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CONSERVATION OF LAHORE FORT**

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**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
GOVERNMENT COLLEGE UNIVERSITY, LAHORE**

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VANDALIZED HERITAGE: PROBLEMS IN THE CONSERVATION OF LAHORE FORT

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LAHORE

ABSTRACT

Problems of conservation and renovation of erected urban heritage seek worldwide attention. Pakistan has a rich architectural heritage. In recent years, rapid growth of cities and urbanization has led to an alarming crisis of this built heritage. In past and current safeguarding practices in Pakistan have failed to ease this grave problem. This article shows light on the past practices and pursues to scrutinize the problem of conservation of historic monuments in Lahore, Pakistan with a view to develop an appropriate strategy for their conservation. However, due to financial and time limitations, the scope and subjects of the research are limited.

KEYWORDS

Monuments, Architectural Legacy, Cultural Property, Destruction

Lamentably knowing fully well that in Pakistan we have very little share of architectural legacy and monuments particularly of the Muslims episode; we have been most unjust and cruel to these monuments. This has occurred mostly because pre-modern man was involved more in his present time

than in his past or future. The past interested him only so far as it directly influenced the present. Today, humanity is greatly concerned about its future, paying less attention to the present and the past. In the quest of a vague future, we have raced through the last centuries and have lost much that lay behind us or along the way. Suddenly, people awoke to an understanding that, in order to have a better future, they have to know their past and preserve its best achievements. This includes the achievements of all cultures and civilizations and implies making use of them for the requirements of modern life-protecting cultural properties of all nations and cultures from destruction by the predominant modernity. With this in mind, men have decided to recreate links with the past, to preserve their heritage, and to pass on this legacy to future generations.

Historical buildings and monuments require extraordinary care if they are to be conserved for posterity. In Pakistan, instead of preserving and taking pride in our historical richness, we have been imposing great damage on it. We are all accountable for the effects of our actions on others and the effects of human activities on the natural environment, but are we equally responsible for the past, or rather the remains left by the activities of people of the past?

From the viewpoint of modern ethics, it would seem that this heritage also has the same rights to

protection as the natural environment. The monuments of the Mughal period are the most significant landmarks in the glorious cultural heritage of Pakistan. Two of these gems, the Lahore Fort and Shalamar Gardens, have already received universal recognition and have been included in the UNESCO world Heritage List.¹

Situated at the northwestern corner of the walled city, the Lahore Fort has its roots in the legendary period of pre-Islamic days.² However, beginning with the Ghaznavid period (977-1186), the fort has figured frequently in the succeeding dynastic rules of the Ghaurids (1186-1206), Delhi Sultans (1206-1526), the Mughals (1526-1857) and the Sikhs during the 18th and 19th centuries. The existing buildings in the Fort essentially date from the Mughal period and represent architectural marvels of the Mughal Emperors namely Akbar (1556-1605), Jahangir (1605-1627) Shah Jahan (1628-1658) and Aurangzeb (1658-1707).

Built more than three hundred years ago, these monuments have witnessed many vicissitudes of time. They were the worst victims of shabby treatment by its occupants who owned them after the Mughals. The Sikh rule in the Punjab wrought havoc upon these marvelous monuments, which were exposed off their decorative elements. The ruthless plunder of old buildings at their hands left them not only denuded and in decaying condition, but also affected their capacity to survive the attack of natural destructive agents such as rain, fluctuations of temperature and winds. The inappropriate additions and alterations in these buildings carried out by the Sikhs and later on by the British, to suit their own ends, marred their beauty and changed many of their original features. T H Thornton is of the view that the 'Sikh rulers

are mainly responsible for most of this pillage and also spoiling the delicate beauty by erecting unsightly structures and executing crude form of decorative art'.³

The period of the Great Anarchy after the death of Ranjit Singh saw the Fort being fired with cannon balls, which shattered the roof of *Diwan-e-'Am*, in addition to causing damage to a number of other buildings, especially in the western area. The British army erected several barracks and structures inside the Fort. The *Diwan-e-Khas* and *Diwan-e-'Am* converted into a chapel and a hospital respectively.⁴ The *Shish Mahal* was turned into a residence of an officer and the large tank with fountains in Jahangir's Quadrangle was filled up and utilized as a tennis court. The decorative motifs of the monuments suffered the most by the Sikh vandalism. The precious or semi-precious stones were crudely picked out of the exquisite *pietra dura* work.⁵ The murals and paintings were covered with white wash while some crude attempts to replace the lost beauty, especially during the *Raj*, resulted in an unsightly patchwork.

CONDITION OF FORT SINCE THE PARTITION OF INDIA

Immediately after the partition of India, the Lahore Fort was used (partly) for refugees' camps.⁶ The ill maintained and ruined buildings further deteriorated with the multifarious use by thousands of people. Both the main gates of the Fort i.e. Masjidi Gate and Alamgiri Gate were bricked up during British period and the side gateway (postern) on north-west side (near Hathi Pol Gate).

The Archaeological Department, which was responsible for the preservation of fort also setup its offices within the fort and were in occupation of the

buildings commonly known as Kharak Singh's residence along with portions of Diwan-i-Khas being used as residences and Rest Houses for visitors or touring officials of the Department. A portion in the palace of Shah Jahan known as 'Kala Burj' was used for a long time as the residence of the officer Incharge of the Fort.⁷

The fort as we find today has both of its main gates i.e. Alamgiri Gate (western gate) and Masjidi Gate (eastern gate) open. The Alamgiri Gate is used for admitting tourists and general visitors and the Masjidi Gate is used for the employees residing in the north-eastern corner of the Fort. These residents have quite a few houses and the population should be in hundreds. The postern on the north-western side is meant for admitting the VIPs and officials. The Kharak Singh's house was occupied by Director Archaeology for his office along-with ground floor accommodation used by the Engineering staff and some other officials. Some '*dalans*' in the Jahangir's Quadrangle were used as offices, stores and Library rooms and the north-eastern corner of Diwan-i-Khass building as Rest House.

The Lal Burj building was used as store room by contractor for storing of his cables and temporary (WAPDA) power connections for supply during functions at the fort. Recently, a new block is constructed for official work. Apparently lot of money must have been spent as one block is known as Admin Block, another Committee Room and an Academy of the Archaeological Department with a large residential hostel. The structure is falling apart. It has given way before it could be put to actual use. A large portion has slipped and there are big cracks seen and the premise has been closed with no occupant of the Hostel and Academy. This is apparently ill-planned

structure raised inside the historical Fort probably without proper preliminary studies. These newly raised structures are incidentally just in the area where there existed the old barracks and where Special Branch had its offices and political detention cells.

During the Sikh period this area was used for servant quarters and stables. All the outdated old structure is in the most advance state of decay and gives a horrible look with heaps of rubbish. Till date the old barrack arches can be seen. Moving downwards to lower level and heavy arches on the left side, there are indications that the place was used as stores and animal houses. Still further one touches the outer ground level from the lobby of Alamgiri Gate inside the wall with a pillar of brick and mortar commonly called the Temple of Loh which has its entrance from Alamgiri Gate side. The Special Branch Cells for political detenuues, which were located around by the British continued to be used as such, even after the Independence. It was during the last tenure of Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister that these cells were done away with from the Lahore Fort.⁸

The inside of the massive Masjidi Gate is in a bad state of decay especially the semi-octagonal panels, small projected brick balconies and towers on the eastern part of the north side and southern part of the west side. This gate remains usually closed except for the residents of locality or 'Kachi Abadi' or servant quarters inside the fort. The Akbari Mahal foundations shown in the Sikh period map are non-existent. Only some closed corridors and massive arches with lot of rubble piled in stand on the eastern corner of Diwn-i-'Am adjoining which the portion of Kharak Singh's house still remain intact on the first floor. The ground floor rooms on eastern corner are

totally bricked or closed. The well on this corner is also filled up and its top covered. The water reservoir by the Archaeology Department is also located close to this housing along with a small mosque. Walking to north-eastern corner standing on the roof of the Jahangir's Quadrangle (*Tah Khanas*) one finds that the level of the palaces from the foundation is more than 40 feet high and the area between protection wall and first wall of the fort is at least 100 ft. wide, varying at places up to the postern and Hathi Pol Gate.⁹

The secretive chambers under the Jahangir's Khawabagh are being used by the Archaeology Department as Laboratory with lot of modifications in the old building. Down below some rooms are occupied by WAPDA staff. Alamgiri Gate was the latest and last addition or construction in the Lahore Fort by Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir.¹⁰ Alamgiri Gate constructed and the continuity of the wall of Hazoori Bagh Modified and taken to the southern side close to the outer road to Hira Mandi which makes a straight line connecting the wall on the western side.

Some changes were made by the British, the route and direction of the Alamgiri Gate was different and the British changed the direction to connect it with the fortification from Hathi Pol to the park; otherwise this was a garden until the Sikh period. The question arises which were the entry points for common man during Mughal period. The obvious answer is Masjidi or eastern gate and Alamgiri Gate.

It may be added that fort wall on the eastern side, adjoining Fort Road had been demolished and reduced in size by 8 feet when it was converted into a Troop Station on occupation by the British. A part of Khawabagh of Shah

Jahan below Rani Jindan's Haveli is now used as a Museum. The Khawabgah of Jahangir in the Jahangir Quadrangle is also used as a Museum for display of old traditional arms. Both these places were so put up by British Archaeology Department. Two rooms in the Jahangir's Palace opposite Moti Masjid have been connected into public toilets, dirty and stinking from a far and a room as cafeteria in front of the same. After 1947, as already mentioned it was first of all used as a Refugee camp and then onwards officially taken as a protected monument. For some time like so many other neglected sectors, it remained ignored as a low priority subject and is presumably treated as such.

We have now no reason to differ that sound, noise, excessive use of public visits reduces the age of old monuments. This is especially so where the buildings are not in stone. In case of Lahore Fort, except for the decoration work some, pillars, and cupolas, the buildings and Places are mostly in small burnt brick with lime mortar and '*kankar*' etc.¹¹ The structures are vaulted and the lintels, again of reinforced bricks with some adhesive materials. 'Age-wise, starting from Emperor Akbar's period who started use of the bricks for building the fort, its walls as also the buildings put up have existed and stayed for a period of over 400 years'.¹²

Unfortunately knowing fully well that we have very little elsewhere in terms of our architectural heritage and monuments especially of the Muslims period we have been most unfair and unkind to these monuments. This has occurred primarily because pre-modern man was involved more in his present time than in his past or future. The past interested him only so far as it directly influenced the present. Today, humanity is greatly

concerned about its future, paying less attention to the present and the past. In the quest of a vague future, we have raced through the last centuries and have lost much that lay behind us or along the way. Suddenly, people awoke to an understanding that, in order to have a better future, they have to know their past and preserve its best achievements. This includes the achievements of all cultures and civilisations and implies making use of them for the requirements of modern life-protecting cultural properties of all nations and cultures from destruction by the predominant modernity. With this in mind, we have decided to recreate links with the past, to preserve their heritage, and to pass on this legacy to future generations. Government of Pakistan itself has played a big role in the deterioration of monumental beauty of our cultural heritage. In the late 50s the fort was used for providing light and sound shows which were regularly held till early 70s.

The sound and light show began some time in 1962 at the Jahangir quadrangle.¹³ The show had a rich background musical score to depict battle clamours, shrilling conspiracies and the rendering of scintillating songs by damsels in Mughal and Sikh courts. Yet, its staging was not without the destruction of the exquisite walls of Emperor Jahangir's sleeping chamber. The walls were pierced to install heavy lights and sound boxes. The show went on with occasional hiccups till its closure in 1992 when government revenue from the sale of tickets dipped to rock bottom because some officials had their personal entry tickets printed and sold them in much more quantity than what was fixed by the department concerned.

Lots of digging was done to spread the cables and

put up lights and the sound effects which damaged to a great extent the buildings around. Luckily this equipment fell into disuse due to its poor maintenance and little interest by the successive changing Governments after Ayub era and the nuisance is off, otherwise it would have totally destroyed the Jahangir Quadrangle by now. The worst use made of this protected monument was in the year 1974 when cultural shows were arranged for the participants of Islamic Summit Conference at Lahore by the then Government.

In February 1974, the fort was prepared to host dinner for heads of states and governments who were in Lahore to attend the Second Islamic Summit Conference. The archaeology department was asked by the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government to conserve the Mughal building to its original grandeur in a few days. The work, done in haste caused damage to the periphery walls; and its parapets, walls and the gigantic Alamgiri Gate were painted with clay.

A dinner reception was hosted at the magnificent Sheesh Mahal and food was cooked on its marble floor. As a result, the dazzling white marble walkways around the Sikh period Ath Dara (eight ways) and the sleeping chamber of Emperor Shah Jahan were badly burnt. Heavy lights were placed along exquisite marble lattices, which were drilled to pierce two-foot long iron rods to support a *shamiana* tied to huge ropes. And because of big chandeliers, the ceiling of the Diwan-i-Khas and the Shah Jahan chamber tilted down a bit.¹⁴

For weeks together the Shish Mahal and the adjoining areas were used by people connected with stage, film and T. V., for rehearsals of dramas and cultural shows. Temporary structures were raised and dinners

held in Shish Mahal for the visiting Heads of States. This not only accelerated the pace of deterioration of these centuries' old buildings but set a precedent and led other organizers of stage productions in future to misuse the old monuments by way of nailing, putting up tents, using the palace for fireworks, cooking, littering and causing noise pollution. Such gatherings can grant us a remarkable opportunity to pause and review together what we have done? What we are doing? And what we still have to do? It was after this event that a trend started of hosting dinners for visiting Heads of States. Such dinners were held for many including President Soekamo, Sohartu, Iranian Monarch and Turkish President etc. The worst came when the Governments after 1980s started hosting dinners in Diwan-i-Khass, music in Jahangir's Quadrangle and fireworks in front of Diwan-i-'Am podium.

In 1989, Prince Karim Aga Khan visited Pakistan and the Nawaz Sharif government once again chose the Sheesh Mahal for a dinner reception in his honour. What was done to host the reception was almost the same that had happened in 1974. Its marble lattices were again penetrated deep to fix heavy ropes to erect a *shamiana* with the help of pointed iron rods, some of which were one to two feet long. Food was cooked on the marble courtyard, burning it badly from as many as 20 places. Peels of orange and pomegranate were used to serve juices to the guests, which could be seen littered between the Sheesh Mahal and the Diwan-i-Khas. On both occasions, archaeology department officials took months to remove the garbage, wash floors and remove black spots from the floor.

In 1993, it was the turn of the caretaker government of Moin Qureshi whose information minister,

Nisar Memon, staged a cultural show to damage the Diwan-i-'Am. When the preparations for the show were in progress, a 16ft piece of the Akbar period "*jharoka*" was damaged.

Queen Elizabeth came to Lahore on an official visit in 1996 and the Nawaz Sharif government arranged a tea reception for her at the Lahore Fort. This time the department concerned was again asked to do some conservation, and three days were given to the department to complete the task. The department at that time round washed the delicate structures of the Sheesh Mahal and the Diwan-i-Khas using detergents and scrubbers to damage their marble pores. Clay was painted on the majestic Alamgiri Gate, niches and outer walls and parapets. Simultaneously, small water cauldrons outside the chamber of Shah Jahan were filled with mounds of earth. This was, by far, the major damage done to the fort in the name of conservation.¹⁵

The most intensive misuse was made of the fort during Ad-Asia Conference which had a number of programme here. The P.T.V., programmes of 1997 for Golden Jubilee Celebrations and cultural galas became a routine.¹⁶ As told by the Department this is beyond their control despite protests by the archaeologists, conservationists and historians. During the last couple of decades dinners were held for the American delegations, ministers, the Queen of Great Britain, Sultan Al-Nihan of U.A.E., crown prince of Saudi Arabia and the Indian Prime Minister. It has become a practice now that whenever there is visit of a foreign dignitary a dinner is hosted in his honor at the fort. The practice in fashion these days is that about a week before the appointed day, rehearsals start and preparations for the visit mounted which include folk dances by hundreds

of people, heavy drum beating, and vehicular traffic including heavy trucks from morning till late in the night move into the fort. The horses and camels are made to dance on the drum beating. Digging, nailing and pitching is done for purposes of laying heavy power cable to provide temporary flood lights in the entire fort area. Lot of nailing, pole fixation is done on the roofs of the underground chambers of the buildings around Diwan-i-Khas for purposes of setting up temporary kitchen and cooking places. The entire roof of the eastern underground chamber of Jahangir Quadrangle is used for seating arrangements for the guests in waiting. Lot of weight is put on buildings by way of laying '*Khaka*' and '*Kairi*' to level the road carpet way for the VIPs. Quite a few places, in utter disregard to the preservation ethics are white-washed or plastered. The stone-steps are nailed and drilled to lay carpet and provide temporary railings for the guests to move. Hundreds of guests are invited to be seated in Diwan-i-Khas, which is of course, on the roof of a building below being used as Laboratory of the Archaeological Department. Temporary wash rooms were also set up. In addition to the above the major damage is caused by the fireworks. The thunderous and roaring noise and powder balls exploding because heavy tremors and the buildings shiver and the tattering walls move like paper huts.¹⁷

One can witness the scene on the occasion of dinner parties and the fireworks. Quite a few portions of the interior decoration and plaster and *Kashi* work come down in such functions. Recent example is the grand dinner, which given in the honour of Imam-i-Kabbah at Diwan-i-Khas in June 2007.

The lackluster culture week,¹⁸ celebrated by the Punjab archaeology department inside the Lahore Fort, calls for some serious stocktaking. The activities presided over by officialdom negate the very function of the custodian department: protection and conservation of national heritage sites. The thin public attendance at the events because of cumbersome security arrangements for VIPs, too, negates the spirit of popular culture. The Punjab government has been directed in the past by higher courts not to hold such events on the premises of historical monuments to avoid damage to the heritage structures; but all such orders have fallen on deaf ears. The impunity with which the government has consistently violated court injunctions in this matter is amazing: the fort premises were recently rented out for shooting a TV commercial being aired these days. It seems rules are meant to be observed only by the general public while the privileged bypass them. Public entrance to the Hazuri Bagh quadrangle outside the Lahore Fort, where ordinary people used to gather after sunset to hear folk singers croon the *Heer* and other traditional lore without charge, has long been barred, stopping the popular pastime which caused no damage to the garden or to the marble pavilion built there by Ranjit Singh. The activity was totally harmless, for it involved no setting up of a stage, food stalls or installation of lights. People just sat on the greens and enjoyed poetry recitals without it ever being an officious affair. The popular cultural activity was discontinued citing the same rules that the government itself has been bending to allow officials and big businesses to partake in exclusive activities from which the general public is kept out. There is nothing cultured

about double standards being applied in the name of culture.

But organizers remain untouched with this unfortunate scene without realizing that we have very few archaeological assets and we are damaging and destroying instead of protecting and preserving them for coming generations. The Mughals never thought their successors (Pakistanis) looking after the monuments this way. This criminal negligence is indeed unpardonable by our successors.

An official of Archaeology Department, on the condition of anonymity, said that they could not do anything in this regard. "We are helpless, because we have to comply with the orders of high-ups. We just prepare the place for the feast," he added. He noted that several banquets had been arranged in Lahore Fort in the past. "A historical building like the Fort needs amount in crores. But the Government only believe in paper work," he said. It may be mentioned that the red stone railings in front of the Diwan-i-Aamm (Hall of the Common People) were demolished in the aftermath of a similar banquet.

Talking to *The News*, Lahore, Dr. Ejaz Anwar of the Lahore Conservation Society, which works for the preservation of Lahore's architectural heritage, said hosting such receptions at the Fort was against the Antiquities Act. "The Charter of Venice 1962 also prohibits these activities. UNESCO has already shown concern over such events," he said, adding that UNESCO "may even cut off our aid". He said hosting such dinners and banquets caused damage to the Fort. "Heavy service vehicles come into the fort bringing in furniture, particularly chairs packed in stacks. The servicemen throw these heavy stacks in the lawns damaging the grass. They put up tents in the lawns, tying

their ropes to the delicate portions of the building and its ancient walls; the electric wires are being installed by the contractors without any supervision of Archaeology Department personnel". Dr. Ejaz also criticized the havoc caused after each such event as a result of the meals served. "Our food culture also adds to the destruction. They throw bones on the grass which invites rats besides causing fermentation because of the left over. The residuals of salads and other items are thrown there in the gardens. This also destroys the ambience of the Fort and causes a stink"¹⁹, he added. It seems however that the Fort will once more have to play host to another banquet. And it is uncertain how many times it will continue to be used for such events until the authorities realize the lasting destruction this is causing and greater awareness is created about the matter.'

Historical monuments and buildings need special care if they're to be conserved for posterity. In Pakistan, instead of preserving and taking pride in our historical richness, we have been inflicting great damage on it.

Let us expect that establishment take a notice of the poor conservation of our few monuments, which are our pride. People in the west are so wary and aware they have even limited the viewing of the monuments i.e. western Abbey, in London is open to visitors for four days a week. To overlook these monuments would mean ignoring our history, which is not advisable in any manner.

Repair and maintenance of buildings of the fort is stressed not for foreign visitors but for the local tourists and inhabitants for whom the fort is a legacy which cannot be relegated to obscurity. This ancient monument of art with a subject of historical, religious, architectural and artistic study should not be allowed to languish so that those to

come may not find it useless for purposes of study or architectural enthusiasm. During the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb the un-availing efforts of the late Mughals to retrieve the capital of the Punjab from the various free booters, descended upon it, and finally Sikh supremacy are all illustrated in succession by the buildings of the Fort and city and their claim as an educating influence in history and architecture cannot be simply ignored. Seen under adverse conditions, however, they are, to the average, individual and layman meaningless and probably this is their fate at the present. These were the monuments which inspired the writers and poets who visited the city and termed it as "the splendid city of Lahore whose mausoleums and shrines, magnificent and numberless, where death seemed to share equal honor with heaven." Gone is that glorious age. Countless efforts of the Archaeological Department, although not very successful in the perpetration days were yet instrumental in effecting some leverage of preservation by the learned and conservationists.

The British occupation was largely responsible for the abuses perpetrated on the old royal palaces, the beautiful Moti Masjid of Jahangir, sleeping chambers of Shah Jahan and use of buildings as chapel and hospital. Above all demolishing of some buildings, conversion of Diwan-i-'Am into barrack and use of fort as a prison played havoc with these ancient relics. The anarchy during the later Mughal period and crude and barbaric misuse of the fort during the Sikh rule totally changed the scenario in the citadel. In fact from 1799 to almost 1849 it was a centre of successive fights, assassinations, murders and a symbol of the conquest and the languished.²⁰ Its use as a palace and residence by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and

successors also caused unwanted indiscriminate changes in the structures without any plan or architectural features.

In mid 1990s, state authorities noticed of the deteriorating condition of the monument including Fort and set up a Committee to look into the matter. The committee consisted of Mr. Tariq Mahmood, Secretary Information & Culture, Punjab, Dr. Shaukat Mahmood, Dean, University of Engineering and Technology, Commissioner, Lahore Division and Director Archaeology Department. The Prime Minister had also given a special grant of Rs.5 crore for speedy conservation measures of Lahore Fort, Jahangir Tomb and Shalimar Gardens.²¹ The Archaeology Department had done some paper work and prepared schemes but it did not meet the approval of the Committee. It is necessary to learnt that proper planning is required to take quick and effective measures for restoration, conservation and saving whatever assets had been left.

Problems in Conservation

Serious problems and difficulties were being faced in the implementation of conservation to the monuments. To give original look to those historical sites was not an easy task, which were human-plundered and long-neglected. To get through these troubles, persistent hard work had been made within the available resources. It must, however, be admitted that the speed of deterioration is faster than the pace of conservation measures. It is visibly resulting in increase of the work to be attended to as the time passes.

The monuments fall an easy prey to weathering agents when time has already dealt a severe blow to their

fabric. Humidity, by far, is the major enemy attacking the buildings through capillary action. The water accumulating in the very thick walls and roofs of the basement chambers of the Shish Mahal mainly finds its way out from the facades. It obviously results in faster decay and disintegration of the faces of the walls. The worst victim of humidity is the wall decorated with tile mosaics of surpassing beauty. The chunks of fortification wall also give way occasionally to make the conservation work more complicated.

Missing of bonds²² in the Mughal building is a great cause of decay

In addition to the natural handicaps, some other problems confronted in the field of conservation/preservation of these monuments are as follows:

SCARCITY OF RESOURCES & FUNDS

The monumental buildings when given to the charge of the Department of Archaeology were mostly in very bad shape. Human vandalism and gradual decay over a long period of their survival had left deep marks on their faces. In a number of cases, the very fabric of the buildings had tottered. Therefore, efforts could be confined only to the worst hit portions, as the financial allocations did not permit launching of comprehensive schemes of conservation. For many years, just a worthless sum continued to be allocated on yearly basis, which hardly met even the bare minimum cost of their maintenance. The approval of a Development Scheme in 1973 made it possible to attend to a few principal buildings.²³ Realizing the importance of the cultural heritage in the life of the nation *vis-à-vis* the rate of deterioration, the fund allocations for Lahore Fort were enhanced at a later stage.

These amounts, however, fell short of the total requirements of each monument when taken as a whole. Moreover, much of the utility of the enhanced funds were neutralized by the inflation that appeared between the formulation of the Development Scheme, its approval and the execution.

LACK OF TRAINED PROFESSIONALS AND OLD CRAFTSMEN

The archaeology department has failed to recognize the worth of craftsmen engaged in restoration of monuments, as it is not willing even to pay them wages equivalent to that of masons. One shall be surprised to know that the provincial archaeology department pays a craftsman not more than Rs. 300 for eight-hour duty a day; while a mason charges at least Rs. 400 for that much time from the people.

After giving whole of their lives to the work of restoring monuments in Punjab, craftsmen like Rifaqat Ali²⁴ is still hoping against hope to get better wages. Rifaqat Ali said that, "Today I feel uneasy while transferring the art to my three sons," Low wages are not the only problem. He told that a craftsman has to remain without work for a certain period of time sometimes more than a year when the department has no project at hand. During that period most of us turn to masonry for earning our livelihood. When the federal archaeology department hires us for a UNESCO funded project, those turn out to be the better days, as it pays at least Rs. 500 per day. To restore a monument to its original form is not an easy thing. The craftsmen work hard without a day off to get the job done in time. But in return the department gives them neither reasonable wages nor any incentive. It was, therefore, not possible to retain many of them on permanent basis. They do not see better future of their sons in this profession but the passion for the art does not allow them to force their generation to switch to masonry. Preservation of historic buildings is a dedicated process, entirely different from the maintenance of structures of modern time; craftsmen trained in this art are required to attain preferred outcome. The craftsmen who migrated to

Pakistan at the time of independence were hired by the Department of Archaeology in 1947. Since there was no incentive for them in their trade, the experienced craftsmen avoided bringing up their next generation or training some other workers.

The circumstances would not have been so discouraging if the Middle Eastern countries had not opened more profitable prospects for them. These technical jobs are not as attractive in the Department as elsewhere. It is, indeed, ironical that an old craftsman of the Department after getting the coveted President's Pride of Performance Award would leave the country immediately to get his share of petrodollars, completely forgetting his obligation to the nation. He also manipulated to take along some other good craftsmen, thus leaving a wide vacuum difficult for the Department to fill. The problem can only be solved if these craftsmen are offered a secure and prosperous future in the Department of Archaeology within the country.

The Department of Archeology mostly depends on the old and trained personnel who have acquired sufficient skill and experienced in the conservation field over the past years. The Department now has shortage of skilled and technical professional especially at the lower level, making it difficult to deal with the ever increasing demands of the profession.

SCARCITY OF ORIGINAL MATERIAL

Conservation of building requires preservation and maintenance of buildings of the past, which have historical and architectural significance. It is a process which leads to the prolongation of the life of cultural property and for its utilization now and in the future.

Building conservation has long been of concern, although its popular applications are relatively recent in origin. In the preservation and restoration of the monuments most of the material used may be termed as of non-conventional class.²⁵

To find matching material for conserving monuments is the biggest problem faced by the Department of Archaeology. Most of the historic buildings in Pakistan use building materials which are easily available locally. Such building materials include timber, stone, brick and plaster. In the care and conservation of historic monuments, understanding the nature of the building materials and accurate diagnosis of defects is most important. This is because historic monuments are, like older people, vulnerable to all sorts of diseases. Therefore, in order to tackle the diseases, conservation architects, contractors, specialised engineers and those involved in building conservation should first become familiar with the building materials in common use before going deeper into the proper techniques of preservation.

Common building materials such as timber, stone, brick and plaster of different kinds and colours including precious and semi-precious ones, *kankar lime*, *surkhi* etc., are not commonly used now-a-days and as such not freely available in the market. Some material is not available within the country. Non availability of this material from some odd sources brings with it many difficulties and inconsistency in quality. To acquire bulk supplies on every event to surmount such problems is not feasible and experience has shown that it is not possible every time.

With limited resources, following conservation measure were taken by Pakistan Archaeology department to conserve the posterity:

CONSERVATION MEASURES

The term conservation has become familiar to almost everybody. From newspapers to television, from small meetings to international conferences, people often raise issues of conservation in regard to the historic monuments. Conservation by definition is guardianship providing for maintenance, preservation or protection of what presently exists, from being destroyed or changed in an inappropriate manner. Vandalized monuments in Pakistan by human and natural calamities, the job of their upkeep and refurbishment on technical basis is quite difficult and challenging. The most important goal of preservation is to conserve the original components of a monument and to adopt such procedures which make them able to stand there fundamentally, forever and maintain their authenticity unimpaired. The restoration, where necessary, is to be carried out in the technique and materials used by the original builders. The complete reconstruction of an antiquity is the least-wished job in restoring the ancient structures.

Government of Pakistan and the Department of Archaeology and Museums accepted this challenge and trying to do its best to check their further decay; protect existing monuments, to give original features and to reinstate the basics for their appropriate understanding and intensification of the dilapidated portions.

In 1973 a master plan was prepared to preserve the historic monuments inside Lahore Fort. This plan was

initially estimated to cost Rs. 10 million²⁶ intended at finishing the task within predetermined period of five years. But the funds could not flow accordingly as planned. This and other odds, of course, affected the overall progress especially in the face of rising costs. This had necessitated the revision of this Master Plan.²⁷ The revised scheme has already been prepared and is estimated to cost Rs. 3.77 millions, spreading over five years. If the funds are made available according to the planned programme, there is no reason why the Lahore Fort should not have much-strengthened fabric along with revival of its pristine glory in decoration.²⁸

FORTIFICATION WALL

The magnificent fortification wall of the Lahore Fort has two detached episodes of construction which covers the area of about 1400 ft. east to west and 1115 ft. north to south. The main gates are located alongside the centre of the western and eastern walls. The Fort is girdled round by a formidable fortification wall strengthened by semi circular bastions at regular intervals.

The massive fortification walls, built by Emperor Akbar in the 1560s, towered over the older part of Lahore. The huge rectangle they define, 380 by 330 meters, is filled with buildings from a variety of periods. The main gates are located alongside the centre of the western and eastern walls.

The open strip of land running around the defense wall on the east, south and south west of the fort was dirty and full of debris and rubbish. Moreover, the deteriorating walls were not free from the vandalism of the encroachers. The matter was therefore, taken up with the Lahore Improvement Trust who agreed to transfer the

area to this Department on the condition that the responsibility of its development and converting it into grassy places would rest with it too. The Department readily accepted this offer.²⁹

Soon an estimate of systematic repairs to the fortification wall and the dressing up the area was framed which amounted to Rs. 61,115/- . The repairs were undertaken during the year 1957-58 and continued till 1959-60. During this period, most of the decayed and bulged out portions of the wall on the north-east, east and south east were repaired. These repairs involved 12,737 cft. country brick masonry in *kankar* lime, 3049 cft. Country brick masonry in 1:5 cement mortar and 499 Cft. Modern brick work. In addition to this thick cement plaster was done to the extent of 445 cft. And *kankar* lime plaster 228 Sft. 1134 Sft. Sunk lime pointing with 1" wide and 2 ½" deep joints was also carried out. G. I. Pipe line for irrigating the area was laid to the extent of 1530.8 Rft.³⁰

As mentioned earlier, it was agreed with the Improvement Trust that the area will be converted into grassy plots and accordingly the work was undertaken during the year 1958-59. The earth removed during the clearance of the area and repairs to the fortification wall was spread over with thick layer of canal silt and thick layer of cow dung serving as manure. Grass roots were brought over from the Jungle near Ravi and some *khata* trees were purchased. Due to the uneven surface of the area, a dwarf wall, about 2 feet in height was also provided at certain points to save the lawns from erosion. The work involved a total expenditure of Rs. 12, 419/-only. According to Master Plan of 1973 the amount of Rs. 446, 260.00/- was sanctioned.³¹

SHISH MAHAL

Built by Shah Jahan, this pavilion was the residence of the Empress when she stayed at Lahore. The courtyard and several buildings that lie within it come closest to matching the conventional image of the royal Mughal *harem* in all its dazzling glory. The court itself takes its' elements from traditional Mughal architecture and accordingly assumes the shape of an elegantly proportioned square. And the main hall of the pavilion (or the Shish Mahal) is decorated with gilt work and mosaic workmanship of convex glass.

Situated in the northwest corner of the fort, Shish Mahal is one of the most profusely decorated places of the Mughal period. Built by Asif Khan for Emperor Shah Jehan in 1631-32, it formed the harem of the fort. It consists of a spacious and lofty hall in front and several rooms behind and on either side of it. The main decorative features of the Shish Mahal include *aiana kari* or convex glass mosaic with *munabat kari* or stucco tracery; gilt work; *pietra-dura* work specially in the spandrels of the arches; the marble screen of extraordinary beauty and perfection skillfully carved in geometrical and tendril designs.

There are traces indicating that the chambers were originally decorated with gilding and fresco paintings. The floor of the spacious courtyard in front of the hall is paved with stone slabs in a variety of variegated marble, such as Sang-i-Badal, Sang-i-Abri, Sang-i-Musa, Sang-i-Khattu in the center of the courtyard. Four jet fountains played in the basin. Four water channels, paved with Sang-i-Abri and running in the middle of all four sides, empty themselves in the basin.

In 2003, Norwegian government allocate budget of about US \$900,000 in favor of UNESCO for the conservation of Shish Mahal, and for the preparation of a PC 1 (master plan) and research oriented study of the fort.³² The archaeology department was given such amount for the renovation of the Shish Mahal and the drainage system of the Lahore Fort. The department could not take a risk by embarking on the renovation work on its own because the Shish Mahal required to be handled very delicately. Only archaeologists could help execute the plan.

Few years ago, the department had installed a specially designed “angle iron structure”³³ over the roof to harbor the rotten wooden truss of the Shish Mahal. The structure, however, was only a temporary cover from moisture and air pressure. Its interior was also weak with cracks visible along its highly bedecked structure. It was suffering from the aging phenomenon of pulverization because of which the grip of the decorative mirrors had loosened over the year. The Shish Mahal had started crumbling in the early 1990s due to rainwater. Unless heavy traffic passing adjacent to the Shish Mahal is not banned, its decay will continue. The drainage system of the fort was inadequate and needed to be improved.

The roof top of the historic Shish Mahal was conserved by the serious effort made by foreign conservationists for at least 100 years. Mr. Hughes with his team of national and international conservation experts visited the fort to examine the preservation of the Mughal-era architecture. The group included Norway’s cultural heritage director Lyder Marstrand, consultant for culture Dr. Pamela Rogers, UNESCO’s programme

specialist for culture Junko Taniguchi, and UNESCO's Mr. Farhat Gul.³⁴

The project of conservation of Shish Mahal was materialized with the financial and technical support of the Norwegians. Number of foreign and national experts involved in its preservation and documentations i.e. cement mortar, analysis of the rainwater drainage system and structural analysis, work on stucco tracery, cleaning of marble and mirrors, and most importantly termite eradication of the Mughal-period timber beams has also been completed.³⁵ A 1700ft long Norwegian net has also been laid to provide a support to the sagging ceiling.³⁶ While applying gypsum mortar, gaps have been created to allow inspection in case there is any de-bonding of the new and old layers. Federal Archaeology Department senior architect and conservation coordinator Maqsood Ahmad said: "it was a role model project ever done in the history of Pakistan".³⁷

The semi-precious stones used in *pietra-dura* work on the columns of Shish Mahal were badly plundered during the Sikh and British times. The *pietra-dura* work has been repaired or redone in some portions, but the work is visibly slow since not only is it intricate and delicate but also the few craftsmen trained in this highly specialized work were lured away to the Middle East. It would be interesting to note that the damage as seen over the designs of flower petals, etc. shows so vividly the treatment meted out by Sikhs or the British soldiers in the past. No attention was paid to this work during pre-independence days. The work is now being attended to, but it will take some time before the whole damage is rectified. The paintings exposed after the removal of overlying layers of plaster in the niches of veranda have

been kept under covers of transparent 'Perspex sheets'³⁸ ever-since their recovery to save them from any further damage.

Some of the items of work included in the Master Plan comprise restoration of *sang-i-badal* flooring in compound, tessellated flooring in the veranda, redoing the *pietra-dura* work on the columns bases, fresco paintings, marble *mahtabi* in the centre of the compound, repairs to mirror work, restoration of the underground chambers etc. According to Master Plan of 1973 the amount of Rs. 76, 5000/- was sanctioned to renovate the Shish Mahal.³⁹

'SARD KHANAS' OR BASEMENT CHAMBERS

The '*Teh Khanas*' or basement chambers of the *Shish Mahal* are situated in the north portion of the Fort. These chambers were used as cool sheltering during summer and as a space for storage and military purpose by the Mughals. They were also called "*Sard Khana*" or summerhouse.⁴⁰ They had long been neglected as they remained in possession of the Civil Defense Department even after the cultural importance of the Fort had been realized. At long last the chambers were handed over to the Department of Archaeology in 1973.⁴¹

The Department of Archaeology is using some of the basements as laboratories, offices and stores. Based on a careful study, conservation strategy was then worked out. Master plan for the conservation of Lahore Fort, particularly its basement (Shish Mahal), having an outlay of Rs. 300 million has been approved.⁴² The provincial government is taking keen interest in developing museum

in the basement area by the name of "City Art Gallery" with a view to promoting tourism.

It might be mentioned here that PC1 was approved in the past with an amount of Rs 7.393 million and the grant was spent by the respective governments between 1994 and 1998 for the preservation of four halls.⁴³ The halls were repaired by effective whitewash while Fresco paintings were preserved with artistic touches. The walls were plastered thoroughly in original material i.e. *kankar* lime while the terrace flooring was laid. In these halls arrangements for electricity were also made. On the eastern side of these halls, there are other big halls, which were left unattended due to paucity of funds. In the present scheme these have also been selected for repair, provision of electricity and other facilities. Now after passage of reasonable time, the already preserved halls also need repaired alterations for using them as a centre of learning. At that time department decided to open the halls for general public and proposed to hold exhibitions and conferences about the history of the City here. But the plans could not be materialised due to transfer of administrator.

The basement chamber has suffered most due to neglect as well as other controversial alternations during the Sikh and British occupation. During this period a lot of changes inside the monument were made. The beautiful Fresco paintings were defaced with repeated coats of colour/whitewash. Natural causes like water, humidity, temperature, winds, chemical and electro-chemical effects also played their role in its decay.

The growth of autonomous plants in the immediate vicinity of the monument, woodworms, white ants, termites, earthquakes, flood, condition of soil, poor

conservation, pollution, encroachments near and around the monument also contributed their bit. It is worth mentioning that Shah Burj, Lahore Fort, is the most outstanding building, which was built in 1651 by Shah Jahan after demolishing and making alterations in the buildings erected by Jahangir. Shish Mahal, the residence of the Queen, Mamtaz Mahal, was erected in the huge underground chamber. During the British period the chamber was occupied by the Civil Defence who made alterations and changes in the chamber according to their needs and requirements.

Sources informed that the brick cone of the masonry is saturated with moisture and various salts, adding that Archaeology Department was thus responsible for proper preservation of antiquities through conservation to prolong their life. The conservation of an ancient monument is an intricate process completely different in forms and spirit from the repairs of new building.

The primary object of the conservation is to preserve the original components of a monument as long as possible so that the authenticity of the monument is not impaired. Its restoration is necessary to be carried out in the technique. To preserve the scale and setting of the monument, it is also essential to preserve its environment and surroundings as far as possible.

DIWAN-I-'AM ' (HALL OF PUBLIC AUDIENCE)

During the first year of his reign, i.e. in 1628, the emperor Shah Jahan ordered the construction of the Diwan-i-'Am. It was built in the shape of a hall of forty pillars, which replaced the awnings that had been erected in front of the *jharokas* during the regime of his father, whose

original function had been to shelter the nobles. The work was commissioned to one Asaf Khan. Occupying a large rectangular dais, the hall stands in the center of the fort with a great open court.

The building suffered badly during the Sikh anarchy when it was hit by fire of cannons mounted at the minarets of the Badshahi Mosque. Roof of Diwan-i-'Am was demolished during the attack. It was reconstructed by the British in the beginning of the present century but the original floor which was in red sand stone was not restored.⁴⁴ The red-sand stone railing, originally in the technique of carpentry has been redone, bringing back much of the grandeur of the high-rising Hall in the back. The task not only required a factual visualization of the whole arrangement of the railing which had a striking similarity with that of Feroz Shah Tughlaq's Tomb but also mastery in stone craftsmanship.⁴⁵ The complex venture, according to the Master Plan, has been successfully finished.

DIWAN-I-KHAS (HALL OF PRIVATE AUDIENCE)

East of the Lal Burj in Shah Jahan's quadrangle is the Diwan-i-Khas, a graceful arched pavilion built in pure white marble. Its parapet is embellished with *pietra dura* work. It has a marble ceiling, and floors in beautiful geometric patterns in marble. The marvelous *Diwan-i-Khas* built by Shah Jahan in 1645. In addition to its graceful shape of arches, the pavilion, *Diwan-i-Khas* is inflated with beautiful inlay work, attractively carved white marble screens and marble floor in different colours in geometric designs. The marble ceiling of the building is also very attractive. The monument has been preserved now. The white marble has slightly lost its brightness due to the

effect of atmospheric agents like smoke dust, etc. The smoke of traffic and industries contains sulphur dioxide and other perilous gases largely affected physical components of the Mughal architecture. Gradually, it caused yellowing the white marble and blackening the red-brick pillars and roofs of the structures.⁴⁶ According to a UNESCO study, “the smoke from industries in the area coupled with that emitted by diesel-run heavy vehicles using the Badami Bagh bus stand or the Circular Road is gradually discolouring and corroding these historical sites”.⁴⁷ To keep the monuments into their original colours, it was suggested by Mr. Ihsan H Nadiem, that alkaline or acidic action are necessary for *Diwan-i- Khas* and other marble buildings. Periodically washed with glycerin soap and distilled water can protect historic buildings from transforming into yellowish tone.⁴⁸

JAHANGIR'S QUADRANGLE

Initiated by Akbar, this quadrangle was completed by Jahangir in 1617-1618 at a cost of seven lakhs. Three of its sides have been built in the typical Akbari style, while the fourth style is Jahangir's contribution. Traditionally, it is represented as his *khwabgah* or sleeping room. The front of the quadrangle is a British reconstruction, but it is probably consistent with the original form of the Fort and serves to illustrate the simple and austere character of the buildings constructed during Jahangir's reign. The airy courtyard is bound by a row of chambers in its east as well as on west. This quadrangle also didn't flee the vandalism of the Sikhs and random use by the British military. The frontage of these chambers is in red sand stone with handsomely carved columns and ornately sculptured stone brackets. It is notable for the lace work, decoration

of pillars, and above them carved brackets depicting elephants, lion and peacocks. These Hindu motifs are characteristic of the early Mughal architecture.

Jahangir's Khawbgah now used as Armoury Museum located in the mid of the main structure of the court on northern side has lost its frescos. The underground chambers in the eastern and western wings of the quadrangle had lost their floor and the plaster on their wall was crumbling fast. The flooring of the underground chambers and the plaster over the walls has been carried out in the *kankar* Lime.

In the centre of the lawns is a beautiful tank with a causeway and marble fountains. When the monument was taken over by the Department, the whole area was covered by a number of buildings. The place where the central tank has been excavated was covered with a well laid Tennis Court. Extensive conservation work mostly concerned with the demolition of modern structures and exposing the original features was carried out before 1947.

AKBARI GATE

The Akbari Gate was named after the Emperor Akbar, who rebuilt the town and citadel. This gate also leads to a market which the Emperor Akbar once founded, known as "Akbari Mandi."⁴⁹

Conservation of the 'Akbari Gate' at the Lahore Fort led to the revelation of three floors from the British, Sikh and Mughal periods.⁵⁰ During relaying of the deteriorated floor of Akbari Gate excavation were being done and during this process three floors were revealed. The workers had now pulled off the conservation work and archeological investigation of the floors was in progress.

The British-period floor is made of small bricks, the Sikh-era floor of burnt bricks and the Mughal-period floor is made of pebbles. Pebble-made floors at the entrance gates of the fort had been a normal practice with the Mughals because pebbles were stronger than bricks and could sustain movement of heavy traffic.

The Mughals used to take in elephants and heavy transports on these pebble-made floors. Punjab Archeology Department director Shahbaz Khan told the daily Dawn that 'Akbari Gate's conservation was part of the Rs. 300 million project of conservation and restoration of the Lahore Fort, initiated by Chief Minister Pervaiz Elahi. He said the chief minister had given another Rs. 300 million for the Shalamar Gardens which was also on the World Heritage List.

He said the department was lucky enough to have such a large amount for conservation and restoration of the two monuments which had previously been neglected by the federal archeology department that failed to spend that much on their conservation. He said he had stopped conservation work on Akbari Gate and ordered archeological investigation through excavation. The Akbari Gate restoration would be carried out according to the design and style in vogue in Akbar's period.⁵¹

ALAMGIRI GATE

This building was Aurangzeb's only contribution to the fort. It probably began undergoing construction along with the Badshahi Masjid in 1674 for this gate faces the Badshahi Mosque and is framed by two semi-circular bastions, boldly fluted and ornamented with lotus petal designs at its base. And elegant domed towers surmount the side bastions while '*guldastas*' or vases flank the

corners. The gateway verges towards the Huzuri Bagh by a ramp. It is forceful and gigantic in construction, expressing the martial temperament of its commissioner. It was another imperative and intensified conservation work in the Lahore Fort. Built by Aurangzeb Alamgir, the Gate had seen many phases of vandalizing history right up to the creation of Pakistan. It remained closed for over thirty years due to its unsafe condition. After conserving the monument it was possible to re-open it as the central doorway; so impressive for a huge fort.

PICTURE WALL

Jahangir's love for nature was matched by his equal interest in the arts of painting and illustration. The picture wall stands testimony to the monarch's aesthetic inclinations and was commenced by him in the 19th year of his reign, 1624-25.⁵² The pictured wall in north measuring 1570 ft. long and 55 ft. high is decorated with mosaic tiles on a composite base and fresco paintings. The wall generally known as pictured wall, which is a master piece of Mughal embellishments. Unfortunately the vindictive time and weather effects had damage major parts of the frescos and mosaic work. The master plan provided a systematic conservation of the tile mosaics giving it look as much original as practicably possible. To restore the missing portions, a supply of the tiles manufactured by Thatta, Hala and Multan were made at *terra coatta* base and manufactured by Lahore made at plaster base, brought with consultation of engineers.⁵³ After great efforts and with the skilled craftsmen, dressed brick work carried out in original patterns.

While talking of the conservation/restoration of the monuments in the Lahore Fort it should clearly be kept in

mind that these structures were erected by the emperors with virtually immense imperial treasures, and perhaps without the like of present-day restraints. It would certainly require resources on a still larger scale, especially in the face of multitude of problems, as already discussed, to keep them in presentable condition with sound fabric.

It is increasingly realized that the success of many conservation projects depends on thorough archaeological analysis and interpretation to identify and date constituent building periods and architectural details. This information will lead to greater understanding of the structural and material performance of the fabric, thus avoiding irrevocable loss or damage and allowing for more sympathetic and appropriate preservation of particular features.

Today, archaeologists are taking a leading role in the conservation and management of buildings. An integrated, multidisciplinary team approach is now required to ensure the success of major building conservation, repair, and maintenance programmes. It is only by working in close partnerships with other disciplines (such as architects, engineers, planners, quantity surveyors, building contractors etc) that the archaeological and historical value of buildings can be preserved and released.

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²³ *Master Plan: Lahore Fort* (PC 1), 1973, Karachi, 56.

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THE POST-1857 POLITICAL REGENERATION OF THE INDIAN MUSLIMS: THE POLITICAL STRATEGY OF SIR SAYYID AHMAD KHAN

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to describe, explain and analyse the political strategy of Sayyid Ahmad Khan for the uplift of the Indian Muslims in the decades after the 1857 Indian “War of Independence.” In the process, it takes into account the political challenges faced by the Muslim community vis a vis the British and the Hindus and the possible solutions available to them. Moreover, it evaluates how his strategy affected Muslims’ relations with the Hindus and the British and lastly, it assesses whether it remained successful or not.

KEY WORDS

Sayyid Ahmed Khan, British, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Congress, nation, Viceroy’s Executive Council, ‘Two-Nation Theory’

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) is generally known as the pioneer of modern Muslim awakening in British-India. After the failure of the Indian armed struggle in the ‘war of independence’ in 1857, in which the Muslims played a prominent role, they did not know what to do especially after the collapse of the Muslim political power and the ‘reign of terror’ let loose on them by the victorious British.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan rose to the challenge when the Muslim masses were lost like the tribes of Israel in the political wilderness of India.¹The British colonialism created a new socio-politico-economic order in India: the traditional values and views of life were replaced by Western ideas and institutions. The Muslim intelligentsia was caught in a dilemma: it could neither stop the process of change nor could it accept it in totality. The challenge had to be met and the contradictions had to be overcome. Tahtawi, Jamaluddin Afghani, Khairuddin Al Tunisi, Mohammad Abduh, Sayyid Ahmad Khan and other Muslim reformers tried to resolve the dilemma, each in his own way.²They started with the premise that the modern age was a reality and there was no point denying it as the orthodox ulema did. Their way out was that Islam commanded its followers to acquire new knowledge from wherever it came from and that modern scientific thought and Western socio-political institutions were in no way incompatible with the basic teachings of Islam.³

The British believed in the supremacy of their system and began the transplanting of their institutions on the Indian soil.⁴ Sayyid Ahmad Khan had to struggle on two fronts: on one hand was a section of the British opinion in India represented by Governor-General Ellenborough (1843) that thought that the Muslims were their enemies, and therefore, emphasized that the British should maintain good relations with the Hindus.⁵On the other hand was the 19th century surge of Hindu revival and reformation led by Ram Mohan Roy's Brahmo Samaj, Kheshep Chandar Sen's Prathna Samaj, and Dayanand Saraswati's Arya Samaj urging Hindus to attain modern education and adopt a progressive attitude in their religious lives.⁶

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan gave top priority to the task of forging reconciliation between the angry British rulers and the aggrieved Muslims. He criticized Hindu Rajas and Mughal Emperors who neither ruled according to Hinduism nor in conformity with the principles of Islam.⁷ He also used the international political situation to his advantage. The Tsarist Russia was applying pressure on the Turkish frontier and was also planning to occupy Afghanistan. The British were concerned as the northern India contiguous to Afghanistan was mostly populated by the Muslims, who hated the British.⁸ By expressing the sentiments of loyalty Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan tried to thaw the icy Anglo-Muslim relations. His efforts to achieve rapprochement with the British were, ironically, obstructed by fellow religiously orthodox Muslims, who thought that the salvation of the Muslims lay in following the traditions of puritanical Islam of the earliest period and held everything associated with the West as satanic.⁹

In this scenario, he had to carefully chart out his political strategy, the main strands of which were: Indian Muslims should acquire greater awareness of their rights through education and loyal co-operation with the British; he was pained at the disgrace of the Muslims and believed that they could be rejuvenated through their faith; he was self-taught in politics as he had neither the example of any Indian leader to guide nor did he have any political training except that which came his way during his administrative career, so his politics was based in a sense on pragmatism discovered by him during service.¹⁰

Sayyid Ahmad Khan believed that as the British provided religious tolerance and peace therefore, Muslims should try to win favour of the British by active loyalty otherwise they would be out-distanced in the race for

government favour by the Hindus as had already happened in the case of education.¹¹ Therefore, in a public meeting he expressed his desire to see the British government in India forever.¹² His cry for loyalty to the British was not a mere exhortation rather he had set a personal example by saving the lives of several European men, women and children during the War of 1857, which had resulted in the pillaging of his property and heavy losses to his family at Delhi, at the hands of the rebels.¹³ But it didn't go unrewarded as he was recommended a pension of Rs 200/- per mensem for life and Sir John Strachey the Lt. Governor of NW Provinces paid a glowing tribute: "No man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in 1857: no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed."¹⁴

Sayyid Ahmad urged the government to allay the Muslims' fears of official hostility and create a climate of confidence. In other words, loyalty and Muslim welfare became intertwined in the political discourse of Sayyid Ahmad. His deep loyalty to the British became controversial as it excluded Indian Muslims' allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey and support to other Muslim nations if their national interest ran counter to British imperial policies.¹⁵ His one practical step to garner British approval was the organization of a public meeting on 28th July 1859 to express on behalf of the Muslims, gratitude to the Queen who had promulgated a decree of mercy for her erring subjects, and in the meeting he also thanked Providence which had put them under the protection of just rulers.¹⁶ He had realized that the Muslim antagonism towards the British was due to their hostility towards the Christians, therefore, to find similarities between the two, he extensively wrote on Islam and Christianity.¹⁷ To bring the

Muslims and the British closer, he wrote a commentary of the Bible showing fundamental accord between true Islam and true Christianity.¹⁸

To prove the fidelity of the Muslim community to the British rule, he wrote the 'Loyal Mohammadans of India' in which he mentioned those fourteen leading members of the Muslim gentry, who had lent support to the government during the Mutiny, and contradicted the charges (i) that the Mohammadans were by the very tenets of their religion hostile to Christianity; (ii) that the 'Jihad' according to the principles of Islam was necessarily enjoined against the English regime; (iii) that the slaying of women, children and the aged was in conformity with Islamic principles.¹⁹

Another important effort made by Sayyid Ahmad to remove the misunderstanding between the ruler and the ruled was his pamphlet entitled, 'Causes of the Indian Mutiny', written in 1858, but published in 1863 after the anger in the hearts of Englishmen had subsided. This pamphlet was translated into English by Sir Auckland Colvin, an ex-Lt-Governor of UP and a personal friend of Sayyid Ahmad.²⁰ In it, he smashed the theory prevalent in the official circles that the revolt was a national uprising and an organized conspiracy to end the British rule.²¹ He proved that the fatwa of 'Jihad' published by rebels was a forgery as none of those whose signatures on the fatwa had, had taken active part in the fighting rather some of them had given shelter to the Christians.²² He concluded that the root cause of the outbreak was lack of rapport between the government and the governed. It is generally believed that inclusion of Indians in the legislative councils, Viceroy's Executive Council and in higher judiciary were some of the results of this document.²³ Not only this, A. O. Hume, the

founder of the Indian National Congress, confessed to SahibzadaAftab Ahmed Khan in 1892 that it was this pamphlet of Sayyid Ahmad which had inspired him with the idea of founding the Congress.²⁴ This pamphlet was the most significant single Indian contribution to the debate on the Mutiny.²⁵ It started a lively debate in official circles. Richard Temple, a disciple of Dalhousie andJohn Lawrence undertook a point-by-point refutation of this document whereas Sir Bartle Frere and Sir James Outram found too much truth in this ‘most painfully interesting paper.’²⁶ In fact this document served as ‘a frost textbook on politics’ for the future guidance of British administrators in India, who made good use of it and applied the hints given in it.²⁷

While making amends with the British, Sayyid Ahmad in no way showed that he was either an anti-Hindu or a communal separatist.²⁸ Repeatedly, he emphasized that religious differences should have no political or national significance: “Do you not inhabit the same land?” he said. “Remember that the words Hindu and Mohammadan are only meant for religious distinction – otherwise all persons whether Hindu or Mohammadan, even the Christians who reside in this country are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation”.²⁹ He wanted both the Hindus and Muslims to free themselves from their biases and prejudices. He encouraged the Hindus of India to go overseas; wrote articles against untouchability and asked the Hindus to abandon their caste distinctions; and suggested to the Muslims to abandon cow slaughter to establish friendship with the Hindus.³⁰

Pleading for Hindu-Muslim unity, while addressing a public meeting at Patna in Bihar, Sayyid Ahmad said, “... India is our common home. We live on India’s air, drink the holy waters of the Ganges and the Jamuna, and eat the

products of India. We are each other's companions in life and death. Hindus have adopted hundreds of habits of the Muslims and Muslims have accepted hundreds of Hindu customs. In reality, therefore, we both are one nation as we both belong to this country. And the progress and welfare of the country and both of us depend upon unity among us and mutual sympathy and love."³¹ Sayyid Ahmad looked at the inter-communal harmony in a broad-minded spirit and this sentiment found expression in three ways: in personal relations; in cultural relationships; and in political affairs. Despite Arya Samaj's tirade against Islam, he displayed noble restraint because he believed that political differences and religious prejudice should not be allowed to undermine the cultural basis of Hindu-Muslim amity.³² This broad-mindedness of Sayyid Ahmad was acknowledged by enlightened Hindus such as Lala Bhagat Ram, who paid a glowing tribute to Sayyid Ahmad in Jallunder, when the latter visited Punjab to collect donations for the Aligarh College.³³

Altaf Hussain Hali in his biography of Sayyid Ahmad suggests that Sayyid Ahmad was not anti-Hindu, however, he became suspicious about the intentions of the Hindus after the 1867 Urdu-Hindi language controversy at Benaras.³⁴ Around 1867, a movement was started by some Hindus, mostly from Bihar and the eastern part of the UP to replace Urdu language by Hindi. This convinced Sayyid Ahmad that a communal consciousness was growing in the higher and middle classes of Hindus to assert their separate cultural entity to safeguard their special interests.³⁵ His frustration manifested, when he observed, "Now I am convinced that the two communities (qawms) will not be able to co-operate sincerely in any matter. It is only the beginning. In future I envisage mutual opposition and

conflict increasing day by day among those who are called educated people."³⁶

In 1885, the Indian National Congress was formed. For two years, Sayyid Ahmad didn't utter a single word against the Congress as he patiently brooded over its politics and demands.³⁷ He finally broke his silence on December 28, 1887 while delivering a speech at Lucknow from the platform of Mohammadan Educational Conference. He stated that he did not recollect having ever previously given a political lecture as his attention had always been directed towards education of his fellow Muslims.³⁸ He said that the object of his lecture was to explain the attitude which the Muslim community ought to adopt with regard to the political movement of the time.³⁹ While describing the methods of rule adopted by the British government with regard to India, he said that the government wanted to keep in its own hands all questions of foreign policy and all matters related to the army, and the Indian subjects therefore should not interfere in these matters except the ones which concerned the internal policy.⁴⁰ He emphasized that it was necessary that members of the Viceroy's Council should be of high social position because the Indian aristocracy would never approve that a man of low caste or insignificant origin, though he be a B.A. or M.A. or having the required ability to make laws that would affect their lives and property.⁴¹ He said that although Congress had presented till then about forty-nine proposals, he would touch only the most important ones. Regarding the Congress demand that in addition to the Covenanted Civil Service, all posts in the subordinate service from that of Tehsildar to Subordinate Judge be given on the basis of competitive examinations, Sayyid Ahmad's arguments were multifarious: he stated that people of all

social positions and of high and low family be allowed to pass that examination, and argued that the Indians did not mind if they were ruled by Englishmen of low birth as they did not know this fact but Indians of good family would never like to trust their lives and property to Indians of low rank and humble origin, with whom they were well acquainted.⁴² While further elaborating on this issue he said that competitive examination suited that country in which people from the highest to the lowest level belonged to one nation, which was not the case in India, or this system could be introduced in that country where two nations had practically united into one nation, and gave example of England and Scotland, but argued that even this was not so in India, which was peopled by different nations.⁴³ While summing up his arguments he opined that competitive examinations could also be introduced in that country where the different nations were on equal footing but again this was not so in India as the Muslims were far behind the Hindus in English education which was necessary for higher appointments. He concluded his arguments by saying that over all the races in India, not only over the Muslims but over Rajas of high position and over the brave Rajputs, who had not forgotten the swords of their ancestors, would the Bengalis be placed as the rulers as at the sight of a table knife they crawled under their chairs.⁴⁴

Sayyid Ahmad's views on the second demand of the Congress that people should elect a section of the Viceroy's Council were also illuminating. He said that if the principle of universal suffrage, as in America, were adopted for election then assuming that Muslim voters voting for Muslim candidates and Hindu voters voting for Hindu candidates, then Hindus would win because their population was four times more than that of the

Muslims.⁴⁵ While discussing the second option that if a substantial income were made the qualification for the electorate, argued the Sayyid Ahmad, the Muslims would be greatly outnumbered by the Hindus.⁴⁶ Considering a third option for representation in the Viceroy's Council, he said that if the principle of representation were fixed on the basis of overall population proportion of each community even then there would be four Hindus to one Muslim member.⁴⁷ Presenting his final position regarding the issue of representation, he said that if a rule were made that half the members of the council would be Hindus and the other half Muslims, elected by their respective electorates, he sadly admitted that, firstly, there was hardly any Muslim fit for the job as compared to the Hindus, and secondly, if fit Muslim members were found then how many of them would willingly leave their businesses in Punjab, Oudh, and North-Western Provinces, and would incur the expenses of travelling and living in Calcutta and Simla to attend the sessions of Viceroy's Council just for the sake of their countrymen?⁴⁸ He, therefore, concluded that the demands of the Congress were not beneficial for India and its people, in particular the Muslims. Taking the Mutiny as an example, he observed that the Hindus started it but the restless Muslims who joined into the fray were ruined in its aftermath whereas the Hindus took a bath in the Ganges and went scot-free, and he expected a similar result for the Muslims if they participated in the political agitation sponsored by the Congress.⁴⁹ In one of his Urdu articles, 'India and the English Government,' he said that if the Congress' demands were met then the peace of the country would be shattered and there would be anarchy.⁵⁰ He stressed that it would be wrong to term the Congress as a truly national Congress as it did not represent the

aspirations of all the people living in India.⁵¹ It is a fact that Sayyid Ahmad was successful in prevailing upon the Muslims to stay away from Congress because Sir Surendar nath Banerjee in 'A Nation in the Making' admitted that the Congress strained every nerve to secure cooperation of the Muslims by sometimes paying the fares of the Muslim delegates to the Congress and by offering them other facilities.⁵² In reply to Congress' efforts to convince the people in England about its national character, Sayyid Ahmad formed an organization in (1888), the United Indian Patriotic Association with the objectives to publish pamphlets in English for the English people and members of the Parliament to acquaint them with the views of those Hindus and Muslims who had not joined the Congress and who strengthened the British rule by extending full cooperation.⁵³

It is said that Sayyid Ahmad was not opposed to the Congress due to its being predominantly Hindu, however, he opposed it because he thought it was politically too aggressive, whereas, at that time, he wanted British help and cooperation for his community.⁵⁴ It is also believed that the launching of Mohammadan Educational Conference by Sayyid Ahmad, just a year after the formation of the Congress, was meant to keep the Muslims away from it.⁵⁵ In his speech at Meerut, Sayyid Ahmad accused the Congress for bribing and pressurizing the Muslims to join the Congress, and conceded that except Budruddin Tyabji, no leading Muslim had taken part in its activities.⁵⁶

For his opposition to Congress Sayyid Ahmad was criticized by several people in different ways: M.M. Sankhdhar termed the exhortation of Sayyid Ahmad as the transformation of a nationalist Muslim leader into a stark reactionary communalist; I.N. Topa branded Sayyid Ahmad

as the forerunner of sectarianism in Indian politics; Dr. J.D. Dass held that it was largely Sayyid Ahmad's fear that in a democratically elected national government, the Hindu majority would override the interests of the smaller Muslim community, which influenced Muslim thought in subsequent decades for the Muslims and later in the demand of a separate state for them; and K.B. Krishna thought that it was Sayyid Ahmad's warning which induced Lord Minto to accept the theory of communal representation, and gave the idea to the Muslim communalists to speak for a Muslim nation in India.⁵⁷

Regarding this allegation that Sayyid Ahmad opposed the Congress to please the British, Sheikh Abdullah, who later became the prime minister of the Indian-held Kashmir, once enquired of Sayyid Ahmad whether his opposition to Congress was based on his conviction or it was meant to please the British, to which Sayyid Ahmad had said that it was purely based on his conviction and not to curry favour with the British.⁵⁸ Elaborating on the issue, Sayyid Ahmad had said that supporting the Congress at the time was like cutting the Muslims' throat with a knife.⁵⁹

Sayyid Ahmad was very clear in his political views. He firmly believed in the maintenance of friendly relations between the governors and the governed and for him the people and the government were like a tree- the latter being the root, and the former the growth of that root.⁶⁰ The pathetic Muslim condition in the aftermath of the Revolt had convinced him that the survival of the Muslims hinged on the formulation of a separate Muslim entity; loyalty to the British; opposition to the Congress demand that the government should be answerable to the people; and to follow a policy of give and take.⁶¹ He believed that no government was good or bad but it were the people, who,

in practice made it good or bad.⁶² His ideas on the question of representative government were influenced by John Stuart Mill, and branding himself as a confirmed liberal and not a conservative; he had supported the Bill on Local Self-Government in Ripon's viceroyalty, hoping that the people of his country would learn the principles of self-help and self-government from their rulers.⁶³ In his eyes the primary functions of the state included the maintenance of its authority; saving the country from internal disorder and foreign invasion; guaranteeing of peace; and protection of the lives and property of its people; and as the British government met his criteria of a viable state, therefore, both Hume and Tyabji, in spite of their constant endeavors failed to change his attitude toward the Congress.⁶⁴ Even his premier educational institution, the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental (MAO) College was not without a political purpose as the object of this college was "to make the Musalmans of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown," hence, it can be argued that even his educational strategy was political in scope and effect.⁶⁵ The novel idea of Muslim nationality based as it was on the concept of what may be called 'Indian Muslim nationality' as it excluded from it not only the Muslims living under foreign rule but also the Hindus, who were also the subjects of the British Government in India, was a unique contribution to the political development of Muslim-India.⁶⁶ His political stance was based on the ground realities of the Indian political scene. The genesis of his "Two-Nation Theory" which characterized the Hindus and the Muslims as two separate nations manifested in one of his speeches in which he argued that in case of British withdrawal from India, the Hindus and Muslims could not sit on the same throne and remain equal in power as "It is necessary that one of them

should conquer the other and thrust it down” and to hope that both could remain equal was to desire the impossible and the inconceivable.⁶⁷ These views of Sayyid Ahmad matured after the demands of the Congress, because earlier in 1884, a year before the formation of Congress, while delivering a speech at Gurdaspur, he had said, “We (i.e. Hindus and Moahmmadans) should try to become one heart and one soul... all people inhabiting one country are designated by the term one nation. The different tribes of Afghanistan are one nation... the word nation is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own... Hindu and Mohammadan brethren... Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not burnt and buried on the same soil? ... Remember that the words Hindus and Mohammadans are only meant for religious distinction- otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mohammadan even the Christians, who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation.”⁶⁸

After discussing the growth and evolution of Sayyid Ahmad’s political ideas, an overall assessment of his political contribution becomes imperative. His determination to remain aloof from the politics of Congress can be regarded as the first overt step towards Pakistan,⁶⁹ however, on the record; as such there is no statement of Sayyid Ahmad which may lead one to conclude that he ever contemplated that the Hindus and Muslims would someday in future constitute two separate states.⁷⁰ After the Mutiny, the British did not trust the Muslims for their role in it but towards the end of the nineteenth century, this British attitude changed as it became clear to them that the Muslim minority looked towards them for the protection of its interests against the Hindu majority, and the person who

was responsible for engineering this change in the British policy was none other than Sayyid Ahmad.⁷¹ For his herculean efforts to uplift his reluctant people from the very depths of their existence to a better future, he has been equated with Moses.⁷² Even Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar as the president of the Congress in 1925 while commenting on the political wisdom of Sayyid Ahmad said, "... when it is easier to be wise after the event, I must confess I still think the attitude of Sayyid Ahmad Khan was eminently wise... and no well-wisher of Musalmans nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Musalmans." ⁷³

The personal conduct of Sayyid Ahmad and his above board personality made even his strict critics like Shibli to admit his greatness.⁷⁴ Even in his official capacity and personal life, his treatment of Hindus and Muslims was even-handed so much so that it were the rich Hindus who had requested the British to hand over the administration of Bijnour to Sayyid Ahmad during the critical period of the Revolt.⁷⁵

It is alleged that Sayyid Ahmad's opposition to the Congress' demands was the result of the British policy of 'Divide and Rule' and due to the influence exercised on him by Mr. Beck, the British principal of MAO College.⁷⁶ However, Maulvi Habibullah Khan, who graduated from Aligarh in 1892 and personally knew Beck and Sayyid Ahmad said that the latter was never dominated by the former because Sayyid Ahmad's political convictions had been formed much earlier, and he valued Beck's opinion only in matters of management of the college.⁷⁷ Although for his pro-British attitude, he was dubbed a sycophant and dismissed as a toady, was poured with contempt for his criticism of Congress; and charged with harbouring anti-

democratic, anti-nationalist and pro-imperialist stance, yet he persevered and continued with his convictions, and before his death could look back with satisfaction for all that he had done for his people.⁷⁸ No wonder till 1906, Muslims followed in main his advice to stand aloof from Congress but the prospects of political reforms from the government made them to form the Muslim League.⁷⁹ Retrospectively speaking, the career of Sayyid Ahmad epitomized the transformation of the Muslim society from Indian to Muslim nationalism.⁸⁰ To Hector Bolitho, Sayyid Ahmad was 'the first Muslim in India who dared to speak of Partition.'⁸¹ In Sayyid Ahmad's political ideas, Bashir Ahmed Dar sees a 'Pakistan... in reality.'⁸² Dr. Abdul Haq calls him the first man to lay the foundation of Pakistani edifice.⁸³ Richard Symonds says: 'The Pakistanis rightly claim him (Sayyid Ahmad) as one of the fathers of their country.'⁸⁴ It was Sayyid Ahmad, who, before the close of the nineteenth century advanced the same views that came to be associated with Jinnah in his advocacy of Pakistan and the 'Two-Nation Theory' after 1940.⁸⁵

For more than five decades, he was at the helm of Muslim affairs in India. His brilliancy of wit, charms of expression, strength of opinion, subtle mental powers, and the unique union of qualities in him as reformer, orator, man of letters, philosopher and leader have rarely, if ever, been found elsewhere in such happy combination.⁸⁶ Probably the best tribute was accorded by Sir Theodore Morison, when Sayyid Ahmad was laid to rest in Aligarh: "Other men have written books and founded colleges; but to arrest, as with a wall, the degeneration of a whole people, that is the work of a prophet."⁸⁷

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THE CHISHTI LUMINARIES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY INDIA

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ABSTRACT

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries followed a pattern of decentralization of Chishti *Silsilah* at Delhi. This decentralization was accompanied with the establishment of *khānqāhs* and localization of Chishti *Silsilah* in areas like Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Ahmadabad, Mandu, Zainabad, Gujrat, Bengal and Malwah. The *khānqāhs* in these regions conclusively inaugurated a culture of learning and development of vast literature of Chishti *Silsilah*. Many prominent Chishti sufis lived in the sixteenth century India. Both the sub-linages, the Chishti-Nizami and Chishti-Sabari flourished during this era.

KEY WORDS

Decentralization, *khānqāhs*, Sub-linages, *Silsilah*, Sufis

The spiritual lineage of Sabari *Silsilah* is Shaykh Ala al-Din Ahmad Ali Sabir (d. 1291), Shaykh Shams al-Din Turk (d. 1388), Shaykh Jalal al-Din Mahmud, Shaykh Ahmad Abd al-Haqq Radawli (d. 1436), Shaykh Arif (d. 1455), Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (d. 1537), Shaykh Jalal al-Din Thanasari (d. 1582), Shaykh Nizam al-Din Faruqi (d. 1626), Shaykh Abu Saeed Gangohi (d. 1639).¹

Shaykh Ahmad Abd al-Haqq Radawli (b. 1363- d. 1433) provided a charismatic spiritual leadership to the *Silsilah*

and gave a new color to it. According to Shaikh Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavi:

“Standards of education fell along with change in values. This was cataclysmic situation from which *ulema* and sufis had to suffer equally. In this period many sects appeared in Islam along with the start of Bhakti movement by Hindu Brahmans.”²

This disrupting situation rendered both Suhrawardis and Chishti-Nizamis in impedance but Chishti-Sabari sufis consistently played their role for the betterment of humanity. The reins of ruling authority transferred from Tughluq to Saadat in 1414 and then to Lodhis in 1488, thus fluctuating the political stability. Sultan Sikander Lodhi (r. (1489-1517)) did an effort to restore the old values and traditions as he invited *ulama* from far areas. During this period Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Radawlavi established *khānqāh* of Chishti Sabari *Silsilah* at Radawlah (Known as shahjahanpur in present, a city of UP)³ Shaykh Abd al-Haqq took *ba'yt* at the hands of a Naqshnbandi sufi, Khawaja Baqi Billah (d. 1603) who was a revered sufi personality of the time. In Sufism, however, he followed the traditions of Chishti sufis like Khwaja Muin al-Din Ajmeri and Baba Farid.

Shaykh Abd al-Haqq sent letters to nobles with the aim of reformation but due to staunch affiliation with the traditions of Chishti *Silsilah* he did not align with courts of rulers of the time. He wrote almost sixty four books along with *Makatib* (letters) and *Rasail* (treatises). He died during the reign of Mubarik Shah in 1434.⁴

Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi (d. 1437) was the most renowned sufi Shaykh of Sabri Chishti *Silsilah* in early sixteenth century. He was a disciple of Shaykh Arif, son of Shaykh Abd al-Haqq. He wrote a book *Anwar Al-Ayyun* in

which he elaborated upon the seven techniques of Islamic spirituality. There was generational gap between Shaykh Ahmad Abd al-Haqq Radawlvi and Abd al-Quddus Gangohi, but the latter got affiliated with the former through Shaykh Ahmad, a grandson of Shaykh Abd al-Haqq. Shaykh Abd al-Quddus started his education with worldly knowledge but ended up with passionate love for God. When he was taken under the discipleship of Shaykh Arif, he left his house and family. One day his brother came and took him to home. During the night at home, he heard the sound "Haqq" but could not find the source of the sound. Upon experiencing this he went to his mother and asked her for excuse and let him go. After this event he lived a life of austerity and decided to spend his life in worship and prayers.⁵ He spent a major part of his life in Radawli, though the city faced destruction many a time due to war between Bahlol Lodhi and Hussayn Sharqi.⁶

He had many eminent disciples including all of his sons. One of his disciples was Hindu and had business of varnish dying but later on he was so impressed by Shaykh Abd al-Quddus that he accepted Islam and lived his life like a sufi. His other disciple's name was Abd al-Ghaffur Puri. His son Rukn al-Din had mystical tendencies. He followed his father throughout his life. The *khulāfa'* of Shaykh Abd al-Quddus exerted great influence during the time of Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605). Abd al-Ahmad and Haji Imdad-ullah played remarkable role in later period.

In the last decade of fifteenth century Radawli was under the control of Hindu administration and situation changed from bad to worse, following the accession of Sultan Sikander Lodhi. As pork was being sold openly in the market, under the Hindu rule in Radawli it was not possible to induce Islamic environment. Out of agony of these

circumstances, he visited one of his disciples named Umar Khan Sarwani, who was a military leader. Umar Khan invited him to settle in Shahabad in the district of Karnal in Eastern Punjab. He stayed there for a long time, though occasionally visiting Delhi. During 1505-1510, he stayed in Delhi as his son Rukn al-Din was studying there. As the political situation was deteriorating day by day, he decided to migrate to Gangoh (a city in present day U.P.) in 1524. After his migration, Gangoh was caught by calamitous fire but the Shaykh escaped narrowly.⁷

The Delhi Sultanate was at the edge of decline as circumstances were reaping for the first battle of Panipat. His decision to migrate to Gangoh (a district in present day U.P.) was based on prescient observation; as cataclysmic attack by Baber was not going to leave anyone unharmed. After one year he migrated to countryside southwards. In his way, he was called by Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi (r. 1517-26) to pray for his victory. He had to obey but ordered his family members to keep moving, as he had sensed disaster. In the battle of Panipat in 1526, the Lodhi Sultan was defeated and died but the Shaykh along with his son and servant was brought in Delhi, where he had to face the Mughals directly.⁸ After release, he returned to Gangoh and settled there. His relation with Mughal authorities shows that he wrote letters to Emperor Humayun (r. 1531-40, 1555-56) but it was not for the purpose of personal benefits, instead he advised him on good conduct. He stayed in Gangoh for almost eleven years and died in 1537. The construction of his *khānqāh* was completed in the last year of the life of Shaykh Abd al-Quddus, mostly by his sons.⁹ Shaykh Abd al-Quddus played a crucial role in the consolidation and perpetuation of Chishti *Silsilah*. His *khulafa* were not far behind in this respect. His sons, except

Rukn al-Din, did not carry on his spiritual lineage as they were little inclined towards spirituality. However, some of his *khulafa* tried to preserved Chishti *Silsilah's* tradition.¹⁰

Abd al-Quddus along with the consolidation of Chishti Sabari *Silsilah* also played very crucial in literary composition. According to Ijaz al-Haqq Quddusi he authored seventeen books, some of them are not available today.¹¹ Three important books which are enriched with the learned lessons of Shaykh Abd al-Quddus are the following: (i) *Bahr al-Inshi'ab*, (comprehensive work on Arabic Grammar), (ii) *Hashiyya on Sharh-i' Saha'if* (Treatise on Logic and Scholastic). Other works which are seemingly not available are (i) *Fawa'id al-qira'a* (Benefits of Quranic Recitation), (ii) *Sharh Nur al-Ma'ani* (in which he treated the theme of *Wahdat al-Wujud*), (iii) *Anwar al-Uyun-fi Asrar al-Maknun* (Biography of Shaykh Ahmad Abd al-Haqq Radawlavi) written in 1482 while he was living in Radawli. It is a *tadhkira*, which offers the biographical account of Shaykh Ahmad Abd al-Haqq Radawlavi. It also provides a wide record of social and spiritual life of that time. *Maktubat-e Quddusi* and *Risala-i Rushdi* on sufi themes are also available.¹² Most of his letters reveal his advises to the elite class to heed *sharia* and how to deal with the political situation of that time.

Shaykh Hissam al-Din Ojhar migrated to Delhi from Baghdad. Before the start of his spiritual carrier, he was attached with the court of Sultan Bahlol Lodhi (r. 1451-89). On his desire he was given the designation of *Muhtasib* (officer responsible for accountability in religious affairs). He visited Gujarat, Deccan, and Malwah and got reports about the innovation in religious practices. While fulfilling his duty he also decided to confront Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi and moved to Gangoh on the question of *samā'*.

He sent Shaykh Abd al-Quddus a message to follow *sharia* strictly, and prohibited him to indulge in *samāʿ*. Shaykh Abd al-Quddus restrained himself for six days. During these days he heard spiritual music being sung by a Hindu woman and got completely absorbed. After this, he sent a message to Shaykh Ojhar in these words, "The fire in forest equally burns the dry and wet woods,"¹³ suggesting that the ban on *sama* could not stop him from getting absorbed in divine melody. Shaykh Ojhar with intention to punish Shaykh Abd al-Quddus reached the *khānqah* of the latter and found him completely absorbed in *samāʿ*. After this incident Shaykh Ojhar got the light of spirituality and took *baʿyt* at the hands of Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi. He distributed his wealth and adopted the path of Sufism. Shaykh Quddus granted him *khirqah* (cloak representing the spiritual succession) and bestowed him with *khilāfatnāmah*.¹⁴

Shaykh Jalal al-Din Thanasari (d. 1582) was granted *khilāfat* by Shaykh Abd al-Quddus. Before coming under his discipleship, he was a *mufti* (a Muslim legal expert). He had tendency of asceticism, and was heartily impressed by the practice of *samāʿ*. After adopting the path of spirituality he lived a life of austerity. One of his important writings is *Irshad al-Talibin*. This book consists of thirty seven chapters and covers a wide number of topics which provides a guide to Sufism.¹⁵

Many members from nobility, royalty and from ruling authorities tried to contact him but he declined to meet them. However, Emperor Akbar paid homage to Shaykh Jalal while he was on his way to Kabul. The Shaykh received him well and prayed for his success. Though the Chishti Sufi Shaykhs did not develop their relation with authorities of time, time and again they played a vital role as mediating between the political authorities and common people. This

was the reason when orders were issued by Emperor Akbar to confiscate certain lands, which had been granted during the reign of Emperor Humayun. The people requested him to take up the issue with the administration. In response, he wrote *Risala-i Tahaqquq Arazi al-Hind* on revenue administration.¹⁶

Shaykh Jalal had many *khulāfa'*, who continued the task of spreading the teachings of Chishti *Silsilah*. Among them Shaykh Abu Saeed Gangohi, Shaykh Hassan Bahori, Shaykh Abd al-Karim Lahori, Shaykh Abd al-Rehman Kashmiri, and Shaykh Muhammad Sadiq Burhanpuri were well known. Shaykh Abu Saeed Gangohi's effort in the perpetuation of Chishti *Silsilah* was very remarkable in the seventeenth century. Shaykh Jalal was succeeded by his son in law Shaykh Nizam al-Din Thanasari. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1624) perpetuating the ideology of *Wahdat al-Shuhud* (Unity of Phenomena) adopted the topmost priority to reform the society. He also contacted Shaykh Nizam al-Din in this regard. He criticized some sufi practices like *samā'* and wrote to Shaykh Nizam in this regard.¹⁷ The political authorities have also been recorded to take strict actions against Shaykh Nizam, declaring him as an apostate. The *khulāfa'* of Shaykh Jalal had to bear the wrath of authorities as *Risala Tasawia* by Shaykh Abu Saeed Gangohi was declared condemnable by Emperor Aurangzeb.¹⁸ The sufis in the Mughal period endeavored to strictly adhere to the traditions and values of the Chishti sufis and considered it as *sine qua non*. Shaykh Jalal al-Din and his *khulāfa'* played the role of mediators between the authorities and common people but many a time they also have to face the wrath of authorities.

DEVELOPMENT OF CHISHTI-NIZAMI *SILSILAH*

The sufis of Chishti-Nizami *Silsilah* were not lagging behind in the sixteenth century. After Shaykh Nasir al-Din of Delhi, most of his *khulāfa'* and disciples migrated to other regions. They played a crucial role in spreading the *Silsilah* in Gujarat, Malwah, Deccan and Bengal. The spiritual lineage is Shaykh Nasir al-Din 'Chiragh-i Dehli' (d. 1356), Saiyyid Muhammad Gesudiraz (d. 1422), Saiyyid Adad Allah (d. 1445), Shaykh Piyaray (d. 1460), Shaykh Jalal al-Din Gujarati (d. 1499), Shaykh Muhammad of Malwah (d. 1500), Shaykh Saad Allah (d. 1517).¹⁹

Saiyyid Gesudiraz was the *khālifa'* of Shaykh Nasir al-Din of Delhi. His *khulāfa'* like Shaykh Piyaray and Shaykh Saad Allah further popularized the Chishti *Silsilah* in Deccan, and later in Malwah. His disciple Shaykh Jalal al-Din Gujrati (d. 1499) was killed by the local ruler. The prominent disciple of Shaykh Jalal al-Din Gujrati was Shaykh Muhammad of Malwah. He was very fond of *samā'* and could not control himself when he indulged in it. He died in 1650. Shaykh Saād Allah was a disciple of Shaykh Muhammad Malwah.²⁰ In addition, Shaykh Khanon Gwaliori was also a renowned sufi of Chishti *Silsilah*. He was a disciple of Khawaja Hussain Nagouri and also got enlightenment from Shaykh Ismail. He had many distinguished disciples like Shaykh Nizam Narnawali, Shaykh Munawar and Shaykh Ismail.²¹

PROPAGATION OF THE CHISHTI *SILSILAH* IN GUJARAT

The Chishti *Silsilah* was established in Gujarat by Shaykh Kamal al-Din in the fourteenth century. In sixteenth century the *Silsilah* was ensued by his *khālifa'*, Shaykh Siraj al-Din. It reached at the zenith in the seventeenth century through the efforts of Shaykh Yahya Madni and Shah Kalim Allah.²²

PROPAGATION OF THE CHISHTI *SILSILAH* IN MALWAH

The Chishti *Silsilah* was promoted by Maulana Mughis al-Din (d. 1320) in Malwah in fifteenth century, his *khālifa* Shaykh Qazi Ishaq carried on his efforts. He was also the spiritual guide of Sultan Ala al-Din of Malwah (d.1475).²³

OTHER CHISHTI SUFI SHAYKHS

The Chishti sufi shaykhs who followed the Chishti *Silsilah* through descendents other than Chishti Nizami and Chishti Sabari are as under:

SHAYKH ALA AL-DIN

Shaykh Ala al-Din was a descendent of Baba Farid and was the son of Shaykh Nur al-Din Ajodhani. He was inclined towards spirituality and had inclination to arrest the worldly temptations. Because of these attributes he was deemed as the second Shaykh Farid al-Din. He died in 1542 and his mausoleum is in old Delhi Sārai with his other ancestors. One of his *khalifas* was Shah Ibn-i Chishti who played important role in the perpetuation of Chishti *Silsilah* in Amroha.²⁴

SHAH ABD AL-AZIZ CHISHTI DEHLAVI

The grandfather of Shah Abd al-Aziz Chishti Dehlvi, Hassan Tahir was a disciple of Shaykh Nasir al-Din. He was inclined towards spirituality in a very early age. Hundreds of Hindus accepted Islam at his hand. His spirituality and strict adherence to Chishti teachings helped to reconsolidate the *Silsilah* in Delhi. Popular affiliation with Chishti *Silsilah* was established at greater level because of his efforts. Shaykh Abd al-Aziz followed the life of simplicity. According to one

of his contemporary sufis, Shaykh Saif al-Din, his face reflected the love for Allah. He died in 1568. His son Shaykh Qutb Alam continued the legacy of Chishti *Silsilah*. Among his *khulāfa'* the most famous were Shaykh Jaidah and Shaykh Abd al-Ghani Badayuni.²⁵

SHAYKH SALIM IBN BAHA AL-DIN (SALIM CHISHTI)

Shaykh Salim ibn Baha al-Din (1497-1589) was a descendent of Baba Farid. During his youth he served in the army. He went for the pilgrimage but after coming back, he isolated himself in a cave and devoted himself to prayers; even without caring the weather he kept himself absorbed in worship. As he settled in Sikri with his family, a sharp change followed his life pattern. He transformed Fatehpur Sikri and Agra and it became a hub of Chishti *Silsilah*.²⁶ However, transformation occurred in dual ways. As it is documented in *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, he embraced the life style of nobility class and was served by servants. Emperor Akbar had tremendous respect for him. He was a staunch devotee and visited Shaykh Salim in order to request him for prayers for having a male heir.²⁷ After Akbar was blessed with a son, he reserved high gratitude for Shaykh Salim. The new born heir was named Salim after the Shaykh.²⁸ Every family member and followers of Shaykh Salim got benefited by the royal privileges. Shaykh Salim died in 1572²⁹. The eminent disciples of Shaykh Salim were Shaykh Hussain Ahmad Chishti, Shaykh Haji Hussain Chishti, Shaykh Yusuf Chishti, and Shaykh Piyara Chishti. Another disciple was Shaykh Taha Chishti who accompanied him during his travel to Makkah. Shaykh Piyara Chishti was blessed by the task of praying for the safety of Prince Salim.³⁰

SHAYKH NIZAM AL-DIN BANDAGI

Shaykh Nizam al-Din Bandagi was also known as Nizam al-Din Amethavi. Abd al-Haqq Muhaddith Dehlavī has mentioned his name as Nizam al-Din Ambethi in *Akhbar Akhyar*. He was a disciple of Shaykh Maroof Jaunpuri. According to Abd al-Qadir Bada'uni, he was not inclined towards Sufism until he was adult, and took *bay'at* at the hands of Shaykh Māruf of Chishti-Nizami *Silsilah*. Jaunpur (a city in UP) had developed a prestige of culture and learning when Shaykh Nizam went there. Maulana Alhadād was an eminent sufi of Jaunpur and Shaykh Māruf was his disciple. After becoming the disciple of Shaykh Maroof, he was sent for preaching in Ambetha. He avoided *samā'*, a common practice of Chishti sufis. He used to spend most of his time in prayer but used to visit mosque for obligatory prayers. Abd al-Qadir Bada'uni used to pay homage to Shaykh Nizam Bandagi. During his lifetime, Ambetha was a hub of Hindu-Muslim conflict.³¹ His *malfuzat* titled *Mahbub al-Qulub* was composed by his disciple, Muhammad Ali ibn Abd al-Jabbar. Bandagi Nizam al-Din lived during the reigns of Sikander Lodhi, Ibrahim Lodhi, and period of early Mughals. He observed the first and second battle of Panipat. Many rulers used to come to pay homage to him and also to seek prayers. He stopped reading the *khutba* of Friday prayers in the name of Sultan Adil Shah (1555) and predicted that rule would be overrun by a very young boy Akbar.³² Once Sher Shah Sur (r. 1540-1545) invited the *ulema* in his court in order to test their knowledge. Shaykh Nizam al-Din was also invited and he elaborated upon the interpretation of some verses of the Quran. However, his successor Sultan Adil Shah was not favored by him and he predicted the rule of Emperor Akbar. After the re-establishment of Mughal rule, Akbar visited Nizam al-Din.³³

The institutional spread of the *Sisilah* at regional level provided an opportunity to the Chishti sufis to organize spiritual communities. Decentralization of the Chishti *Silsilah* in Delhi led to establishment of the *Silsilah* at local level. The *khulāfa'* and disciples of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya established the Chishti *Silsilah* all over India; on the other hand descendents of Chishti- Sabari *Silsilah* helped to make ordinary places prominent Chishti sufi centers.

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**RANAJIT GUHA'S VISION OF "DOMINANCE
WITHOUT HEGEMONY" AND THE POWER POLITICS
OF TEHSIL CHINIOT**

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ABSTRACT

The very theme "Dominance without Hegemony", which is presented by Ranajit Guha on behalf of subaltern conception of History, obviously demonstrates the colonial and Neo-colonial situation of India as well as all other aspects of its local units. As, the Political situation of Tahsil Chiniot has also true relevance with the above mention theme. The dominant Bradaris of Chiniot are using the same tactic and exploiting the masses badly. These Bradaris are maintaining their dominance through collaboration not only with other powerful Bradaris but also using the same tactic for the subordination of common people of Chiniot. Politically, the powerful Bradaris (*Syeds, Qazies, Lalties and Nissowanas*) of Chiniot are perpetuating their dominance by using their very sound eco-social situation through different visible and non-visible means. And, this very situation is still prevailing in Chiniot.

KEY WORDS

Dominance, Colonial, Subaltern, Chiniot, Bradaris.

This study focuses on the power politics of Chiniot tehsil, in the context of collaborative relationship

among the various Bradaris of Chiniot. Collaboration between the dominant Bradaris of Chiniot and the masses.

This study also seeks to apply Ranajit Guha's vision on the power politics of Chiniot. It will also highlight the areas of their convergence of interests and indicate how the major and powerful Bradaris (*Syeds, Qazies, Lalties and Nissowanans*) of Chiniot have been able to maintain their political domination through the matrimonial alliances and economic hegemony.

This study also highlights the tactics used by dominant classes to maintain their dominance in economic and political spheres, by exploiting the subaltern classes, along with the assurance of subaltern collaboration and consent.

Before delineating these themes, it would be pertinent to highlight the meanings of the word "power politics, which actually has got immense significance particularly in the context of institutional poverty of the political system, coupled with the phenomenon of personalization of power. It also denotes the tussle among elitist and powerful classes, which compete with each other for getting control over resources and even over maintaining their dominance which date back to the colonial rule.

As we have already highlighted in the second study of this study, that the modes of dominance and subordination and their resultant sets of relationship i.e. collaborative and exploitative. The former refers to collaboration among the dominant classes to maintain and perpetuate their hegemonic control over rural politics and economy and the later refers to such kind of exploitation which the lower classes have to undergo at the hands of the dominant classes.

This domination and subordination with the assurance of consent (collaboration) of the subordinate

classes, and enables the privileged classes to maintain their dominance but without hegemony, as propounded by Ranajit Guha. Therefore, this vision of Ranajit Guha remarkably fits into the third world scenario as this kind of power politics is actually carried by various dominant groups through Baradari system and even caste groupings.¹

In the context of Pakistan, the study of 'power politics',² and the role of different Baradaris has got immense importance, as it actually explicates the manipulation of 'power' through different elite groups, this type of power politics can be witnessed not only at national or macro level, but also at local or micro level.

This particular thesis actually aims at narrowing down the focus of study from macro level to micro level i.e. from national and international to district and tehsil politics. The power politics of Tehsil Chiniot testifies to the fact that how the dominant Baradaris have been able to manipulate the baradari system as a tool of gaining power and establishing the alliances to preserve their elitist status. Interestingly this collaborative type of exploitation is carried out through consent and collaboration not through persuasion (coercion) or the role of 'Danda' (stick). And this very situation of tehsil Chiniot bears remarkable resemblance to Ranajit Guha's vision of 'Dominance without Hegemony'. It has also facilitated the dominant classes in reducing the dispossessed classes to a subservient status.³

This power politics can also be witnessed, in Chiniot at Baradari level, where the most conspicuous feature of Baradari system, i.e., conflict, competition and cooperation, are found present simultaneously. This is also evident from the relationship between upper and lower classes.⁴ These dominant groups also manipulate the local politics through Baradari system, particularly in

the context of their alliances, to further ensure the collaboration (consent) of the subaltern classes.⁵

The feudal background of these Baradaris has further fostered their collaborative alliances. In fact, collaboration has been the key to the success of these dominant Bradaris and through 'collaboration' they have been successful in keeping their positions well-entrenched in politics and economy.⁶

These Bradaris have not only been able to maintain collaborative relationship among them, but also, they have been able to establish collaborative relationship with the subordinate classes (the peasants, the agricultural labours etc.)⁷

These collaborative types of relationships among these Bradaris even assumes the form of matrimonial alliances.⁸ The other forms of collaboration include electoral support during elections, cooperation between the rural and urban segments of population, and most importantly the collaboration or consent of local people, belonging to subordinate classes.⁹

DOMINANT ROLE OF THESE POWERFUL BARADARIS IN THE POLITICS OF TEHSIL CHINIOT

Syeds of Rajoa (Shah Daultana Syeds) have a long and successful history in the context of their participation in the politics of Chiniot. And, the dominance of these Syeds of Rajoa is evident from their electoral performance which explicitly proves their political clout.

During 1937 elections, Sardar Hussain Shah, who belonged to Shah Daultana Syeds of Rajoa was elected Member of Legislative Council (MLC).¹⁰ In 1945-46 elections, Sardar Hussain Shah, and Sardar Ghulam Abbas Shah contested, on the tickets of All India Muslim League (AIML), and become the members of the assemblies.¹¹ Similarly after the elections of 1946 they

also participated in Muslim League Legislator Convention held in Calcutta on 19th April 1946. They also served as the member of executive council of governor.¹²

Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Shah (son of Sardar Hussain Shah) also contested the elections of Punjab Legislative Assemblies in 1951 and in 1958. In 1951 and 1958 but he was defeated by a 'Derwash' Maulana Muhammad Zakir. However, he managed to win the election in 1965 only after making some important alliances with other allied elite groups of Chiniot.

In 1985, Sardar Muhammad Ali Shah (Grandson of Sardar Hussain Shah of Rajoa and son of Sardar Ghulam Muhammad Shah) became the member of the National Assembly and also became the Chairman of Public Accounts Committee, and in 1987, he became the Federal Minister of Railways. He also remained Vice Chairman of District Council Jhang from 1965 to 1970.

Sardar Zafar Abbas Syed, (son of Sardar Ghulam Abbas Shah of Shah Daultana Syeds of Rajoa), who was also brother-in-law of Sardar Muhammad Ali Shah's sister. Zafar Abbas, first time became the member of Provincial Assembly as an independent candidate in 1977. He was again elected as member of Provincial Assembly of Punjab in 1985 and was appointed as an advisor to Chief Minister of Punjab. In 1993, he was also elected as member of National Assembly of Pakistan, on the ticket of Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), although, in past, he had contested as independent candidate and on the ticket of Islamic Democratic Alliance.¹³

Syed Hassan Murtaza (Nephew of Sardarzada Zafar Abbas of Rajoa), became the Member of Provincial Assembly in 2002, PPP's ticket. Although, in the previous election, he had contested for MPA as an independent candidate and suffered defeat.¹⁴ Sardarzada Muhammad Tahir Shah (brother of Sardar

Muhammad Ali Shah of Rajoa, ex-Chairman Public Account Committee and Federal Minister for Railway) was also elected as Member Provincial Assembly for two consecutive times, from two different platforms, in the years of 1990 and 1993.¹⁵

In 1993, he also served as Provincial Minister of Food and Livestock.¹⁶ And in the year of 1994, he became the Provincial Minister for hunting and wild life.¹⁷ In October 2002, he was elected as Member of National Assembly from the platform of Pakistan Muslim League (Q).¹⁸ And in 2004, he was also appointed Chairman of Information Technology Commission of Pakistan.¹⁹

Sardar Zulfiqar Shah (son of Sardar Muhammad Ali Shah of Rajoa) first time contested in the Local Bodies Elections in 2001-2002 and was elected as Tehsil Nazim of Chiniot.²⁰ And again, in 2005-2006, he was elected as the Tehsil Nazim of Chiniot²¹, with the support of other elite and powerful groups of the tehsil Chiniot²² particularly with the support of Nissowanans and Lalies.²³

Sheikh Sulemana Sayads of Chiniot Tehsil, also have great influence on the politics of Chiniot since early days of establishment of Pakistan.²⁴

Among Sheikh Salamana Syeds, the two very important personalities who earned fame in the politics of Chiniot during the British period these included Sardar Altaf Hussain Shah and his father Sardar Ghulam Ali Shah.²⁵

In 1887, Syed Ghulam Ali Shah first time elected, as the founder Member of Municipality of Chiniot.²⁶ In 1906, he was nominated as 'Zaildar' of Chiniot.²⁷ In 1937, Sardar Altaf Hussain Shah (Son of Sardar Ghulam Ali Shah) become member of All India Muslim League and worked for the Pakistan Movement.²⁸ Sardar Altaf Hussain was also remained Vice President of Mulsim League of city Chiniot for fifteen years.²⁹

In 1951, Sardar Altaf Hussain Shah was elected as the Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) on the ticket of Jinnah Awami League.³⁰ At that time, Sardar Altaf Hussain was the youngest Member of Punjab Assembly.³¹

In 1970-71, as an independent candidate, he was elected Member of Provincial Assembly and later on joined Pakistan Peoples Party.³² From 1973 to 1977, he remained as Director General of Punjab Provincial Cooperative Bank.³³

In 1997's elctions, Ameer Hussain Syed (a very close paternal relative of Sardar Altaf Hussain Shah) was elected as the Member of Punjab Assembly as an independent candidate.³⁴ Later on, in the election of 1988 and 1990, he was successfully elected as Member of National Assembly on PPP's ticket.³⁵

In 1997, Haji Syed Muhammad Raza Shah (son-in-law of Sardar Altaf Hussain Shah and younger brother of Ameer Hussain Syed Ex-MPA and MNA respectively) also contested for the membership of National Assembly of Pakistan, but on behalf of Pakistan Muslim League (N).³⁶ But Syed Raza Shah lost this very contest. In October, 2002, Syed Inayat Ali Shah, (a very close relative of Ammer Hussain Syed and Syed Raza Shah) also contested for seat of Punjab Provincial Assembly from PML (Q) platform, but lost the elections.³⁷

Another example of the role of these influential Baradaris in the politics Chiniot is the dominance of Nissowanas Lalties and Qazies over the public offices and representative offices. Malik Muhammad Mumtaz Nissowana of Mauza Kandiwal tehsil Chiniot as a Basic Democrat under Ayub's system of Basic Democracy on 1965.³⁸ And he was elected as the Chairman of Union Council of his area.³⁹ In 1971, he was elected as the Member of Provincial Assembly on the ticket of Pakistan Peoples Party. In 1979, he was also elected as Vice

Chairman of District Council Jhang.⁴⁰ In the local Bodies Elections of 1996, Malik Kamran Mumtaz Nissowana (son of Malik Muhammad Mumtaz Nissowana ex-MPA) was also elected as member of District Council Jhang.⁴¹ Malik Ghulam Abbas Nissowana (Cousin of Malik Muhammad Mumtaz Nissowana) another prominent personality from Nissowana Baradari was elected as Member of Provincial Assembly in 1988 on behalf of Pakistan Peoples Party.⁴² In 1993, he once again returned to Provincial Assembly but this time as independent candidate.⁴³

Among the Lalis, five major families of Lalis have played a pivotal role in the Bradari politics.⁴⁴ And they belong to a one major clan named 'Kaweein Key" Lali.

For the first time, Mehr Mohsin Lali was elected as the Member of Legislative Assembly (MLA) in 1951, Mehr Doust Muhammad Lali son of Mehr Allah Yar Lali (from Mehr Mohsin Lali's family) was elected as Member of Provincial Assembly as an independent candidate later he joined Pakistan Peoples Party and remained in Pakistan Peoples Party till the year of 1977.⁴⁵ But, in 1981, he was nominated as the member of Majlis-e-Shura of General Zia-ul-Haq.⁴⁶ In 1988, Mehr Doust Muhammad Lali (son of Mehr Ameer Bax Lali) also a new comer from the family was elected as Member of Provincial Assembly as an independent candidate. But in 1990 he was again elected as the Member of Provincial Assembly of Punjab on the Pakistan Muslim League (N) (IJI) ticket.⁴⁷ Mehr Imtiaz Ahmad Lali, (Grandson of Mehr Ameer Bax Lali and son of Mehr Doust Muhammad Lali) was elected as Member of Provincial Assembly for the first time in the election of 1997 and he retained his seat in 2002 polls.⁴⁸ But Mehr Imtiaz Lali was disqualified from the membership of Provincial Assembly through a decision of Supreme Court of Pakistan under the charges of violation of

election rules,⁴⁹ (as at the time of his election he was serving as Sub-Inspector in Punjab Police) and the resignation from his job.

Mehr Ahmad Umar Lali another young political personality of this family was elected as Tehsil President of Pakistan Peoples Party in 2003. And in Local Bodies Elections of 2001-2002, Mehr Mumtaz Ahmad Lali, Mehr Muhammad Hayat Lali, and Mehr Liaquat Ali Lali were elected as the Nazims of their concerned union councils of Chiniot.⁵⁰ Whereas Mehr Masud Ahmad Lali was elected as Tehsil Naib (Vice) Nazim.⁵¹

It would not be out of place to mention here, that all the above mentioned political figures from the Lali-Bradari belong to one major clan of Lalis namely "Kawaenkay Lali" and this clan is named after the village "Khawaenka Village" from where, all these figures belong to.⁵²

Qazis are also regarded as an influential and powerful Bradari among other dominant Bradari of Tehsil Chiniot. They are also well entrenched in feudal and traditional politics of Chiniot.⁵³ Qazi Bradari has actually been associated with the politics of Chiniot since the colonial times.

Amongst the Qazis, the first prominent political personality was Qazi Maula Bux of Chiniot, who was first Chairman of Chiniot municipality⁵⁴ and from 1909 to 1916, he was appointed as honorary Magistrate, on the special order of British Government due to his bravery.⁵⁵ Later on his sons (Qazi Ghulam Ali and Qazi Ghulam Murtaza) joined All India Muslim League and participated Muslim League historic 22nd Annual Session of March 1940 at Minto Park Lahore. They also participated in the meeting of working committee of All India Muslim League convened by Jinnah at Islamia College Lahore.⁵⁶ Among the other participants of this very meeting, included Sir Muhammad Abdul Qadir,

Nawab Neesar Ali Khan, Mian Ahmad Saeed Batalvi, and Nawab Muzaffar Khan (Uncle of Sir Sikendar Hayat).⁵⁷

In the elections of 1945-46, in Chiniot (Jhang), All India Muslim League (AIML) awarded the ticket of Chiniot Jhang region to Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan who contested against Malik Khizar Hayat, who was the Chief of the Unionist Party and Chief Minister of Punjab.⁵⁸

Khizar Hayat sent D.C Jhang (Sardar Saeed Zaman) to Qazi Ghulam Murtaza to offer him 250 acres of land, the title of "Nawab", and post of Registrar or Honorary Magistrate, in lieu of support to Unionist Party, but Qazi Ghulam Murtaza refused the proposal and continued to support All India Muslim League.⁵⁹

Qazi Ghulam Murtaza was also elected as Chairman of Chiniot Municipality, Member of District Council, Chairman Market Committee, for several times. And, in 1945 he was Chairman of Debt Board of District Jhang.⁶⁰

Qazi Ghulam Dastageer (son of Qazi Ghulam Ali) was also elected as the Chairman of Union Council of his area. He was elected as the Chairman Market Committee, he also contested for member of Provincial Assembly in 1971⁶¹ but lost.

Qazi Safdar Ali, (Son of Qazi Ghulam Murtaza) who was associated with All India Muslim League, election for the first time elected as the Chairman of Chiniot Municipality (See Annexur8) and from 1979-1983 and 1986-87, he also served as, the Chief Warden of Civil Defence, and Chairman Market Committee of Chiniot. He was also appointed as the tehsil President of Pakistan Muslim League (N)⁶², but his son, Hassan Ali joined Pakistan Muslim League (Q) and elected as seat of District Naib (Vice) Nazim of Jhang.⁶³

On the other hand, Qazi Ali Hasan Raza Pammi (son of Qazi Ghulam Dastageer, nephew of Qazi Sardar Ali, cousin of Hassan Ali Qazi—District Naib Nazim) has

joined Pakistan People Party, and he has also been elected as the Member of the Provincial Assembly for three times, in 1990, 1993 and 2002 as the candidate of Pakistan Peoples Party.⁶⁴

METHODS ADOPTED BY THESE BARADAIS TO MAINTAIN THEIR DOMINANCE

i) Electoral Collaboration and Shifting Alliance

In the general elections of 2002, Qazi Ali Hassan Raza candidate for Member of Provincial Assembly on behalf of Pakistan Peoples Party fully supported the candidate of National Assembly of PML(Q), Sardarzada Muhammad Tahir Shah of Rajoa, despite his affiliations with PPP. And, this particular support proved crucial for the success of these both belonging candidates belonging to different parties in the elections of 2002.⁶⁵

This sort of electoral cooperation between Qazis and Syeds evidently prove that there exist collaborative alliances among dominant groups in the power politics of Chiniot. This collaborative alliance was formed to counter the emerging groups, such as Maulana Manzoor Chiniot group and Qaiser Ahmad Sheikh group.⁶⁶

This same sort of collaborative relationship among the dominant bradaris of Chiniot, can also be witnessed, during the local bodies election of 2001 and also of 2005, in which Lalis supported the Shah Daultana Syeds of Rajoa, that in both the elections, Mehr Imtiaz Ahmad Lali-Ex-Member of Provincial Assembly (Son of Mehr Doust Muhammad Lali from Kawaenkay-Lali) fully supported Sardarzada Zulfiqar Ali Shah and nephew of Sardar Tahir Shah Member of National Assembly of Rajoa who contested the elections of tehsil Nazim of Chiniot, and got victory in both the elections.⁶⁷

There is also the collaborative type of alliance between Nissowanas and again the Shah Daultana Syed of RAjoa that it is another evident proof of the collaboration among these dominant bradaris. In this very context, Sardarzada Zafar Abbas Syed ex-Member of National Assembly in 1993 (cousin and brother-in-law of Sardar Muhammad Ali Shah of Rajoa) and Malik Ghulam Abbas Nissowana, ex Member of Provincial Assembly (cousin of Malik Muhammad Mumtaz Nissowana, and very close relative of Lalis of Kawaenkay) have very close family friends and political allies.⁶⁸

In 1993's general elections, Sardarzada Zafar Abbas Syed who himself was candidate of Pakistan Peoples Party for Member of National Assembly he fully supported Malik Ghulam Abbas Nissowana who contested the seat of Provincial Assembly as an independent candidate.⁶⁹ And this particular alliance of Syeds of Rajoa and Nissowanas of Chiniot proved very successful, as both the candidates were able to win their seats.⁷⁰

These types of collaborative alliances facilitate these major groups to maintain their hegemonic control over the politics Chiniot.⁷¹ This support received by elitist groups from the lower classes also facilitated them in preventing the emergence of new actors outside these four dominant Baradari.⁷²

It would also be pertinent to mention here that these kinds of collaborative relationship of these major Baradaris of Chiniot are not confined to the sphere of politics⁷³ rather their economic clout of these very Baradaris of tehsil chiniot also fully testifies the Ranajit Guha's thesis, "Dominance without Hegemony".

These four major Baradaris also constitute the dominant economic groups, as they own most of the agricultural land of this concerned region.⁷⁴ Their

economic clout has cemented their political influence as well. As under any feudal dispensation the control of the productive resources enables the feudals, to establish their socio-political control over subaltern classes. On the other side of the spectrum the later are left with no other alternative, but to comply and cooperate with the dominant classes.⁷⁵ They have to rely on the support of these powerful classes, in order to sustain under oppressive socio-economic conditions.⁷⁶ According to a moderate estimate, the dominant Bradaris own more than 80% of Chiniot's agricultural lands.⁷⁷ Therefore, the economic clout of these Baradaris remain unchallenged.

Their dominance over Chiniot's economic may amply be gauged by these facts as well. For instance, the land holdings of Sheikh Salamana Syeds, are approximately 2500 squares which is scattered in different Mauzas of tehsil Chiniot, such as *Korala, Dauluwala, Kot Khair Shah, Ahmad Abad, Kot Kudayar, Thatta Muhammad Shah, Hussain Khan, Saday, Wad Syedain, Sangarah, Thatti Bala Raja, Abbas Nagar, Hassat Khewah, Jani Shah, Peelowal, Ahmad Nagar*.⁷⁸ There are almost fifty to sixty major families of these Syeds who are living in Chiniot.⁷⁹

The Shah Daultana Syeds of Rajoa own almost 3000 squares acres of agricultural land.⁸⁰ There are actually 150 to 200 families of these Syeds, are living in this very region of Chiniot, in which family of Sardar Hussain Shah grandfather of Sardar Muhammad Ali Shah own approximately 1500 squares of lands, and the family of Sardar Ghulam Abbas Shah (father of Sardarzada Zafar Abass Syed) has almost 700 to 1000 squares of lands.⁸¹ These families of Rajoa Syeds are regarded as big landlords.⁸² Even the land reforms failed to check their economic clout as the Syeds of Rajoa and Chiniot successfully circumvented the effects of land

reforms. They actually transferred their land to their trusted tenants, friends and close relatives. And, later on they got these lands back by employing various tactics such as tampering of revenue documents through influencing and approaching the revenue department.⁸³

The lands of Shah Daultana Syeds of Rajoa are concentrated in *Pabbarwala, Chakbandi, Chaman Abbas, Dangray, Chenabnagar, Kot Ameer Shah, Kot Ismail, Daulatpur, Wallarai, Sadday, Hussain Khan, Jani Shah, Tahir Abad, Abbasnagar* and *Harsa Bulla*.⁸⁴

Besides agriculture, these Syeds are moving towards industry, for instance Col. Asim Ali (son of Muhammad Ali Shah of Rajoa) has established a big Rice Mil, which is known as "Ghulam Muhammad Shah Rice Mills". On the other hand, they are also establishing micro and macro units of textiles industry in the tehsil.⁸⁵ Qazi Baradari of Chiniot is also prominent among the major Baradaris of Chiniot Tehsil. Infact it is the only Baradari which exerts considerable clout in urban as well as rural areas on account of its landed possessions.⁸⁶ Qazies have almost 250 to 500 squares agricultural land, with vast urban property, their lands are concentrated in different Mauzas of Chiniot, for instance in *Walanay Wala, Qaziabad, Barnala, Korala, Laass, Harsa Sheikh, Hafizabad, Chak No.22*, etc.⁸⁷ Qazies have further cemented their economic position by purchasing more and more agricultural as well as commercial lands of the tehsil.⁸⁸ There are actually 15 to 20 families of Qazies, which are now living in Chiniot, and only, on account of their land ownership, they are still dominant in rural as well in urban areas of Chiniot.⁸⁹

The well entrenched socio-economic position of Qazis is also attributed to their clout in revenue circle of Chiniot as they were infact, the Nambardars of revenue

circles of Chiniot, in past, among these nambardars, Qazi Jang Haider was most distinguished.⁹⁰

The Lali Baradari owns almost 2500 square acres of land in Chiniot tehsil.⁹¹ This baradari is infact, the second biggest landlords of this very tehsil, after Syeds of Rajoa (the Shah Daultana Syeds).⁹²

Lalis own land in different Mauzas of Chiniot, such as *Kawaein Wala, Wallay Weenokay, Ahlaywala, Peelowal, Kot Ismail, Jabanay, Dawar, Sabuwala, Jabocay, Khahee, Lalian, Bhuddhi, Ahmad Nagar* etc.⁹³ The agricultural proprietorship of Lali is increasing with the passage of time, as they are still purchasing more agricultural lands. Actually, they are very much keen about their strong economic position and about their successfulness in the politics.⁹⁴ There is a considerable proportion of lalis in the population of Chiniot, but their feudal aristocracy is confined to 10 to 15 families.⁹⁵

Lalies are basically agriculturists and in order to reinforce their social and political clout, they have the inclination towards the politics of collaborative alliances with other dominant and powerful bardaris of Chiniot like Syeds of Rajoa and Chiniot and Nissowanas of Chiniot.⁹⁶

Nissowana is also regarded another important feudal and dominant Baradari of tehsil Chiniot. The economic and social position of Nissowanas is well entrenched. They are also agriculturists and have almost 200 to 250 squares acres lands in this very tehsil.⁹⁷ The land of Nissowanas is scattered in different Mauzas of tehsil Chiniot, such as *Kandiwal, Kalowal, Lolay, Balay, Bhabrarana, Mumtazabad, Chak-Jud, Changranwala*, and also in many other Mauzas of district Sargodha (adjacent district Jhang).⁹⁸

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCE OF THESE BARADARIS OF CHINIOT

There are also matrimonial relationships and alliances between these elite baradaris of Chiniot, for example the Nissowanas and Lalis are very close relations of each other. Malik Ghulam Abbas Nissowana and Malik Mumtaz Nissowana's mothers belonged to the family of Kawainkay Lalis. And similarly, the mother, of Mehr Imtiaz Lali Ex-MPA is also hails from Nissowan's family.⁹⁹ And these Nissowanas are also close relatives of Midhana of District Sargodha and Gondals of District Sargodha.¹⁰⁰

There are also blood relations between Qazis and Lalis for example the maternal aunt of Qazi Ali Hassan Raza Pammi (sitting MPA) is the wife of District and Session Judge of Gujranwala, Mehr Mumtaz Ahmad Lali (from Kawainkay Kay Lali). And both the above-mentioned ladies (sisters) are from Rana family (another strong political family) of Faisalabad.¹⁰¹

The Qazis and Sheikh Salamana Syeds of Chiniot have also the matrimonial relationships and alliances with each other, for example the wife of Sardar Altaf Hussain Shah Ex-MLA, Ex-MPA for three times (Head of Sheikh Salamana Syeds of Chiniot) and founder of Syed group in Chiniot, hails from Qazi family.¹⁰²

The Syeds of Rajoa have also the blood relations with strong, influential and political family of Faisalabad (Rajas of Faisalabad) for instance Sardarzada Zulfiqar Ali Shah—sitting Tehsil Nazim of Chiniot (son of Sardar Muhammad Ali Shah is the son in law of Raja Hadir Pervaiz, Ex-Federal Minister of PML(N) government.¹⁰³ Similarly, the Shah Daultana Syeds of Rajoa have also blood relations with Tiwanas for instance a son of Sardar Muhammad Ali Shah of Rajoa, Col. Asim Ali Shah is the son-in-law of Tiwanas. Therefore, in politics of Chiniot we witness that all these powerful Baradaris

have not only the close matrimonial alliances with each other, but also have blood relations with the elites of other dominant Baradaris in districts other than Chiniot.¹⁰⁴

COMPARISON BETWEEN GUHA'S VISION AND SITUATION OF POWER POLITICS OF CHINIOT

The politics of Chiniot fully testifies to Ranajit Guha's vision that dominance is not always established through persuasion or role of Danda (stick) rather collaboration also holds key to understand the concept of domination. This sort of collaborative relationship not only exists among that dominant baradari but also among the dominant Baradari and the masses.

The above-mentioned examples of eco-political collaboration and matrimonial alliances among the dominant Baradari in Chiniot amply demonstrate the relevance of Guha's vision in the context of prevalence of collaborative alliances among these dominant Baradari.

As regards the other aspects of Guha's vision i.e. collaborative relationships between dominant Baradari and the subaltern classes is concerned Chiniot's politics, fully substantiates Guha's vision.

The dominant Baradari of Chiniot seem to have sought collaboration of lower or subaltern classes, as a tactic for sophisticated type of exploitation of these classes.¹⁰⁵

For this very purpose, they employ the following tactics:

These Baradari fully exploit their well entrenched feudal clout in the context of their vast land possessions and the economic dependence of hopeless peasantry in the given socio-economic setup of Chiniot.¹⁰⁶ In this manner, they ensure the collaboration of

peasantry. And the collaborative relationship among these elite Baradaris further enables them to exploit peasantry more effectively, in order to use them for political and economic purposes.¹⁰⁷

These Baradari also ensure the support of subaltern classes to use them against any group or personality which threatens to challenge the status quo by taking initiatives towards economic development. These dominant Baradaris in collaboration with subaltern classes have tended to resist such initiative.¹⁰⁸

In Chiniot the dominant baradaris have always opposed any project of public welfare either initiated by Sheikh Baradari or by any NGO. Even they ridicule and criticize any such initiative if ever taken by some other Baradari¹⁰⁹—For instance they have launched a systematic propaganda campaign against Sheikhs that the development projects of Sheikhs are financed by Zakat fund and it is against the dignity of the people of Chiniot to get advantages from such projects. Their pro-status quo bias is further reflected by sheer opposition to the demand of elevation of the status of tehsil Chiniot to the level of district. On the other hand the public representative belonging to these Baradaris have not paid any attention towards economic development projects of public welfare, provision of basic amenities such as education, health sanitation and public recreation facilities.¹¹⁰

These Baradaris have also enhanced their political clout to ensure collaboration of subaltern classes by manipulating *thana* and *patwari* culture.¹¹¹ As the basic problems of people of Chiniot are directly related to the circle of Katchery of Chiniot.

Another tactic employed by these Baradaris to ensure support of lower classes subaltern classes is to appease or oblige the local influential or

intermediates.¹¹² The politicians belonging to these dominant Baradari take keen interests in resolving the problems of these local influential. On the other hand the problems of common people are not accorded much priority by these dominant groups. Through these influentials they try to entice the support of common man.¹¹³

As regards their attitude towards common people is concerned they neither flatly refused them nor give them impression of being haughty rather they listen to their complaints or problems very politely provide verbal assurance.¹¹⁴ They try to give them impression that their problems are going to be redressed through their good offices. But in practical terms they do nothing rather at time they use delaying tactics.¹¹⁵ There may be two plausible explanations of this kind of attitude. One is that they provide verbal assurance as they do not want to antagonize them on the other hand their stubborn haughty and impolite attitude may alienate their voters.¹¹⁶ The second explanation is that this attitude rekindles the hopes of common people and keeps them engaged with their camp.

Another common tactic use by these dominant Baradari is to seek collaboration of subaltern classes and established alliance against any other political opponent belonging to a different background whosoever appears threaten to challenge their well entrenched political positions. The history of such alliances dates back to the period of the emergence of Maulana Zakir group afterwards since 1980 these Baradis organized alliance against Maulana Manzoor Chinioti and Qasir Ahmed Sheikh¹¹⁷ the other groups whom these dominant Baradari consider their rival also include Haji Hayat Japa group.

These Baradaris also nurture very good relations even friendship with official hierarchy of the district i.e.

Judicial administration, revenue and executive circles of tehsil.¹¹⁸ This close rappo further fosters their collaboration with lower classes as the later have no other recourse but to support these dominant groups for the solution of their problems.

The Baradaris also patronize outlaws, absconders and certain anti social elements and also use them to coerce the common people into submission but this tactic is not used so frequently.¹¹⁹ But the patronage provided to these antisocial elements by the dominant Baradari is a peculiar feature of our rural culture. This factor further enhances the political clout of these Baradari and the common people do not dare to oppose or antagonize these Baradaris in the presence of these elements on the side of the dominant Baradaris. Therefore, they have left him no other alternative but to provide them collaborative support.¹²⁰

The dependence of subaltern classes on the rural setting of Chiniot is further enhanced by the wide spread illiteracy and the lack of economic opportunities which further reduce social mobility of the locals. Therefore, amidst such depressing conditions these lower classes often find themselves in a drugdrous struggle for sustenance and soon they realize that this sustenance is not possible with out collaboration with dominant Baradaris.¹²¹

From the above debate, it may be inferred that the indifferent attitude of Baradaris of Chiniot Tehsil towards the problems of common people, their resistance against change and their propensity to resist all these prospective or potential challenges from different social background has consolidated and accentuated the status quo and stunted the prospects of any meaningful change. These classes consider this status quo necessary for the perpetuation of the dominance which they have tried to ensure by

employing various the tactics employing various tactics as mentioned in the previous pages.

Therefore, all this scenario apply corroborates Ranajit Guha's vision of dominance without hegemony which envisages that dominance can be ensured without resorting to the tactics of use of force, violence, coercion rather it can be established through consent and collaboration. The case study of role of dominant Baradaris of Tehsil Chiniot and resultant collaborative relationship not only among the major Baradaris but also amongst these dominant Baradaris and the common people fully alludes towards these facts and amply to substantiate the vision of Ranajit Guha.

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¹ Interview with Mehr Muhammad Anwar Ali Haral. Ex-G.M. Wapda, Consultant to Federal Mohtasib, and also a social worker of Tehsil Chiniot (District Jhang). 18 October 2006.

² Power Politics: The term power politics of English is originally derived from the German word 'Machtpolitic' that the power politics in very simple words may be described the study of politics through power. It means that the study of power would be applied to any kind of political system at micro or macro level, particularly in the context of dominance hegemony and subordination. And this very approach to the politics is actually based on the study of power and force relations, which implies that everyone has a desire to be powerful, as more as possible. The study of these power relations is crucial for arriving at a better understanding of political system particularly of the third world countries.

Power politics may be differentiated at various level firstly, the public power politics and secondly the personal power politics. The former refers to power related efforts to regulate or affect the activities or policies that actually concern with the larger community and its governance the other one is personal power politics which basically dominates elites. These elites indulge in power politics to preserve and protect their vested interests within family, work place and official or non-official social settings. Therefore, the term power politics actually implies two connotations, the first is Domestic or Local (Micro) and second is international or macro level (which is beyond the purview of our thesis). The first one refers to the state of affairs where local power elites compete with each other, for the sake of power. In doing so, they actually employ various tactics, such as political bargaining, coercion, pressure, containment, and most importantly collaboration.

³ Interview with Mehr Muhammad Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.

⁴ Ibid.

5. Interview with Ch. Maqsood Ahmad. Revenue Patwari, Circle Chiniot No.2, tehsil Chiniot (District Jhang). 6 October 2006.
6. Interview with Mehr Muhammad Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Interview with Aftab Ahmad Haral. Sitting President of Pakistan Muslim League (N) of tehsil Chiniot (District Jhang). 25 October 2006.
10. Interview with Chaudhary Gulzar Ahmad Chakiyah. 17 October 2006.
11. Interview with Mehr Muhammad Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
12. Ibid.
13. Irhsad Ahmad Thahim, 'Tarik-e-Chiniot' (History of Chiniot), 116.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., 117.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., 118.
19. Ibid.
20. Interview with Mehr Muhammad Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
21. Interview with Aftab Ahmad Haral. 25 October 2006.
22. Irhsad Ahmad Thahim, 'Tarik-e-Chiniot' (History of Chiniot), 118.
23. Ibid.
24. Interview with Ghulam Abbas Tariq Lali. Revenue Patwari Mauza Jhanbah, tehsil Chiniot (District Jhang), a very close relative of Kawaienkay Lali. 20th October 2006.
25. Irhsad Ahmad Thahim, 'Tarik-e-Chiniot' (History of Chiniot), 128.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Interview with Mehr Muhammad Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.

29. Interview with Mehr Muhammad Imtiaz Ahmad Lali. 26th October 2006.
30. Interview with Mehr Muhammad Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
31. Interview with Chaudhary Gulzar Ahmad Chukiyah. 17 October 2006.
32. Irhsad Ahmad Thahim, 'Tarik-e-Chiniot' (History of Chiniot), 126.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., 128.
37. Interview with Qazi Safdar Ali. 3rd October 2006.
38. Interview with Aftab Ahmad Haral. 25 October 2006.
39. Irhsad Ahmad Thahim, 'Tarikh-e-Chiniot' (History of Chiniot), 126.
40. Interview with Qazi Safdar Ali. (October 3, 2006).
41. Ibid.
42. Irhsad Ahmad Thahim, 'Tarikh-e-Chiniot' (History of Chiniot), 128.
43. *Herald*, Special Issue: "Election 1993" (November 1993).
44. Interview with Chaudhary Gulzar Ahmad Chukiyah. 17 October 2006.
45. Irhsad Ahmad Thahim, 'Tarikh-e-Chiniot' (History of Chiniot), 129.
46. Ibid.
47. *Herald*, Special Issue: Election 1990. October 1990.
48. Interview with Mehr Muhammad Imtiaz Ahmad Lali. 26th October 2006.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. *Herald*, Special Issue: Election 1990. October 1990.
52. Irhsad Ahmad Thahim, 'Tarikh-e-Chiniot' (History of Chiniot), 125.
53. Ibid., 126.
54. Ibid.
55. Interview with Ghulam Abbas Tariq Lali. 20th October 2006.

56. Interview with Mehr Muhammad Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
57. Interview with Qazi Safdar Ali. 3rd October 2006.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Interview with Qazi Ali Hasan Raza, Member of Provincial Assembly of Punjab for three times in 1990, 1993 and in 2002, on behalf of Pakistan People's Party, dated 24th October 2006.
61. Ibid.
62. Irhsad Ahmad Thahim, 'Tarikh-e-Chiniot' (History of Chiniot), 121.
63. Ibid.
64. Interview with Qazi Ali Hasan Raza Pammi. 24th October 2006.
65. Interview with Aftab Ahmad Haral, Sitting President of Pakistan Muslim League (N) of tehsil Chiniot (District Jhang), dated 25 October 2006.
66. Interview with Mehr Muhammad Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
67. Ibid.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Interview with Aftab Ahmad Haral. 25 October 2006.
72. Ibid.
73. Interview with Ch. Maqsood Ahmad. 6 October 2006.
74. Interview with Chaudhary Gulzar Ahmad Chukiyah. 17 October 2006.
75. Interview with Ghulam Abbas Tariq Lali. 20th October 2006.
76. Interview with Chaudhary Gulzar Ahmad Chukiyah. 17 October 2006.
77. Interview with Ch. Maqsood Ahmad. 6 October 2006.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.

81. Interview with Ghulam Abbas Tariq Lali. 20th October 2006.
82. Interview with Mehr Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
83. Ibid.
84. Interview with Ghulam Abbas Tariq. 20th October 2006.
85. Ibid.
86. Interview with Chaudhary Gulzar Ahmad Chakiyah, Patwari of Mauza Korata near Chiniot Tehsil Chiniot District Jhang, 17 October 2006.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. Interview with Aftab Ahmad Haral. 25 October 2006.
90. Ibid.
91. Interview with Ch. Maqsood Ahmad. 6 October 2006.
92. Interview with Ghulam Abbas Tariq, Patwari Mauza Jhanb, tehsil Chiniot, a close relative of Lalties of Kawaien Kay, dated 20th October 2006.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Interview with Malik Ghulam Abbas Nissowana. 4th October 2006.
97. Interview with Mehr Muhammad Imtiaz Ahmad Lali. 26th October 2006.
98. Interview with Chaudhary Gulzar Ahmad Chukiyah. 17 October 2006.
99. Interview with Malik Ghulam Abbas Tariq Lali. 20th October 2006.
100. Interview with Qazi Safdar Ali. 3rd October 2006.
101. Interview with Malik Ghulam Abbas Tariq Lali. 20th October 2006.
102. Ibid.
103. Interview with Mehr Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Interview with Aftab Ahmad Haral. 25 October 2006.
107. Ibid. Interview with Mehr Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
108. Ibid.

109. Interview with Ch. Maqsood Ahmad. 6 October 2006.
110. *Ibid.*
111. Interview with Aftab Ahmad Haral. 25 October 2006.
112. Interview with Mehr Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*
115. *Ibid.*
116. Interview with Aftab Ahmad Haral. 25 October 2006.
117. Interview with Mehr Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
118. Interview with Ch. Maqsood Ahmad. 6 October 2006.
119. *Ibid.*
120. Interview with Mehr Anwar Ali Haral. 18 October 2006.
121. *Ibid.*

Notes for Authors

1. Research papers, concept papers, review articles, comments, rejoinders and book reviews (in English) should be sent to historian@gcu.edu.pk

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