
THE HISTORIAN

VOL. 12

WINTER

2014

A BI-ANNUAL RESEARCH JOURNAL

**REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS, MUNICIPALITIES AND
LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN COLONIAL PUNJAB**
UMER USMAN AND TAHIR MAHMOOD

**PROBLEMS IN CONSERVATION OF MONUMENTS IN
PAKISTAN**

SHIFA AHMAD

**RELATION OF THE CHISHTI SHAYKHS WITH
POLITICAL AUTHORITIES**

SHEHAR BANO



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

The Historian

Volume 12 Winter 2014

© The Historian is published by the Department of History, GC University, Katchehry Road, 54000 Lahore, Pakistan.

All rights Reserved. No portion of the contents may be reproduced in any form without the written permission from the copyright holder.

ISSN 2074-5672

For Correspondence

Tahir Kamran

Editor, The Historian,

Department of History, Government College University,
Katchehry Road, Lahore, Pakistan

E-mail: tahirkamran_gcu@yahoo.com

historian@gcu.edu.pk

PRICE: 250 PKR

THE HISTORIAN

VOL. 12

WINTER

2014



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

Editor

Tahir Kamran

Associate Editors

Hussain Ahmad Khan, Shifa Ahmad, Mohsin Ahmad Khan

Editorial Advisory Board

David Gilmartin- Department of History, North Carolina State University, USA

Franchis Robinson- Department of History, Royal Holloway, University of London, UK

Gyanesh Kudaisya- South Asian Studies Programme, National University of Singapore, Singapore

Ian Talbot- Department of History, University of Southampton, UK

Iftikhar Haider Malik- Department of History, University College of Newton Park, UK

Kathrine Adney-Department of Political Science, University of Sheffield, U.K

Mridula Mukherjee- Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, India

Pippa Virdee- Department of Historical and Social Sciences, De Montfort University, Leicester, UK

Shinder S. Thandi- Department of Economics, Coventry University, UK

Shuan Gregory- Peace Studies, Bradford University, UK

Tariq Rahman- Beaconhouse National University, Lahore, Pakistan

Virinder Kalra-Department of Sociology, University of Warwick, UK

THE HISTORIAN

VOL. 12

WINTER

2014

**REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS, MUNICIPALITIES AND
LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN COLONIAL PUNJAB**
UMER USMAN AND TAHIR MAHMOOD

1

STATE OF CONSERVATION IN PAKISTAN
SHIFA AHMAD

36

**RELATION OF THE CHISHTI SHAYKHS WITH
POLITICAL AUTHORITIES**
SHEHAR BANO

51

REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS, MUNICIPALITIES AND LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN COLONIAL PUNJAB

UMER USMAN

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE UNIVERSITY
LAHORE

TAHIR MAHMOOD

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE UNIVERSITY
LAHORE

ABSTRACT

This article, discusses the introduction of representative politics in the Punjab with special reference to Lahore municipality. In Punjab, the representative politics was introduced very late. This was because Punjab had strategic, political and economic importance for the Raj and the British tried to run the affairs of the province in a paternalistic way. Theoretically, they introduced representative politics in the province in 1862 but practically they relied on representation through nomination. In real sense the representative politics was introduced as late as in 1920s. To begin with the representative politics through nomination created problems like class domination in the municipalities while later on when the representative politics through election was introduced it exacerbated communal tensions in the urban centres.

Key Words

Representative Politics, Local Self-government, Lahore Municipality, Punjab, British Rule.

Before the British annexed Punjab in 1849, the Mughals and the Sikhs introduced the system of Kotwal and Panchayats in India, but these two institutions were just administrative in nature. Until 1849 the British had gained a lot of experience in running administration in other parts of India. They introduced representative politics in the Presidency towns of Bengal, Madras and Bombay in 1845. This was mainly due to the fact that these three areas were mainly inhabited by the Europeans. Natives could not participate in the elections due to strict voting qualifications.¹ So, the representative politics in these towns was just for the British. In 1850, the legislative council of India passed an act of XXVI. This act for the first time introduced municipal committees in India but the representative politics could not be introduced in the real sense. The act of 1850 could not be introduced in Punjab except Simla and Bhiwani.

At the time of annexation, British had to face several challenges in the Punjab. Firstly, Punjab was strategically important as it adjoined border with Afghanistan. The British feared the possible threat of Russian invasion from there. With the introduction of canal colonisation the province became the breadbasket of India. In the late nineteenth century it also became the home of the colonial Indian Army. Due to its strategic and economic importance the British did not want to share powers with the locals. Moreover, they relied on a system of indirect through intermediaries. This largely explains why representative politics was introduced so late in the Punjab. They ran the administration in a paternalistic way which came to be popularly known as Punjab school of administration. The administrative history of the Punjab started with its annexation when in 1849 Dalhousie appointed three-man

Board of administration to run the affairs of the province. The Board consisted of John Lawrence, Henry Lawrence and Charles Mansel.² In 1853, the Indian government abolished the board of administration. John Lawrence became its first Chief Commissioner in 1854. After the war of independence in 1857, British Crown got control all over the India. They upgraded the system of administration in Punjab. In 1859, they appointed John Lawrence as its first Lieutenant Governor. After the appointment of John Lawrence as its first Lieutenant governor, a new era of administration was ushered.

Although the British introduced the system of local government in Punjab in 1862 but the representative politics remained dependent on nomination system until 1920. In 1862, British brought the major change in the local administration of Punjab. The system of municipalities was introduced by Montgomery who asked his cabinet to pass a resolution in this regard in 1862. Before the introduction of municipal committees in Punjab, Deputy Commissioners saw the affairs of districts. The British introduced the system of municipalities in the province but they kept organising their elections until 1884. The British nominated persons of undisputed loyalty. These nominated members accentuated class differences in the society. In 1883, Lord Ripon introduced reforms in local government.

REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS THROUGH NOMINATION

After 1860, British brought changes in the municipal administration. Lieutenant governor Robert Montgomery tried to improve the municipal government. According to his recommendations, Government of India ordered the judicial commissioners who were in charge of the municipal affairs that the funds were collected for local use; people

should have representation in municipalities to monitor the expenditure. In April 1862, Robert Montgomery ordered for the formation of municipal government in a liberal manner and people should participate in the affairs of municipal government.³ In the same year, the first municipal act was passed. Under this act, the municipal governments were introduced in 35 towns. The members of most of the municipalities were nominated. Those nominated mainly comprised Europeans and native men of influence in the towns. These were businessmen, aristocrats and religious leaders. The important resolution moved by the Lawrence in his cabinet in 1864 in which he admitted that the people of this country were really capable of administrating their own affairs. The municipal feelings were deeply rooted in them.⁴ On the other hand, the bureaucracy did not want to share power with native members. The chairman of the municipal Committee was mainly Deputy Commissioner and he had all the powers related to revenue and administration. Hence the municipalities were undemocratic as the members were nominated from different classes. The members of Lahore municipality were also nominated.

Lahore municipal committee was formed in 1862 and the names of members were Ajudhia Pershad, Nawab Ali Raza Khan, Lala Rattan Chand, Fakir Shams-ud-Din, Diwan Shankar Nath, Sardar Isri Singh, Bakshi Kanhya Lal, Nawab Abdul Majid Khan, Lala Madi Shah, Lala Hajas Rai, Mian Muhammad Sultan, Mian Gama and Lal Buta shah.⁵ The first committee started its work on May 1, 1862 and its members were mainly from local aristocrats, industrialists and contractors. Mian Muhammad Sultan was a wealthy contractor who built the European barracks at Mian Mir and built a *serai* for the citizens of Lahore near the railway

station.⁶ Nawab Ali Raza Khan was from the leading Shia-Muslim family from Lahore. Mian Gama was also from leading Arian family of the Lahore. All these nominations showed the picture of class structure in the politics of municipalities. They worked for the interest of the British. Hindhus members of the Lahore Municipality were businessmen. They paid revenue and octroi duty to the British. That is why; they got representation in the Lahore municipality. But they did not have financial powers; all the powers were in the hands of the British officials. After the act of 1862, two more acts were passed in 1867 and 1873, but the element of nomination system could not be eliminated from the municipalities. In 1873, out of 125 municipalities, 124 municipalities were formed through nomination. The nomination of municipality made members more rigid, because there were not answerable to the public. In some municipalities, where number of non-officials exceeded the official members, they mainly comprised *Mulaqatis* (visitors) of District Magistrate. The elite of Punjab being loyal to the British also favoured the nomination system.⁷ The district magistrate turned the municipalities as tools of administration and did not consider them as institutions of grassroots level representation. The doctrine of popular control and self-government was completely absent in the Punjab in 1860s and 1870s.

LORD RIPON: THE ERA POLITICAL REFORMS

In 1880s when Lord Ripon became viceroy of India, he introduced political reforms. He wrote a letter to Gladstone in which he admitted that the system of local government run by bureaucracy was best ever seen, but this system had many faults and dangers. In bureaucracy, there was a

jealousy regarding the involvement non-officials in the administrative matters. These types of faults could lead the country into a political crisis.⁸ He wanted to see the representation of natives in the local administration. On May 18, 1882, Lord Ripon's Government presented a resolution in Indian legislative Council for liberalization of the local administration. In that resolution, he admitted that he did not want to introduce the system of local government on the European democratic model but he wanted to initiate gradual training of the locals, 'most intelligent' persons in the local government who should take interest in the local affairs. The influence of Chief Executive Officer should be reduced. The culture of *Barra Sahib* should be eliminated by the participation of locals gradually. The proper institutions like district boards and municipalities should be formed, but the system of representation at the local level could not be adopted in a uniform manner everywhere. W. M. Young who was a junior secretary of the government of Punjab thought that the election system could not get success by allowing universal suffrage and the system of selection should be introduced initially. The criterion proposed was that the delegates should be selected by the district authorities who should then get votes from their people. Lord Ripon also brought changes in the municipal system. In 1884, the Punjab municipal act was passed. In this act, the system of election was introduced, but in reality the system of nomination was enforced in the formation of municipal committees. In 1883-1884, five municipalities were partly elected and partly nominated and 174 municipalities were totally nominated. After the municipal act of 1884, the nomination system in the municipalities was reduced and there were 82 municipal committees which were totally

nominated.⁹ In the election rules of Lahore municipalities, 10 out of 30 members were to be nominated by the Local government directly in which no less than six members shall be selected from the *Rias* class and those who have a property in Lahore.¹⁰ The selection of these members showed that British were in the favour of giving privileges to the urban elites or intermediaries. They wanted to get legitimacy for their rule in India.

In 1880s, most of the members of municipal committees were nominated by the provincial government. In 1885, there were 197 municipalities in the Punjab, 75 committees were totally nominated and 122 were partly elected or nominated. These figures demonstrate that there was no role of people to choose their representatives. The chairmanship of municipality also remained in the hands of officials. There were 77 unofficial and 120 were official chairmen of the municipalities. The committee like Lahore municipality also ran by the official chairman.¹¹ In all the municipalities, members could not launch any development project without the approval of Deputy Commissioner. The executive engineers gave approval for any project relating to engineering.¹² The external influence from bureaucracy did not let the municipalities work independently.

The British favoured nomination system so that they should not face any difficulties in the legislation process. Because, the members appointed by them had to support their policies. It was a type of a lobby in the municipalities through which British managed to get any legislation passed easily. The Deputy Commissioner was final authority in the municipalities; he could kill the bill, if he felt it against his wish. In municipalities, the same nominated members came

to be nominated again and again who supported the British policies of local government.

CLASS NOMINATION AND LAHORE MUNICIPALITY

In Lahore municipality, the system of election was different from other municipalities. For the election of 1885, British set the criteria for the membership of municipality. The first feature was that ten members to be nominated and from which not less than six members shall be from the *Rias* class. The second was that eight members were to be elected from their wards. The third was that four members were to be elected from the traders. The fourth was that four Europeans were to be elected from the whole municipality and the last was that four members were to be elected from different residential areas, one from Landabazar, one from Mazang, one from Anarkali Bazar and one from land owning class.¹³ The last three points reveal that they introduced representation through election. But, the point is that they were also nominating different groups or classes for the elections of municipality. The term nomination means selecting or appointing someone on a particular position. British also nominated different classes like traders for the elections. Their main motive was to get loyalty and support of these classes. It would not wrong to say that again it was not election rather nomination of classes or groups. The Indian government could not make any significant political development in the local government system until 1911. In 1911, the Punjab municipal act was passed. Before the act of 1911, the central government could only form a commission to enquire the administrative and financial problems of provinces in which the administrative problems of municipalities also had been reviewed. For example a

commission was formed in 1907 but its recommendation could not be implemented until 1915.

PUNJAB MUNICIPAL ACT 1911

The Punjab municipal Act came into force on October 1, 1911 by the Punjab Government and was passed on 5 August 1911.¹⁴ This act clearly defined the element of nomination system in the municipalities. According to this it, the persons appointed by nomination shall not exceed from one-fourth of the committee. In practice, the members appointed by the nomination were one-third on most of the municipalities. Mr Ganpat Rai who was the member Punjab legislative council and recorded his statement on the bills regarding municipal committees in which he admitted that the ratio of nominated members in the municipalities in 1911 was 33 percent. He had thirty year work experience of municipal committees. He stated that the officials might not be termed as officials, but anyhow they were semi-officials. These were the persons who were appointed to support the official side because they were nominated. He said that 'I have also spoken to the nominated members and they have said that they are nominated by the officials and therefore they had to be loyal with them.'¹⁵ This statement demonstrates that why the British favoured nominations.

MONTAGU CHELMSFORD REFORMS

Before the Chelmsford reforms, the famous declaration of 20 August 1917 from the House of Commons was a very big development in the field of local government. The policy was framed through which participation of Indians increased in every branch of administration and gradual development of self-government with a view to progressive

realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the Empire.¹⁶ Thus the principle of nomination had been very popular with the British before Chelmsford's reforms were introduced. The distribution of seats in the municipalities was 51 percent elected, 19 percent ex-officio and 30 percent nominated. The main reason for increasing the representation of the Indians was to reduce the pressure from Indian nationalist parties. The Punjab Government under Michael O'Dwyer also encouraged the election of non-official presidents of municipalities, but could not get much success due to communal tensions.

Montagu Chelmsford reforms in the Punjab were a landmark achievement in the politics of India. These reforms introduced the concept of provincial autonomy and the principle of elections in the local government. Under these reforms, 70 percent of the members would be elected and not more than 20 percent members would be nominated¹⁷. Against these nominations, members of provincial council raised their voice. Sardar Jamal Khan a member of Punjab Legislative Council moved a resolution against the nomination system. The locals had become aware that how the British controlled the affairs of local government through nomination system. The political parties started criticizing the electoral policies of the British.

REPRESENTATIVE POLITICS THROUGH ELECTIONS

As we have discussed earlier that the element of elections had been introduced in some municipalities in 1860s, but the nature of election was indirect. To begin with a system of indirect election was introduced for limited seats and the majority of the members were nominated. The criteria for setting the qualification of members for the municipal committees led to the problems of class differences,

biradari (literally brotherhood, used to refer to patrilineal kinship groups) politics and communal problems in the society. The legislation for the setting up of municipal committees started in 1860. In 1860, the judicial Commissioner of the Punjab prepared a report in which he elaborated that all the local funds were in the administrative controls. There was no role of natives except some Extra Assistant Commissioners. On the basis of this report, Government of India tried to make some arrangements for the municipal committees. The government of India suggested that "people should be on the form of necessary taxation and their wishes should not be set aside for any fancy of the Government officials."¹⁸ But, the disbursement of the money was in the hands of ex-officio members of the government. On one side, government was encouraging the participation of people in the matter of taxation, on the other side government was giving powers to ex-officio members regarding distribution of money. These double standards were practiced in the local administration.

In the light of a resolution from the government of India, Robert Montgomery moved a resolution in his cabinet for the formation of municipal committees. The municipal act was enforced in the 1862 in the light of the resolution. Under the act of 1862, thirty five municipal committees were formed in the towns of Punjab. The mode of representation in these municipalities was mainly by nomination and some were partly elected. However, the method of election was indirect, which means there was no universal franchise. In the municipalities, members were elected from their tribes or *panchayats* annually. Overall, the element of election was nowhere in the Punjab. The element of communalism could not be ignored in the

indirect elections of municipalities, because Punjab had a diverse society. In Lahore, the first election of the municipal committee was contested along *biradari* lines and on communal basis.

Lahore municipal committee was formed in 1862. The members of municipal committees were elected annually by the delegates of *panchayat*. Their representation was purely on the communal basis. Seven seats were set for Hindus, five for Muslims and one for Sikhs. The members of the municipality were wealthy and loyal to the British government. The term of the office of municipal committee was one year. They re-elected every year, because they had their influence in their families. Like Mian Sultan who was a wealthy man and contractor, he belonged to prominent *Arain* Family of Lahore. He had his influence in his *biradari*. 'The Punjabi *Arains* were predominately small holding agriculturalists, and their traditional hereditary occupation was market-gardener.'¹⁹ *Arain Biradari* had close relations with the British. They remained dominant in the urban politics as well as municipal committee. On the other hand, the government of Punjab was trying to improve the local government system. The British government was trying to develop the local administration. For the development of local government, Lord Lawrence issued a resolution in 1864 in which the liberal spirit can be seen.

The people of this country are perfectly capable of administering their own affairs. The municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them. The village communities ... are the most abiding of Indian institutions. They maintained the framework of society while successive swarms of invaders swept over the country. In the cities also, people cluster in their wards, trade guilds and *panchayat* and show much

capacity for cooperate action...Holding the position as we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people...and to confine ourselves to...influencing and directing in a general way all movements of the social machine.²⁰

The resolution explains about the British policies regarding the formation of boards in the rural areas. The mode of election could not be adopted in the boards due to the bureaucratic hurdles. The district magistrates and their chronies got control of the District committees. In the municipalities, the system of elections could not be introduced. Some members who got elected were rate payers. These rate payers were beneficial for the district administration. In return of their revenue, government gave them representation in the district committees and municipalities.

Another act for the municipal committees was passed in 1867. The system of election could not be introduced in the municipality. In some places, elections took place on the class basis. This act gave too much power to the Lieutenant Lovernor. He had a power to select the members not less than five for the municipality. He had also power to dismiss any member. There was no mandate of people in the municipalities, so it was easy for him to dismiss any member from the municipality without any public pressure. In 1860s, overall elections could not be held in municipalities. Where, in some places, elections were held on communal and *biradari* basis. In 1870s, the government took measures to introduce elections in the municipalities.

LORD MAYO'S ADMINISTRATION AND THE FUTURE OF LOCAL BODIES

Lord Mayo tried to introduce liberal policies in the local administrations. He was in favour of giving financial powers to the local government. The franchise was restricted because of property qualifications. Lord Mayo wanted to favour only some associations of natives and Europeans in the local administration. He did not trust the natives. That is why the municipal committees were headed by the Deputy Commissioners. In 1871 the financial commissioner gave his views on the system of election in the municipalities. He stated:

The mode of the election should be prescribed definitely if the practice is to continue – the leading members of classes and *zaildars* appearing before the Deputy Commissioner, and nominating certain persons as their representatives, is not an election, and some other plan for taking votes is necessary. The appointment of representatives of classes appears to the Financial Commissioner objectionable: the elections should be for wards or divisions of the city, and if possible, the elected member should be resident of, or have property in, the ward for which he is elected. The numbers of members to be elected should depend on the number of wards.²¹

He wrote this report on the elections of municipality of Amritsar. He highlighted the issue of representation in the municipalities. On one hand, he was saying that the representation should not be on the basis of class while on the other hand he suggested that the members should have property in the limits of municipality. The person who owned property in the municipal limits had to pay municipal tax. In a way he also tried to create class differences in the municipality by giving representation to land holders.

In 1873, another act of the municipal administration was passed. In this act, the element of election was also not clearly defined. The members of the municipal committees were appointed by nomination and some were by elections. In 1873, only members of Dharmasala municipality were appointed by elections in Punjab. In some of the municipalities, the elections were introduced, members were partly elected. 'In 1873, when the elections were introduced for the first time in Serampur municipality of Punjab, out of 5569 eligible votes, 1793 casted their votes.'²² The low turnout was due to lack of people interest in the elections. The government made election rules in such a way that landed elites could easily qualify for the elections and the common man could not even qualify.

In Lahore, the elections for a few seats of the municipality were held in 1876. The total population of the municipality was 128,738. Out of 27, twelve members were elected. Two were Europeans who were elected by the Europeans who had been living in the boundaries of municipality for last six months and paying land tax not less than twenty rupees per annum. The remaining ten members were natives, eight were elected from eight yards and two were elected from Landa Bazar and Sadar.²³ The qualification of voters was also high in the municipalities. The voters should be the rate payer to the government; they also should be traders and salaried officers. These types of qualifications were responsible for low turnout in the elections. These elections created the differences of class in the society.

Overall, the era of 1870s could not bring any serious reform for the local government. In this era, the paternalistic model of government remained operative. The participation of locals in the local government was limited

and restricted to the land holders. At the same time, the issue of communalism also started at the national level. The Urdu-Hindi controversy proved a major turning point in the communal tension. Leaders of Muslims and Hindus got involved in communal politics. At the local level, they also affected the institution of local governments with their communal policies. After 1870s, when Lord Ripon introduced reforms things changed drastically.

LORD RIPON AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Lord Ripon brought political changes in the India during his viceroyalty. The most significance change brought by him was the introduction of local self-government in India. He was a liberal man and he wanted to introduce political consciousness in the people of India. His views for the introduction of local government in India wer explained in his famous resolution. He moved a resolution in the Indian legislative Assembly on 18 May 1882. In his resolution, he made it clear that he was in favour of political and popular education by which by which people could participate in the affairs of the district administration. He thought that political education is more important in local government, rather than the administrative efficiency.²⁴ He wanted to train the middle class of the India for local administration. He was against the control of officials on the district boards and municipalities. He used the term of 'Bhara Sahib' for the British officials who remained dominant in the local administration.

Hence the system of election for municipalities was introduced in the Punjab, which gave two-third representation to the non-officials, but the bureaucracy of different districts did not follow this rule. They wanted to run the local administration in a paternalistic way. Ripon

viewed that the allocations of seats should be on the basis of class and caste. Officials in the districts adopted different methods for elections. They tried to give privileges to their *mulaqatis* (visitors of District Magistrates). These *mulaqatis* comprised of local elites, religious leaders and feudals.

In different provinces, the officials showed their attitude of non- acceptance regarding the policies of Lord Ripon. The governor of Bombay Sir J. Fergusson and Lieutenant Governor of Bengal Sir River Thompsons were violent opponents of Ripon.²⁵ Sir Alferd Lyall welcomed the resolution of Ripon. He was the head of north western provinces. He implemented the policies. In N.W.F.P, there were 109 municipalities in 1885 and the percentage of elected members was higher than the other provinces. The percentage of elected members was 79.8 percent.²⁶ In India the policies of Ripon could not be implemented. The main reason for the failure of the implementation of Ripon's reform was the attitude of provincial and district officials. They wanted to run the administrative functions in a paternalistic way.

In Punjab, the municipal act was passed in 1884. After this act, municipalities were categorized into two classes' first class municipality and second class municipality. The first class municipalities were well organized and had more population than the second class municipality. In both municipalities, there was a difference in election rules. In the second class municipality, there was a control of officials and the practice of election was very low due to strict qualification. The general qualification for holding the office of municipality was that a person shall not be less than 21 years old and shall be a rate payer. The qualification for voter was that a voter shall also be the rate payer in the municipality and possessed any professional

qualification described by the local government. These qualifications showed that the only landed elites and aristocrats were eligible for participating in the elections of local government. Before elections, voters had to get certificate from the *Tehsildar* (Officer in charge of revenue sub-division of a district) for participation in the elections.²⁷ This demonstrates that the government official would decide who can cast vote and who cannot. In Lahore, the election rules were different from other municipalities.

THE ACT OF 1884: RULES FOR ELECTIONS OF LAHORE MUNICIPALITY

The Lahore municipality was declared as the first class municipality. The commissioner Lahore division, Colonel C. A. McMohan, issued a letter to the deputy commissioner of Lahore on 19 January 1885. This letter explains that the boundaries of the Lahore Municipal Committee should be that of the first class the municipal committee.²⁸ So he notified it as a first class municipality. Basically, Lahore was the provincial capital of Punjab and British wanted to develop it. The population of Lahore mainly composed of Hindus traders, Muslims landed elites and Sikhs. The British administration formulated election rules according to the profession of population in Lahore. The municipality of Lahore shall consist of following members;

Ten members to be nominated by the Local government, of whom not less than six shall be selected from the Rais class residing and having property in the Lahore, provided that the six members so selected shall not include more than the half Honary Magistrates of the city. Eight members are to be representing eight wards in which registered voters cast their votes. Four members from the traders and shopkeepers shall be elected by the registered voters. Four members of the whole municipality being

European and Eurasians house owners to be elected by registered voters. Four natives from the whole municipality to be elected; one from land bazaar, one from Mazang, one from Anarkali Bazar and one from Zamindar class.²⁹

The criteria of the distribution of seats created class differences in the community. British made the election rules according to the class divisions in Lahore. They allocated quotas to different groups, so that they could get their support. The qualification of the voters was also strict. It included that the voter shall not be less than 21 years old and should have been residing for last twelve months in the premises of Lahore municipality and should have carried business within its limits. A person could cast vote, who had acquired any learned profession described by the rule III.³⁰ The rule III further described the qualification of voters in detail. The first was that a person who carried his trade in the municipality and paying income tax to the government. The second was that persons who was in the receipt of salary or pension of more than Rs 10 per mensem from government or private employees. The third was that persons owing land and paying revenue or to exceeding Rs 20 per annum under the act VIII of 1873. The fourth was that persons in fixed occupation of premises rented at, or of rental of, or Rs 2 per mensem or more. The fifth was that persons whose income more than Rs 150 and paying taxes.³¹ The qualification of voters explained that only middle class or intermediaries and landed elites were eligible for voting. These were tactics used by the British to give patronage to the landed elites and intermediaries in the municipalities.

PUNJAB MUNICIPAL ACT 1891 AND LAHORE MUNICIPALITY

In the Punjab, new municipal act was passed in 1891. According to this act, the distribution of seats had been changed. The qualification for the membership of municipality had also been defined. For the membership of Lahore municipality, the candidate shall not be less than 21 years old. The candidate should have an income of not less than Rs 150 per mensem. The candidate paid an income tax of not less than Rs 35 per annum. The candidate possessed immovable property within the limits of Lahore municipality, not less than Rs 5000 value. The candidate possessed BA or Bachelor of Law or higher degree and an income not less Rs 100 per mensem.³² These were the rules set to determine the eligibility of candidates for the elections of Lahore municipality. This was a strict criterion and common man could not contest the elections.

In Lahore, the professional people who were holding a degree of BA or BOL (Bachelor of law) pressurized the government to give them representation in the local government, because they were tax payers. Along with the qualification of members, government also made changes in the number of seats. In 1884, four seats were reserved for the traders and four were reserved for different specific areas like Landa Bazaar and eight were reserved for different wards. In 1891, Government changed the allocation of these seats by allocating eight seats for Muhammadans and eight seats for Hindus. This act of government created communal tension in the local politics.³³

COMMUNAL TENSIONS IN THE MUNICIPALITIES OF 1880s AND 1890s

The politics of local government encouraged the middle classes to take an interest in the local administration. The interests of middle class in the politics of municipalities and district boards increased. This gave them some arenas to control for example maintenance of roads, schools, markets, hospitals and control on water facilities and commercial areas. Before Ripon's reforms, middle class could not get seats in the municipalities due to the policy of nomination system. In 1883, middle educated class protested for their rights to get control in the municipalities for their interest. In 1884's elections, middle class participated in the elections with enthusiasm in fourteen districts and Hindus middle class won the elections with the help of commercial classes by which Muslim educated middle class became apprehensive and pressurised the leading Muslim aristocrats to maintain communal balance in the municipalities and district boards.³⁴ In the municipalities of Sialkot, Ghaziabad, Hafizabad, Amritsar and Montgomery, elections were fought on communal basis. People cast their votes on religious basis. There were various reasons by which communal politics started in the local government.

The policies or rules shaped by the British encouraged communal politics. They made laws by which middle class got representation in the municipalities. For the elections of municipalities in 1884, they suggested that six seats were to be reserved for *Rias* (an important or honorable man) class. In urban areas, Hindus were wealthy due to their commercial activities and British tried to give them representation in urban areas. The second point for the distribution of seats was that four seats were reserved for elections on the basis of traders. At this point, they

again tried to give preference to the Hindu middle class. The Hindu money lender pressurized their Muslim clients to vote for Hindus by which Hindu class dominated the municipalities.³⁵ The results of 1883-1884 elections of 96 municipalities in the Punjab showed that Hindus got majority in 72 municipalities and Muslims got in 12.³⁶ The Hindus started giving privileges to their class by giving jobs in various departments of the local government. Due to the policies of Hindus, Muslims demanded for separate electorate. Muslim leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan raised their voice for separate electorate.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan delivered a speech on January 1883 before the Viceroy legislative council.³⁷ He said that the scheme of joint electorate could be successful in those countries where population was homogeneous, and not for a country like India. India had heterogeneous population. The Hindus could harm the interests of the Muslims. After 1884 elections, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's point of view had proved that Muslims were marginalized by the election rules. In the Municipal Act of 1891, the demands of Muslims were accepted to some extent. British replaced the seats of traders and general seats with the eight seats each for Muslims and Hindus. But, in the urban centers, seats filled by the nomination of *Rias* Class remained in the hands of Hindus. They were businessmen and paid income taxes to the government.

ROYAL COMMISSION AND THE FUTURE OF LOCAL BODIES

Lord Curzon remained Viceroy of India had no intention for the development of Local bodies, because he was in the favour of policy of centralization. After Curzon, the liberal government in the Great Britain tried to make reforms in the local bodies of the India. A commission was formed to

inquire the financial and administrative problems of the local government under the leadership of C.E.H Hobhouse, with ICS officers and one Indian Romesh Chander Datt.³⁸ The commission found that the; ' the existing arrangements for the organization of local government were inadequate and that local bodies should be further developed and organized on a more democratic lines.'³⁹ The report further criticized that the official involvement in the local government. The commission recommended that the municipalities should have elected majority and they should have right to choose their own President. Tinker further wrote that this system of local government was more an autocratic rule. The district magistrates conducted the affairs of local government and non-official sat as spectators.⁴⁰ The main findings of the report showed that there should be elections instead of nomination. Unfortunately, the government did not implement the findings of the report until six years after its publication. Some changes, however, were made in the local bodies in this period from 1909 to 1915.

Minto-Morley reforms ushered a new era in electoral politics. The demand for separate electorates in the municipalities had been started after Ripon's Reforms of 1884. In 1906, after the formation of All India Muslim League, the Muslim leaders raised their voices for separate electorate in the provinces and also in the local government. 'The Muslim community should be represented as a community, whether it affects any system of representation in Municipality, District Boards or a legislative Council said by Morley.'⁴¹ However, things did not improve until reforms carried out by Sir Fazal-e-Hussain. The complaints regarding representation in Bhera municipality were discussed in the Punjab legislative

council. In the census of 1911, there were 10,015 Muslims, 4626 Hindus and 547 Sikhs living in the municipality of Bhera but the distribution of seats was unfair. The municipality constituted of ten seats total, in which five were Muslims and five were for Hindus.⁴² It led to communal problems there. In the same year, the Punjab government passed an act by the name of Punjab Municipal Act 1911, which remained in force till the partition of Subcontinent.

The municipalities got a constitutional cover by the Municipal Act of 1911. The portion of the elected members was increased up to 75 percent. But the system of elections could not be implemented in full letter and spirit. In practice, 67 percent seats were filled by election and 33 percent seats were reserved for the officials. This act remained in force till the partition, but the several major changes were made.

Lord Harding moved a resolution to implement the recommendations of Royal Commission of 1915. Similarly on 20 August 1917, a famous declaration in the House of Commons was passed which wanted to give proper representations to Indians in every branch of administration.⁴³ The declaration proved that the government of India was now sincere in giving the representation to Indians in their institutions of local government. The other reason to give representations to Indians was that the British administration was busy in war and they needed revenue war supplies.

Before the Chelmsford reforms were introduced, there were 51 percent elected members, 19 percent were ex-officio and 30 percent were nominated by the government in 79 municipalities of the Punjab.⁴⁴ The electoral principle was still not followed in the

municipalities. Municipalities were presided by the Deputy Commissioners and this remained the case with the Lahore municipality until 1921. Chelmsford reforms transferred the subject of local government to the provincial government.

FAZAL-I- HUSSAIN AS A MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Under the system of diarchy, Fazal-i-Hussain got the charge of local government in Punjab as a minister. He tried to bring reforms in the local self-government. He asked for elections in those municipalities in which elections never took place. These municipalities included those of Nurmahal, Kapurthala, Phillor and Thanesor. The distribution of seats was also made in such a way which reduced the element of nominations. The element of election was increased from 75 percent to 85 percent in the municipalities. He also made a law by which full time government officials were ineligible for the elections. The strength of official presidents was reduced to 41, which was previously 86.⁴⁵ The main problem in his scheme was the distribution of seats on the communal basis. According to him, he tired to remove all the inequalities in the municipalities.

A formula was given for the elections on the seats of municipal committees in which he proposed that 'elected seats on municipal committees should be distributed among communities in proportion to their populations as modified arithmetically by their voting strength; for example if the Hindus constituted 20 percent of the total population of Punjab and 40 percent of their voting strength, then they would be given 30 percent representation in the municipalities.'⁴⁶ His scheme of elections in the municipalities led to the problems of communalism in the Punjab. For example, before the

Chelmsford reforms Hindus dominated the municipality of Lahore. They possessed eight seats, while Muslims got nine seats. It was totally unfair with the Muslims, because Muslim population was more in number. In 1923 elections, Muslims were 140,708 and their percentage was 54.7 percent, while Hindus were 91,544 and their percentage was 35.6, the Sikhs were 4,744 and their percentage was 4.6, Christians were 13, 277 and their percentage was 5.1.⁴⁷ The table below is showing the distribution of electable seats by Fazli- Hussain formula;

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS

Class	Seats	Percentage of seats	Population percentage
Muslims	17	53	54.7
Hindus	11	34.4	35.6
Sikhs	2	6.3	4.6
Christians Nominated	2	6.3	5.6

Source: Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in the 1920's* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1997), 415.

The above table shows that the distribution of seats was fair. Hindus started protests on this issue. They resigned on their seats in the municipality of Lahore. Their press like *Daily Desh*, *Milap* and *Kesari* criticized the policy of Fazli-Hussain ministry. Communal riots started in Lahore. The Muslim press like *Daily Zamindar* and *Paisa Akhbar* wrote in the favor of Fazli- Hussain's reforms.⁴⁸ This exacerbated the communal tension.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF LAHORE MUNICIPALITY

The Punjab government assigned duties to the municipal committee to perform its functions in Lahore. These duties

were assigned on 30 April 1862 by the Assistant Commissioner of Lahore.⁴⁹ At that time, municipal committee was under the direct control of the Government. Members of municipalities had to perform their functions according to the directions of respective Deputy Commissioners. This type of domination of Punjab Government shows that the institution of local government was just rubber stamp. The first duty assigned to the municipal committee was the collection of the Octroi from the premises of Lahore municipality. The second duty was to supervise the municipal funds. The third duty was related to the sanitation system and infrastructure. The fourth duty was to plant and water the trees inside the city. The fifth and last duty was to check the monthly accounts of the income and expenditure of the municipality and submit a report to the Deputy Commissioner.

After Ripon's reforms in 1884, the powers and functions of Lahore Municipality were also increased. The Punjab government issued a notification on 15 February 1885 in which municipal rules had been drafted for the working of municipalities.⁵⁰ The Punjab government circulated the draft to all the commissioners of Punjab. The municipal rules contained the administrative and financial powers of the municipal committee. The municipal committee had been given certain powers and rules for the use these powers were defined.

The municipal committee had a power to introduce new development schemes, but it should not be more than the cost of Rs 10,000. The scheme might include construction of roads, drainage system and sanitation system. For all these types of development works, the municipal committee had to need an approval from the public works department. The committee also had to make

sure that the scheme would be of some public utility and professionals were capable of completing it. This was important to make schemes successful. In public works department, the professionals related to developmental works were appointed. They had an idea that the particular scheme could be successful or not.

Recruitment of professionals like Surgeons and Engineers in the different departments of the municipal government was the function of Municipal Committee. The committee could not hire any professional in the various department of municipal committee without the approval of public works department of the local government. The committee also had to check the qualification record of any professional very strictly before hiring. These types of rules eliminated the chance of nepotism in the municipal committee and all appointment was made on merit. These surgeons were highly qualified. One another initiative by the municipal government in health sector was of vaccination. The municipal committee arranged vaccinations for the people to save them from different diseases like small pox.

The municipal committee had the responsibility to maintain a register of income and expenditures of the municipal committee. It had to submit the report of income and expenditure to the deputy commissioner before 15 May of every year. In the report, committee had to mention the constitution of the committee, list of employees, expenditures by the municipal committee and detail of the taxation in the particular year.

The municipal committee had a power to collect the taxes on different items. It appointed its own staff to collect these taxes. The income collected from these taxes was invested on the development projects like sanitation,

drainage, vaccination and the constructions of roads. At some stages, municipal committee of Lahore had to get loan from the provincial government to complete its projects. Lahore was the capital of Punjab and the British government also took too much interest in the development of city. They wanted to develop the infrastructure of the city commensurate with its status.

CONCLUSION

After the annexation of Punjab in 1849 the British brought changes in its administrative structure. To begin with they established board of administration to run the affairs of the province. When it was finally abolished they ran the administration in paternalistic way. Punjabis were required to be politically loyal and cooperative to the government in order benefit from the paternalistic government. After the war of Independence, British felt a need to bring locals in the administration of Punjab, because they wanted to strengthen their rule in the Punjab with the help of locals. The British established a political system of indirect through intermediaries. Punjab had tremendous strategic and economic significance for the Raj. Therefore, representative politics was introduced very later here.

The system of local government was introduced in Punjab in 1862. Municipalities were established in different urban centres. They were dominated by nominated members; this trend continued in 1860s and 1870s. These nominated members were influential people in their localities and were loyal to the British. In a way British patronised loyal supporters with seats on the municipalities. In case of Lahore Municipal Committee, the persons who were nominated were businessmen and elites of the city. British gave them patronage in return of their loyalty and services towards the British. For example, Mian

Muhammad Sultan who was nominated for the membership of Lahore Municipality was a contractor. He constructed army Barracks in Mian Meer Cantonment and also did some work on the railway station. In return of his services, he won nomination for the municipality. In Lahore, the Qazal Bash family also got membership of Lahore municipality in return of their loyalty towards British. Such system of nomination continues until 1883.

In 1884, the reforms in the local government system were introduced by the Viceroy Lord Ripon. He had liberal views and he wanted to educate people in politics by giving them representation on municipalities. He tried to change the system of local government, because the British officials held power in the local government system. Deputy Commissioners presided the municipal committees. They appointed their own people through nominations. Ripon was of the view that the locals can understand and resolve the problems of the people better than the British officials. He increased the representation of Indians in the municipalities through elections. His reforms were, however, of limited scope and representation was limited to certain groups and societies.

The system of election in the Lahore municipality showed that there was also a nomination system. For the elections of municipality, six seats were reserved for *Rais Class*, four seats were reserved for Europeans and four seats were reserved for traders and shopkeepers. This kind of distribution of seats in the municipal committee meant elections were held on the basis of restricted franchise. Only rate payers and the professional degree holders were allowed to vote for the election. So a common man had no chance of winning the election.

The communal tension in the municipalities started after the Minto-Morley reforms. In 1911, the Punjab Municipal Act was passed. This act reduced the number of seats to be filled on the basis of nomination. The issue of separate electorate could not be resolved in the local government system. The issue of communal representation reached on its peak after Montague-Chelmsford's report was made public. The system of diarchy was introduced under which provinces got shares in some ministries. One of the important ministries was the ministry of local government.

Sir Fazal-e-Hussain became the minister of local government in Punjab and he tried to introduce major reforms. He distributed the seats in municipalities on the basis communal strength. The seats were distributed in proportion to population of different communities and their voting strength arithmetically. In Punjab, Hindus had majority in the municipalities due to the property qualifications. They were wealthy traders in Punjab and they got seats in the municipalities due to the votes of rate payers. The Muslims were marginalized because of electoral restrictions. Muslims were in the majority in Punjab but their representation in municipalities was low due to the higher number of Hindu rate payers. Mian Fazal-e-Hussain tried to resolve the issue. Hindus did not accept his scheme of distribution of seats, because their seats had been reduced after the new formula was introduced. They started protest by resigning from their seats. Their protest spread all over the province. They started moving towards Hindu majority provinces to safeguard their interests. The method of distribution of seats by Fazal-e-Hussain was justifiable according to democratic principles.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Ahmad-Uddin. Hussain, *Development of Local government in the Punjab: A Critical Assessment*, eds. Qalb-i-Abid (Lahore: Beacon Books, 2004), 57.
- ² Qalb-i-Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab, 1921-1947* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1992), 3.
- ³ W.M.Young, *Home Department General* (Lahore: Punjab Government, 1882), 6.
- ⁴ Ahmad-Uddin. Hussain, *Development of Local government in the Punjab*, 60.
- ⁵ *Report of the Lahore municipality for 1862-1863*(Lahore: Home Department General, 1863), 2.
- ⁶ H.R. Goulding, *Old Lahore: Reminiscences of a Resident* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel publications, 1924), 44.
- ⁷ Muhammad shahid Iqbal, *Development of Local Self Government in the Punjab*,ed. Aslam Qureshi (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1976), 65. Mulaqatis were those people who visited the office of District magistrate to solidarity with officials.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.
- ⁹ Hussain, *Development of local self-government*, 62-63.
- ¹⁰ Rules for appointment of the municipal committee of Lahore, *Board and Committee proceeding* (Lahore: Punjab government, 1891), 10.
- ¹¹ Hugh Tinker, *The foundations of Local self-government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (Bombay: Lalvani Publishing house, 1967), 68-69, accessed June 17, 2017, <https://archive.org/stream/in.ernet.dli.2015.461329/2015.461329.The-Foundations#page/n1/mode/2up>.
- ¹² Extension of General and Election rules to certain municipalities in the Punjab, *Board and committee proceedings* (Lahore: Punjab Government printing press, 1886), file no: 1.
- ¹³ Revised draft of the Lahore municipality election rules, *Board and Committee proceedings* (Lahore: Punjab Government Printing Press, 1884), file no: 15.

¹⁴ Tek Chand, Harbans Lal Sarin and Kundan Lal Pandit, *Commentaries on the Punjab Acts* (Lahore: Law Publishers, 1993), 1875.

¹⁵ *Punjab Legislative Debates*, Vol: IV, 1922-23, 424.

¹⁶ Abid, *Muslim Politics in the India*, 41.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Muhammad shahid Iqbal, *Development of Local Self Government in the Punjab*, ed. Aslam Qureshi (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1976), 6.

¹⁹ Muhammad Ibrahim, "Role of biradari system in power politics of Lahore: Post-Independence Period" (PhD diss., Bahauddin Zikariya University, 2009), 76.

²⁰ Hugh Tinker, *The foundations of Local self-government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (Bombay: Lalvani Publishing house, 1967), 36, accessed June 17, 2017, <https://archive.org/stream/in.ernet.dli.2015.461329/2015.461329.The-Foundations#page/n1/mode/2up>.

²¹ Municipal committee of Amritsar, *Miscellaneous Department proceedings* (Lahore: Government of the Punjab Press, 1871), file no: 5.

²² Hussain, *Development of Local government in the Punjab*, 62.

²³ Report of the municipalities of the Punjab, *Miscellaneous Department Proceedings* (Lahore: Government of the Punjab Press, 1873)

²⁴ Tinker, *Local self-government*, 45.

²⁵ Ibid., 46.

²⁶ Ibid., 48.

²⁷ Rules under the Punjab Municipal Act XIII of 1884, for the appointment of municipal committees in the Punjab, *Municipal Department Proceedings* (Lahore: Government of the Punjab Press, 1885), file no: 05.

²⁸ Extension of the Punjab Municipal Act of 1884 to the Lahore municipality, *Municipal Department Proceedings* (Lahore: Government of the Punjab Press, 1885), file no: 11.

²⁹ Revised draft of the Lahore municipality election rules, *Board and Committee Proceedings* (Lahore: Government of the Punjab, 1886), file no: 15.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Rules for the appointment of Lahore municipality, *Board and Committee Proceedings* (Lahore: Government of the Punjab Printing, 1891), file no: 08.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Verinder Grover, ed., *The Story of Punjab Yesterday and Today* (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1995), 271.

³⁵ Farooq Ahmad, *Communal Riots in the Punjab, 1947* (Islamabad: NIHCR Publication, 2003), 4.

³⁶ Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab*, 11.

³⁷ P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 137.

³⁸ Tinker, *Local Self Government*, 64.

³⁹ Hussain, *Development of Local Government in the Punjab*, 76.

⁴⁰ Sajid Mahmood Awan and Nemat-e-Uzma, "Nature and functioning of local government in the British India", *Journal of Pakistan Annual Research*, no .50 (2014): 58, accessed July 18, 2017, https://pspesh.org>PDF>04_Sajid

⁴¹ Rajmohan Gandhi, *Punjab A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2013), 265.

⁴² *Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Punjab*, Volume X (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, 1920), 8.

⁴³ Muhammad Aslam Khan Magsi, *Development of Local Self-Government in the Punjab*, ed. Muhammad Aslam Quureshi (Lahore: Research Society of Pakistan, 1973), 11.

⁴⁴ Abid, *Muslim Politics in the Punjab*, 42.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 46.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 47.

⁴⁷ Zarina Salamat, *The Punjab in the 1920's* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1997), 414-415.

⁴⁸ Abid, *Muslim Politics in Punjab*, 43.

⁴⁹ *Translation of the report of municipal committee of Lahore for 1862-1863*, File no: 10-11.

⁵⁰ *Municipal Proceedings, Draft rules under section 159 (1) of the Punjab municipal act of 1884* (Lahore: Punjab Civil Secretariat, 1885), file no: 12-15.

PROBLEMS IN CONSERVATION OF MONUMENTS IN PAKISTAN

SHIFA AHMAD

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE UNIVERSITY

LAHORE

ABSTRACT

This article pursues to scrutinize the problem of conservation of historic Monuments in Pakistan with a view to erect a suitable scheme for their conservation. Although the detailed survey work in this study has been restricted to Lahore, it had always been intended that the investigations should lead towards suggestions for the development of conservation policy throughout Pakistan. The situation in Lahore is likely to be reasonably typical of that appertaining elsewhere in the country and the detailed part of the present study has, of course, been set in the context of the prevailing national situation. It is appropriate therefore to turn to suggestions for conservation policy on a country-wide basis.

KEY WORDS

Pakistan, Conservation, Lahore Fort, Heritage.

This research emphasizes to adopt a model of multidisciplinary conservation with a view to recuperate cultural ethics of the society through conserving the past. The state of conservation in Pakistan, if evidence from Lahore can be regarded as typical, is relatively similar to that in another developing country i.e. India. The major constraints on the conservation of the built environment

in developing countries, other than financial matters, appear to be the absence of a detailed conservation policy, shortage of technical staff and lack of awareness about the value of the cultural heritage. Basic legislation exists but is rarely properly implemented. Only a small number of buildings have been listed, a circumstance due to a number of factors such as shortage of manpower and money and the general policy. The need for greater concern with regard to conservation has begun to be emphasized by voluntary organizations acting as pressure groups and they have already started playing an important part in spreading awareness among the public and governing bodies.

Legislation for preservation of archaeological sites and ancient monuments has its background in the British period.¹ The first legislation was the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904, which was replaced by the Antiquities Act of 1947 after the establishment of Pakistan.² The Act of 1947 was simply a change in the name of the 1904 Act, a provision considered necessary after establishment of a new country.³ In some documents the Act of 1904 is referred to instead of the Act of 1947. For example, in the Master Plan for Greater Lahore, prepared in 1966,⁴ it is stated that under the Act of 1904, 48 buildings and gardens from Lahore were listed for protection and a further 16 buildings were recommended for some degree of protection though not actually listed. The Antiquities Act of 1968 replaced the previous legislation.⁵ The list of 48 protected monuments from Lahore was maintained and another eight buildings from those previously recommended for protection were listed. Finally the Antiquities Act 1975 replaced the Antiquities Act of 1968 and the same 56 buildings from

Lahore were maintained as listed and protected under the Act.⁶ Thus National Legislation is now contained within the Antiquities Act 1975 and the Department of Archaeology and Museums functions under the provisions of the Act.⁷ As far as the provisions in the Act are concerned, they are quite comprehensive and cover all the necessary aspects of the conservation of important buildings and archaeological sites.

A more important point with regard to the Act is that buildings having "group value"⁸ and the concept of "conservation areas"⁹ have not been considered. Minor amendments to the Act could provide protection to such areas and building groups. Provisions with regard to the control of new construction in the vicinity of a protected monument are already in place: "no development plan or scheme or new construction on or within a distance of two hundred feet of a protected building shall be undertaken or executed except with the approval of the Director of Archaeology".¹⁰ By using such provisions, boundaries of areas around building groups could be demarcated fairly readily. This has special relevance for the conservation of historic gardens.

Conservation of the cultural heritage under the 1975 Act is the concern of the Federal Government, through the Department of Archaeology and Museums. The Department has a long history, with the establishment of an Archaeological Survey for northern parts of the subcontinent in 1860 during the British period. At present the Department can list any number of historical monuments and sites under the Act of 1975.¹¹ So far it has listed only 355 antiquities, 232 monuments and 123 archaeological sites, throughout Pakistan.¹² The number of listed antiquities may be somewhat similar to

those in other developing countries, but is very small in relation to the wealth of historic buildings known to exist in Pakistan. A case can clearly be made for increasing substantially the number of listed buildings in the country. Although this cannot be accomplished without a corresponding financial commitment, steps should be taken to move towards a greater number of protected structures. The PEPAC¹³ study made this point with regard to Lahore's old walled city and a similar situation exists in many other localities.

In order to raise the number of listed and protected buildings, identification of the important historic buildings from various periods is an important task. In the present study, the list of significant historic buildings in Lahore was drawn up with the help of old historic accounts. With regard to some other important historic settlements, such as Multan and Peshawar, similar historic accounts may well be available. In many other settlements, however, such would not be the case and a detailed survey would be the starting point rather than a subsequent stage of proceedings. Such surveys could be carried out by teams consisting of persons, perhaps acting voluntarily, aware of the historical and architectural heritage. The Department of Archaeology could provide guide-lines to the surveyors for the identification of important buildings.

Quite obviously, each and every old building cannot be listed. However, from the identified historic buildings, representatives should be selected for listing and preservation. With the help of the present study, the following guide-lines can be suggested with regard to the selection of representative buildings. The selection of the buildings should take into account the criteria established in this study, such as historical association, quality of

architectural design, the condition of the surroundings or setting, state of repair and current usage.

Since its emergence, the Department of Archaeology has tended to concentrate on the survey of archaeological sites and their excavation. Historic buildings have been seen as of secondary importance and gardens of still less importance. Among the professional and technical staff of the Department, there are few architects or structural engineers, who are essential for the organization and specification of conservation works on listed buildings. There are a few horticulturists but no landscape architect. The Department is run mainly by archaeologists, archaeological conservators and archaeological engineers. As an indication of its priorities, the Department has recently prepared a list of a further 26 antiquities¹⁴ to put forward to the Federal Government for declaration as listed and protected under the Act. of 1975, there are 20 sites and only six monuments. For proper recognition of historic buildings and gardens and their conservation, the Department should ideally be divided into two sections: an Archaeology Section and a Monuments Section. The Department may continue to be headed by a single Director General but the name of the Department could well be changed to the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Monuments to acknowledge the importance of the latter.

The Department has classified the listed monuments and sites into three categories in which the criterion for conservation is based on the condition in which each monument is to be found. The individual quality of each building is thus disregarded, a situation which should clearly be rectified. A major problem being faced in all conservation work is the absence of a

permanent staff of craftsmen in the Department. At present, most of the laborers including gardeners and almost all craftsmen are on daily wages and there is no system of permanent recruitment.¹⁵ Apart from the maintenance work carried out by the Department of Archaeology, the Government occasionally undertakes certain more substantial conservation projects, notable of which is the project at the tomb of Shah Rukn-e-Alam at Multan. During the process of repair work on this project 33 craftsmen were trained in 14 various traditional crafts.¹⁶ However, they could not be absorbed by the Department of Archaeology for carrying out works at other monuments, a situation which is most regrettable.

With regard to the present financial situation, there is a bureaucratic handicap in the "special repairs" programme, the funds for which are lapsable. Since the amount of funds which the Department will receive in any year for "special repairs" is not known in advance, it is difficult for the Department to prepare proper schemes of repair for many of the monuments which require programmes of work running beyond a single financial year. The most damaging effect of this way of running things is lack of continuity. In particular, skilled artisans who have been hired may leave the Department's employment, before the repairs on many monuments have been completed.

As already stated the Department of Archaeology has a significant lack of the staff necessary for building conservation work and is therefore not able to carry out such work in a fully adequate manner. Outside the Department the situation with regard to the growth in the number of architects and their commitment to conservation has developed favorably. Numerous

architects have formed voluntary organizations as pressure groups and they have also assisted in spreading awareness of the need for conservation. Lahore Conservation Society consists of various professionals, architects, planners, historians, engineers and lawyers. The Society of Builders (Anjuman-e-Mi'maran)¹⁷ a joint voluntary organization of architects and traditional craftsmen has also been founded. The conservation projects carried out by local architects, planners and consultants at Multan and Lahore and the nature of various professional organizations show that a proper building industry equipped with a trained staff could well be established if a national strategy for conservation of the built heritage were to be established. The maintenance of the original setting of a historic building is an important matter. The present study has revealed that many buildings have suffered from later construction work nearby which has blocked or interfered with the desirable views of the building. This has happened just as much with listed buildings, even though legislative provisions do not allow new construction within a distance of 200 feet from the boundaries of these buildings without approval. Proper implementation of the Act should be possible with the active involvement of the provincial government and the local authorities.

Although conservation in Pakistan is largely the concern of national Government, there are other tiers of authority which might well become involved. The provincial Government of the Punjab, for example, has enacted laws related to conservation in the form of an Ordinance. Unfortunately, the Ordinance has not yet started functioning in practical terms mainly because the provincial Government is still asking the National

Government to hand over responsibility for the listed buildings in the province and the funds allocated for their repair.

In the rural areas, there are District Councils in each district and at a further level, Town Councils and Union Councils. All the local bodies are involved in carrying out planning for the development and execution of works. However, they are not currently given any responsibility for the conservation of the cultural heritage in their areas of jurisdiction.

The involvement of provincial and local governments in the process of heritage conservation is much to be recommended. In Britain, local authorities are in the front line of conservation and the various tiers of Government work in a coordinated way. In Pakistan, the involvement of provincial governments and local authorities should be encouraged.

Although Central Government may continue to carry out conservation work on the important sites and buildings of national importance, provincial governments might well become responsible for those buildings of slightly less importance. A proper system of grading might be useful in this respect. The role of the local authorities is very important, since most development planning is carried out at this level and conservation planning should be considered together with it and in coordination with the departments of electricity, gas, water-supply and sanitation. Present legislation in the form of the Local Government Ordinance, 1979, provides a significant authority to the local bodies to prepare a Master Plan of their local areas which should, among other matters, provide for: a survey of the local area including its history; statistics, public services and other particulars,

development expansion and improvement of any area within the local area; restrictions regulations and prohibitions to be imposed with regard to the development of sites, and the erection and re-erection of buildings within the local area.

All the local authorities are authorized to frame their own building by-laws and regulations, for example in Lahore there are Building Regulations of 1984 of the Lahore Development Authority.¹⁸ The appropriate requirements for conservation could be accommodated in such building regulations.

Three further matters concerned with conservation are worth-mentioning at this stage. First, conservation of areas of historic and architectural interest as distinct from individual buildings should certainly now be an integral part of heritage conservation in Pakistan. Settlements should be surveyed so as to identify areas and building groups with special architectural and historical qualities. The task might well be assigned to the local authorities who should designate some of the areas from various historic periods as representative conservation areas on the recommendations of Advisory Committees.

Second, the present study of the significant historic buildings in Lahore revealed that 34 percent of them had been lost during a period of almost a century.¹⁹ There is no record of these buildings with reference to their history and architecture except that found in old accounts. It is proposed that a National Heritage Record should be established, which would be a collecting point for information on the historical and architectural qualities of buildings and gardens, preferably in the form of their plans, elevations and sections. The Department of Archaeology could initiate the establishment of such a

body with the help of local authorities, voluntary groups and the educational institutions in the country. The Department should also publish information on the listed buildings and on the value of the cultural heritage as a part of general awareness campaign in the country.

Third, on the sites of the demolished buildings, and also on the existing ones, plaques giving a description of the architectural and historical importance and various developments with regard to the buildings should be introduced. The Government has powers under the Land Acquisition Act, 1954, to enable it to make such arrangements. However, responsibility for the installation and care of the plaques should be given to the local authorities.

If more buildings are listed, more funding will be required for maintenance and repair. The funds provided to the Department of Archaeology have progressively increased from 1947 onwards. In 1948, they were Rupees 360,000 and in 1989 they reached Rupees 31,218,000. In addition to the normal annual budget, funds are also provided for special repairs which are sometimes higher than the annual budget.²⁰ At present it is not the lack of funds, but other faults, such as the inadequate policy and insufficient manpower, which are major constraints in conservation work. However, it has already been admitted that if more buildings are to be protected more funds would be needed. Provision of special funds depends on the number of schemes prepared by the Department of Archaeology. It can reasonably be anticipated that if the Department is equipped with proper staff as suggested earlier, more funds could be available for special repairs. There are some obvious ways in which situation can be improved, with regard to proper utilization of available

funds.

Monuments which have popular tourist appeal generate their own funds and these should be utilized for maintenance and preservation of these very monuments rather than being deposited into the Treasury. However, more money may have to be made available for conservation, at all levels: the national government, provincial government and local authorities. It is recommended further that, due to the special nature of repair works for conservation, all the funds provided by various tiers of government should be non-lapsable.

In addition, awareness campaigns should be launched for education and involvement of various sections of society in the conservation process and funds should be generated for repair and maintenance of the valuable cultural heritage. In this regard, National College of Arts initiated a full scale programme at MPhil. level and launched a Department of Conservation and Cultural Heritage Studies.

Finally, since any conservation policy can largely be judged on the basis of the degree to which the necessary buildings are actually preserved, it is appropriate to turn to the matter of responsibility for repair and maintenance. Muslim religious buildings form a significant proportion of the existing built heritage of Pakistan. In Lahore, they contributed more than 30 percent of the buildings examined. These buildings are being maintained by the public through their own funds and were found, on the whole, to be in better condition than those being maintained by the Government. A significant point with regard to these buildings, as investigated in this study, is that the public had sufficient commitment to maintain them and was able to generate required amounts of

funds. However, a major problem with these buildings is that the repairs have not always been carried out in the proper manner, using original materials and designs, and also that some undesired additions have been made to them. The repair work on these buildings should be assisted by the provision of proper technical guidance. This should be possible if the building industry is developed as recommended earlier and educational and training programmes are launched for public, craftsmen, professionals and government.

The largest group of significant historic buildings in Lahore, more than 50 percent of the total existing, was being maintained by various Government Departments. Although the funding for repairs of these buildings comes from the Departments concerned, the repairs should be planned and guided by the Department of Archaeology so as to keep the buildings in their original form. For some encouragement towards maintenance in the proper manner, which admittedly can be expensive, a degree of subsidy might be made available. There were few buildings in the study which were being owned and maintained privately in India. However, there may be more buildings of this kind in other settlements. Any repairs or additions to such buildings should also be carried out in the proper manner. Guidelines should be developed and provided to the private owners who might also be given some financial incentives for the proper care of their cultural properties.

The existing arrangements for conservation of historic buildings in Pakistan have not been without their achievements. However, by implementing the recommendations set out in this research, the situation could be significantly improved and the scale of

conservation work substantially enlarged. A serious commitment to these matters will not only serve the continued existence of the country's valuable garden and architectural heritage, but will also act as an instrument in terms of country's identity, respect for its traditions and culture, the education of its citizens and the strengthening of its place and role amongst the developed nations of the world.

REFERENCES

¹ Ashish Chadha, "Visions of Discipline: Sir Mortimer Wheeler and the Archaeological Method in India (1944-1948)" *Journal of Social Archaeology*, Vol. 2: No. 3, (SAGE Publications, 2002), 15.

² Ihsan, H. Nadiem, *Built Heritage of Pakistan: A Compendium of Architectural Legacy, Important Archaeological Sites, Historic Monuments* (Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2002), 25.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See for details Master Plan: Lahore Fort 'Preservation & Restoration', (Department of Archaeology, 1973), 5.

⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁶ Ibid., 6

⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁸ Many buildings are interesting architecturally or historically but in order to be listed a building must have special interest. See for more details See for more details, *Master Plan: Lahore Fort (Preservation & Restoration)*, 1973 Department of Archaeology, 12.

⁹ The term 'conservation area' always applies to an area considered worthy of preservation or enhancement because of its special architectural or historic interest, See for more details, *Master Plan: Lahore Fort Preservation & Restoration*, (Department of Archaeology, 1973), 15.

¹⁰ See for further details Judgement Sheet, In the Lahore High Court Lahore Judicial Department, writ petition no. 39291/2015.

¹¹ See for details, Act VII of 1976, Antiquities Act, 1975, an act to repeal and re-enact the law relating to the preservation and protection of antiquities.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Pakistan Environmental Planning & Architectural Consultants

¹⁴ See for detail Pakistan Archaeology, the Annual Progress Report, Vol. 5, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan (Karachi: Department of Archaeology, 1967), .9.

¹⁵ Master Plan: *Lahore Fort*, 1973, 58.

¹⁶ Ibid, 61.

¹⁷ Kamil Khan Mumtaz, *Architecture in Pakistan* (Karachi: Concept Media, 1985), 20.

¹⁸ Akbar Kundi, Mansoor. "A princely legacy falls to ruins", *The News*, (July: 1, 1994).

¹⁹ Ihsan, H. Nadiem, *Practical Maintenance and Management Methods for World Heritage Sites Lahore*, (Department of Archaeology, 1995), 42.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 68.

RELATION OF THE CHISHTI SHAYKHS WITH POLITICAL AUTHORITIES

SHEHAR BANO

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE UNIVERSITY

LAHORE

ABSTRACT

The most important event of sixteenth century was transition of power from Delhi Sultanate to the Mughal Empire. The consolidation of Mughal authority was marked by the relation clientelism with the sufis. The Mughals were able to establish a composite political authority on the basis of support from people of north India, Rajputs from Deccan and migrants from Central Asia. However, the Mughal Empire also owed its consolidation to strategic relation with different religious figures. Having adopted these policies, the authorities tried to establish conciliatory relations with Chishti *Silsilah* whereas sometimes the state had to face confrontation. The present article is aimed at exploring the nature of relation of Chishti *Silsilah* with the rulers.

KEY WORDS

Chishti Sufis, Political Authority, Mughals, India.

The first decade of sixteenth century had a major shift of ruling authorities. The deteriorated situation under the Lodhi Sultans got worse after the consecutive

attacks by Tamerlane. The Delhi Sultanate was at the verge of decline. The Afghan Lodhis asserted their power in different regions consolidated over a century but the reign of Ibrahim Lodhi (r. 1517-1526) could not bear the rebellions in different parts of the Sultanate as there was no bureaucratic control through central authority. Till the end of fifteenth century, the centre had lost the direct control over majority of regions. The Portuguese established their forts at Goa coast and controlled maritime trade. India was at the edge of chaos when Babar attacked in 1526. He was fifth at descent from Tamerlane but only ruling territory left for him was Farghana. Babar fought the first battle of Panipat in 1526. The battle was fought few miles away from Delhi and ended with the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi. The battle decisively gave birth to a new era which was defined by the consolidation of the authority of Mughals in India.¹

In previous chapter light has been shed on the shaykhs of Chishti *Silsilah*. During the thirteenth and fourteenth century, most of the Chishti sufis distanced themselves from the political authorities. However, in the fifteenth century; relations of shaykhs were no longer based on policy of isolation. It was the most striking feature of the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, the relation of sufis of Chishti *Silsilah* varied from person to person.

STUDYING THE RELATION OF THE SUFIS WITH THE STATE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society in contrast to state is a domain which has many distinguished features. Civil Society is a system of ideas, values and traditions. Non-governmental

organizations, religious groups, clubs, associations, and unions are closely linked with civil society. The relation of civil society with the state has been elaborated upon the basis of different models. Civil society is a sphere which is in continuous interaction with the state, as it is a two track path of interaction.² Their interaction has been categorized as collaborative, autonomous, confrontational, and mediational.³ It has been suggested that Sufism is one of the many expressions of civil society in medieval societies, including South Asia. When it comes to the relation of Chishti Shaykh with the authorities, the Chishti *Silsilah* as a religious group had particular features. As relation of Chishti shaykhs changed remarkably in the sixteenth century, so no particular model can be exclusively applied to explore the relations of Chishti shaykhs with the political authorities. The only fact that can be established is that the relation of Chishti shaykhs varied from person to person.

CIVIL SOCIETY'S CONFRONTATIONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STATE

Civil society in confrontation with the state can be seen as an agent that indeed opposes the political authorities. Sometimes it may include the practice like politicizing the non-political part of society.⁴ Sufism as an important part of civil society has sometime confronted authorities directly. In Chishti *Silsilah* this confrontation can be observed in the relation of Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi with the authorities from the accounts of Dattu Sarwani, a disciple of Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi.

CIVIL SOCIETY'S COLLABORATIVE OR ASSOCIATIONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STATE

Collaborative or associational relationship of the civil society with the state can be observed in the leadership of Shaykh Salim Chishti. Civil society in associational relationship builds relation with authorities with a sense of mutual patronage, also including isolated groups into it. Collaboration of Chishti sufis with the political authorities has existed since fifteenth century. Many sufi shaykhs, particularly in Deccan, developed cordial relations with political authorities. The Chishti shaykhs neither considered it as their legacy, nor their ancestors had set such a tradition. The most important example is that of Shaykh Salim's relationship with Emperor Akbar, which was based on mutual patronage.

CIVIL SOCIETY'S MEDIATIONAL ROLE IN SOCIETY

The sufis played mediational role between the authorities and the common people, and at times among social groups. It was characterized by creative and critical dialogue of civil society with the state. In this relation authorities have to give general accountability to the society. As proposed by Jurgen Habermas, public sphere is an extension of civil society, which makes the interests of civil society politically effective. The Chishti sufi voice as a part of the public sphere secured the interests of local people.⁵ Shaykh Jalal al-Din Thanasari's relationship with the authorities depicted similar kind of relation.

CIVIL SOCIETY AS AN AUTONOMOUS SPHERE

Civil society can be a sphere apart from the political authorities, though it is not in complete isolation but it can be inferred as a group which interacts, discusses the interests yet do not try to assert influence.⁶ In the case of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Bandagi, one may discern an attitude of indifference towards the state and the rulers.

The life time of Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi spanned over decaying Sultanate as well as the rising Mughal Empire. His relation with political authorities varied greatly not only from person to person but also with same person from time to time. He did not develop very strong association with the rulers of the Sultanate period. He was attached to the *khānqāh* of Shaykh Abd al-Haqq Radawli but could not stay there for long. Radawli got out of the control of Lodhi Sultan, where the Rajputs exercised great influence. In these circumstances Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangoh could only migrate to Shahabad leaving the land of his perceptors. Iqtidar Alam Khan has extolled the thesis that Shaykh Abd al-Quddus had to leave under the persuasion of Umar Khan Sarwani. But from *Lata'if Quddusi* it is clear that before Umar Khan persuaded him to leave the town, he had already left Radawli for Saharanpur. later Umar Khan persuaded him to come to Shahabad where he did not stay long as it was attacked by the Mughals.⁷ Most of the anecdotes (later included in *Lataif-i Quddusi* by the son of the Shaykh) enumerated by Dattu Sarwani clearly describe that Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi did not want any cooperative relation with the rulers. The *Maktubat* of Shaykh Abd al-Quddus show that he used to have

contact with Sultan Sikander Lodhi, the father of Ibrahim Lodhi. He advised the Sultan and respected him highly. In his letters he advised him to dispense justice as, "An act of justice is better than hundred years of prayers."⁸ In another epistle, he advised him in these words: "it is prayer to see the face of a just ruler."⁹

During the Mughal attack in 1526, when he was leaving Saharanpur (a town in UP) for Gangoh, he was called by Ibrahim Lodhi as he considered the presence of latera blessing for his army. He had to stay at Panipat though, he moved with his family to Gangoh. Sultan Ibrahim asked him to pray for his success but every time the Shaykh replied that he had not seen the Sultan to come with any victory. It is quite vivid from *AnwarAl-Ayyunand Lata'if-i Quddusi* that he obeyed the order of the Sultan. Ibrahim Lodhi was defeated and Shaykh Abd al-Quddus was prisoned. Taking up the leadership, Sultan's brother Mahmood Lodhi restored the passion of Afghans to some extent but defeat was the destiny of the Afghans. Muzzafar Alam in his work has extolled the fact Shaykh Abd al-Quddus tried to run away with his family but he was not successful because of which he had to leave his family.¹⁰ From *Lata'if-i Quddusi* it is crystal clear that he obeyed the order of the Sultan out of respect, inspite of knowing that the battle would end with an absolute catastrophe.¹¹

Letters of Shaykh shows that he was hostile towards the policies of Babar. He criticized his policy of appointing the Hindus in revenue department.¹² Babar's invasion was not devoid of cataclysm. In the words of the Shaykh's son, Rukn al-Din, Dar al-Islam (The land of Islam) was ruined by his

invasion. Shaykh Abd al-Quddus was requested to pray in order to get rid of this disastrous situation. He replied in the words, "when devastations came in societies even prophets were not exempted from its effect". *Lata'if-i Quddusi* covers these events of destruction which halted the life completely.¹³ Despite the atrocities of this attack Shaykh Abd al-Quddus highly regarded Babar. *Maktubat-i Quddusi* reveals that he wrote a letter to Babar advising him to appoint the men of letters as leaders, and to dispense justice. The reply of Babar to Shaykh Abd al-Quddus is not available, however it is confirmed that he paid a visit to Shaykh Abd Al-Quddus.¹⁴

The letters which had been written during the early period of Emperor Humayun's reign show that he opposed Haumayun in later years. Dattu Sarwani, a disciple of Shyakh Abd al-Quddus, participated in many battles against Humayun in alliance with Bahadar Shah of Gujarat (r. 1526-37)). While participating in a battle with Sultan Bahadar Shah in Mewar region, he had a dream in which he was revealed that battle would bring defeat to Bahadur Shah. As battle prolonged for many days, the Sultan had to face many hardships. Despite that, he decided to confront Humayun. On the other hand Humayun cut down the food supply to the army of Bahadar Shah. Next day Bahadar Shah had to flee from the battle ground as he had to face fierce attack from Humayun. Meanwhile Dattu Sarwani lost the way. In another dream, Dattu was assured about the success of Bahadur Shah, and next day he found the army of Afghans through the way of Burhanpur. It was the closing years of the reign of Humayun when he was at the campaign in Gujarat. Dattu was with Sultan

Bahadar when at one night the Shaykh once again appeared in his dream and asked him go to *Piran-i Gujarat* (the sufis of Gujarat) to give them the message that Humayun was detrimental to Islam. Dattu after reaching Gujarat, delivered message to Shah Najhan who welcomed him and assured him support in this regard. The vision of Shaykh Abd al-Quddus proved right and the Afghans under the leadership of Ala al-Din (the younger brother of Ibrahim Lodhi) along with Bahadur Shah expelled Humayun from Gujarat and at last Humayun had to flee from India in 1540.¹⁵

Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi wrote many letters to the Afghan nobility and Mughals dealing with theological questions. His letters reflect clearly his hostile attitude towards authorities.¹⁶ His letters to Babar advised him regarding the policies of state and emphasized establishing the *sharia*. They also suggest the exclusion of non-Muslims from the official position especially revenue department. Iqtidar Alam Khan has asserted that in his letter to Sultan Sikandar Lodhi, the Shaykh asked him about the grants. He inferred that he might have requested him as the sons of Umar Khan deprived him of the grants which he was given by their father.¹⁷ But from his letter it is quite clear that Shaykh Abd al-Quddus did not ask for personal grants, instead along with many other advices, he advised the Sultan to be generous towards common people.

The letters to Babar from *Tahaqquq Arazi al-Hind* show that Shaykh Abd al-Quddus requested Babar to solve the problem of *usher* (tax on harvest and irrigation) on granted property. The agitation came from people because the *Diwan-i Wazarat* (finance department) was being controlled by Hindu (finance

minister) and Ushar was levied on granted lands of Muslims. Later on, *fatwa* was issued that granted lands must be considered as the personal property. His letter to his disciple Abd al-Rahman, who joined Diwan during the reign of Humayun shows he was criticized that he gave up the path of God for path of worldly desires¹⁸.

The relation of Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi with authorities cannot be inferred to be based on collaboration particularly the accounts of Dattu Serwani dispise of this thesis. Though his letters to Sultan Iskander Lodhi and Babar employ that he asked the respective rulers to take care of *ulema* and *fuqara* yet he did not request for personal patronage. Like Gesudiraz patronization with Bahmani Sultans, no evidence is available that Shaykh Abd al-Quddus tried to collaborate with authorities to get influence.

Shyakh Jalal al-Din Thanesari (d.1589) had mediational relations with political authorities, as reported in *Muntakhib al-Tawarikh*. When people were ordered by Emperor Akbar to pay land revenue they came to him and requested him to visit the Emperor in this regard. For this purpose he wrote a treatise entitled, *Risala-i Tahaqquq Arazi al-Hind*. Under the Lodhi Sultans, a number of *fatawas* were issued according to which granted land was to be considered as the personal property of the grantees. But Emperor Humayun levied taxes on these land grants. The problem that arose whether usher tax could be imposed without acceptance of land as the personal property of the grantee. To clear these accounts Shaykh Jalal al-Din Thanesari provided details on the

subject in the light of Hanafi law in his treatise *Tahaqqaq Arazi al-Hind*.¹⁹

Shaykh Salim Chishti after settling in Fatepur Sikri adopted a life style which was contrary to the traditions of Chishti *Silsilah*. Most of the primary sources like *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* provide evidences that Emperor Akbar developed cordial relations with Shaykh Salim. Emperor Akbar gave privileges to his family members as well. In *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* it has been recorded that once the Emperor asked the Shaykh about death of the Shaykh to which he replied that it would occur on the day when prince Salim would start to learn. For this reason he detained the prince to learn from any master but he learned some verses of poetry from an old woman, and Shaykh Salim died on the same day. At the time of his death, the Shaykh appointed Prince Salim as the crown prince. His sons Islam Khan, Muazzam Khan, and Qutb al-Din built his mausoleum with the help of Prince Salim. During the reign of Emperor Jahangir, son of Islam Khan, named Ikram Khan was made the incharge of the Shaykh's *khānqāh*. According to *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* Emperor Jahangir granted Ikram Khan with thousand horses along with elephants.²⁰

Shaykh Nizam al-Din Bandagi experienced a long period of history consisting of the reign of Sultan Sikander Lodhi to the reign of Emperor Akbar. He passed a period which was witnessed by a conflict between Mughals and Afghans. His *malfuzat* titled *Mahbub al-Qulub* shows that he did not have very pleasant relation with the authorities. Both Afghans and Mughals came to him for prayers. He predicted the rule of young boy in India as he declined to mention

the name of Adil Shah in Friday sermon. The battles of Humayun and Sher Shah Suri (r. 1537-1540) were observed by him. In *Mahbub al-Qulub* he describes that Sher Shah used to grant land to *ulema* after judging their knowledge. After the death of Islam Shah Suri in 1553, his son Feroz Shah occupied the throne as an Emperor but he was killed by Adil Shah who later took control over the country.

When Adil Shah ascended the throne, Nizam al-Din Bandgi declined to mention his name in Friday prayers. Jalal Khan, the Afghan noble and the ruler of Gopmieu, said to the Shaykh that he would have to be answerable for this to Emperor Adil Shah. Having strong faith in his revelation that the reign would come under the leadership of young boy, he declined to obey. In the second battle of Panipat in 1556, Salman Kararani controlled the area of Patna and his two sons Bayazid and Dawood controlled Bengal and Behar in 1576. He wished that his both sons would come to Shaykh Nizam for learning but the Shaykh declined saying that he would not get affiliated to the ruling house. One of the reasons for opposing Adil Shah was the appointment of Hemu Beqal as a minister. Hemu Beqal was known for his anti-Muslim sentiments.²¹

After the second battle of Panipat (1556) Khan Zaman Ali Quli Khan and many other nobles revolted against Emperor Akbar. These people came to Shaykh Nizam al-Din Bandgi and asked him to pray for them but the Shaykh deeming Akbar as the incumbent ruler advised them to follow him. Emperor Akbar in later period paid a visit to the Shaykh personally, and the latter welcomed him heartedly. *Mahbub al-Qulub* does not provide any evidence that either their relations

were based on associational model. Akbar established strong relations with Shaykh Salim Chishti.²²

The Chishti sufis as an important part of civil society envisaged different kinds of relations with political authorities. From the study of relations of Chishti sufis with political authorities, it can be inferred that their relationship could not be generalized. It varied from personality to personality and time to time. Some sufis tried to follow the precedents of the earlier sufis of the Chishti *Silsilah* and some carved space in court of the Mughals in order to put good words in the ears of the rulers and thus, positively influence their state conduct and policies. However, none of the sufis of Chishti *Silsilah* tried to exert direct influence in mainstream politics.

REFERENCES

¹ R. Thapar, Thomas George, and Percevil Spear, *A History of India*, Vol. 2 (Delhi: Penguin Groups, 1990), 54.

² Nancy L. Rosenblum and Robert C. Post, *Civil Society and Government* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002), 123.

³ For details, see Tanvir Anjum, "From Confrontation to Collaboration: Contemporary Discourse on the State-Civil Society Relational Models," *Journal of Political Studies*, Dept. of Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Issue XVII, Summer 2010, 93-102.

⁴ Simon Chambers, Jeffrey Kopstein, "Civil Society and State" in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, eds. John S. Dryzik, Bonnie Honig, and Anne Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 355.

⁵ For a detailed discussion, see Tanvir Anjum, "Mediational Role of Sufim in Islamicate South Asia: A Conceptual and Empirical Study", *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan*, Vol. 51, No. 1 (June 2014), 157-77.

⁶ Chambers and Kopstein, "Civil Society and State", 367.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Anecdote, 35 170

⁸ Rukn al-Din, Shaykh, *Lata'if-i-Quddusi* (Kanpur: Sabari Publishers), 172.

⁹ Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi, *Maktubat-i Qudduisyya*, comp. Wahid Bakhsh Siyal Chishti Sabari (Lahore: al-Faisal Publishers), 98.

¹⁰ Muzaffar Alam, "The Mughals, the Sufi Shaykh, and Formation of Akbari Dispensation," *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol.1, no. 43 (November 2003), 140.

¹¹S. Nurul Hasan, "*Lata'if-i-Quddusi: A Contemporary Afghan Source for the Study of Afghan-Mughal Relation*" in *Religion, State, and Society in Medieval India*, ed. And intro. Satish Chandra (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 284.

¹²Raziuddin Aquil, *Culture, Sufism, Culture and Politics: Afghans and Islam in Medieval North India* (London: Oxford University Press, 2007), p.217.

¹³Shaykh Rukn al-Din, *Lataif-i Quddusi*, Urdu tr. (Kanpur: Ahsan Ahmad Sabari), 121.

¹⁴Quddus, *Maktubat-i Quddusiyya*, 134.

¹⁵Rukn al-Din, *Lata'if-i Quddusi*, 165.

¹⁶Raziuddin Aquil, *Sufism, Culture and Politics: Afghans and Islam in Medieval North India* (London: Oxford University Press, 2007), 217.

¹⁷Iqtadar Alam Khan, 73.

¹⁸Iqtidar Alam Khan, "Shaykh Abd al-Quddus Gangohi's Relation with political Authorities: A reappraisal", *Medieval India: A Miscellany*, vol. 4, ed. Irfan Habib (Aligaeh Muslim University, 1977), 75.

¹⁹K.A. Nizami, *Tarikh-i Mashaikh-i Chisht* (Lahore: Zavia Publisher, 2014), 195

²⁰Noor al-Din Muhammad Jahangiri, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, Trans. Ijaz al-Haqq Quddusi (Lahore: Majlis-i Tarqi Adab), 75.

²¹Muhammad Aslam, *Malfuzati Adab ki Tarikhi Ahhamiyyat* (Lahore: Idara-i-Tahqiaqat-i-Pakistan, 1995), 441.

²²Ibid., 452.

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

2. Papers will only be accepted for consideration on the understanding that they are original contributions to the existing knowledge in the field of Humanities and Social Sciences.

3. Each paper should be typed and should carry a margin of an inch and a half on the left-hand side of the typed page.

4. The first page of the research article should contain the title of the paper, the name(s), abstract and any acknowledgements.

5. Tables for the main text and each of its appendices should be numbered serially and separately. The title of each table should be given in a footnote immediately below the line at the bottom of the table.

6. Endnotes should be numbered consecutively.

7. All references used in the text should be listed in alphabetical order of the author's surnames at the end of the text. References in the text should include the name(s) of author(s) with the year of publication in parentheses. Attempt should be made to conform to the style of the Journal. Further information on questions of style may be obtained from the Editor.

8. We only publish research "articles" after peer reviews from referees, while concept papers and review articles are non-refereed. The editors reserve the right of publishing any article as concept paper on account of its lengthy, lack of empiricism, argument and referees, reports.

9. The research article must be between 5000 to 8000 words, review articles should be between 3000 to 5000 words, while expected length for book reviews is between 1000 to 3000 words.



THE HISTORIAN

is published by

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