophet's foot. This slab, known as *Qadam Rasūl*, was brought from Arabia by the mystic Sheikh Jalāluddīn Husain al-Husainī of Bukhara, also known as Makhdūm Jahāniān Jahān Gasht.

Madrasah Tulanabbi : The *madrasah* was established by Sikandar Lodhī for Maulāna 'Abdullah Tulanabbi, a scholar and man of letters, who had emigrated to Delhi. Badāūnī writes in the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* that the King awarded the title of *Malik-ul-Ulāmā* to Maulānā Tulanabbi and appointed him as the Principal of this College. A large number of students who later rose as eminent scholars had the good fortune of being taught by the Maulānā who revised and enlarged the then prevalent curriculum by introducing some of the difficult books on logic and philosophy. Before Maulānā Tulanabbi's reform the *madrasah* had only *Sharh Shamsiah* as the text book in logic and *Sharh-us-Sahā'if* in dialectics.¹

Madrasah of Maulānā Samā'uddīn : Maulānā Samā'uddīn (d. 1495) had also set up a *madrasah* at Delhi in which he taught for a long time. After him, Sheikh Fateh Ullah, Sheikh 'Abdul Ghafoor and Mufti Jamāluddīn, the grandson of Maulānā Samā'uddīn kept the torch of learning aloft in this institution benefiting a large number of students.

Madrasah Sheikh Farīd : It was a big institution named after the well-known mystic Sheikh Fariduddīn Ganj Shakar whose shrine is at Ajodhan. Sheikh 'Alāuddīn founded the *madrasah* to commemorate the memory of his grandfather, Tājuddīn al-Fārūqī during the reign of Humāun in 1534. The ruins of the *Madrasah* can still be seen near the tomb of its founder.²

1. 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Lucknow, (1868) p. 86.
2. Bashiruddin, *Terikh Bashiruddin, or Waqi'at Dehli* [(Agra, 1919), Vol. III, p. 112.

Madrasah Māham Begum. The wet nurse of Emperor Akbar, Māham had built a mosque and a *madrasah* in 1561 near Humayūn's fort known as Dīnpanāh. The ruins of this monument are traceable to this day.¹

Madrasah Sheikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddith. Jahāngīr founded this institution of higher learning, alongwith a supporting trust, for Sheikh 'Abdul Haq bin Saifuddīn, the well-known scholar of Traditions belonging to Delhi. After the death of the Sheikh, his descendants Muftī Nūrul Haq, Sheikh 'Ali Muhammad, Sheikh Muhammad Hāshim and Sheikh Abū Razā devoted their lives to the teaching and preaching of Traditions in this institution. To this *madrasah* goes the credit of introduction, growth and popularisation of the science of Traditions in India, for, it had been the Alma Mater of many an eminent scholar from the day it was established.

Madrasah Shāhjahānī. Known by the name of Dārul-Baqā, this *madrasah* was founded by Shāhjahān some time between 1649 and 1658, not far from the Jāmī Masjid. Maulānā Y'aqūb of Bayānah was appointed as the head of the institution by the Emperor. After the *madrasah* fell into ruins, Muftī Sadaruddīn Azurdā (d. 1842) had it rebuilt and appointed teachers for the instruction of the students. The *madrasah* was, however, completely demolished during the first war of independence waged in 1857.

Madrasah Fatehpūrī Begum. One of the queens of Shāhjahān, Nawāb Fatehpūrī Begum, who built the delightful Fatehpūrī mosque, constructed a *madrasah* also near it in 1649. The building of the *madrasah* had been made of marble and red sandstone. The mosque contains lodges for the teachers and students while some shops which have been constructed facing the market have been rented out to meet the recurring expenses of the *madrasah*. The income then fetched from the shops was rupees six hundred per mensem.

1. Yādgār Dillī

Madrasah Akbrābādī Begum. Another queen of Shāh-jahān, Akbarābādī Begum, built a mosque and a *madrasah* at Delhi in 1630. It was a splendid masonry structure with lodges for the teachers and the taught, and had shops around it to meet the expenses of the *madrasah*. In this institution the noted Traditionist and commentator of Qur'ān, Shāh 'Abdul Qādir of Delhi, taught the students for a long time. It continued to function till the last days of Moghul rule but in the upheaval of 1857 the Britishers completely demolished the *madrasah* leaving no trace of it.

Madrasah Mīr Jumlā was founded by Mīr Jumlā, one of grandees of Aurangzeb. Although the *madrasah* fell into ruins in due course of time, the locality was still known by the name of the *madrasah* for a long time.

Madrasah 'Ināyat Khān was also an educational institution of Delhi, but its ruins are not traceable now.

Madrasah Ghāziuddin Khān—A big edifice of red sandstone was built by Ghāziuddin Khān, Prime Minister of Ahmad Shāh Bahādur and, then, of 'Alamgir II, in 1751, outside the city, near the palace built by his grandfather Ghāziuddin Khān Firūz Jang. The *madrasah* had pillared verandahs on its three sides and a magnificent mosque on the western part which contained the tomb of Firūz Jang within an enclosure. Nawāb Fazal 'Ali Khān, then a minister at the court of Nawāb of Lucknow gave a sum of Rs. 1,70,000 to the East India Company to be held in trust for running this *madrasah* but the Company appropriated the funds for establishing an English teaching school.¹

Molvī 'Abdul Qādir of Rampur writes in his book '*Roz-nāmah*' that Sheikh Nazar Muhammed of Delhi was a teacher in this *madrasah*.

Madrasah of Ghāziuddin Khān's mother : Ghāziuddin Khān's mother had also founded a *madrasah* in Delhi. Molvī 'Abdul Qādir of Rampur says that the *Madrasah* was

1. *Athār-us-Sanādīd*, pp. 133 and 305.

known after the name of Maulānā Fakhruddīn of Delhi who used to teach in it.¹

Madrasah Shāh Walī Ullah : This was the fortunate institution where the great savant, thinker and reformer Shāh Walī Ullah of Delhi taught the students. Shāh 'Abdur Rahīm, father of Shāh Walī Ullah used to put up at Mehdiyān, outside Delhi, near his ancestral cemetery. After his father's death, Shāh Walī Ullah moved within the city where Muhammad Shāh made over a big mansion to him for starting a *madrasah*. This institution was known as the old *madrasah* where Shāh Walī Ullah delivered lectures to his students throughout his life. After his death, a new *maarasah* was constructed on the site of the older one, where Shāh 'Abdul 'Aziz taught until he lost his eyesight. Shāh Raf'i uddīn and Shāh 'Abdul Qādir, the two brothers of Shāh 'Abdul 'Aziz continued to teach in the *madrasah* and, after their death, the responsibility was taken up by Shāh Muhammad Is'hāq, Shāh Muhammad Y'aqūb and Sheikh Makhsūs Ullah, the descendants of Shāh 'Abdul Azīz. This was one of the central seats of learning in India which popularised religious sciences in India.²

Madrasah Bazār Darība. Near Darība market in Delhi, by the side of Sunehrī Masjid, Nawāb Roshan-ud-Daula had got the imposing edifice of this *madrasah* built in 1721 during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. The *madrasah* functioned till the termination of the Moghul rule in Delhi for the Britishers converted the *madrasah* into a police out-post.³

Madrasah of Irādatmand Khān : This *madrasah* was founded in 1722, during the reign of Muhammad Shāh, near the mosque of Bazār Darība, by Nawāb Sharaf-ud-Daula Irādatmand Khān. Sir Syed Ahmad Khān has given an account of this *madrasah* in the *Athār-us-Sanādīd*.⁴ Bashiruddīn

1. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawātir*, Vol. VI, p. 221.

2. *Ibid* p. 399.

3. *Gharābat Nigār*, p. 146.

4. *Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 309.

has given the description of another *madrasah* established by Nawab Sharaf-ud-Daula in mohalla Rūdgardan in the *Tārīkh Dehli*. The locality where this institution existed is still known by its name, but only a big gate of the *madrasah* is all that stands now to remind us of its existence.¹

Madrasah Shah Husain : Shāh Husaīn built this *madrasah* and a mosque in Bulblī Khānā in 1735 but the mosque was known after the name of Nawāb Qutbuddin Khān.²

Bashiruddin has made a mention of another educational institution founded in 1837 at Charkhī Wālān in Delhi by one Saddhū Ghosan.

(5) Madrasahs of Agra

Madrasah Sheikh Raf'uddin : The institution, located within the city of Agra, was named after Sheikh Raf'uddin Husainī of Shīrāz (d. 1538), a scholar who had specialised in the science of Traditions.³ He migrated to India during the reign of Sikandar Lodhī and was acknowledged as the foremost savant of his time.

Madrasah Zainiyah : The *madrasah* together with a mosque was built by Sheikh Zainuddin Khawwāfī in 1534. He was buried within the quadrangle of the mosque.⁴

Madrasah of Muftī 'Abul Fath. This was the premier educational institution of Agra presided over by Muftī Abul Fath bin 'Abdul Ghafoor of Thānesar (d. 1578), where he lectured for fifty years. He was also responsible for directing the educational activities at the capital of the empire.⁵

Madrasah Akbarābād : The *madrasah* was founded by Akbar. The ruins of its main building were traceable before the holocaust of 1857. The mosque attached to the *madrasah*

1. *Bashiruddin. Tārīkh Dehli*, (Agra, 1919), Vol. II. p. 212.

2. *Ibid*

3. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawātir*, Vol. IV, p. 120.

4. *Tārīkh-ul-'Ulamā*

5. Mullah 'Abdul Qādir, Budā'ūnī was his disciple (*Ibid*, p. 12)

still remains and the locality is known by the name of the *madrasah*.¹

Madrasah Khas was so named because of its thatched roofing and walls made of reeds and straw. The *madrasah* was established by Maulānā 'Alāuddīn Lārī in 1561 during the reign of Akbar. 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī has reckoned the year in which the *madrasah* was founded by adding the powers of the letters of its name.

Madrasah Jāmi Masjid: Jahānārā, the daughter of Shāhjahān built this *madrasah* opposite the fort at Agra and created a trust for its maintenance.

Madrasah Akbar: Akbar had built this *madrasah* on the top of the hillock at Fatehpūr Sikrī at the instance of Sheikh Salīm bin Bahāuddīn Chishtī. The emperor also appointed several theologians as teachers of this institution at handsome remuneration.²

Madrasah Abul Fadl was also at Fatehpur Sikrī. Its ruins can still be seen.

Madrasah Banāt was also at Fatehpur. Its building was a masonry structure, ornately carved and erected near the populated area. Its ruins are still extant.³

Madrasah Gwāliar was founded by Amīr Rahīm Dād, a noble in the court of Bābur.⁴

Madrasah Kannauj was established by Sheikh 'Alī Asghar of Kannauj (d. 1127) who taught in the school till his death. Thereafter, his son and grandson Maulānā Rustam 'Alī (d. 1764) and Maulānā 'Abdul Bāsīt (d. 1808) respectively continued to teach in the *madrasah* which produced many scholars.

Madrasah Farrukhābād: The *madrasah* was built by Nawāb Muhammad Khān Bangash, the founder of Rohilla

1. Seel Chand; *Tārikh Agra*

2. *Al'n Akbarī*

3. *Athār-ul-Khair*

4. *Ibid*

State. The locality where the school existed, is still known by its name.¹

Fakhr-ul-Marābe was the name of another *madrasah* established in 1809 by Muftī Wallūllah of Farrukhābād².

(6) Madrasahs of Jaunpur, Bihar and Bengal

Madrasah Qāzī Shahābuddīn: Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī, the great patron of learning, had built this *madrasah* for Qāzī Shahābuddīn of Daulatābād. It played an important part in the spread of sciences and learning. The *madrasah* had also lodges for the residence of students.

Madrasah Rājī Begum: The school was founded by Rājī Begum, queen of Mahmūd Shāh Sharqī (1436—58) along with a mosque in 1442. She also granted stipends to the teachers and the students of the *madrasah* which continued to function until Sikandar Shāh bin Bahlol Lodhī captured Jaunpūr and the *madrasah* was razed to ground like numerous other monuments and castles of the Sharqī dynasty.³

Madrasah 'Azīz Ullah: It was a big institution established in the locality called 'Azīzullah at Jaunpur by Junaid Barlās, the governor of the place in the reign of Babur. Sheikh 'Azīz Ullah bin Sheikh Na'īm Ullah, from whom the *madrasah* and the locality took their names, was appointed as its first Principal. Sheikh 'Azīz Ullah was a progeny of Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Isā who was a noted mystic of the place. The *madrasah* fell into ruins in due course of time and was gradually turned into a cemetery.⁴

Madrasah Sheikh Muhammad Afzal: The *madrasah* was founded by the reputed scholar Sheikh Muhammad Afzal Uthmānī (d. 1650). Savants like Mullah Mahmūd Jaunpurī and Sheikh Mohammad Rashīd, the authors of the *Shams*

1. *Athār-ul-Khair*
2. Wallūllah Hasani, *Tārīkh Farrukhābād*, (Nadwatul Ulama MSS No. 105), 341.
3. *Tajall-i-Nūr*
4. *Riyādh-i-Jaunpūr*

Bazgha and *Rashidiya*, respectively, graduated from this seminary.

Madrasah Sheikh Rashid. The *madrasah* was located in Mohalla Mīr Mast in Jaunpur where Sheikh Muhammad Rashid bin Mustafa Uthmān once spread the light of learning. I have, however, not been able to find out the name of its founder. The ruins of the *madrasah* are still traceable.

Madrasah Banaras was established by Sheikh Nizāmuddīn of Banaras. One of the scholars who received his education in this school was Sheikh Tayyab bin Mo'in¹ (d. 1632)

Madrasah Patna. This was a famous centre of Islamic learning at 'Azīmābād (Patna) with a magnificent building on an elevated place by the side of the river Ganges. It was founded in 1655 by Nawāb Saifuddīn Khān who had also constructed a mosque and residential quarters for the teachers and students, and created a trust consisting of several villages for the maintenance of the *madrasah*.

The author of *Risālā Qutbiā* states that two of its teachers Syed Zarīf and Syed Kamāl were disciples of Sheikh Nizāmuddīn of Lucknow. *Siyar-ul-Mutākhiriin*, however, gives the name of its another lecturer, Maulānā Tājuddīn of Oudh.

Madrasah Dānāpūr. Located at Dānāpūr, about 10 Kms. from Patna, the school was founded by Nawāb Asaf Khān. The *madrasah* was located in a building of considerable strength and elegance whose foundation was laid by Nawāb Asaf Khān but was ultimately brought to completion by Nawāb Halbat Jang. The latter also constructed a beautiful mosque near the *madrasah*.²

Madrasah Shāhābād. The *madrasah* existed in the suburbs of Shāhābād (Arrah). It had once had a big trust consisting of several villages, created by Shāh Alam. It also had

1. *Ganj Rāshidi*
2. *Gharābat Nigār*

a big library and its annual expenditure amounted to five thousand rupees. The present trustee is the head of a local monastery.

Madrasah Aurangābād. This educational institution, which still exists, is in Aurangābād town of district Gaya. The annual income from the trust created for its maintenance was rupees four hundred per annum.

Rangpūr Madrasahs—Several educational institutions were started in Rangpūr district of Bengal by Muhammed Bakhtiyār Khiljī but none of them now exist nor the trace of their buildings is to be found.

MADRASAHS OF MALWA AND KHANDESH

Madrasah Mandu was in the capital of Ghaurī kings of Mālwa. It was perhaps founded by Hushang Shāh who died in 1435 and, as stated by Firishta, was laid to rest in the same *madrasah*.¹

Madrasah Mahmūdiya was founded by Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī I in the year 1446. He also fixed a generous allowance for the teachers and students of the *madrasah*.

Madrasah Ghiyāthiya. This institution was also located in Shādīābād at Mandu and was founded by Ghiyāthuddīn Khiljī as stated by Asfi in the *Zafar-ul-Wāleh*.²

Madrasah Zafarābād. Ghiyāthuddīn Khiljī established this *madrasah* at Zafarābād. According to the author of *Athār-ul-Khair* the *madrasah* existed during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh II.

Madrasah Ujjain. The *madrasah* was founded by one of the Khiljī Sultāns of Mālwa. The ruins of its building are still visible.³

1. *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 241.

2. *Muhammad b. Umar Makki Asfi, Zafar-ul-Wālah*, (London, 1910) Vol. I, p. 209.

3. *Muhammad 'Abbas Ref'at Sherwāni, Tuzuk-i-Afghāni*, (Agra, 1299 AH), p. 100

Madrasah Sārangpūr. This Institution was established by one of the Khilji Sultāns of Mālwa. The ruins of the building still standing have the following inscription on its foundation stone :

"The foundation of this *madrasah* was laid within the territory held by Malik Madārī Khān on 22nd of Rab'i-ul-Thāni in the year 897 A.H. during the reign of the Great King, the patron of the world and religion, Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī, whom God may bless with dominion and kingdom."

Madrasah Ra'isīn : The *madrasah* with a imposing building was established at Ra'isīn by Ghānīm-ul-Mulk in 1485, which also provided residential accommodation for its students and teachers. The ruins of its decayed walls still stand to remind its existence.¹

Madrasah 'Adilpūr. The *madrasah* had a magnificent building and, as stated by the author of *Gulzār-i-Abrār*,² Sheikh Mūsā of Sind was appointed as the Principal of this school by its founder, 'Adil Shāh.

Madrasah Burhānpūr : The *madrasah* was run first by Sheikh Tāhir bin Yūsuf of Sind and then by his nephew 'Isā bin Qāsim. Thereafter his descendants continued to teach in this institution for a long time.

Madrasah Anwāruddīn : Another educational institution was established at Burhānpūr by Nawāb Anwāruddīn of Gopāmaū, then governor of Burhānpūr, who appointed Sheikh Ghulām of Gujarat as the head of the *madrasah* and fixed an annual subvention of Rs. 36,000 for its maintenance.

MADRASAHS OF GUJARAT

"In the towns of Gujarat Mahmūd Shāh I founded a large number of *madrasahs*," writes the author of

1. *Nawāb Shāhjahān Begum, Taj-ul-Iqbāl* (Kanpur, 1289 AH), Vol. III, p. 83.

2. *Muhammed Ghaus Mandwi, Gulzār-i-Abrār*, Vol. VIII, p. 453.

Mirāt-i-Sikandarī, but I have not been able to find further details of these institutions.

Madrasah Uthmānpūr. Sheikh 'Uthmān¹ (d. 1459) established this *medrasah* at 'Uthmānpūr near Ahmadābād. Mahmūd Shāh I donated a large collection of valuable books from his imperial library which were given over to the *madrasah* by Sheikh Uthmān for the use of students.

Madrasah Nahrwālā was located by the side of Hauz Khān Sarwar outside the town of Nahrwālā. Maulānā Qāsīm bin Muhammad of Nahrwālā was the head of this institution during the reign of Qutbuddīn Shāh of Gujarat (1451-1458).

Another *Madrasah* at Nahrwālā was attached to the shrine of Sheikh Hisāmuddīn 'Uthmān bin Daūd Multānī wherein the chief lecturer was Maulānā Tajuddīn. After his death his son Maulānā Muhammad took up the responsibility assigned to his father. A number of religious scholars graduated from this institution.

Madrasah Ahmadābād was an important institution catering for the need of higher education. It was located at Sarkhīch, a suburban town of Ahmadābād. Faqīh Ḥaṣan 'Arab, a scholar of Islamic jurisprudence, taught the students in this *madrasah* during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh I and his son Muzaffar Shāh II. As stated by the author of *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, the *madrasah* produced a number of erudite scholars.

Madrasah Maulānā Muhammad Tāhir of Patān: The Maulānā had founded a *madrasah* in his home town on which he spent all that he had inherited from his father. According to the author of *An-Nūr-al-'Sāfir*,² the Maulana took special pains to educate a number of brilliant students who specialised in different branches of Islamic sciences.

Madrasah 'Alīāmā Wejīhuddīn: The founder of the

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1. Sultān Mahmūd Shāh I was one of his disciples. (*Nuzhatul Khawātīr*, Vol. III, p. 99).
 2. Muhiuddīn Abdul Qādir, *An-Nūr-al-'Sāfir* (Baghdad, 1934), p. 362.

madrasah, 'Allāmā Wajihuddīn of Gujarat, instructed his students as well as provided them with boarding and lodging. When the 'Allāmā died he was laid to rest in the courtyard of the *madrasah*. Later on, Sādiq Khān constructed a dome on the grave of 'Allāmā Wajihuddin and rebuilt the *madrasah* besides providing stipends for the students.

Author of *Tuhfatul Kirām* reports that the progeny of the 'Allāmā continued to teach in the *madrasah* after his death.

Madrasah Ahmadābād. Saif Khān Jahāngīrī built a large educational institution opposite Ahmadabad Fort in 1622 when he was posted as the Revenue Collector of the province.¹

Madrasah Sheikh-ul-Islām Khān. The building of the College was built by Maulānā Ikrāmuddīn, also known by the title of Sheikh-ul-Islām Khān,² during his governorship of Gujarat province. The *madrasah's* building was completed in three years (1696-1699) at a cost of Rs. 1,24,000. Sheikh-ul-Islām Khān, who entrusted the charge of the institution to his spiritual mentor, Sheikh Nūruddin bin Muhammad Sāleh of Gujarat, endowed several villages for the maintenance of the *madrasah*.

Madrasah Hājī Zāhid Beg was founded by Hājī Zāhid Beg, a wealthy merchant, at Sūrat in 1641. The *madrasah* was located near the shrine of Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Abdullah 'Idur Rūs and built during the time of Sheikh Ja'far Sādiq 'Idur-Rūs.³

9. MADRASAHS OF OUDH

Madrasahs of Lucknow. A big institution which produced a large number of theologians was founded by Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Abī Baqā (Muhammad 'Azam—d. 1465)

1. *Mithā Lal, Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, (Bombay, 1307 AH), Vol. I, p. 209.
2. The title was conferred by Shāh 'Alam.
3. *Hadīqa*

while another one was established by Qāzī 'Abdul Qādir Farūqī (d. 1664) of Lucknow. The other *madrasah*, too, turned out a number of academicians who founded several *madrasahs* in different cities.

Madrasah Amethī was established at Barūna (Amethī) by Hasan of Sārangpūr. Sheikh Ja'far bin Nizāmuddīn¹ of Amethī (d. 1635) was the head of this institution which had a large building and rooms for the students. The ruins of this school are still visible.²

Madrasah Mullā Jīwan was also at Amethī where it was founded by 'Abdul Qādir bin Ahmad of Amethī. The father of the founder, Sheikh Ahmad bin Abī Saeed (Mullā Jīwan) was the first teacher of this school after whom his descendants continued to lecture in the *madrasah*.³

Madrasah Shāh Pīr Muhammad. This was the famous *madrasah* located by the side of the river Gomti which achieved great fame as an institution of higher education. It is, however, not known who founded this *madrasah*.

A number of eminent scholars such as Shāh Pīr Muhammad⁴ (d. 1673), Sheikh Muhammad Afāq, Maulānā Ghulām Naqshband (d. 1616), Maulānā Ahmad, Maulānā Ghulām Yahyā of Bihar (d. 1766 AD) and Maulānā 'Abdur Rashīd of Jaupur instructed the students in this *madrasah* which was perhaps located in the Aurangzeb's mosque known as Tilā Shāh Pīr Muhammad Masjid.

Madrasah Firangi Mahal was founded by Mullā Nizāmuddīn of Sihālī who formulated the *Nizāmīa* course of study. He started this educational institution in his own house, known as Firangi Mahal which first belonged to an European merchant and was later on given over to him by

1. He was popularly known as Bandagi Nizāmuddin. One of the prominent mystic sheikhs of his time, he had been granted a fief by Jahāngīr (*Nuzhat-ul-Khwātir*, Vol. V, p. 109).
2. *Riyādh-i-'Uthmāni* by Khādim Husain 'Alī Khān.
3. *Subh-i-Bahār* by Khādim Husain 'Alvi.
4. A famous mystic (d. 1673) whose shrine still attracts large crowds.

Aurangzeb. The *madrasah* played a memorable role in the promotion of theological learning in India.

Madrasah Mansūriya. The foundation of this educational centre was laid by Mullā Hamīd Ullah bin Shukr Ullah and his son Molvī 'Askar 'Alī at Sandīla in 1733. King Ahmad Shāh Bahādur donated a number of villages for the maintenance of the *madrasah* on the recommendation of his *vizīr* Abul Mansūr Khān Safdar Jang, from whom the *madrasah* took its name. Besides Mullā Hamd Ullah, his son Halder 'Alī and Maulānā Bab Ullah of Jaunpur taught the students in this *madrasah* which produced a number of scholars.

Madrasah Bilgrām was established by Allāmā 'Abdul Jalīl Bilgrāmī (d. 1725) where Maulānā Tufail Ahmad of Utraula taught the students. A number of eminent theologians graduated from this institution. This educational centre no more exists but the traces of its wrecked building still exist.

Madrasah Qazī Qutbuddīn. This *madrasah* was at Gopamaū. A number of young men had gone out of its portals after completing their studies, writes the author of *Tazkiratul Ansāb*.¹

Madrasah Wālā Jāhīā. The *madrasah* was established, perhaps in 1785 by Nawāb Muhammad 'Alī Khān of Gopamaū, then governor of Madras, in his home town. The Nawāb had appointed Qāzī Mustafā 'Alī Khān as the head of this institution.²

Madrasah Sultāniya. Hakīm Mahdī 'Alī Khān, a *vizīr* in the court of Sultān Nasiruddīn Haider, King of Oudh, established this educational institution near the tomb of Sa'adat 'Alī Khān at Lucknow. The school building had also lodges for the students.

Hakīm Mahdī 'Alī Khān had started another educational

1. By Imāmuddīn Ahmad, (Delhi, 1322 A.H.)

2. *Natāij-ul-Afkār*, by Quadrat-Ullah of Gopa Maū.

institution exclusively for the Kashmīrī students with a staff of ten teachers. The *madrasah* provided free boarding and lodging to the students. Hakīm Mahdī Alī Khān, who took keen interest in the affairs of the *madrasah*, not only frequently visited the institution to test the academic attainments of the students but also entertained them with sweets and fruits.¹

Madrasah Amjad 'Alī Shāh was established at Lucknow by Nawāb Amjad 'Alī Shāh of Lucknow. Handsome remuneration was paid to its teachers among whom the two scholars of note were Syed Ahmad 'Alī of Muhammadabad and Muftī 'Abbās Tustri.

Madrasah Salon was located in the famous monastery of a mystic Sheikh at Salon in district Rae Bareilly. The Moghul emperors had donated considerable landed property for the monastery which sufficed to meet the expenses of the *madrasah* which is still being run by its trustees.

10. MADRASAS OF ROHILKHAND

Madrasah Mu'izziyah. This great religious institution of Badāun was founded either by Sultān Qutbuddīn Albak or his successor Sultān Shamsuddīn Iltutmish not far from the Jamī Masjid which was built in 1223 AD. As stated by Hasan Sijzī in *Fawā'id-ul-Fuād*, a large number of students came out of its portals after completing their studies. 'An eminent scholar, Sheikh Zainuddin, lived in *Madrasah Mu'izziyah* near the Jamī Masjid of Badāun,' writes Sheikh Mujāhid Nizāmuddīn Muhammad bin Ahmad. According to my information the reputed scholar, Ruknuddīn of Badāun (who had among his students such eminent scholars as Sheikh Sirājuddīn of Gaznī, author of a large number of religious treatises), was on the staff of this educational institution.

Madrasah Fateh Khān was at Aonla. It was established

1. Akbar Ali Kashmiri, *Sabikatuz-Zahab*.

by Fateh Khān, Khān-i-Sāmān (Lord High Steward) and had amongst its staff Sheikh Wasī 'Alī bin Rahmat Ullah of Jā'is.¹

Madrasah Zābta Khān was founded by Nawāb Zābta Khān, son of Nawāb Najīb-ud-daulā, at Dārānagar in district Moradābād. The institution could boast of having such men of calibre on its staff as Mullā Hasan bin Ghulām Mustafa of Lucknow and Sheikh Salīm bin Kamāluddin of Fatehpūr.²

Madrasah Hāfiz Rahmat Khān. The foundation of this great institution of religious learning was laid by Nawāb Hāfiz Rahmat Khān at Shāhjahānpūr by the side of the river Karrah. 'Allāma Bahr-ul-Uloom, son of Mullah Nizāmuddīn of Lucknow, was appointed as trustee and Principal of this institution after he had migrated from Lucknow to Rohilkhand. 'Allāma Bahr-ul-Uloom continued to teach in the *madrasah* for 20 years but after him it ceased to exist.

Madrasah 'Aliya. Nawāb Faiz Ullah Khān established this educational institution at Rampūr. The students receiving education in this *madrasah* were also granted a fixed allowance. After the death of Nawāb Hāfiz Rahmat Khān he appointed 'Allāma 'Abdul 'Alī, and thereafter Mullā Hasan bin Ghulām Mustafa of Lucknow as the head of this institution which continues to exist to this day.

Madrasah Bareilly. This *madrasah* was also founded by Nawāb Hāfiz Rahmat Khān. Maulānā Rustam 'Alī bin Asghar of Kannauj was an eminent scholar who remained head of the institution for a long time.

Madrasah Pilibhit. This institution of higher studies was also established by Nawāb Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, perhaps in 1767, who also created a trust consisting of several villages for the upkeep of the *madrasah*.

1. Maulvi 'Abdul Qādir Jā'isi, *Tārīkh Jā'is*, Nadwatul Ulama MSS No. 106, p. 31.
2. *Aghsān-ul-Ansāb*

11. MADRASAHS OF DECCAN

Madrasah Ellichpur. Its foundation was laid by Safdar Khān of Sīstān under the order of Sultān 'Alauddīn Hasan Bahmanī in 1349, who also created a trust for the *madrasah* with an annual income of 30,000 *huns*. The institution had the privilege of enjoying the services of Maulānā Ibrāhīm, Maulānā Yahyā, Maulānā Zāhīr bin Yūsuf and Maulānā Tayyab Muhaddith. The last three scholars belonged to Sind.

Madrasah Mahmūd Gāwān. At Bider, the minister of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī III, Khwājā Jahān 'Imāduddīn Mahmūd Gīlānī, founded this great educational centre of historic importance in 1469. The building of the *madrasah* was of imposing appearance. With towering minarets at its two front corners and covering an area of 205 feet by 180, it had students' cubicles along the rampart enclosing it with a mosque standing on one side in its wide courtyard. Not only the teachers were paid handsome remuneration, the students, too, were provided boarding, lodging, clothing and other amenities free of cost.

The *madrasah* existed during the time of Aurangzeb who appointed Sheikh Muhammad Husain of Bijāpūr as one of its teachers in 1687.¹ During *Ramadhān* in the year 1695 the southern minaret and a portion of the mosque and the *madrasah* were demolished by thunderbolt which took the lives of 500 persons performing the congregational prayer of *Tarāwīh*. Sheikh Muhammad Husain was also one of those who died in the holocaust.²

Madrasah Tahiriya. The *madrasah* was within the fort of Ahmadnagar. Tāhīr bin Razī of Hamadān was the head of this institution during the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh I. His son Husain Nizām Shāh II dismantled the building of the institution to build a mosque on its site.³

1. *Hadiqat-ul-'Alam*
2. *Mukhtār-ul-Akhhbār*, pp. 193-4.
3. *Firishta*, Vol. 1, p. 358.

Madrasah Burhānia. Burhān Nizām Shāh I built this *madrasah* opposite Ahmadnagar fort in 1522. It was a brick and masonry structure. Burhān Nizām Shāh I also endowed landed property for the maintenance of the institution, out of which stipends were given to the Shī'a students.¹

Madrasah 'Alīa. The *madrasah* was established by 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I of Bijāpūr who created a trust for the institution and appointed Mīr Fateh Ullah Shīrāzī as the head of the *madrasah*.²

Madrasah 'Alviya was also in Bijāpūr. It was established during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I by Qāzī 'Alī bin Asad Ullah who had been conferred the title of the "Teacher of the saints."³

Madrasah Bijāpūr was one of the premier institutions of Bijāpūr, built by Muhammad 'Adil Shāh, providing higher education. Scholars of Traditions and Islamic Jurisprudence were appointed by the King who had also ordered that all students of the *madrasah* should be provided food from the imperial kitchen and given one *hun* per month for pocket expenses. The students were also provided with books, free of cost, out of the Imperial library. Muhammad 'Adil Shāh also made arrangements for the education of students in the great mosque of the city by appointing teachers at handsome remuneration for the purpose.⁴

Madrasah Hyderābād. It was built by Muhammad Qutb Qutb Shāh at Hyderabad in 1596. The magnificent building of the *madrasah* had four towering minarets on its four sides with a big cupola in the middle, beneath which was a tank connected by canals in which danced numerous fountains. Being a residential college it also had rooms for the lodging

1. *Firishta*, Vol. II, p. 115.

2. 'Abdul Jabbar Malkāpūrī, *Mahbūb-i-Watan*, (Hyderabad, 1328 A.H.) Vol. I, p. 96.

3. Ghulam 'Alī 'Azad, *Rauzat-ul-Aulla*.

4. Ibrāhīm Zubairī, *Basā'īn-us-Salātin*, (Hyderabad, N.D.) p. 351.

of students who were granted stipends out of the State treasury.¹ The building of the *madrasah* which still exists is known as Chār Minār.

Madrasah Hayāt Nagar. It was also a big educational centre founded by Hayāt-un-Nisa, mother of 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh at Hayāt Nagar near Ibrāhīm Patan. The monthly expenditure on the *madrasah*, met by Hayāt-un-Nisa, is reported to be 200 *huns*. The institution is stated to have existed during the reign of Abul Hasan Tānā Shāh.²

Madrasah Golconda was built by Muhammad bin Kha-toon Āmli under the orders of 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh. Located outside Golconda fort, the trust created for its maintenance had an annual income of one thousand *huns*. This *Madrasah*, too, existed during the time of Abul Hasan Tānā Shāh.³

Madrasah Aurangābād. The *madrasah* was established at Moghul Pura in Aurangābād city in 1735 by Nawāb Muhammad Ghiyāth Khān, a grandee of the court of Āsaf Jāh I.⁴

Madrasah Madras was a big educational institution founded by Nawāb Muhammad 'Alī Khān. The *madrasah* had the privilege of having on its staff several scholars of outstanding calibre, such as, 'Allama Bahr-ul-Uloom 'Abdul 'Alī bin Nizāmuddīn of Lucknow, Maulānā 'Alāuddīn, Maulānā Abdul Wājid and Maulānā Jamāluddīn.

A large number of students graduated out of its portals, of which several were high-ranking scholars.

1. *Hadiqat-ul-Alam*, Vol. I, p. 217.

2. *Mahboob-i-Watan*, Vol. I, p. 97.

3. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 98.

4. Samsām-ud-Daulā Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Mā'āthar-ul-Umrā*, (Calcutta, 1888) Vol. III, p. 770.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES

MARISTAN is the Arabic version of Bimāristān according to Sihāh. The first institution known to history for the care of sick and wounded was perhaps established by Hippocrates. In the Muslim era the Umayyad Caliph Walīd bin 'Abdul Malik was the first ruler who set up a hospital in 706 and appointed physicians on fixed remuneration. Lepers were specially provided indoor treatment in this hospital. Caliph Walīd also granted stipends to the blind.¹

Indian Hospitals : Firūz Tughluq was the first Indian monarch, according to my information, who is credited with the opening of several hospitals, the biggest of which was at Delhi. He appointed not only salaried physicians and made provision for free supply of medicines but also ordered that all patients admitted to these hospitals should be given nutriment, milk, etc. till their complete recovery from the illness. Complete destruction of the hospital buildings of Firūz Tughluq renders it difficult to locate their sites.

Gulbarga Dispensary : It was a big dispensary established by Sultān 'Alauddīn Hasan bin 'Alī Bahmanī, whose physician in-charge was Hakīm 'Alīmuddīn of Tabriz. All

1. Ahmad b. Ali b. 'Abdul Qadir b. Muhammad-al-Miqrīzi, *Khutāt Wal-Athār* (Cairo, 1270 A.H.) Vol. II, p. 405.

patients were provided free medicines along with nutritious food from the public exchequer.¹

Bimāristān-i-Kashmir. Saltān Zaīnuddīn, King of Kashmir, had opened this hospital at Srīnagar. Both Hindu and Muslim physicians had been appointed by him in this hospital.

Māristān Mandu : Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī of Mālwa founded this hospital at Mandu, his capital, in 1445. The hospital had separate wards and indoor hospitalisation facilities for the insane besides those suffering from other diseases and had a number of physicians to look after the patients. Anybody could get treatment at the hospital without paying anything for the treatment. Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī had also created a trust for meeting the expenditure of the hospital and appointed Maulānā Fazal Ullah with the title of *Hakīm-ul-Hukmā* as its chief physician.

Shafākhānā Ahmadabad was at Bidar with several Muslim and non-Muslim physicians who were on the regular payroll of the State. A trust consisting of a number of villages had been created for the hospital by its founder Sultān Alāuddin bin Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī.²

Ilājkhānā Hyderabad. Established in 1597 at Hyderabad, the hospital had several well-paid physicians and was adequately provided with medicines, victuals for diet of patients and other necessities. Anyone, whether poor or rich, was allowed to take advantage of the hospital.³

Dawākhānā Akbarābād. This hospital was perhaps set up during the reign of Akbar and existed till the end of Moghul rule in India.⁴

Another hospital at Agra was located near the Jāmī Mosque and the fort which was destroyed during 1857

1. *Mahbūb-i-Watan*, Vol. I, p. 214.
2. *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 333.
3. *Hadiqat-ul-'Alam*, Vol. I, p. 217.
4. Sil Chand; *Tarikh Agra*.

rampage. The Railway Station of Agra was built on the site occupied by the hospital.

A hospital built of white marble and artistically designed with rooms for the lodging of patients existed at Fatehpūr Sikrī. It was constructed by Akbar. Its wrecks are still traceable.

Fatehpūr Sikrī had one more hospital established by Sheikh Abul Faiz bin Mubārak of Nagore near his house. The hospital was sufficiently provided with medicines and nutriments for the patients.

Dārushshifā Ahmadābād was built by Nawāb Saif Khān at Ahmadabad in 1622, during the reign of Jahāngīr, when he was posted there as a Shiqdār in that province. The hospital was in existence during the closing years of the Moghul rule. Aurangzeb had appointed Hakim Razīuddīn as the Chief Physician of this hospital in 1702 in place of Hakim Mohammad Taqī Shīrāzī.¹

One more hospital was established by the Moghuls at Ahmadābād. This hospital also continued to function till the end of the Moghul rule. Shāhjahan appointed Hakim Muhammad Hāshim as the Chief Medical Officer of this hospital.

Māristān Sūrat was opened during the Moghul rule. Hakim Muhammad Ashraf Tabīb was the Medical Officer-in-charge of the hospital during the reign of Aurangzeb. The son of Hakim Muhammad Ashraf Tabīb succeeded his father after the death of the latter.

Delhi Hospitals. A hospital known as *Dārushshifā* was established by Shāh Jahān in 1649-50 near the Jāmī Masjid at Delhi. He appointed several highly paid physicians in this hospital.²

Mahammad Khan, upon whom was conferred the title of Nawāb Khair Andesh Khan, had set up a hospital at Delhi

1. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*

2. *Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 288.

for which he secured the services of Hakīm 'Abdur Razzāq of Nishāpūr, Hakīm 'Abdul Majīd of Isfahān, Mirza Muhammad 'Ali of Bukhārā and Hakīm Muhammad 'Adil for its *Tibbiya* wing and Kewal Nain, Sukhānand and Nain Sukh for the *Ayurved* section. The Nawāb also endowed landed property for running the hospital, supply of medicines and food etc. for the patients. The hospital served the rich and the poor alike.¹

Dārushshifā Lucknow. The hospital was established by Hakīm Mahdī Ali Khān, a minister of King Nasīruddin Haider. The hospital had indoor facilities and an attached pharmacy for preparation and dispensing of drugs. The first head of the hospital was Mirzā 'Ali Akbar bin-AI-Haj-Ghoghāi. The hospital continued to function for a long time.²

Other Moghul Hospitals: The Moghul rulers had set up a number of hospitals, then known as *Dārushshifā*, which were mostly in big cities like Agra, Delhi, Lahore etc. In 1708, Jahāngīr ordered that similar hospitals should be established in every major city with an attached pharmacy and free kitchen so that Hindu and Muslim patients could be given free food with medical treatment till their complete recovery. He also ordered that every patient discharged from a hospital should be given a lump sum amount.

1. *Khair-ul-Tajārib*

2. Kamāluddīn Mashhadi, *Qaisar-ut-Tawārikh*

SOME FAMOUS TOMBS AND SHRINES



MUSLIMS began erecting domed tombs and monuments over their graves, after the initial period of the right-guided Callphs and the Prophet's companions was over, when they increasingly began to adopt the Iranian and Byzantine usages and customs. In the early period of Islamic era, and even in the pre-Islamic days, the Arabs did not erect cupola or roofs supported by pillars over the graves. The people of Yeman, belonging to Tab'a tribe of the Himyrates, however, buried their kings in a standing position and deposited the arms and other articles of personal use of the deceased kings in their masonry graves so that nobody else should use them.

The Yemanites kept the corpse standing in the graves, as do the Christians, perhaps, as a good omen, as mentioned by Ibn Hishām in *al-Taijān*, so that standing dead body should remain alive in the grave.

Islam forbade every usage which smacked of pride or ostentation as a Tradition of the Prophet says:—

"He ordered 'Alī not to leave a single lofty tomb without levelling it to the ground."

Another saying of the Prophet related by Jābir says that the Prophet prohibited erection of pucca graves. Abū

Sae'ed Khudri relates that the Prophet forbade construction of any building over the grave. All these instructions were meant to put an end to idolatry and worship of the graves of pious persons. But in due course of time Muslims adopted numerous innovations, one of which was to erect lofty tombs and shrines on which they began to waste their wealth merely to display their power and pelf.

The cemetery in Medina, *Baqi-ul-Ghargad*, or, *al-Mu'allah* in Mecca, had no structure erected over the graves. But later on it became a common feature of the Muslim graveyards.

*Tomb of Saiyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghazī.*¹ The tomb of Saiyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghazī is one of the magnificent shrines in India. The tomb was built, according to *Firishā*, of burnt bricks and mortar by Muhammad Tughluq. Ibn Batūtah has also made a mention of the shrine which has now become an object of worship by the ignorant folk who make presentations and prostrate before the grave.

Tomb of Sheikh Bahauddīn Zakaryā of Multān is one of the significant monuments of Muslim rulers of Multān. The building has been extensively renovated and additions made to it from time to time but its present form is substantially that of the original. The shrine also contains the tomb of the saint's son, Sheikh Sadruddin.

Tomb of Khwājā Mo'inuddīn Chishtī was built at Ajmer of white sandstone by Sheikh Husain bin Khālid Nāgaurī. This was the first building over the grave of Khwājā Mo'inuddīn Chishtī. Thereafter Mahmūd Shāh Khiljī I, the king of Malwā and Akbar added several edifices around the shrine. Shāhjahān also erected a mosque of white marble in 1627. A large number of people make pilgrimage to the saint's shrine, with the same fervour as they go for Haj, perambulate or prostrate before it, although all these acts are no better than paganism or ascribing associates to God.

Tomb of Khwājā Qutbuddīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. The tomb is in old Delhi. It has a fine marble screen running round

the grave which was installed by Farruk Siyār.¹ Of the several mosques built near the tomb, one was constructed by Shāh 'Alam.

Tomb of Sheikh Farīduddīn Ganj Shakar is at Ajodhan.² One of the doors of the shrine is known as *Bihishtī Darwāzā* or the Door of Paradise. Some credulous persons believe that anyone who enters this door shall gain entry to Paradise.

Tomb of Khwājā Nizāmuddīn Auliā. The mausoleum of Khwājā Nizāmuddīn Muhammad bin Ahmad Budāūnī is at Ghilyāthpūr (now Nizāmuddīn) at a short distance from old Delhi. The first building of the shrine was constructed under the orders of Muhammad Tughluq. A mosque, constructed of white marble, is stated to have been erected by 'Alāuddīn Khiljī. There are a number of other graves, some of which are of certain kings and princes of Delhi, within the enclosure of the shrine.

Tomb of Sheikh Bū 'Alī Qalandar is in Panipat. The tomb of marble, covered by a magnificent cupola, is surrounded by granite walls. Nearby is a mosque of reddish stone ornamented by elegant carving. The mausoleum is believed to have been erected by one of the sons of 'Alāuddīn Khiljī, to which further structures were added, from time to time, by Nawāb Muqurrāb Khān, Lutf Ullah Khān, Rizq Ullah Khān and others.

Tomb of Ghiyathuddīn Tughluq. The mausoleum was built by Muhammad Tughluq at Tughluqābād (Dārulamān). The tomb is built of red sandstone and has a simple white marble dome, yet, because of its gorgeous splendour it is regarded as one of the treasured gems of Islamic architecture.³

Tomb of Sheikh Ruknuddīn stands on an elevated mound

1. *Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 238

2. Now called Pak Patan in Montgomery district of Pakistan

3. *Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 189

in Multān. The shrine, built by Muhammad Shāh Tughluq is a structure of burnt brick, lime and mortar decorated with flowers raised in white and azure colours. The tomb occupies a unique place among the architectural monuments of the city.

Tomb of Sheikh Nasīruddīn Mahmūd. This mortuary building at Delhi was built by Firūz Shāh Tughluq. The masonry building is crowned by a large dome while the inner portion of it is graced by fine lattice-work. Muhammad Shāh also made certain additions in the original mausoleum.¹

Tomb of Sheikh Burhānuddīn Gharīb is at Aurangābād, 16 km. from the city. Also known as Rauza, the mausoleum has the graves of several kings and nobles.

Tomb of Khwājā Gesū Darāz. The shrine of Sheikh Syed Muhammad bin Yūsuf al-Husainī popularly known as Khwājā Gesū Darāz, at Gulbarga, is modelled after that of Khwājā Mo'inuddīn Chishtī, not only in design but also in delicacy of treatment and artistic refinement.

Tomb of Sheikh Badr'uddīn Madār is at Makanpūr. The majestic edifice is crowned by a swelling dome. A mosque was built by Aurangzeb near the shrine which is visited by devotees annually like the shrine of Syed Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī.

Tomb of Ahmad Shāh Valī. The tomb of Ahmad Shāh Valī (d. 1436), the Bahmani King of Deccan, stands on the outskirts of Bidar. The dome of this magnificent building rises to a height of 45 cubits. The interior is adorned with brilliantly coloured paintings in the Persian style and enriched with beautiful inscriptions worked out in golden letters on a deep blue ground. The edifice is one of the finest specimen of architectural memorials. The tomb of 'Alāuddīn Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh Valī, and other Bahmanī kings are also at Bidar.

1. *Athār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 203

Tomb of 'Ali Barīd Shāh at Bidar is an imposing building; the central chamber rises to a height of 64 feet (25.507 meters) with a massive dome of 11 feet (3.048 meters) over it on a mound 75 feet (22.86 meters) high from the ground. The facade of the building thus towering to about 150 feet (51.42 meters) presents an impressive view while its inner decoration consists of *Naskh* and *Nast'aliq* inscriptions in gold and deep blue letterings with golden azure painting. It is one of the finest memorials erected in Deccan.

Tomb of Humāyūn. The tomb was built by Humāyūn's widow, Hāji Begum, in 1567. Completed in 16 years at a cost of rupees 15 lakhs, this magnificent edifice of chiselled stone and marble is surrounded by spacious lawns, gardens, canals and fountains. The mausoleum is perhaps the most attractive Moghul monument excepting, of course, the Tāj at Agra.

Tomb of Akbar. This edifice was built at Sikandara near Agra, by his son Jahāngīr. It is a wonderful pyramidal structure profusely decorated with white marble and ornamented calligraphy.

Jangangir's tomb at Shahadra, 6 Km. from Lahore, built by Shāhjahān in 1627, is a monument of surpassing beauty. This structure of chiselled marble and red stone has been raised on a rocky eminence. The tomb of the Emperor has been built on a small platform inside the majestic edifice decorated with inlaid semi-precious stones like lapis lazuli, sapphire, coral, jade, etc.

Tomb of 'I'timād-ud-daula. Standing on the bank of the river Jamuna on a raised ground, the tomb is a fine structural gem of white marble. Its perforated white marble screen and tomb of pale yellow marble present a pleasing contrast. Its delicacy of treatment and chaste quality places it in a class by itself.

Taj Mahal. The majestic mausoleum of Arjumand Bānū, built by her husband Shāhjahān, standing by the side of the river Jamuna, is a queen of architecture and the most

perfect and finest of buildings standing on earth. The structure was completed by 20,000 workmen labouring for 22 years at a cost of Rs. 3,17,48,026/-.¹ The mausoleum of chaste white marble stands on a raised platform occupying a square of 186 feet, with the angles deeply truncated so as to form an unequal octagon. The great dome having a circumference of 58 feet and its accompanying kiosks rise to a height of 213 feet. At the corners of the rectangular ground storey rise tall and slender minarets of 162½ feet, in graceful proportion of the central pile. The internal decorations consist of inlaid work in precious stones such as agate and jasper, with which every spandrel and other salient points in the architecture are richly fretted. Likewise, the inscriptions from the Holy Quran around the main archways, artistically designed and chiselled, and the bold scroll work of flowery pattern add an entrancing charm to its beauty.

Tomb of Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm Shāh. Muhammad 'Adil Shāh, King of Bijāpūr, himself built this eternal resting place for himself. Its great dome is one of the most striking piece of architecture in India; for the room in which the tomb is located is the largest single cell ever constructed. The entire structure measures 400 feet in length and 150 ft. in width, of which the central portion of the cupola covers eighteen thousand square feet.

Tomb of Rabi'a-Daurāni. Located at Aurangābād, the tomb houses the grave of a queen of Aurangzeb who modelled this monument on the pattern of Taj Mahal. With a

1. All architectural buildings built during the Moghul rule take second place when compared with this masterpiece of Moghul Architecture, the Tāj Mahal. The documents containing a detailed account of those employed on the building, still preserved, show that the Superintendent of the entire project was Ustād 'Isā, 'the best designer of his time', while expert craftsmen from Delhi, Lāhore, Multān and Qannāuj, within the country, as well as from abroad, such as, Baghdād, Shirāz and Bukhārā were engaged to execute every specialised phase of work.

surrounding garden leading up to the main building, the monument of pure marble stands on an elevated eminence with four minarets at the corners of the terrace. An amount of Rs. 99 lakhs is reported to have been spent on the construction of the mausoleum which is the most embellished building in Deccan.

Tomb of Safdar Jang. Abul Mansūr Khān Safdar Jang was the Prime Minister of Ahmad Shāh, one of the later Moghuls. His tomb built by his son Shuj'ā-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh, at a distance of 6 Km. from Delhi, is a large and pretentious structure. Rupees three lakhs were spent on the construction of this monument.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

IMAMBARAS

BEFORE we describe *Imāmbārās*, often called *Husainiyah*, let us explain the purpose for which these are erected. The martyrdom of Husain is celebrated by the Shi'ahs, at places by the Sunnis too—during the first ten days of the month of Muharram in especially erected halls or enclosures. 'Alams—Husain's standards and the miniatures of his mausoleum known as T'aziah are kept in these buildings which are decorated and profusely illuminated during the days of celebration, when the story of Husain's martyrdom is harangued in prose as well as in poetry to whip up the feelings of the faithful. Processions with *t'aziahs*, *alams* and images of *Burāq* accompanied by beating of drums are taken out during which devout Shi'ahs enact passion shows and beat their bodies and faces until blood flows.

Imāmbārā Asfī, one of the biggest in India, was constructed at Lucknow in 1792 at a cost of fifty lakh rupees¹. under the supervision of Kifāyat Ullah Khān of Delhi. Lime and mortar was sunk in an area of 500 sq. feet on which the foundation of the huge edifice was laid. The main structure of the *Imāmbārā*, measuring 100 feet in length, rises gradually

1. S. Kamāluddīn Husaini, *Tawārīkh Avadh*, p. 112.


in parts : the first one where *t'aziah*s are kept has an elevation of 25 feet, the second one rises to 30 ft. and the highest portion goes up to another 25 ft. This building of lime, burnt brick and mortar has a spacious frontcourt, the three sides of which are enclosed by huge buildings and a big mosque. The *Imāmbārā* is regarded as one of the finest monuments in India.

Imāmbārā Husainābād. Nawāb Muhammad 'Alī Shāh, King of Lucknow built this *Imāmbārā* at Lucknow between 1837-1842. The main structure has been built of lime and brickstone but white marble slabs also cover certain portions of the building. The courtyard in front is enclosed by pavilions, platforms and an oblong tank, with stairs reaching to the water which was once stocked with different varieties of fishes, while the courtyard had a luxuriant garden. Nawāb Ahmad 'Alī Shāh had also created a trust of rupees 12 lakhs which was held by the British Government for meeting the expenses of the *Imāmbārā* and giving financial help to the pilgrims going to Iraq, out of the interest accruing from the amount placed at its disposal.¹

Shāh Najaf is yet another *Imāmbārā* at Lucknow constructed by Nawāb Ghāziuddīn Haider between 1814 to 1827. The *Imāmbārā* takes its name from the city of Najaf where the fourth Caliph 'Alī and his three wives were buried. This is also a beautiful building which is illuminated every year on the occasion of Moharram celebrations.

1. Najm-ul-Ghani; *Tarikh Avadh*, Vol. V, p. 14.

A FEW INVENTIONS OF THE MUSLIM PERIOD

 ANY an invention was made during the period of Muslim rule in India. Here we would describe only a few of them.

(1) A clock contrived under the orders of Firūz Shāh had a built-in brass drum out of which came a buzzing sound every hour repeating the couplet which meant —

The knell reminds every hour at the king's pylon;
That life has come short of an hour once again.

This clock indicated the timings of the prayer as well as variations in the duration of the days owing to the movement of sun and the time of sun-set when fast is broken. The clock was installed at Firūzābād (Delhi).

(2) A wide bridge was constructed across the river Gomti at Jaunpūr by Mun'yīm Khān, in the year 1573, during the reign of Akbar. Constructed of chiselled stones, the bridge had shops on both sides of the thoroughfare so that the passersby found themselves in a market while crossing the river. Powers of letters in '*Sirāt-i-mustaqīm*' gave the year of construction of the bridge.

(3) In 1585 a big brass cannon was made by Muhammad bin Hasan Rūmī at the instance of Nizām Shāh Abul Ghāzī which was 14 feet 3 inches long with a diameter of 5 feet 2 inches and weighed 1120 maunds (415.02 quintals). According to certain historians the cannon was made of an

alloy of different metals. It was called *malik maidān* and can still be seen at Bijāpūr.

(4) A matchlock capable of firing 12 rounds in succession was manufactured by Mir Fateh Ullah of Shirāz during the reign of Akbar.

(5) Mir Fateh Ullah Shirāzī had also manufactured an automatic flour mill. Chroniclers have mentioned a few other inventions of Mir Fateh Ullah Shirāzī.

(6) Two square tanks 51' 8" on each side and 7' 9" deep were constructed in 1593 by Hakīm 'Alī Gilānī, one at Agra and the other at Lahore, in the centre of which were two stone structures resembling minarets. These buildings were connected with the embankments by four bridges. Strange though it may seem, the doors of the lower storey of these buildings opened underneath the water surface but it did not enter the rooms where people used to sit and read books stocked in them.

(7) As stated elsewhere, an underground conduit connected the Harsūl canal to a big tank outside Aurangābād. Thereafter another underground channel supplied the water within the city. This water supply system was constructed in 1600 under the orders of Malik Ambar.

(8) In the *Hammām* of the Red Fort at Delhi, the water was heated by a single wick flame from the time it was first lighted till the last days of the Moghul rule.

We would now finish this account of the developmental activities of the Muslim rulers of India whose efforts, it seems, have been summed up in an Arabic verse which says:

Our memorials are here, the fruits of our genius and strains ;

They would tell, when we are no more, that we spared no pains.

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