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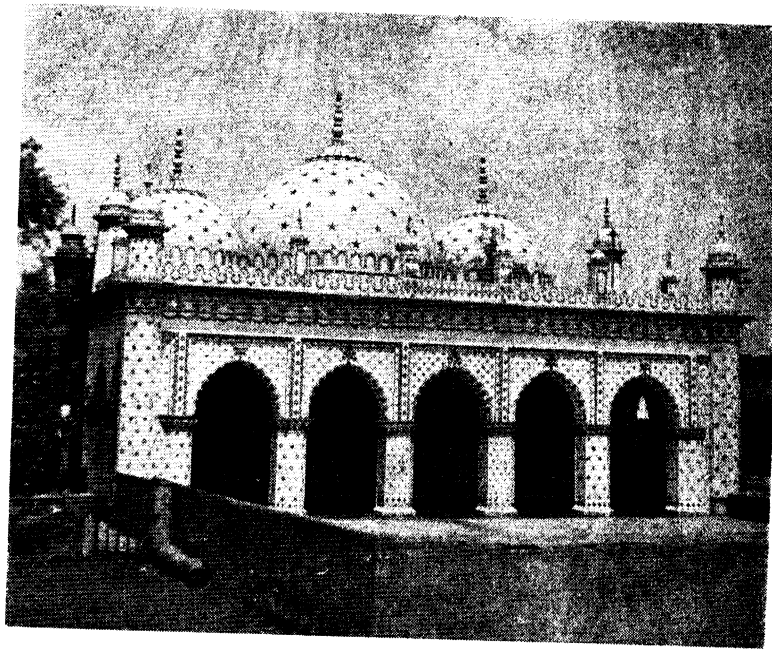

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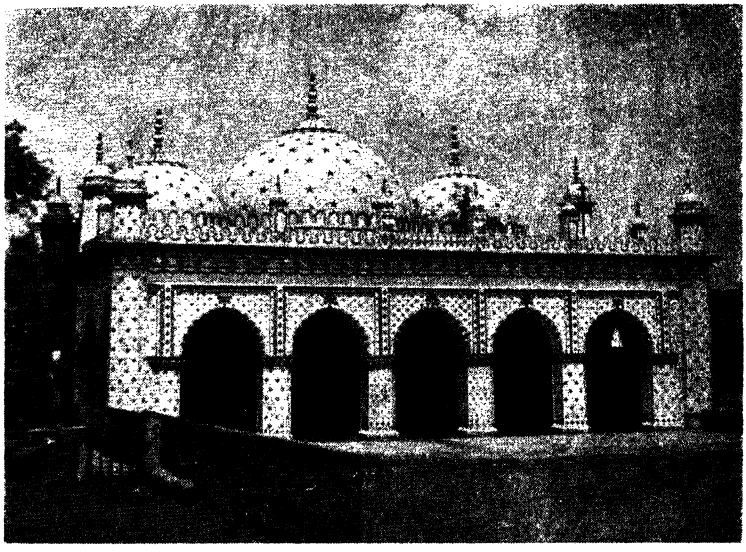

THE STAR MOSQUE AT CHITTAGONG

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF PAKISTAN

Edited by

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This book was originally planned in the Department of Advertizing, Films and Publications of the Government of Pakistan, but when the first draft became available for examination in 1950, it was found that the entire work required recasting. Five chapters had to be omitted, some entirely new ones added, and a good few of the rest had to undergo drastic revision. Dr. Tasir undertook the task, but owing to his death in November 1950 he could not even begin it, and the work was entrusted to me.

Owing to my pre-occupation with official duties the work has progressed slowly, but the delay has had its compensations. In 1952 the Oxford University Press opened a branch at Karachi, and owing to the interest taken by them in the work, it was possible for me to benefit by the most valuable advice of Dr. Percival Spear. He was good enough to examine the manuscript, and apart from many matters of detail, suggested certain structural changes. The last chapter, for example, was added at his suggestion and replaces a few pages in which the subject was originally dealt with in the chapter on Spiritual Heritage.

My debt of gratitude to Mr. W. F. Jeffrey of the Oxford University Press, though of a somewhat different type, is no less heavy. He has undertaken a thorough revision of the draft and his has been the lion's share in the condensation of the chapter on Regional Literature. His advice and assistance has been available in many other ways, and by undertaking to see the book through the press he has considerably lightened my burden.

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S. M. Ikram.

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THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF PAKISTAN

INTRODUCTION

PAKISTAN, as a new state, is barely five years old, but as Dr. Mortimer Wheeler has shown in his *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, its roots lie deep in antiquity. Pakistan has been truly a cradle of civilization. The excavations at Moenjo Daro in Sind and at Harappa in the Punjab are as yet incomplete, but they are enough to show that a high level of civilization flourished in what is now Pakistan centuries before the Aryans came to this sub-continent. After that, Taxila became a great centre of Buddhist and later of the Indo-Greek civilization.

Islam entered the areas that are now Pakistan about 1200 years ago, when Sind and Multan were occupied by Muslim Arabs in 711 A.D. and since then these regions have remained predominently Muslim. Peshawar and Lahore were occupied by Muslims from the north three centuries later, when Lahore became "Ghaznin-i-Khurd", a replica of the splendid capital of Sultan Mahmud Ghazni. After the Muslim conquest of northern India at the end of the twelfth century, the Islamic influence in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was centred round Delhi, but even then Multan, Lahore, Peshawar, and Sonargaon (near modern Dacca) retained their importance, and many of the families who contributed most to Muslim culture in the capital came from these places. The founders of the three dynasties which ruled in Delhi before the Mughuls, the Tughluqs, the Sayyids and the Lodis, all came from West Pakistan, and the great emperor Akbar was born in Sind.

Much of the great heritage which Muslims bequeathed to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in architectural, social, religious, and cultural spheres, has, after Partition, remained in Pakistan, but many of the architectural masterpieces of Muslim builders

are in Delhi, Agra, Ahmadabad, and other places in India. However, owing to the tendencies which were visible long before the Partition and the developments which have taken place thereafter, it is certain that these achievements will be more honoured in Karachi, Lahore, Dacca, and Peshawar than in the old centres of Muslim culture and sovereignty. Long before India and Pakistan were separated, prominent Hindu scholars had begun to challenge the Indian character of the cultural and artistic contribution of Indian Muslims. The world might be enchanted by Mughul miniatures, but Anand Coomaraswamy, the prominent Hindu art critic and historian, refused to include them in his survey of Indian art. In protest Laurence Binyon said: "Dr. Coomaraswamy in his recent comprehensive work on India and Indonesian Art excludes this Muhammadan school altogether from his survey. This is much like excluding the Northern artists who assimilated or attempted to assimilate the Italian style from a survey of the Dutch and the Flemish schools".[1] If Coomaraswamy represents the normal Hindu attitude towards that school of paintings, which flourished at the court of Akbar and Jahangir, one can easily imagine Hindu sentiments about the mosques and the tombs, which are the glory of Muslim architecture in India.

Even in less material affairs of languages and literature, the attitude of Hindu revivalists has not been less exclusive. Lallu Ji Lal and his colleagues at Fort William College, who in the early ninteenth century "produced" modern Hindi by "taking Urdu and expelling from it words of Persian or Arabic origin, and substituting for them words of Sanskrit or Hindi origin",[2] set in motion forces, the full consequences of which became manifest only on the 15th August 1947, with the partitioning of India. Even persons of Mr. Gandhi's eminence have shown very imperfect understanding of the cultural importance of Urdu which was a result of Hindu-Muslim collaboration, and a symbol, indeed a powerful instrument, of Hindu-Muslim unity. At the Nagpur Session of Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in 1940, he said: "Urdu was developed by the Muslim Kings. It is for the Muslims to develop it, if they so desire".

[1] *The Lights of Canopus*, (Published by The Studio Limited), p. 1.

[2] *A History of Hindi Literature*, F. E. Keay, p. 80.

It was this attitude that ultimately gave rise to the demand for Pakistan, a state where the majority of Indian Muslims could live and build up a society according to their own values and tradition. Pakistan is, therefore, in its very nature an heir to all the cultural traditions and achievements of Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

Even apart from this, the contribution of persons born and brought up in areas which are now Pakistan to the cultural development of Muslim India was by no means meagre. To take only the Mughul period, the family of Abul Fazl and Faizi came from Sind; Akbar himself was born in that province. Sadullah Khan, perhaps the ablest Prime Minister of the Mughul period, came from Chiniot, in the Punjab. Abdul Hakim, the great scholar and the head of the principal educational institution at Jahangir's capital came from Sialkot. Even the builders of the Fort at Delhi and the Taj at Agra and the chief architects of Emperor Shahjahan were Ustad Ahmad and Ustad Hamid of Lahore.[1]

Events after the Partition of the sub-continent have further contributed this phenomenon. Since 15th August 1947, millions of Indian Muslims have migrated to Pakistan, and what was once the cream of Muslim society in Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, Hyderabad, and Calcutta is now to be found in Karachi, Lahore, Chittagong, and Dacca. The descendants and the heirs of those who enriched the cultural and artistic life of Muslim India are today in Pakistan. The cultural heritage of Pakistan cannot, therefore, be limited to what flowered within its geographical boundaries, and has to contain within its scope all that was noble and beautiful in Muslim India.

A part of this cultural survey, particularly the portion relating to literature, is on a regional basis. Anybody who has studied the subject will, however, know that in spite of three or four regional languages which are current in Pakistan in addition to two main languages, there is a marked inner unity in Pakistani literature. Even in those languages which are superficially different there is much in common in vocabulary, literary forms, themes, and ideas. One of the causes has been the influence of the common literary heritage, which different parts

[1] *The Legacy of Persia*, Oxford University Press, p. 112.

of Pakistan inherited from more than seven centuries of Muslim rule. During this period Persian was the literary language, and when regional literatures began to grow, they were strongly influenced by literary models and ideas in Persian. The result was that even in languages which have superficially little in common, such as Bengali and Punjabi, the popular romances have more or less identical themes; for instance, stories of Yusuf Zulekha, Laila Majnun, Amir Hamza, as well as stories of Muslim heroes, and holy people. The daily study of the *Holy Quran* in Arabic naturally helped to give a common vocabulary and common ideas. The most popular Muslim writers of Bengal wrote mainly on Muslim subjects, or at any rate favoured subjects different from those preferred by the Hindu writers.

These remarks will not, of course, apply to that variety of highly Sanskritized Bengali, which has been compared to a "Hindu temple";[1] but scholars well qualified to speak on the subject have made it clear that this "Sadha Bengali' or "Shudh Bhasha" does not reflect the genius of Muslim Bengal. Till the end of the eighteenth century current Bengali had included many Persian and Arabic words. Halhed wrote in the preface to his grammar which was published in 1778. "At present those persons are thought to speak the compound idiom (Bengali) with the most elegance, who mix with pure Indian verbs the greatest number of Persian and Arabic nouns".[2] But in the nineteenth century far-reaching changes took place in Bengali diction. "With the advent of the English there arose a demand for prose literature, and the task of supplying it fell into the hands of Sanskrit-ridden pandits. Anything more monstrous than this prose dialect, as it existed in the first half of the nineteenth century, is difficult to conceive. Books were written, excellent in their subjects, eloquent in their thoughts, but in a language from which something like ninety per cent of the genuine Bengali vocabulary was excluded, and its place supplied by words borrowed from Sanskrit which the writers themselves could not pronounce".[3]

[1] *Eastern Bengal Ballads—Mymensingh*, D. C. Sen. P. L. XIII.

[2] *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, D. C. Sen, p. 831.

[3] Imperial Gazeteer of India, (Oxford University Press) pp. 376-377

The Bengali diction favoured by Muslims differed so much from Sanskritized Bengali that often Muslim writers found it necessary to translate into their own idiom what was written in the so-called "Shudh Bhasha". Munshi Muhammad Malik, for example, writes in the introduction to his version of the *Saif-ul-Muluk and Badi-ul-Jamal.* "This book was written by a poet of yore. It was made into Sanskritized Sadhu Bengali. The people found it very difficult to read and understand: so this humble author wrote it in *current Bengali*".

A literary history of Muslim Bengal, dealing with all the media, Persian, Bengali, and Urdu in which the Muslim genius found expression has not been written, and no systematic account of literature in Mussalmani Bengali is available; but even from the scattered remarks which the non-Muslim historians of Bengali literature have made on the subject, it is clear that in spirit, atmosphere, and even literary themes and vocabulary, Mussalmani Bengali has more in common with other Muslim languages of Pakistan than with Sadhu Bengali of Vidya Sagar and Bankim Chander Chatterji.

Common script is a link between Muslim languages. Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, and Balochi have all virtually the same script, and that are even some who advocate that Bengali should be written in *Huruf-ul-Quran,* that is, the Arabic script in which the Muslim Holy Book is written. At any rate during Muslim rule important Bengali works seem to have been written in Arabic script. Writing about Alaol, two non-Muslim scholars have remarked. "It is a curious fact that though he wrote in standard Bengali his works were found in Persian script and had to be transcribed for us. This would suggest that a sort of "Bengali Urdu" was beginning to develop but it withered away for want of perseverance".[1]

The common spiritual and cultural reservoir from which various languages of Pakistan were fed has given Pakistan literature a marked unity of thought and atmosphere. This con-

[1] *Bengali Literature,* Annadasankar and Lialla Ray, p. 29.

IV. Modern Period (1857—1947.)

With the decline of the Mughul Empire, Persian ceased to hold its position, and by about 1834, it was no longer the court language in British India, its place being taken by English and regional languages. With new developments, and with the rapid growth of Urdu as a literary language, the writing of Persian prose gradually went out of vogue. But Persian poetry continued to fascinate some able and aspiring writers. Girami who was attached to the court of the Nizam of Hyderabad and died in 1947 is likely to be the last court-poet to write in Persian, but many others (for example, Shibli, who has written some *ghazals* of exquisite charm and beauty) have kept alight the torch of Persian poetry. In fact, the most important Persian poet of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent wrote at a time when Persian had ceased to enjoy any influence in official circles. Although Iqbal considered himself primarily a philosopher, poetry was his medium and the most important of his works are written in the Persian language—*Asrar-i-Khudi*, *Ramuz-i-Bekhudi*, *Payam-i-Mashriq*, *Zabur-i-Ajam*, *Javed-Nama*, *Pas-che-Bayad-Kard*, and the bulk of the posthumous publication, *Armughan-i-Hijaz*. It is perhaps too early to form a correct assessment of Iqbal's poetry, but foreign critics and Persian writers seem to be unanimous in giving him a high place not amongst the Persian poets of this sub-continent but in the entire range of Persian if not of world literature. Many of his works have been translated into English and Arabic. Iqbal Day has been celebrated with enthusiasm in Iran; and Iranian poets such as the late poet-laureate Bahar and scholars such as Aquai Said Nafisi have warmly praised his works. Perhaps it is not too much to hope that, with the attention which Iqbal is attracting, the world may give greater consideration to the rich literary heritage of Persian literature which this sub-continent possesses.

Persian Literature in Bengal

The literary, cultural and religious history of Muslim Bengal is largely unwritten and few outside would think that Persian literature ever flourished in this area and that even when it ceased to be a dominant cultural influence in the land, it left a deep impression on the language of the people—the Muslim Bengali.

tinued to be the position even during the limited period when in certain areas the continuity of the common Muslim tradition was affected by the cultural domination of non-Muslim. But with the establishment of Pakistan process of Islamization and cultural unification has become more marked. A Bengali writer dealing with four years of Bengali literature in Pakistan says: "The trend of today's literature in East Bengal is towards having a link with the literature of the Muslim world in general and with that of West Pakistan in particular. Reformation of the language is in the making and the appreciation of poets and philosophers like Hafiz, Rumi, and Iqbal is growing".

The same process is in evidence in other regions. In the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province the continuity of Muslim tradition was never broken, and during the hundred years of British rule, however, Sind developed a literature to which non-Muslims contributed as much as the Muslims. The fact that Sind was governed from Bombay increased the potency of non-Muslim influence. With the establishment of Pakistan, however, new forces have come into play. A large proportion of the Hindus, who formed the majority of the urban population has gone, and their place has been taken by Urdu speaking refugees from India. The effect this will have on the language and the literature of Sind can be easily foreseen. A rapid transformation of the linguistic pattern and literary life of the province is in progress, but no Sindhi intellectual is perturbed. As Dr. Daudpota, perhaps the most eminent Sindhi scholar alive, says: "Sind, from times immemorial has been a maelstrom of various religions and cultures which have been melted into a single unity by the chemical action of the Islamic mysticism or Sufism, as it is called, and the day is not far off when all Sindhis—old and new—will form one entity and yoke themselves into the service of their small province, whose pure air they breathe and whose water they drink—to the greater glory of Pakistan".[1]

An important feature making for a common cultural heritage has been the prevalence of common Sufi influences in various parts of Pakistan. While reading an account of regional literatures in the coming pages one is bound to be struck by the

[1] '*Sind Today*', August 1951, p. 16.

Bengal was conquered by Muhammad Bin Bakhtiar Khilji in 1202. The literary history of the early period has not been written, but historians say that Lhilji founded Rangpur and established *Madrasas* in the new town. One may presume that Persian, which throughout the Muslim rule in Bengal remained the official and the court language, was the principal language taught in these *Madrasas*, which became centres of Muslim cultural influence. The first reference to a Persian book written in Bengal relates to the reign of Ali Mardan Khilji, who ruled over Bengal from 1209 to 1216. It consisted of a Persian translation of *Amritkund*, a Sanskrit book on the science of Yoga, and the circumstances under which the translation was made are so interesting that perhaps they may be recounted at length. The preface to the Arabic version of *Amritkund* contains an interesting account of how an eminent Yogi named Bhojar Brahmin went to Lakhnauti in the reign of Sultan Ali Mardan to debate with the Muslim divines, but talking to Qadi Ruknuddin of Samarqand, was so impressed by the Prophet's observations on the nature of the Soul, that he embraced Islam. He then presented his book *Amritkund* to the Qadi who greatly admired it, practised its precepts himself, and attained the status of a Yogi. He then translated the book into Persian and Arabic.[1]

Qazi Ruknuddin of Samarqand to whom a reference has been made in the above lines was a well-known Hanafi jurist and Sufi, and according to Brocklemann had become 'a Qadi of Lakhnauti or Gaur, the capital of Bengal'. In all probability he came to Bengal by sea.

The next important reference to literary activities in Bengal is in 1282, when Emperor Balban appointed his son Bughara Khan as Governor of Bengal. Bughra Khan became so attached to his new environments that he later gave up the throne of Delhi and preferred to remain the Governor of Bengal. When he was appointed Governor, certain experienced officials and writers of Delhi were sent with him to Lakhnauti, his new capital One of them was the writer and poet, Shams-ud-Din Mudabbir who became Mir Munshi (Chief Secretary). Shams-ud-Din Muddabir wrote *Qasidas* in praise of the Bengal Governor, some

[1] Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 46-47.

of which are reproduced in Badaumi's *Muntakhib-al-Twarikh.* It was Shamsuddir Muddabbin, who tried to persuade Amir Khusrau, who spent several years in Bengal to permanently settle down there. He was unsuccessful in this, but all evidence points to the fact that Persian literature flourished at Lakhnauti during the days of Bughra Khan and his successors.

We get another glimpse of the literary life of the province during the reign of Sultan Ghiasuddin, who ruled over Bengal from 1389 to 1409, and is buried at Sonargaon, not far from modern Dacca. He corresponded with the great Persian poet, Hafiz of Shiraz, who at his request, composed a *ghazal* containing references to Bengal and the points which the king wished to be mentioned.[1] This ghazal is included in the printed works of Hafiz and contains the following verses:—

> "All parrots of India will crack sugar
> Through this Persian candy, which is going to Bengal.
> O Hafiz be not heedless of the enthusiasm of the court of Sultan Ghiasuddin
> For their affair will be furthered by lamentation."

This seems to have been the golden age of Persian literature in Bengal. One of Sultan Ghiasuddin's friends was the celebrated saint, Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-Alam who is buried at Pandua, a few miles from the border of Pakistan. The important role which the saint played at a crucial moment in the political history of Bengal is well-known,[2] but the saint was also a writer of distinction. His *Anis-ul-Ghuraba* has been lithographed at Lucknow and contains a translation and exposition of Forty Traditions of the Holy Prophet. A collection of the saint's Persian letters is also preserved at Bankipur Library, but has not yet been published. From both these compilations we can see that beautiful prose was being written in Persian by Bengali saints of the day. The saint was a poet also, but apart from two verses quoted in *Subh-i-Gulshan* we have not been able to trace any of his poetical works.

[1] *A Literary History of Persia*, E. G. Brown, Vol. III, p. 287.

[2] See chapter on "Spiritual Heritage".

The next important book which has come down to us is *Sharaf Nama*, a dictionary of Persian compiled in 1459 by Maulana Ibrahim Faruqi of Bengal. Among those who helped him was Amir Zainuddin of Herat, who was the contemporary poet-laureate of Bengal. Ibrahim Faruqi quotes many Persian poems and verses written by him in his dictionary and they are generally of a high order. He also quotes verses from a number of contemporary Persian poets, and if other works of these poets could be traced a better idea would be obtained of the richness of Bengal's contribution to Persian literature.

Ibrahim Faruqi compiled his dictionary in the days of Barbak Shah, who belonged to the short-lived Abyssinian dynasty. The Abyssinians were succeeded on the throne of Bengal by Hussain Shahi dynasty, whose reign ushered in an era of great cultural and artistic activity. Alauddin and his successors encouraged translations of Hindu epics from Sanskrit into Bengali, and patronized the local language, which had been neglected by the Hindu rulers. This has received so much publicity that some have begun to think that Bengali was the principal language patronized at the Gaur Court. But the court language of Alauddin Husain Shah was Persian, and though he, like many other Muslim kings, patronized writers in regional languages, his primary interest was in Persian and Arabic. This is implied even in the relevant statement on the subject in Sarkar's *History of Bengal*. "His (Alauddin's) literary appreciation was not confined to Arabic and Persian only, but was extended in an increasing degree to the vernacular literature." Today the magnificent buildings erected by Alauddin Husain Shah at Gaur and Pandua survive (and all of them bear inscriptions in Arabic and Persian, and in no other language), but it is a tragedy that we are not even aware of the names of Arabic and Persian writers to whom the patronage of the Gaur Sultans was primarily extended.

With the advent of Mughul rule in Bengal, Persian literature received further encouragement. Under the governorship of men like Shaista Khan, Islam Khan, and Mir Jumla not only was there a general encouragement to literary activity, but Persian poets from other parts of the sub-continent flocked to Bengal courts. One of these was Munir of Lahore who was a protege of Saif Khan, and has left a well-known Persian Mathnavi in praise of Bengali.[1]

[1] It has been recently republished by Pakistan Publications, Karachi.

One of the governors of Bengal, Qasim Khan Juwaini, who died at Hugli in 1632 was a poet of no mean order. But Persian literature received even greater encouragement under the governorship of Prince Shuja (1639-1660), who ultimately perished after an unsuccessful contest for the throne of Delhi, in regions to the east of Chittagong. Shuja's prolonged tenure of governorship is a landmark in the literary and cultural history of Bengal. Sarkar says that the "names of the many of his officers in Bengal suggest that they were Persians and Shias," and that "the prince could not help appreciating the highly cultured and intellectual society of many able Persian scholars and administrators whom he met in Bengal". Sarkar suggests that they may have come by direct sea-route (as a matter of fact this route provided a direct link between Bengal and Iran (and Arabia) throughout the Muslim rule).[1] But apart from Irani immigrants, Shuja's court attracted many Persian poets from other parts of the sub-continent, such as Manim of Lahore. Even Bengali literature benefitted from the general atmosphere of intense cultural activity and generous patronage of letters which revived during Shuja's governorship and began to grow in new and promising directions. So far the Muslim rulers had encouraged Bengali as the language of the local population, and most of the literary works related to Hindu mythology. Now Bengali began to draw upon Persian literature as well, and absorb elements which could be of direct interest to Muslims. Alaol, who was at one time attached to Shuja's retinue and amongst Muslim poets of Bengali ranks next only to Nazrul Islam, translated Persian classics such as *Sikandar Nama* and *Haft Paikar* into Bengali. He was probably a Persian poet himself. Hamidullah, the learned historian of Chittagong, writes about him: "it appears he was a Persian poet also, as may be seen from the similarity of subjects and similes and his style".[2]

[1] The history of these contacts has not yet been attempted but when written it would throw interesting light on the cultural history of Muslim Bengal. These contacts however, are very old. Sultan Ghias-ud-Din Khalji, the first independent ruler of Bengal (1213-1227) is "said to have corresponded with the caliphs of Baghdad through the Arab traders who visited Bengal by sea" (Distt. *Gazetteer of Malda* p. 15). Invitation to Hafiz must have gone through similar channels. In the middle of the fifteenth century we find that when Bengal was invaded by king of Jaunpur, the reigning king—Sultan Shamsuddin Ahmad—appealed for help to Prince Shahrukh of Herat, who not only warned the ruler of Jaunpur, but sent an ambassador to the court of Gaur (Stewart's *History of Bengal.*)

[2] *Ahadis-al-Khawanin*, Maulvi Hamidullah Khan Bahadur, pp. 54-55.

Apart from the patronage which prominent Persian poets received under the Mughuls, the use of the language became more widespread with the growth of a more complex administration. Dealing with Mughul influences in Bengal, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar says: "Gradually (and notably in the eighteenth century) Persian culture infiltrated from the Subedar's Court to that of great Hindu Rajahs—such as those of Nadia and Burdwan. This is best illustrated by the varied learning of Bharat Chandra Ray Gunakar, the Court poet of Nadia.

The local study of Persian helped to bring higher minds among the conquerors and the conquered together in Sufi brotherhoods. In the eighteenth century there was a fairly prolific crop of Sufi verses written in Persian in Bengal; though worthless as poetry, they are of value as illustrating the fusion of outline".[1]

Prince Shuja was succeeded as Governor by Mir Jumla, and later by Shaista Khan, both of whom were cultured men, but it was under Murshid Quli Khan, who was first Deputy and later Subedar for nearly twenty years that Persian writers were particularly encouraged. He moved the seat of Government to Murshidabad, which, under him and his successor Shuja-ud Din Khan, became an important centre of Muslim culture and literary activity in Persian. Many well-known Persian poets were attracted to the Murshidabad court from Iran and Iraq, and many local poets attained distinction in Persian. Amongst the former may be mentioned Aqdas[2] and Makhmur and amongst the latter, probably the most eminent was Barq, who has left poetry of a high order and has been called the "Parrot of Bengal".[3]

As Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar says, the knowledge of Persian was now widespread, and both Hindus and Muslims of Bengal wrote verses and prose works in it. Sarkar has referred to Sufi poetry, but perhaps even more important was Bengal's contribution to romantic literature. The most popular story-books in Urdu are translations of the Persian romances of Shaikh Izzat Ullah

[1] *History of Bengal*, Sarkar, Vol. II, pp. 223-224.

[2] *Sham-i-Anjuman*, Siddiq Ali Khan, p. 38.

[3] *Subh-i-Gulshan*, Syed Ali Hasan Khan, p. 59.

Bengali, written about this period. Historical literature also was not neglected and the important book called *Siyar-ul-Mutakgarin* was written in 1781 at Murshidabad.

After the battle of Plassey the centre of gravity gradually shifted from Murshidabad to Calcutta, but this did not affect literary activity in Perisan. Printing was introduced, and literary works could now be saved from destruction; more Persian books written in Bengal during the nineteenth century are available than have come down to us from the previous six hundred years. As *Tazkiras* such as *Nigaristan-e-Sukhan* show, Persian works were being written during these days at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Dacca, Chittagong, Sylhet, and Faridpur. Even the Hindu dignitories cultivated Persian verse, and the Maharaja of Burdwan had a tutor in Persian poetry, whose works (*Diwan-i-Khadim*) have been published in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Hindu reformers, such as Raja Mohan Rai wrote important books in Persian, and a number of Hindus were sound Persian scholars. Girish Chandra translated *Tazjirah-tul-Auliya* of Attar from Persian into Bengali, and Standra Nath's poetical works contain many translations of Persian poems. Pandit Krishna Chadra Majumdar's translation into Bengali verse of a hundred selected Persian poems of Hafiz called *Satbhabha Shataka* (Hundred Graceful Thoughts) was once a widely-read book. Maharishi Devendra Nath Tagore, the father and religious guide of the poet Rabindranath Tagore, could quote from memory so much of Hafiz that he was popularly called *Hafiz-i-Hafiz*, or one who knew the whole of Hafiz by heart.

During the nineteenth century, three poets attained the front rank of Persian poets in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. One of them, Nassakh, was born in Calcutta but spent the greater part of his life in East Bengal and was Deputy Collector at Dacca for a number of years. He wrote many books in Urdu and Persian, and was a friend and admirer of Ghalib. We have not had access to his Persian *Diwan*, but selections from his works, which have been included in *Nigaristan-e-Sukhan*, show that he was a poet of great merit. The other two poets were even more closely associated with Dacca and are now buried there. One of these was Ubaidi, that is, Maulana Ubaidullah Ubaidi Suhrawardi, who was the first Principal of Dacca Madrassa and a friend of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan. His Persian Diwan has been published and shows his

complete mastery over the language. Indeed, a Persian poet who was himself a native of Shiraz wrote about him:

> "He was not from Iran, but to judge by Persian standards, one would think that Shiraz was his birth place."

A small Diwan of the third poet, Azad of Jahangir Nagar (Dacca), containing Urdu and Persian Poems, has been published. The number of Persian poems contained in this *Diwan* is not large, but some of the *Qasidas* (odes) particularly in praise of Dacca, can be compared with the best-known *Qasidas* written in this sub-continent. Literary activity in Persian received encouragement at the hands of the Khwaja family of Dacca, many of whose members composed verses in Persian.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hamidullah Khan wrote a comprehensive history of Chittagong in beautiful Persian. He was a poet also and has quoted a number of his poems in his book. One of the most interesting of these is in praise of Islamabad (Chittagong), while his long *Qasida* in which he successfully appealed to the Lt. Governor of Bengal to restore a mosque in Chittagong to Muslims is of great historic interest.

Apart from Dacca and Chittagong, Sylhet has always been an important centre of Islamic culture and literary activity in Persian. One of the important prose works written at Sylhet during the nineteenth century is *Suhail-i-Yeman* which gives an account of Shah Jalal, the famous local saint. The book has certain limitations as a historical work, but it is written in a pleasant and attractive style and the author quotes his own verses at various places.

Apart from the works of poets and prose-writers who wrote in Persian during the nineteenth century, we have an interesting account of the teaching of Persian classics in Bengal at this period. Early in the nineteenth century the Reverend Adam, an educationist, was asked by the Government to report on indigenous education in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Adam's reports were published in 1836, 1837, and 1838. According to him there were many private Muslim schools in Bengal, started and conducted

by individuals not as means of livelihood, but voluntarily, with the aim of producing moral and religious benefit to themselves and to their fellow preachers. At these schools Persian was the main subject taught, though sometimes Arabic was added, as also Muslim theology and law. Adam has given a list of books which were being taught at the Persian schools and with certain exceptions they were the same which were the subject of study in other parts of the sub-continent. Mosque schools and *maktabs* occupy an important position in the educational system of Bengal even today but after Persian ceased to be the official language, the importance of Persian-teaching schools gradually declined.

The tradition of literary composition in Persian has now come to an end, but as a result of long literary activity in this language the character of Bengali, as spoken and written by Muslims, has undergone far-reaching changes. Apart from contributing thousands of words to Bengali, Persian has influenced Bengali language and literature in many other ways. It has contributed new literary forms, such as the *ghazal*, and provided themes of popular tales and romances.

The tradition of Persian influence received a set-back, when after the abrogation of Persian as the official language, non-Muslim cultural influences gained ascendancy in Bengal, but a poet of genius arose and once again linked Bengali with the language which had fed and enriched it for centuries. Qazi Nazrul Islam, who translated many poems of Hafiz and Omar Khayyam, used Persian metres and metaphors freely. He wrote a large number of *ghazals* on Persian models and started a movement which may revive the traditions of Persian literature in Bengali.

S. M. Ikram.

CHAPTER IX

URDU LITERATURE

As the Mongol hordes of Chengis Khan swept down on the civilizations from south China to the Carpathians, a new word entered the vocabulary of several languages, the Tartar word *Urdu* ("royal encampment") which passed into Turkish as *Ordu* and into French and English as *horde*. After a few decades the *furor barbaricus* of the Mongols subsided; they were pushed back from China and eventually from Russia. In the Islamic lands, however, they were fully absorbed into the texture of the Muslim culture. In India the descendants of these barbarians, the Great Mughuls, founded a great empire, and were among the world's most magnificent master-builders; they patronized a new school of miniature painting and developed a beautiful style of garden layout and architecture. Their royal encampments still retained the Tartar name *Urdu* or *Urdu-i-Mualla* (the exalted royal encampment); and the name passed on gradually to the language spoken in the camp.

But the Urdu language is actually much older than the name by which it is known. The history of the origin of the Urdu language is interesting because it is open to research, to scientific doubts and conjectures; like the original homeland of the Aryans, and the mystery of the undeciphered script of Moenjo Daro, the first home of the Urdu language has been the subject of lively controversies. But wherever it was, its real origin is in the will of the Muslims of this sub-continent to create a language, which conveyed in the native idiom the tradition of their common Persian culture and their Arabic heritage. This collective will was naturally most active in the areas in which they formed and even now form the majority of the population, the areas now constituting Pakistan. In these areas the new language developed rapidly and the vocabulary became extensive. In other parts of the sub-continent, in the Deccan and Gujrat and at Delhi and Lucknow, Urdu developed under the patronage of decadent courts, and was the instrument for the "imagination" of the poets attached to court and convention; it was, therefore, at a disadvantage from the beginning. In the Provinces which now constitute Pakistan,

the Urdu language was not patronized by courts, and became the means of expressing the more intellectual ideas of the people. The more thoughtful people wished to preserve their common tradition and to communicate with others in an idiom which was not merely a dialect, but which the people in other parts of the sub-continent could understand and share with them.

Let us begin with the Punjab, the land of the five rivers, one of the first strongholds of the political power of Muslim conquerors and one of the centres of their early intellectual life. It has been claimed by the late Professor Mahmood Sherani that early Urdu and Punjabi have so much in common grammatically, in syntax, and in phonology, that a common or twin origin seems reasonable. The earliest literary remains in Urdu were the lost Hindustani verses of Masood Sa'ad Salman, who was the first great Persian poet of this sub-continent, and whose poems, full of longing for the lovely city of Lahore, are in a sense perhaps the first patriotic songs of Pakistan. About two centuries later came Amir Khusrau, poet, wit, and musician, who wrote excellent Persian poetry and experimented with Urdu verse. Amir Khusrau came from Delhi, but he spent some of the most fruitful part of his life in the provinces now comprising Western Pakistan.

The half-Persian, half-Urdu verses which tradition attributes to Amir Khusrau (thirteenth century A.D.), are not mere literary curiosities like the 'Low French'; they have a musical rhythm of rare beauty and a witty lyrical lilt, to which translation can hardly do justice.

Two magic eyes with hundred charms;
Have put my poor heart's rest to flight:
Now who would care to go and tell
Dear Love my sad and lonely plight?

As a candle lit, as an atom struck;
Banished, alas, from that moon's grace:
No sleep in my eyes, no rest in my heart,
He sends no news, nor shows his face.[1]

[1] This and all other verse translations quoted in this chapter, except those of Iqbal, are by Ahmed Ali (*The Falcon and the Hunted Bird*, Karachi, 1950.)

large, if not the dominating, content of Sufi element in these literatures. This has naturally resulted in giving a unity of substance and atmosphere to the literary efforts made in different regional languages.

The common political struggle of the last fifty years has further strengthened these common ties. At Dacca, in East Bengal, the foundation of the Muslim League was laid in 1906, and a movement was started to safeguard the political rights of Muslims. The movement culminated in the establishment of Pakistan. The political struggle was reinforced by economic, cultural, and ideological factors, and partly derived its strength from the anxiety of Muslims to safeguard their interests in these spheres. The sharing of common dangers (which are not yet over) and the efforts made to cope with them brought the areas which are now Pakistan closer than was even the case under the Muslim rule.

The fact that Pakistan has an ideological basis, and both in national and international spheres stands for certain aims and ideals which are enthusiastically shared in both wings of Pakistan, has been another important factor in producing a unity of outlook. The prose and poetical works of Iqbal, who first saw the vision of Pakistan, contain probably the best account of these aims and ideals, but nowhere are they held more fervently than in East Pakistan. Islam is perhaps even a more living force in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan, and the fact that Pakistan aims at building a progressive modern state on the basis of Islam, and is keen to make its contribution towards hastening Islamic rennaissance and promoting the welfare of the Muslim states, gives all Pakistanis an inspired feeling of comradeship.

The first years of Pakistan have really been a struggle for survival; cultural development has had to take a secondary place. There is, however, little doubt that with the consolidation of the state, the natural genius of the people will assert itself and the cultural contribution of Pakistan will be worthy of its rich heritage.

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Of all the local dialects, the one most akin to Urdu is Multani, or Southern Punjabi, a link between the Punjabi and Sindhi of today. In this dialect of Multan, the *Kafees*, or religious poems of Farid, are almost half-Urdu; and the saint deliberately wrote a few bilingual poems in part Persian and part Urdu. Tradition ascribes to him a number of phrases, which we may today regard as the earliest colloquial Urdu.

The tradition of Urdu verse in the Punjab continued through the centuries with poets such as Sheikh Osman, Sheikh Junaid, and includes names such as those of Nasir Ali Sirhindi and Waris Shah, the latter being the best-known and the most popular poet in the Punjabi language.

Amir Khusrau on at least one occasion accompanied one of the Muslim generals of the Kingdom of Delhi on an expedition to conquer Deccan (South India). New Muslim kingdoms soon rose in the Deccan which adopted the Urdu language. The first prose work in Urdu was written by a saint of the Deccan, Khwaja Banda Nawaz (1321-1422), a contemporary of Chaucer. One of the earliest poems in Urdu, *Hafi Asrar*, was also composed about this time. Vusrati, the first prominent Urdu poet, perfected the use of the couplet (*mathnavi*) for epic and for narrative verse, although the language of this poet of the court of Bijapur is antique and far-removed from modern Urdu. The next figure of literary importance is Sultan Mohammad Quli Qutub Shah (1581-1611), the King of Golconda, founder of the city of Hyderabad (Deccan) and of a new school of architecture, a contemporary of Ronsard and Shakespeare, and himself a poet of rare lyrical gift, whose subjective lyrical experience and closeness to nature remain unmatched in Urdu verse. He compiled a *Diwan* of *ghazals* (collected lyrical works), the first in Urdu.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the courts of Bijapur and Golconda were centres of Urdu writing. Vajhi and Ghawwasi brought the Urdu *mathnavi* closer to the Persian tradition and Vajhi's *Sab Ras*, an allegory of courtly love with a striking resemblance to the *Romance of the Rose*, is the first prose narrative in Urdu. The school of literature in the Deccan reached its perfection in Vali (1668-1744) who, with the conquest of the Deccan by the Mughul emperor Aurangzeb, came into touch

with the orthodox spoken Urdu of the Mughul camp. He blended his own idiom of the Deccan with the polite and more Persianized spoken language of the North, blazing the trail for a new and richer school of Urdu poetry which rose in Delhi, the Mughul metropolis. With Vali, regional Urdu literature came to an end, and the conventional style began which was to flourish in the two northern centres of Delhi and Lucknow for over a century. Here is a specimen from Vali's *Diwan:*

Cup in hand the bashful beauty
Has come to me;
O heart, forget now all formality,
Enraptured be, enraptured be.

I'm ill as with the drinking of the wine
Of parting's grief;
O beauty, let those wandering eyes of thine
Be cups of wine, cups of wine.

With doubts how long, my mind, then will you build
Walls of thorns?
The storming flood of love is rushing in
Remain a waste, a waste remain.

Urdu poetry came to Delhi during the last days of the Mughul Empire, which has been graphically described by Dr. Percival Spear in *The Twilight of the Mughuls.* But long before the end, conqueror after conqueror marched in and sacked the Imperial Capital: there was Nadir Shah of Iran and Ahmed Shah Durrani of Afghanistan, and worse still there were local hordes of Mahrattas and Jats, who had become barbarians in the period of anarchy which followed the decline of the Mughuls. But it was in Delhi that Muslim civilization was maintained throughout these years of confusion; and in Delhi that the best Urdu literature continued to be studied and written.

In these circumstances the poet Mir (1724-1808) wrote sensitive and extremely subjective poems, and his contemporary Sauda (1717-1780) turned to satire of times and men. In his

ghazals Mir softened the poetic diction of Urdu and gave it the gift of rare sensitivity:

My story in my heart, alas, untold remained;
None in this city could my language understand;

How like the sound of the bell I drift from thee, alone;
Thou carest not for me, alas O caravan.

From the object of my search I farthest away remained;
This precious life was wasted, all was lost, nought gained;

Like a poor man's thoughts my dreams in search of thee
Have wandered everywhere to end in futility.

In a sense his humour was Rabelasian, though his genius for satire was more like that of Dryden. Another contemporary of Mir and Sauda was the saintly Sufi, Dard (1720-1784), who turned from the surrounding anarchy to the inward sublimation of the self, and to the mystic road of the Beatific Vision:

The loved ones' charming ways alone
Win the heart;
For know we not?—we know, we know
All their art.

God made man for suffering
The pain of love:
Were angels for obedience
Not enough?

The eyes themselves were wandering
But, alas
Their wandering ways, wandered away;
O Dard, my heart.

In the next generation Mushaffi (1750-1824) refined the *ghazal* and occasionally succeeded in combining ascetic love and urbanity.

In the meantime the political and social chaos in Delhi had reached its climax, which led to the migration of a number of poets,

including Mir, Sauda, and Mushaffi to Lucknow, where the Nawab Vazirs of Oudh patronized a brilliantly degenerate court. Another poet from Delhi, *Insha* (1757-1817), joined the group of emigrees from Delhi and fought many witty duels with the more sedate Mushaffi. Around the Court of Lucknow, a new school of poetry emerged in which the simplicity of the Delhi school was replaced by effeminacy in subject-matter and expression. This was accompanied by a movement for the "purification" of poetic diction led by Nasikh (d. 1838) though actually it meant that rhetoric was standardized. It, therefore, limited the resources of the Urdu language which was, by the logic of its growth and its inherent nature, assimilative.

The Lucknow school had, however, its redeeming features. Its most gifted exponent Atish—the word means fire—(1778-1846) could occasionally rise to heights of true genius from a dead level of bathos. Sometimes he achieved sincere lyric expressions, very rare among the poets of Lucknow, in *ghazals* such as this one:

It was the night of love,
The full moon was shining;
She was in my arms,
And God above was smiling.

It was the night of nights,
Brighter than the day;
From earth to the sky
A light shone all the way.

Two moons on either side
Were shining in the sky;
One felt it was not night,
But morning in paradise.

It had the rarest charm
Of first love and kiss;
The soul was all athrill,
The heart was full of bliss.

What you now hear related
Like some lovely dream
Is the story of the bygone
Days of youthful time.

At the same time a non-mystical orthodox religious movement swept the younger poets of Lucknow, most distinguished among whom were Anees (1802-1874) and Dabeer (1803-1875) who chose the martyrdom of Hussein, the Prophet's grandson, as their theme.

In the meantime a troubled peace returned to Delhi, with the arrival of the East India Company during the reign of the last Mughul emperors whose regime was confined to the four walls of the Red Fort. But the swan song was sublime. The theme of physical love was sung with an amazing purity and sincerity by Momin (1799-1851); and *Qasida* (panegyric) the most rhetorical kind of Urdu verse, was again raised to a note of artificial exaltation by Zauq (1789-1854) who carried on the tradition of Sauda.

But the supreme poet of this period was Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1796-1869), who eventually became a great figure in letters. In his early years he was influenced by Bedil, an Indo-Persian poet of the seventeenth century who denounced worldliness, and achieved a fusion of emotion and thought which reminds one of Donne. This technique was for Ghalib, however, merely a starting point from which he learned to express his thoughts by an elaborate symbolism. No consistent pattern of philosophy emerges from the verse of Ghalib, but he gave a new interpretation of divine and sensuous love. To quote Ahmed Ali, he "employed 'heterogenous' ideas and yoked them together with violence like the English Metaphysicals. He fused thought and feeling and thus created a new music and synthesis, transmuted emotion into thought and thought into emotion. He expressed with incision and analysis what is beyond thought's reach." His expression is complex in the original and makes translation difficult:

The seven skies revolve both night and day,
Something will come of it, worry as we may;

I waited all my life for death; at last
Death came, but I had nought to show in the past.

They ask me: who is Ghalib, what is he?
What shall I answer, will someone tell me.

and,

Within the dream the thought
Had dealings with thee;
But when I awoke there was
Neither gain nor loss.

With Ghalib an epoch ends; he made conventional verse seem absurd and contrasted it with the new intellectual style which influenced all Urdu poets who followed him. He once said that the "narrow lane" of the *ghazal* was not enough for the fire of his muse. He had already revolutionized the technique and expression, when there came the disaster which completely altered the content, temper, and mood of Urdu poetry.

This was the upheaval of 1857. The first chaotic, unprincipled armed uprising for freedom which rocked the sub-continent, spelt the doom of the Indian Muslims, and left them face to face with two alternatives, one of slow annihilation, the other of imbibing the spirit of the conquering civilization, at least, so that they could survive as an indistinct group. Delhi went up in flames and the last of the 'shadow' Mughul emperors, Bahadur Shah Zafar (1775—1862), himself a poet, wrote in exile in Burma the epitaph of the Capital of his ancestors, which was once the 'Bride among all Cities':

Delhi was not a capital
But heaven of delight;
Now ravished by the foe, alas
It breathes in endless night.

Where are my people once so proud?
None knows how they have suffered!
The heartless rulers of the day
Had each one put to sword.

And there was none to give them shrouds
Or lay them under ground;
And none performed their funeral rites,
Their graves show not a mound.

And then the Victorian era dawned on the sub-continent and grafted Victorianism onto Urdu literature. A bitter epoch of the struggle for survival, of adjustment and readjustment, of cultural assimilation and reorientation, of criticism and acceptance, began, of which the main vehicle was necessarily prose, but which also changed the main current of verse.

The leader of the Muslim struggle for survival and resurgence, Sayed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898), turned to prose to hammer out a clear-cut, matter-of-fact, racy style of expression. This meant a new departure, for Urdu prose until then had been a leisurely artificial affair. It was euphuistic, ornate, figurative, highly decorative, with rhythm and rhyme, parallelism and antithesis, and many rhetorical devices. It told the stories of magic and fairies and demons, or turned occasionally to pious themes. Its liberation began with Ghalib's cunningly colloquial epistles. In 1800 the first healthy and conscious influence of the West began to be felt through Dr. Gilchrist who in Fort William, Calcutta, patronized a movement for simple and direct prose, which found its finest literary expression in a collection of tales, *Bagh-o-Bahar* (The Garden and the Spring), by Mir Amman of Delhi. In choosing the vehicle of Urdu prose, Sir Sayed Ahmed had largely to rely on the resources of his own personality and his desire to forge a vocabulary and a style which could introduce Western intellectual thought and science into Urdu. He wrote on archaeology, architecture, theology, scholasticism, ethics, medieval and rationalist philosophy, the theory of education, and on numerous political questions, and he laid the foundations of modern Urdu journalism.

The prose of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan opened up new possibilities in the Urdu language; historical and academic scholarship and literary criticism came into its own. Among his companions, Shibli (1857-1914) used his encyclopaedic oriental scholarship to the task of reconstructing and revaluating Islamic history. Shibli's contribution to the literary history of Persia and Urdu literary criticism was also great. Nazir Ahmad, another of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan's friends, turned to the writing of the didactic novel and thus laid the foundations of the modern Urdu novel. A great deal of miscellany was written by another friend of his, Munshi Zakaullah. But by far the most distinguished of Sir Sayed's friends was the saintly poet, Hali (1837-1914), who was a literary critic and a biographer. Hali's prose continued the tradition of simplicity and direct sincere statement introduced by Sir Sayed, but made it more mellow. The antithesis of Hali's style is to be found in another great writer, though not of Sir Sayed's group, Muhammad Hussain Azad (1834-1910), who had an ornate but beautiful style and his gift of telling an anecdote, real or imaginary, compensated for his distortion of literary history.

Muhammad Iqbal poet, philosopher and intellectual, and political leader brought about a revolution in Urdu verse. This consisted in his breaking away from the conventionalized classicism of the earlier Urdu poets and in introducing, in theory as well as in practice, the concept of art and literature as a reformative experience which can shape and mould individual and social life of man. He purged the content of the poetry from mere subjective experience, and its form from the centuries-old servitude of art for art's sake, a doctrine which his contemporaries were reviving in France. As an integral part of his general philosophy of life, he outlived his own aesthetics, in which expression is wedded not to life as it is, but to life as it ought to be. The burden of the theme became man's conquest of his environment. Iqbal summed up his conception of art in these words: "To permit the visible to shape the invisible, to seek what is scientifically called adjustment with Nature is to recognize her mastery over the spirit of man. Power comes from resisting her stimuli, and not from exposing ourselves to their action. Resistance of what is with a view to create what ought to be, is health and life. All else is decay and death. Both God and man live by perpetual creation".

Nothing like this was heard before among a people and in a land used to the bitter-sweet but monotonous strain of the Urdu *ghazal*, which took life for granted, and had stunted aesthetic susceptibilities. In form the *ghazal* depended on the mechanism of the assonance of end-rhymes; all its couplets were highly-polished, each a distinct entity of symbolic lyrical expression, woven like beads on a common rhymed string. Its content was highly generalized, formalized, quasi-classical, but beautiful in its cultivation and analysis of subjective emotion. Even Iqbal in his young days succumbed to the charms of the traditional *ghazal* under the influence of Dagh, the last great decadent of Delhi. But he was writing at the same time about the morning star, the glow-worm, the moth and the candle, the Himalayas and nature, using the form of *nazm*, the unconventional form already used by Hali and Mohammad Hussain Azad. The *nazm* became a powerful instrument in the hands of Iqbal, and it became the dominant form in Urdu verse, almost driving the *ghazal* into a secondary position. In the meantime in other verse forms the genius of Iqbal achieved a height and an eminence, which very few poets in all literature share with

Shamsul Ulama Altaf Hussain Hali.

him. When he turned again to the *ghazal*, the old form went through a complete metamorphosis. The age-old classicism was destroyed, and Iqbal's *ghazal* embraced themes of infinite variety, from witty observation to sociological comment. It received a new lease of life, and if there is a revival of *ghazal* today, it is due to the influence of Iqbal. One only has to compare the following[1] *ghazals* of Iqbal, with the specimens from earlier poets quoted above to mark the difference:

O world of earth, wind, water! are you the secret brought
to light or I?
Are you the continent of that which is concealed from sight
or I?
The night of pain and passion and of troubling men call
life—are you
Its dawn, or I? are you the call to prayer which ends that
night or I?
To whose revealing make such haste the evening and the
dawn? Are you
Upon the shoulder of the world the heavy load bound to
night, or I?
You are a pinch of dust, and blind; I am a pinch of dust
that feels;
Are you the flowing stream that lifts from life's drab fields
their blight or I?

Or,

All life is voyaging all things in motion:
Moon, stars and creatures of air and ocean!
God's bright attendants thy soldiers; armies
To thee, the champion declare devotion;
But oh, that blindness! that abdication!
Of thine own highmen thou hast no notion.
How long these fleshpots of Egypt? Choose now:
The monkish bowl, or—the emperor's potion!
—I know our priesthood, and how its sinews
Grow faint, its sermons a languid lotion.

[1] Translated by Victor Kiernen, *Poems from Iqbal*, Bombay 1947.

In this chapter we deal with Iqbal only as an Urdu poet; elsewhere the intellectual magnitude of his thought has been assessed. He was as great a poet in Persian, and in both languages he used verse as a handmaid to his profound thought. In the treatment of philosophical themes and in translating thought into poetry, Iqbal became to Urdu literature what Goethe is to the German and Dante to Italian literature, and the international recognition of his greatness has placed Urdu literature on the literary map of the world.

Hali, as a poet, is the one great figure between Ghalib and Iqbal. Hali liberated Urdu verse from centuries-old conventions, simplified the poetic diction and brought it much nearer to the spoken word. His masterpiece is his *Mussadas* (poem in six-line stanzas) which introduced the theme of Islamic revivalism and resurgence as a driving force in Urdu poetry. This note was new; it brought a new kind of poetry into being and sounded the death-knell of the decadent sensuality of the Urdu *ghazal.*

The pearls of Aesop and Hippocrates staid,
Socrates' secrets, lectures Plato read,
Aristotle's wisdom, laws by Solon made,
All these in ancient, unknown graves were laid,
But here their seals were broken, silence ceased,
Their souls within this garden were released.

Hali and Azad had both settled down in Lahore, which now became the new centre of Urdu literature. It was here that the greatest Urdu poet, perhaps the greatest Islamic civilization has so far produced, Mohammed Iqbal, began his career as a poet and a thinker.

During the long literary career of Iqbal, traditional Urdu literature was following its normal course. The novel developed in the hands of Sarshar (1847-1902) and Sharar (1860-1926) who wrote his historical novels around heroes of Islamic past. Ruswa attempted to write a realistic novel based on the life which he observed and enjoyed. The novel reached its peak in the hands of Prem Chand, who was also the first respected writer of short stories in Urdu. The short story, however, took the place of the novel and for the Pakistani writers of today the most popular

fiction includes stories written by Ahmed Ali and Saadat Hasan Manto.

Literary criticism and academic scholarship developed remarkably in the hands of Moulvi Abdul Haq and Syed Sulaiman Nadvi. Urdu literary magazines gained in popularity and exercised an increasing influence over the intellectual mind, not known elsewhere except in eighteenth century England and modern France.

Poetry split into two styles, the *ghazal* and the *nazm*. The former continued the old tradition, wore itself out in the virtuosity of Amir and Dagh, revived under the technical influence of Ghalib, and produced three or four great poets; one of them, Jigar, is still writing. These new writers of the Urdu *ghazal* assimilated the 'historical shock' of the influence of Western ideas, and each of them adopted themselves individually: for Fani it was the supreme despair of the society to which he belonged; in the verse of Asghar it found expression as mystic ecstasy; Hasrat, a political leader and a saintly ascetic and individualist, used it for genuine lyrical feeling. Jigar achieved rare lyrical beauty and a symbolical meaning through simplicity of idiom and expression. In the hands of the younger generation writing today in Pakistan, the *ghazal* has again received a new impulse and momentum, its content changing from the purely lyrical to sociological themes, directly or indirectly under the influence of Iqbal.

Nazm (literally 'poem') includes almost every other variety of verse. There was a number of poets who wrote fiery poems on Pan-Islamic themes. A discordant note was struck by Josh of Malihabad who coupled revolutionary slogans with the love of wine, women, and song. Women found a more restrained singer in Akhtar Sherani. This was followed by experiments in *vers libre* by N.M. Rashed, and in Audenesque statement and imagery by Faiz Ahmad Faiz. The influence of the contemporary English verse of Eliot, Auden, and Spender has been extensive, if rather superficial on a vast group of younger poets writing in Pakistan today, some of whom show real promise.

We have been dealing so far with the main current of Urdu literature. But the various provinces which today constitute

Pakistan each claim to be the real home of the Urdu language and almost all of them claim to be its birthplace.

Recently some scholars of Sind have put forward the claim that Urdu originated in their Province. Pir Hisamuddin Rashdi in a series of interesting articles advocates the theory of the Sindhi-Multani origin of Urdu, and brings to light a development of Urdu literature in Sind, parallel to the earliest in the Deccan. Contemporary with Sultan Mohammed Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda, there was in Sind a very popular Urdu poet, Mir Mohammed Fazil of Bukkur. Literature of Sind from A.D. 1700 to 1900 has been trilingual, written in Persian, Urdu, and Sindhi.

The Urdu poetry of Sind can also be divided historically into three epochs, ranging respectively from 1700 to 1747, from 1747 to 1843, and from 1843 to 1900. The "Saraiki" Sindhi of the earlier eighteenth century resembled Urdu in vocabulary and accent, and coupled with the influence of some immigrant poets from Delhi there arose the first school of Sindhi poets of Urdu, of which the main representatives were Sheikh Ward Yawar, Syed Haideruddin Kamil, and Mir Hafizuddin Ali. They were succeeded by the poets of the second phase which included Mir Ali Sher Qane' and Syed Sabit Ali Shah. Sachal Sarmast, who is considered, next to Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit, to be the most respected saint-poet in Sind, also wrote Urdu verses. The third period, that of the later seventeenth century, is represented by Urdu poets of Sind, whose language is more modern and forms a part of the general growth of Urdu verse in the sub-continent.

The people of the North-West Frontier Province also claim their land to be the original home of Urdu. They argue that the Muslim influx began there in A.D. 1001 with the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni; and in this land the concentration of Muslim culture was reinforced again and again by fresh waves of Muslim conquest which mingled with native elements and created a new language, "Hindko", closely akin to Urdu in its early form. Hindko is still spoken in the valleys of Peshawar and Kohat. Scholars of the Frontier Province still quote specimens of Urdu verse older even than the writings of Sultan Mohammad Quli Qutb Shah. They have unearthed Urdu, or partly Urdu *ghazals* of their oldest and most respected poets, Rahman Baba, and Khush-hal Khan Khattak.

These early poems were succeeded by a lull in the growth of Urdu in the Frontier Province for nearly two centuries, which can be explained by the disturbed conditions there.

The next clear landmark of Urdu literature in the Frontier Province is the *diwan* of Qasim Ali Afridi. The manuscript bears the date A.D. 1820 and consists of *ghazals* in Persian, Urdu, and Pashtu. But the Urdu verse of Qasim Ali Afridi shows distinct influence of the refined language and the polished courtly sentiment of Delhi. By this time Urdu writing in the Frontier regions had become a part of the general Muslim cultural unity of the sub-continent. In 1887, Syed Dilawar Ali Shah made Urdu popular in Peshawar, and with the foundation of Islamia College in 1903, Urdu poetry became fashionable and a group of poets emerged including Saeen Ahmed Ali, Bismil Peshawari, Talib Peshaweri, and Dilawar Khan Bedil. Bedil has the distinction of being the first Urdu poet of the Frontier Province whose *Diwan* was published.

This group has been followed in the Frontier Province by a younger and more dynamic group of the Urdu poets of today, who have brought a new life to the Urdu poetry of their Province. This younger group includes Zia Jaffery, Farigh Bokhari, Raza Hamdani, Mazhar Gilani, and Khatir Ghaznavi.

In Bengal, Persian used to be the language of court and culture, and the Province thrived culturally on the common Muslim heritage. During eight centuries of Muslim rule, early Bengali poetry had elements in common with early Urdu, and has often the same themes. The story of Saifulmuluk and Badi-ul-Jamal is one of the earliest composed in Bengali as in Urdu. But during the last two centuries Hindu chauvinism and foreign interests led Bengali further and further away from the original Muslim cultural tradition and from Urdu. With the gathering momentum of the Muslim Freedom Movement the tide was turned, mainly by Qazi Nazrul Islam, who enriched the Bengali language and imagery by borrowing words and expressions from Persian and Urdu.

Urdu has, however, a more direct claim on Bengal. It was at Fort William College, Calcutta, that Urdu prose emerged in its present form, freed from the shackles of euphuism and effeminate

rhymes. It was at this College that the first scientific study of Urdu philology, phonology, and semantics was undertaken.

This was followed by another development of the Lucknow tradition of ornate verse at Matya Burj. A liking for Urdu verse was thus created and flourished at Dacca.

In East Pakistan the development of Urdu is largely a result of individual efforts. Famous among Urdu poets of Dacca was Abdul Ghafoor Nasakh, who was of pure Bengali extraction and a friend of Ghalib, though an orthodox follower of the Lucknow school. Ahsan Ali Shaheen was another distinguished Urdu poet of Dacca in the nineteenth century. A poet whose name is intimately associated with Ghalib and his disciples was Syed Mahmood Azad. His brother Syed Mohammad Azad was a witty and graceful writer of Urdu prose. Another prose writer was Khwaja Atiquallah Shaida, whose novel *Ibrat* is well known. Then there were other writers and poets of Dacca, such as Shaiq, Akhtar, Saba, and Bedar. The tradition of good Urdu verse and clear, reminiscent prose still continues at Dacca. Begum Shaista Ikramullah, author of a scholarly book on the growth of Urdu fiction, has published a volume of interesting short stories; she has also written a number of articles on literary and social subjects and holds a distinguished place among the Urdu women writers.

Aziz Ahmed.

CHAPTER X

REGIONAL LITERATURES

From the Muslim occupation of the Punjab in 1021 until 1836, Persian was the court language in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, but from an early date Muslim rulers encouraged regional languages and many of them now possess a rich literary heritage of their own. In the previous chapter an account has been given of Urdu literature, which is not associated with any particular region of Pakistan, and in this chapter languages and literatures connected with certain parts of Pakistan will be dealt with. Factors which make for the cultural unity of Pakistan and give a homogeneity of thought, atmosphere, and outlook, in spite of variations of language and dialect, have been outlined in the Introduction.

Editor.

Bengali Literature

No Bengali literature has come down to us from the pre-Muslim period. It is probable that the higher classes disdained the vernacular and preferred to express their literary art in Sanskrit, 'the language of the gods,' while the thoughts and observations of the lower classes in the vernacular were transmitted orally from generation to generation. In fact we have hardly any record of Bengali poetry composed earlier than the fourteenth or the fifteenth century. Also, the earliest record of any prose literature does not appear to be more than two hundred or three hundred years old. So we may say that whatever literary shape was given to the ideals, aspirations, and activities of the people in the Bengali language took place during the Mohammadan rule. Of the Bengali prose writings of that age we only have the drafts of deeds and the appropriate formulas for addressing letters. But these cannot be called literature; they only indicate a degree of merging of Bengali, Sanskrit, and Persian words which were then intelligible to the people.

It is just possible that the extinction of the old Bengali literature (assuming that there was any) was connected with the

suppression of Buddhism by the Brahmins. The Buddhists' sacred book *Sunya Purana* contains a chapter called *Niranjaner Rukhm*, meaning the anger of Niranjan which, when describing the fight between the Muslims and the Brahmins at Jajpur says: "In Jajpur and Maldah sixteen hundred families of Vedic Brahmins mustered strong. Being assembled in groups of ten or twelve they killed the *Sat-Dharmis* (Buddhists) who would not pay them religious fees, by uttering incantations and curses. They recited *mantras* from the *Vedas* and fire came out of their mouths, as they did so. The followers of *Sat-Dharma* trembled with fear at the sight thereof, and prayed to Dharma.... He came to the world as a Muhammadan. On his head he wore a black cap, and in his hand he held a cross-bow..... The gods being all of one mind entered Jajpur. They broke the temples and *mathas* and cried 'seize, seize' ".

Buddhism with its free thinking had taken a deep root in the soil of Bengal and represented a protest against the rigid caste system, and the observance of religious rites enjoined by the Brahmins. The cults of Sahajia, Qartabhaja, Dharmathakr, and so on, had really distorted Buddhism and attracted followers from the lower strata of society which were assigned to the survivors after they were forced to disown their faith. Discontentment was natural, and these people sought consolation in the philosophy of the nothingness of human life. Then came Islam with its ideal of one God and of the brotherhood and equality of man, and many of the common people were converted to it.

After the Muslim conquest the Pathan kings began to encourage the literature of the people, and in contrast with the previous rulers showed great tolerance. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were translated into Bengali verse, and although they were considered to be profane by the Bhattacharyas (Brahmin priests), they immediately caught the imagination of the masses. Indeed even today these translations are studied by the religious Bengali Hindus. These books have helped to maintain and embellish the Hindu culture, and also to bridge the cultural gulf that existed between the rich and poor societies.

Many Pathan rulers of Ghor patronized Bengali poets. Yasoraj Khan eulogizes Sultan Husain Shah as "the gem of the

world", Chandidas refers to Sultan Ghayathuddin as "Lord Ghayathuddin," and Vidyapati acclaims Sultan Nasir Shah as "Lord of the five Gaurs." The Pathan king, Shamsuddin Yusuf, rewarded Maladhar Basu, the translator of the *Bhagabat*. Nusrat Shah (Husain Shah's son) and Paragal Khan, chieftain of Husain Shah, had translations made of the *Mahabharat*. The one by Parameshwar became as famous as *Paragali Mahabharat*.

Poets continued to be patronized during the Mughul rule. The greatest personalities among the poets of this time were the court poets Daulat Qazi and Syed Alawal of the Court of Arakan. At the request of the Wazir Ashraf Khan, Daulat Qazi wrote the famous *Lore-Chandrani* and the unfinished *Sati Moina*. He was skilful at mingling elegant Bengali with Brajaboli, and he was well versed in many languages including Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. It was his scholarship and poetic genius that did much to raise Bengali poetry in the estimation of the cultural classes. His ode to the twelve months, called *Bara-Mashya*, is an invaluable treasure in Bengali literature:

"In the coolness of the place she is not calm;
Affliction of love is in her heart and tears dwell in the eyes.
She gives no ear to sagacious talks or wise counsel.
Now conversing and now mumbling to herself.
She has the melancholy of the blooming youth;
The poison of the snake, Cupid, traverses her being:
No *Ojha* has power to assuage the poison,
The only doctor is the consort and satiety the only drug."

Syed Alawal, the greatest among the old Bengali poets, was the author of several works. He completed *Sati Moina* (left incomplete by Daulat Qazi) and wrote *Saiful Muik Badi-ul-Jamal*, *Padmabati*, *Haft Paikar*, *Tuhfa*, and *Sikandar Nama*. *Saiful Miulk Badi-ul-Jamal* has ensured a permanent place for him in Bengali literature. The greatest work of Syed Alawal, was the *Padmabati* which is based upon the story of Padmabati written previously in Hindu by Malik Mohammed Jaisi. Alawal's work was remarkable for its freshness and rich beauty, and he was a master of rhetoric and prosody, and a scholar of Bengali, Sindhi, Brajaboli, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian.

He added the element of fancy to Bengali poetry by introducing fairies into his themes. In his technique, although followed by a number of poets like Akbar, Iradat, Qamruddin, Ghaffar, and Karim, Alawal has been judged by people such as Dr. Dinesh Sen to be superior even to his great successor of a century later, Bharat Chanda Roy.

Of the other early poets mention may be made of Syed Sultan who wrote mainly on the process of Yoga, and Mohammad Khan who introduced Marthia literature, that is, lamentations for the martyrs Hasan and Husain. Syed Sultan's principal works are *Gyan Pradeep* (The Lamp of Knowledge), *Wafat-i-Rasul* (The Death of the Prophet), *Shab-i-Meraj* (The Night of Ascendance), and *Nabi Bangsha* (The Kith and Kin of the Prophet). Mohammad Khan wrote a Bengali version of *Maqtul Hussain*, based upon Persian sources, and this is still considered a book of great merit. The work inspired Mir Musharraf Husain to write his celebrated prose book *Vishad-Sindhu* (The Sea of Sorrow).

A feature of the early Muslim Bengali poets of the Pathan and Mughul period is the complete absence of religious fanaticism in their poetry, and a deep and sympathetic appreciation of Hindu religion and its rites and ceremonies which was not always reciprocated. The reason for their tolerance was probably that many of the Buddhists who were converted to Islam could not renounce their past traditions of a thousand years; they reconciled their old ideas with the new faith by identifying Ishwar with Allah, Avatars with Prophets, priests with Pir-Murshids, Anadi Nar with Adam, Kali with Bibi Hawwa, Chaitanya with Mohammad, Basudeb with Khwaja-Khizr, the twelve Gopals with the Ashabs or companions of the Prophet, and Sages with Auliyas. Thus, while they learnt much from Islam, they at the same time modified their new religion by making it more compatible with their old beliefs. The old devotion towards the Nath Gurus, Meenanath, and Goraknath was transformed into worship of the Pirs, and *Panchalis* written about the glorious exploits of these Pirs attracted audiences both from the Hindus and the Mussalmans, and came to be a great cultural bond between them.

It was natural, therefore, that in this atmosphere of unity poets should write about the essential oneness of mankind; *Baul*

CHAPTER I

THE PATTERN OF PAKISTAN'S HERITAGE

Islamic culture has many facets, and different sides come into prominence in different circumstances. In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent Muslims came across a civilization which, in many respects, was a complete antithesis of Islam. The Hindus had highly developed speculative and contemplative arts, but under the caste system life had little to offer, materially or spiritually, to the lower classes who constituted the vast majority of the population. Caste determined every phase of human life, the profession to be adopted and the knowledge to be acquired. A Hindu scholar summing up the condition of the Hindu society in those days, writes: "The power of the Brahmins had become oppressive. The rules of caste became more and more stringent as Kulinism was stereotyped. While better ideals in religion were upheld by the Brahmins, the gap between man and man was widened by caste restrictions. The lower strata of society groaned under the autocracy of the higher, who shut the portals of learning against the inferior classes. They were also debarred from having any access to a higher life, and the religion of the new school (Pauranik) became the monopoly of the Brahmins as if it were the commodity of the market place".[1]

Islam was a stranger to all this. In India, Islam fulfilled its humanitarian and liberating mission partly by offering within its fold, complete equality and an opportunity for social, economic, intellectual, and spiritual development to the millions who were leading a sub-human existence. Speaking of the influence of Islam on countless converts in Bengal, Sir William Hunter wrote:

"To these poor people, fishermen, hunters, pirates, and lowcaste tillers of the soil, Islam came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the ruling race, its missionaries were men of zeal who brought the gospel of the unity of God and the

[1] *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, D. C. Sen, pp. 413-414.

and *Ma'arifati* songs were sung throughout the country. The songs of the Muslim Bauls, Lalanshah, Ilalshah, Bhelashah, and many others resounded throughout the country. Here is a translation of one of the Bauls by Shaikh Madan that has received high praise from Rabindranath Tagore:

> "O, you cruel selfish one; do you mean to heat the blossoms of the mind in a frying pan,
> And still hope to make the flower bloom and give out scent, without patient waiting?
> You had better observe how my master the great Lord waits for ages for the buds to open, without precipitate hurry.
> Your greed is great, so you turn to the rod, what remedy is there to this?
> Says Madan, Listen to his earnest appeal, don't cause pain to the heart of that Master.
> Having heard his message easy flowing and merging thyself completely in Him."

Together with these songs, ballads or folk lyrics based on the spirit of Eastern Bengal were being composed mainly by the Muslim peasants. Dr. Dinesh Sen, the great authority on Bengali literary history, writes that these ballads were wholly original and bear the distinctive characteristics of Bengali nature. Some of these composers were so great in poetic genius that few poets from the aristocracy can approach them. Many of the composers of these lyrical ballads were illiterate, but their observation was so keen that they have given a true and faithful picture of their society and the country. It is much to the credit of these poets that, though illiterate, they maintained a high moral tone at a time when, following Bharat Chandra, the courts and durbars had been flooding the country with indecency. In matters of love they have shown a knowledge of psychology and analysis of mental states which would do credit to the great Baishnava poets (Vidypati and Chandidas).

Mr. Oatem's comments on these ballads are interesting: "These ballads, straight from the unsophisticated people's heart came as fresh and stimulant as the breeze that revives the faded traveller from Calcutta as he is in the steamer, and ploughs across the monsoon gusts of Eastern Bengal". Regarding the heroines of

these ballads, Lady Haig, a well known critic of Indian arts, writes enthusiastically: "Oh! all those plucky women! they ought to be known like the women in Shakespeare and Racine."

It is only the Muslims who have preserved these lyrics orally from generation to generation. Muslim mothers and grandmothers have preserved the folk-lore of Bengal such as '*Chandrabali*, *Madhumala*, *Malanchamala*, *Khanchamnala*, and *Jamini*; *Bhan* and Muslim *gains*, or ballad singers, have preserved the lyrical pieces such as *Manjur-Ma*, *Kafan-Chora*, *Diwani-Madina*, *Sona Bibi*, *Nurun-Neha*, *Aina Bibi*, *Manik Tara*, *Nizam Dakat*, *Baro-Mash-er-Pala*, and *Ambia-Bani*. These, through their artistic simplicity and beauty have brought solace to the otherwise dreary and toilsome life of the humble peasant of Bengal.

But during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Wahabi movement of India gave to Islam a distinctly puritanical character and was hostile to the play of imagination in religious matters. A campaign was started against novels and imaginative poetry on subjects even remotely connected with religion. But in spite of this, *punthis* in large numbers continued to be written, dealing principally with Muslim national heroes as well as Muslim theology, and imagination still played its part. Examples of these *punthis* are *Surat Nama of Fatima* by Shah Badiuddin, *Amir Jung* by Shaikh Mansur, *Moharram Parva* by Hayat Mohammed, *Imam Jatra Natak* by Durgati Sarkar Saheb, and *Imam-Bad-Natak* by Seken Ali Mian. The dramatic pathos of these works has always moved the spirits of the humble people of East Bengal. Not all these *punthis*, however, were sentimental; the heroic exploits of Hanifa such as *Hanifa-e-Laray* by Abdul Alim, *Jaigun-er-Punthi* by Syed Hamza, and *Paban-Kumari* by Ghulam Ismail were also told. Indeed, these *punthis* supplied the great cultural need of the common people who had no knowledge of Arabic or Persian. After the decline of the Mughul rule in India, even the upper-class Muslim gentry gradually lost touch with Persian culture and had nothing but these *punthis* to turn to. It is to be noted that whereas the poetical works of the earlier poets were written in Bengali with a mixture of Persian words, the writers of *punthis* introduced many more Arabic and Persian words. This new element in vocabulary led to a division between a Hindu Bengali and a Muslim Bengali. The latter soon fell into disfavour as the Muslims became less

important, socially and politically, under the British rule, while the former flourished due to the favour shown to the Hindus by the East India Company. The Hindus began, in the course of about fifty years, to look down upon their contemporary Muslim neighbours who had been reduced to great poverty and distress and had lost their Persian culture without being able to adopt another one in its place.

The higher class Muslims still persisted in regarding Urdu as their mother tongue and neglected Bengali literature. In the meantime a host of Hindu writers, such as Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra, Madhusudan, Dina Bandhu Mittra, Bankim Chandra, Bhudeb Mukherji, Hem Chandra, Nabin Chandra, Swinjendra Lal, Keshab Sen, Vivekananda, Sarat Chatterji, and Rabindranath, produced a quantity of prose as well as poetry that completely transformed Bengali literature and raised it from rural folk-literature to the level of world literature. This period was rich in lyrics, drama, fiction, narratives, and disputations. But there was little Muslim contribution during this period. The *Mohasmasm-Kabya* of Kaikobad, and *Vishad Sindhu* of Mir Musharraf Husain are perhaps the only works by Muslim authors worth mentioning. After a glorious start in the early period of poetry, the Muslims played a secondary role in literature, and the greatest praise that could be given by Hindu authorities to Kaikobad, Mir Musharraf, Munshi Raizuddin, and others, was that their language was so 'chaste', that is to say, so Sanskritic, that it was indistinguishable from the writings of Hindu authors. In short, the Hindus created a literature that was entirely or almost entirely an expression of Hindu culture and ideology. Gradually a consciousness of helplessness dawned upon the Muslims. They attributed their backwardness to the neglect of their religious precepts, but failed to recognize their want of adaptibility to the new circumstances. So their reaction in literature took the shape of an outcry for Islam and the Muslims. Ismail Husain Shirazi produced some fiery propaganda literature with the object of praising Islam and its heroes at the expense of Hinduism and their customs. Mozammil Haq, Azhar Ali, Syed Imdad Ali, Akram Khan, Dr. Shahidullah, and others wrote literature calculated to educate the Muslims in their history and traditions. These had the effect of instilling some sense of pride in the Muslims. Apart from Kaikobad and Mir Musharraf Husain, mention can be made of Akram Khan's *Mustafa Charit* and *Quran;* Dr. Inamul

Haq's *Bengali Literature in the Royal Court of Arakan;* Qazi Akram Hussain's *History of Islam;* Akbarudin's *Muslim Contribution to the Sciences;* Abul Hasanth's *Sociology;* Ghulam Mustafa's *Vishwa Nabi;* and Ibrahim Khan's *Khalid-er-Samar Smirti.*

Among the living authors of Bengal, the greatest personality is the poet Nazrul Islam. Indeed, it has been he alone that raised the prestige of Muslim writers in the eyes of the Hindu authors and the Hindu public. Nazrul Islam's great vitality in style in writing as well as in life, his great variety of expression in music and in poetry, his range of interest from patriotic writings to love poems, from *ghazals* to *kirtans*, from fiction to letters of literary grace, have made him outstanding. He has introduced many words of Persian and Arabic origin into the existing Sanskritized Bengali in such a way that it has greatly enriched the Bengali vocabulary and increased the power of expressing thought in Bengali; his *Bidrohi* has won international reputation; his *Pujarini* and *Tumi-Mor-e-Bhuliachha* (You Have Forgotten Me) can be compared with any fine lyric of the world; his *Zaglul*, *Kamal*, *Anwar*, *Riff Sardar* are Byronic. His songs, both classical and modern, have been prolific and yet of a uniformly high standard as regards tune and text. By introducing in his songs syllabic emphasis peculiar to Urdu and Persian tunes, he has made Bengali music more forcible and varied in expression. His knowledge of Islamic lore and Hindu mythology is as wide as that of the great Alawal.

In his conception of Heaven Nazrul Islam writes:

"O come ye who will go to Heaven
Young men and women crowd there, the old and aged are debarred;
The vultures of dry Shastras, the labourers of the citadel of knowledge
Are forbidden to enter the flower garden of Hur-Pari and Sharab-Saqi.
O, come ye, who will go to Heaven".

One of his many love-songs runs thus:

"My songs like a wounded bird fall fluttering at your feet, O my darling;
Lift my songbird, pierced by arrows, gently to thy breast; O my darling;

Nazrul Islam.

Zainul Abedin.

He will meet his death at your feet beautiful, unparalleled!
How lightly he was soaring in the Heaven on wings of tune!
But alas! how unobserved you pierced him with shafts from your eyes!
O, Wonder what a surge of music is flowing from his throat in the throes of death.
In death's agony you produced the taste of immortality, O my hunter!"

Other contemporary poets are insignificant when compared with Nazrul Islam. Only Jasimuddin, the pastoral poet, has shown a genuine creative ability in the delineation of the hopes and fears of the rural people. His *Nakshi Katha-r-Math* has won for him an international fame.

This short survey would be incomplete if we did not notice a progressive movement started some twenty years back by the Muslim Sahitya Samaj of Dacca under the guidance of Abdul Husain, Abdul Wadud, and Mutaher Husain. Abdul Husain, the man of action, wrote his celebrated essay on *Adesh-er-Nigraha* and *Nilshadh-er-Birambana*. Qazi Abdul Wadud, the man of intellect, published his *Nava-Paryyaya* containing a famous article on *Sammohita Mussalman*, in which he said that the Mussalmans were worshipping idols in a subtler form than that represented by the religious scriptures. Qazi Mutaher Husain wrote his famous essays on *Ananda-o-Mussalman Griha Sangit-Charcha-e-Mussalman*, and *Bengali-r-Samajic Jibana*. All these works brought a great deal of antagonism from the professional custodians of religion. Gradually, however, the outlook of the Mullas of Bengal as regards arts and literature did undergo a profound change, if not a complete reverse.

Among the writers who have been influenced directly or indirectly by the spirit of the Sahitya Samaj, those who deserve mention are Abdul Qadir, Mohammad Qausim, Nazrul Islam, Nur Ahmad, Abul Mansur Ahmad, Mansuruddin Ahmad, Qazi Akram Hussain, Mahbubul Alam, Sufia Kamal, Abul Hasanath, Shamsul Huda, Nurul Momin, Dr. Shahidullah, Humayun Kabir, Bande Ali Mian, Ibrahim Khan, Didarul Alam, Wahidul Alam, Abdul Fazl, and Wajid Ali.

Among the precursors of the Sahitya Samaj are Mrs. R. S. Husain, the author of *Matichur*, Lutfur Rahman, the author of *Unnata-Jiban*, Qazi Imdadul Haq, the author of *Nabi-Kahani* and *Abdullah*, and Qazi Anwarul Qaudir who completed the unfinished part of Imdadul Haq's *Abdullah*.

We must refer to a new group of writers of the modern school who contend that up to Rabindranath, the whole of Bengali literature has been written from the point of view of the middle class people, and that the labour classes or the general masses have been as much neglected in literature as in life. This is the same type of objection as we noticed before in connection with the banishment of Muslim culture from Bengali literature. Young Muslim writers are joining in large numbers this group of realists who are trying to widen the range of their subject matter by treating important current topics. Though the Hindu writers are still setting the pace, we have reasons to believe that in the course of the next twenty years some of our numerous young writers will come to the fore and attain distinction in all branches of literature.

In order to appraise the contribution of Muslims to Bengali literature, an absolute view might be entirely misleading. It is rather the relative view that counts. Thus we see at once that among old Bengali poets against Faizullah, Daulat Qazi, Alawwal, and Syed Sultan, there are Krithibas, Kashiram, Chandidas, Vadyapati, Mukumdaram, and Bharat Chandra. If we consider the Muslim patronage and the influence of Muslim culture on the Vaishnava literature, we may perhaps say that "honours are easy". During the period of Muslim non-co-operation and subsequent reaction the Muslim contribution is immeasurably small in comparison, even taking into account the separate *Punthi Sahitya* for the Muslim masses. In the Muslim creative phase, in spite of Nazhrul Islam, Abul Wadud, Jasimuddin, Humayun Kabir, Abul Hasanat, Abul Mansur, and others, the total quantity of high class production by Muslims is not even five per cent of the whole, when account is taken of fiction, short stories, scientific and philosophic writings, history, criticism, and drama. In the immediate present, when the moderns are chalking out their own paths, the group of the young Muslim writers and their friends and colleagues would seem to be a hopelessly minor group in the company of Gopal Halder, Bibhuti Banerji, Tarasankar, Bishnu De, and

others. Here also we have to rely on the hopes of the future.

But strange and paradoxical as it may seem, the illiterate Muslim peasants of Bengal have an overhwelming superiority in the field of ballads. Indeed, their natural sense of artistic beauty have proved to be not inferior to that of the cultured Hindu or Muslim. This opinion of competent European and American judges is a sharp pointer to the artificial atmosphere in which the upper class Bengalis, both Hindus and Muslims, have hitherto kept themselves enveloped. Indeed, the hyper-moderns have partially cleared the fog and already show prospects of creating a more glorious literature pulsating with life.

Qazi Mutaher Husain.

Pushto Literature

The Pathans of the North-West Frontier Province have had few opportunities for contemplation: a struggle for existence among the barren rocks and sandy tracts has occupied most of their time, and they are a people more inclined towards action rather than to literary composition. Nevertheless, when compared with people who have lived in similar surroundings, their output is not inconsiderable.

This history of Pushto literature is divided into three periods, each with its own distinctive feature; the first period begins with the earliest times and ends in the sixteenth century with Babar's invasion of India; the second period begins from about the middle of the sixteenth century and ends with the advent of British rule over the sub-continent; the third period covers from 1840 up to the present day.

The earliest poems that have been found are a few by Amir Keror Pahlavan who ruled Ghaur more than a thousand years ago, and it is in his verse that local ideas first found expression. In his simple poetry the firm manly characteristics and outlook of the people, especially of the ruling classes, are reflected:

> "Like a dart my firm decision flashes over my enemy's head;
> I chase the fugitives and strike on, strike on.
> There is not a mightier warrior than me facing the vanquished foe".

Much of the information about this early period of Pushto literature comes from historical works called *Tazkiras*, of which the most prominent is the *Tazkira-tul-Awliya* by Shaikh Sulaiman Maku, while much that was obscure and unknown has been revealed in two other books, *Da Shaikh Milli Dafter* and *Pushtano Rana*, by Kaja Khan Ranezai. Although it is not possible to discuss all the poets whose names have been handed down from these and other sources, many people could be mentioned who wrote Pushto poetry in a number of forms. There are, for example, Shaikh Razzi from the Lodi chiefs of Multan (twelfth century); Beit Baba, (twelfth century); Shaikh Taimun, (twelfth and thirteenth century); Akbar Zamindavri, (fourteenth century); Shaikh Saleh, Zarghun Khan, and two poetessess Bibi Zabuna and Bibi Rabia (fifteenth century). All these poets are separated by centuries, and while it is impossible to deal with all their individual characteristics within the short space of this article, there are certain common qualities which can be pointed out. In the first place, the main influence is the spirit of Islam. Secondly, the most popular form of poetry is the epic, relating the great exploits of heroes. Lastly it is noticeable that the love poetry of this period is not encumbered by complicated expression or unfamiliar imagery. Towards the end of the period Persian mystic influences appeared in the works of many of the poets, and although the Pathan mind generally remained alert and active under the influence of the Islamic ideal with which it was in direct contact, the mystic element was slowly becoming evident.

With the end of the Afghan Kingdom in Delhi and the beginning of Mughul rule, the whole tenor of life was greatly affected in the sub-continent, and the Pathans did not escape the changes. Pushto literature entered its second period. Bayazid Ansari, also called Pir Roashan, a learned and widely-travelled man, came forward with a new reform movement by founding a religio-political sect called "Roshanai" with a doctrine of pantheistic Sufiism. Soon he had a large following of tribesmen who were greatly influenced by his personality. Naturally the orthodox section of society could not tolerate such an individual with his far-reaching religious and social reforms and he soon found an opponent in Akhwand Darveza. The controversy which followed resulted in a 'tractarian' movement; both leaders wrote tracts in support of their own view and soon their disciples followed the example. Arzani and Mirza

equality of men in its sight to a despised and neglected population. It appealed to the people, and it derived the great mass of its converts from the poor. It brought in a higher conception of God, and a nobler idea of the brotherhood of man. It offered to the teeming low castes of Bengal, who had sat for ages abject on the outermost pale of the Hindu community, a free entrance into a new social organisation".[1]

The indirect results of the impact of Islam on the structure of the Hindu society were no less important. After its contact with Islam the character of Hinduism was materially changed.[2] A new conception of human relationship began to grow in the Hindu society; reformers such as Ramanand, Nanak, and Chaitaniya arose in all parts of the country, and began to preach against the rigidity of the caste, emphasizing the importance of good deeds rather than of birth. In course of time poets and writers from the lower classes began to obtain a hearing, and although the caste system continued to maintain its hold over Hindu society, its rigours were relaxed, and life became more bearable for the lower classes. This was the position in all parts of the sub-continent, but in areas where Muslims were in a majority and Islamic influences dominated, the changes brought about in the Hindu society by contact with Islam were more marked. Writing about Hindus in Sind, a predominantly Muslim area, a Hindu writer said in 1924: "Sind is free from many pernicious social evils, from which the other parts of India--are suffering. Caste is virtually absent in Sind; the Brahmins among the Hindus form but a microscopic portion of its population; and where the priest is not powerful, caste cannot exist. The problem of depressed classes is non-existent. It seems strange to Sindhis that their brethren in India are prohibited by their scriptures to travel by sea".[3]

In language and literature, Islamic influences resulted in a freeing of the intellectual and spiritual life, and in increasing the popularity of themes concerning human affairs. According to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar the rise of vernacular literature in India was the

[1] *The Preaching of Islam*, Arnold, pp. 279-280 (1935 Edition).

[2] *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Dr. Tara Chand.

[3] *Sind and its Sufis*, Jethmal P. Gulraj, pp. 76-77.

Khan Ansari and others like them wrote on behalf of one side and Akhwand Qasim and Karim Dad wrote for the other. Their tracts covering a wide range of religious, poetic, and ethical subjects greatly enriched Pushto literature.

In A.D. 1613 Khushal Khan, a great Pushto poet, was born. He was a scion of the Khattak chiefs of Akora and as a young man he had served the Mughul Emperor of Delhi. In time he was drawn into the opposite camp and began to fight against the Mughul forces. He is said to have left 360 books, ranging from translations from Arabic and Persian to his own collections of poetry. In his *Diwan* of 14,000 verses every aspect of life is fully reflected. He seems to have a born affinity with the Islamic ideal of 'Jehad' and in his case, this ideal seems to embrace the entire activity of life. His chief aim in life was self-realization, and he enlarged the scope of his mind by reading deeply in Persian and Arabic. Almost all his sons and grandsons were eminent writers; six of his sons and one daughter were poets of merit; two of his grandsons were Afzal Khan, the author of *Tarikh-e-Murassa*, and Kazim Khan "Shaida", the mystic love-poet in the Pushto language.

Two voices that rise above the tumult of life in these regions are those of Rahman Baba and Abdul Hamid. Rahman Baba was in many ways more gifted and more Islamic in tradition and in the assessment of human values. He lived in the sixteenth century which is considered to be the golden period of Pushto literature, and is by far the most popular lyric poet of Pushto. His *Diwan* consists mainly of *ghazals*, *rubaiyats*, and stray lines, and his verses contain a wide variety of themes so that he is looked upon as a saint and a man of the world. That is what invests the poet with unusual importance and makes this work a valuable part of the cultural heritage of Pakistan. Rahman Baba is, in fact the voice of the community and is, therefore, listened to with rapt attention in the Hujra, on the battlefield, and over the hilltops. Rahman has the genuineness of feeling and the fire to combine in his verse the spirit of both Saadi and Hafiz, though he does not imitate either of them.

Abdul Hamid had the genius to put life into all that he touched; he was a lyricist who imported the fire of his own being even to the ice-cold moments of human experience. Wherever these two poets

have gone out into the domains of other peoples' existence, they have returned with fruitful experience thoroughly assimilated. They did, in fact, expand the vision and scope of life for their people.

Abdul Hamid stood for the beautiful in life. In him is to be found an aesthete probing the heart of existence and placing his finger on all that is beautiful. Most of their contemporaries and successors either belonged to one school or the other, and in both of these schools one finds a longing to imbibe all that the Arabic and Persian art and mind could offer them. The Muslim genius, which had brought into his being such a dynamic spirit half a century back, was now reaching out for wider contacts and he was intent upon expanding the mental horizon of the people.

The romance writers of the time were less original in their work, and their aim seems to have been to re-tell the stories that they read in other languages. Romances of love and adventure from the Pathan life have mostly been confined to folk-tales, and have seldom reached the standard of artistic creations. But it is clear from them that these writers enriched the mind of the warrior people who tended to be detached from the world outside their mountains.

In the third period the Pathans were faced with another powerful influence. The British occupied the land across the Indus by 1840 and it was then that the Pathan mind came in contact with European culture. That contact was neither direct, nor deliberate; otherwise it would have proved more fruitful than it actually has been. It was in this third period that Pushto prose, which had previously been very ornate and involved, achieved a higher standard. There are, for example, translations of the great books, such as Shibli's *Seeratun-Nabi*, history books such as Muslim Ahmad Jan's *Tarikh-e-Afghanistan*, and standard plays such as those of Aslam Khattak's *Vino-Jan*.

In the Pushto poetry of the new era it is surprising to find how thoroughly the Islamic and the western elements have been blended together. The *Da Bedal Guluna*, for example, a collection of poems by Syed Rasool Raza, might be termed the most representative work of this period. In Samandar Khan Badrashvi the spirit of the new age has worked unconsciously; and he combined old inspirations with new features of life. Both these poets

had a group of followers, and it can be said that Samandar represented the Hebraic tone of the moralist Rehaman Baba, while Raza followed Abdul Hamid in stressing what is beautiful and artistically perfect. Nevertheless, these divergent tendencies in Pushto literature did not disturbed the sustained unity of purpose which has deep roots in Islamic values.

The bulk of Pushto literature is in verse of varied forms, the study of which may conveniently be limited to epic ballads, love lyrics, mystic utterances, natural scenery, and human ideals. Epic ballads constitute the greatest contribution of these warrior poets. Their war songs register the voice of their inner being with all its force and fire. Their aim is to depict the warring mood and the spirit that gives birth to that mood. Here is a piece from Malkyar Gharshin who accompanied Sultan Shahabuddin Ghuri on one of his invasions. He is reported to have sung it on the battlefield when his comrades-in-arms felt the pressure of the enemy's attack:

God is on our side!
'Tis ours now to strike
In a foreign land we are.
Beware, O, Ghaziz!
God is on our side.

There is no dearth of love lyrics in Pushto literature. Among the lyric poets Abdul Qadir Khan, Ali Khan, and Abdul Hamid stand supreme. Except for some of their mystic utterances, they are always nearer to the earth, anxious to revel in all that life has to offer. Here is a love lyric by Abdul Qadir:

I gaze at your beauty all night O, love!
While modestly you look down at your feet.
And those tears of mine that fall on your cheeks
Like dew-drops awaken those buds once again.
With kerchief you dry up my weeping eyes.
And in my deep wailings you console me.
For the sake of my heart you control your tears
But when the flood grows too strong you also weep.
Each one of us longs to die before the other
Thus each one prays for the longevity of the other.

Pathans have drunk deep at the fountain-head of mysticism. Not only has Persian contact afforded them opportunity of studying mysticism, but Pir Rowshan also opened for them the new domain of pantheistic Sufiism. However, like all true believers of Islam they did not subscribe to the pantheistic views of the Pir. They could appreciate the orthodox type of Sufiism and many of them practised it, getting closer to the universal soul of man and the fundamental unity of life. Mirza Khan Ansari, Daulat Labani, and Rehman Baba are the great mystic poets of Pushto. Here are a few verses from a poem by Daulat Labani:

Look within or without God is one everywhere;
Behind the veil of these figures the beloved is the same;
A pearl in the shell, and poison in a snake;
It is the one summer cloud that rains everywhere.
In the midst of which live the fish good and bad;
That great shoreless ocean is the same everywhere.

A people who have had to fight against the stormy forces of nature could not be expected to sing in the manner of Wordsworth; they could only portray the elements as they actually encountered them. They do not regard Nature as a consoling power to which they should repair in their hour of depression; they respect it for its grandeur and the mighty force it presents, and it was only after their contact with the West that they began to see nature in its many coloured garments and attempted to depict its various moods.

As warriors, the Pathans have been enamoured of the two most dominant traits of Arabic character, namely, generosity and the will to resist; and upon these, the Pathan has based his ideal of manhood or *Saritob*. Men of religion have praised these traits, men of wisdom have sought them, story-tellers have elaborated upon them in their romances, and poets have sung of their essential greatness.

The Pushto folk-songs form the bulk of the literary activity of the Pathans. There are seven different forms of Pushto folk-songs: *Tappa* or *Misra*, *Lobha*, *Charbaita*, *Nimakai*, *Bagatai*, *Badala* and *Rubai*. *Tappa* is the oldest and the most popular of all these forms; it resembles the *Doha* of the Punjabi and the Multani languages. The *Charbaita* is the common form for epic ballads. *Nimakai*

and *Bagatai* are the favourite songs of women. They are usually sung to the accompaniment of a tambourine and a pitcher. In fact, the Pushto folk-song, which has as vast a thematic field as life itself, is the most dependable record of the entire life activity of the people in this part of the world.

M. M. Kaleem.

Punjabi Literature

For their inspiration the writers of the Punjab have turned to the life of the villages rather than the towns, and it is from the happenings of the everyday life of the Punjab peasants that they have drawn their imagery. The language itself is more archaic than Urdu, and Mr. A. C. Woolner compares its relation to Urdu with that of provencal poetry of southern France to French.

The basis of Punjabi literature is the ancient folk-lore which grew up among the peasants, and linked closely with them are the verse romances; some of those can be acted with a few modifications; others are longer ballads, and from early times these romances used to be recited at the *chaupal* or *dara* (the village meeting place) at the end of the day's work.

There are five major folk romances, *Heer Ranjha*, *Sassi Punnu*, *Sohni Mahinval*, *Mirza Sahiban*, and *Puran Bhagat*. Of these *Heer Ranjha* is the most popular romance and has been put into verse by many Punjabi poets.

The time of the romance of Heer and Ranjha is a few years before the Mughul period. It became so popular that it soon spread all over the Punjab. First it took the form of ballads; then during the reign of Akbar the Great, Demodar expanded it into a romance. The tomb of Heer is still intact in Jhang, her birthplace, and every year a festival is held there.

It is the love story of Heer, the daughter of Chuchak, and Ranjha, the youngest son of a neighbouring tribal chief. The other brothers grew jealous of him and on the death of their father they turned him out. After much wandering he reached the river Chenab, across which he persuaded a boat-man to row

him. This barge belonged to Heer who found him asleep in it. They fell in love at once, and Heer got Ranjha work as a cow-herd on her father's farm. Her father discovered their romance, banished Ranjha and forced Heer to marry Saida, chief of Rangpur. Later Ranjha visited Rangpur as a yogi, and with the help of Sehti, the sister of Saida, ran away with his beloved. But Ranjha was captured and exiled. When soon after a fire broke out in Rangpur, Heer was allowed to go with Ranjha, as people attributed the misfortune to their sorrow. Heer went back to her parents at Jhang to make preparations for their marriage. While preparations for the wedding were going on her father and uncle told her that Ranjha had been murdered and they also poisoned her. On arrival at Jhang, Ranjha learnt the bitter truth and overwhelmed with sorrow he fell dead on the grave of his beloved.

Sassi Punnu, another folk romance, is popular in the Punjab as well as Sind. Hashim Shah, Hafiz Barkhurdar, Ahmad Yar and a number of other poets wrote round it, but Hashim Shah's version is the most popular. The story of Sassi, as told by Hashim, is as follows.

Adam Jam, the king of Banbhore, was told by the court astrologers that his newly born daughter Sassi would meet her death in a desert after a love affair. So the king, acting on the advice of his ministers, placed the child in a big box, along with several diamonds, her dowry, some milk, a note containing her full account, and threw the box in a river. Atta, a childless washerman, found the box, opened it, and adopted the baby, building a palatial house with her wealth. When she grew up she fell in love with the portrait of Punnu, a prince of Kicham, and managed to meet him, and they fell in love. His father enraged at the scandal, sent his other sons to bring Punnu back, and at a party they made Sassi and Punnu drink so much that they became unconscious. The brothers took Punnu away on a camel. When Sassi woke up, she pursued Punnu into the deserts of Thal, but unable to stand the scorching heat, she died, and was buried by a shepherd.

On the way to Kicham, Punnu, having regained consciousness, crossed swords with his brothers, and escaped on a camel.

Noticing a fresh grave on the way he asked the shepherd about it, and on learning the story he wept bitterly. The grave opened and Punnu was laid to eternal rest along with Sassi.

Of the versions of *Sohni Mahinwal*, another classical romance, Fazal Shah's version is regarded as the best. According to popular belief the tragedy is said to have taken place in the time of Shah Jahan, but from an old *kafi* (ballad) of the sixteenth century, the story seems to have been much older.

Sohni was the beautiful daughter of Tulla, a potter of Gujrat, a town on the northern bank of the Chenab. A handsome young merchant of Bukhara, passing through Gujrat, fell in love with her. He visited the house of the potter daily on the pretext of buying pottery and in a short time was reduced to poverty. Then he became a servant in Tulla's house. Pleased with his work and appearance, Tulla appointed him a grazier of buffaloes. One day Mahinwal told Sohni that he loved her, and she found that she loved him too. But their love was soon discovered, Mahinwal was dismissed and Sohni married to a neighbour's son, but she continued secretly to meet Mahinwal who sat as a *faqir* on the opposite bank of the Chenab, and every night used to swim across the river to meet her. Once, because of a wound, Mahinwal could not come for many days, so Sohni crossed the river with the help of an empty earthern jar which she hid on her return. Sohni's sister-in-law replaced her jar by an unbaked one, so that one night when Sohni entered the river, the jar dissolved. She cried loudly for Mahinwal who jumped into the river from the other bank, but before he could reach her she had drowned. Mahinwal allowed himself to be drowned to join his beloved in the other world.

These three folk romances form the basis on which all Punjabi mystic poetry is based, and it was to them that the Sufis turned to explain their mystic experiences; for to them they had a deep spiritual meaning. In all three romances, the heroines stand for the Sufis who are continually striving for union with the Beloved; to the Punjabi Sufi, as to other mystics, the Beloved is God.

It was in the middle of the fifteenth century that Sheikh Ibrahim Farid, a descendant of Baba Farid, the famous saint of

Pakpatan began to write in Punjabi instead of Persian or Urdu. His language was simple and natural, forceful and impressive; but he lacked that intensity of feeling which marks the poetry of his successor, Madhoo Lall Hussain. Hussain was born in Lahore and belonged to a poor family. His Sufiism was of a peculiar nature and presented a curious medley of Persian and Indian influences. Having drunk wine, he would dance, sing his own poems, and preach to the crowds. He has left a number of *kafis* of a highly mystic type remarkable for their simplicity, and rhythm. Underlying his verse is a constant feeling of frustration because he never attained the stage of spiritual union with the Beloved.

Sultan Bahu (1631-91) wrote many books in Arabic and Persian and one long *Si harfi* in Punjabi. His verse is pious and bereft of all secular love and its ideals; but absolute lack of artificiality has contributed much to his simple and unpretentious style.

Bullhe Shah (1680-1758) is regarded as the greatest and the most popular of the Punjabi mystics. As a Sufi poet he wrote of the ecstasy of eternal Union with the Beloved. He was also a fearless critic of formalism and the narrow fanaticism which forbade free expression of divine love. He wrote in the original musical verse-forms of his land, taking his images from the vigour of Punjabi life.

Waris Shah was born in the middle of the eighteenth century in the village of Jandyala Sher Khan near Gujranwala. He belonged to a respectable Sayyid family. He completed his studies at Qasur with Hafiz Ghulam Murtuza. He followed the Chishtiya tradition of Sufiism. When he was in the prime of his youth, he went to a village near Pakpatan where he stayed for sometime. It was here that he fell in love with a girl called Bhag Bhari. Being a Sayyid he was highly respected in the village, but when people came to know about his love with Bhag Bhari, they turned him out of the village. He was so struck with grief that he went to a village in Montgomery district and began to live there all alone as a recluse. He sublimated the tragedy of his love in a splendid version of the popular folk romance, Heer Ranjha, which is considered to be his masterpiece.

In the eighteenth century there was no peace in the Punjab for a period of thirty-five years. The invasion of Nadir Shah, the successive raids of Ahmad Shah Durrani, the rapidly disintegration process of the Mughul Empire, and the devastation caused by bands of Sikh raiders, stopped the growth of arts in the Punjab. Ali Haider, Fard Faqir, and Hashim Shah are the only three poets worth mentioning, and of these Hashim Shah is far superior to his contemporaries. Besides *Sassi Punnu*, his *dohras* are very popular. In these *dohras* he is a pure Sufi singing about his inner mystic emotions.

For fifty years under Sikh rule the country was very unsettled and after Hashim mystic poetry began to deteriorate. It was not until 1848, with the advent of British rule, that the Punjabis began to adapt themselves to new cultural and scientific ideas. During that period Maulvi Abdullah Abdi and Faqir Darzi (a tailor), Mian Abdul Hakim, Mian Nauroz, and Mian Baksh wrote purely religious poetry. War poetry began in the eighteenth century with Hamid Shah Abbassi who wrote a narrative of the event of Karbala. Najabat wrote of the invasion of Nadir Shah, and Qadir Yar, the author of Puran Bhagat, wrote the story of the wars between the Sikhs and the Afghans.

The real Punjabi tradition survived in the works of such people as Hidayatullah and Sir Shahabuddin who translated, *Musaddas-i-Hali* into Punjabi. Today Babu Karam Amritsari, Malik Lal Din Qaisar, Ghulam Sarwar of Kunjah, and a number of others belong to the old school, while Ustad Daman, Dr. Faqir Muhammad of Gujranwala, Joshua Fazaluddin, and Safdar Ali Shah have introduced many innovations which have helped to improve the form as well as the content of Punjabi poetry. Two leading Urdu poets, Maulana Abdul Majid Salik and Sufi Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, have recently written *ghazals* in Punjabi. Of the young writers Sajjad Haider is known for his plays and short stories and Sharif Kunjahi and Abdul Majid Bhatti for a constructive social trend in their poems.

Abdul Salam Khurshid.

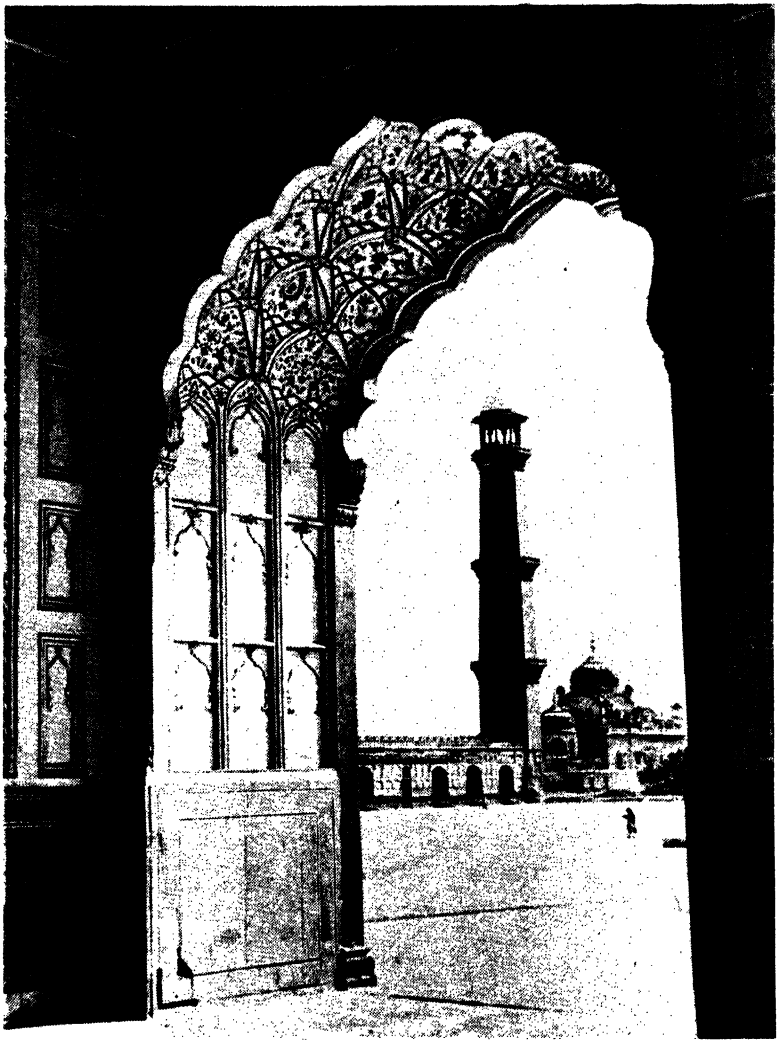
Sindhi Literature

Sindhi is an old language, directly descended from the 'Virachada' dialect of Prakrit. When it came to be spoken is not

known with certainty, but we have the evidence of the Arabian travellers, such as al-Istakhri and al-Maqdisi, who visited Sind in the tenth century, that the languages spoken at Daybal, Mansurah, and Multan were Arabic and Sindhi. As for the script in which Sindhi was being written, al-Biruni (A.D. 973-1048) says in this *Kitabu'l Hind* that the alphabet used in southern Sind towards the sea-coast was Malwari, while in some parts Ardhanagari script was used. It is not known when these scripts were transformed into Arabic: this process must have been very gradual; but it seems that as the population became Muslim, the old script gave way to the language of the *Quran.* The oldest form of the Arabicized Sindhi script is to be found in the couplets of Shah Karim of Bulri (1537-1623) which are embodied in his *Table-Talks*, translated into Persian by his disciple Muhammad Rida in 1629. Although this script does away with the aspirates and the nasals it is sufficiently intelligible. The fifty-two sounds in Sindhi are represented by the thirty letters of Arabic.

The earlier scholars of Sind were occupied with the study of Arabic and Persian, which until the fifteenth century were the languages of all *belles lettres*, and had paid no attention to their own language, nor was there any institution of *rawis* or rhapsodists. No early Sindhi poetry, therefore, survives. The apocryphal verses attributed to the seven trunkless heads of the Saints of Samoi who predicted the end of the Sammah rule and divined the course of future things are still extant and have been preserved in the books of Burton and Haig. But the verses of Shaikh Hammad Jamali (d. 1362), Shaikh Bhiris, Ishaq Ahingar (Blacksmith), Darwesh Rajo, Kamil Majdhub, and others have disappeared with the single exception of one couplet by Ishaq.

Sindhi poetry really began with the two couplets connected with the death of Makhdum Ahmad Bhatti of Hala Kandi, when they were recited at a Sama gathering at Hyderabad in 1528. These were followed by the seven couplets of Qadi Qadan (d. 1551), which were recited by Shah Karim on various occasions and are preserved for us in his *Table-Talks*. They are all mystical and one can safely presume that the Qadi, who was one of the greatest scholars of the time and a profound mystic, must have composed many such verses. Makhdum Nuh (1505-1590), whose preachings have recently been translated into Sindhi, has been credited with



Gateway of the Badshahi Masjid, Lahore.

several couplets, of which only a few are available. About the same time there flourished another great poet and saint Makhdum Pir Muhammad Lakhwi (d. 1590), one of whose poems is recorded in the *Bayad-i-Khadimi*. In it he invokes the morning breeze, which is the messenger of God, the courier, and the postman of the Beloved to convey his greetings and supplications to the Holy Prophet. This poem belongs to a kind of poetry, which later on was brought to perfection by Makhdum Muhammad Hashim, Miyan Abdullah Mandhro, and Pir Muhammad Ashraf of Kamaro, all of whom derive their inspiration from Ibnul Farid, and the *Burdah* (Scarf Poem) of al-Busiri, whose influence on the early religious and mystical poetry has been considerable. The Scarf Poem itself has been rendered in Sindhi verses by Maulawi Shafi Muhammad of Pat, Maulawi Ali Muhammad Maheri, and Abdullah Athar.

The poetry of Sayyid Abdul Karim or Shah Karim of Burli (1537-1628) is not very extensive in range, consisting of only ninety-one couplets, two triplets, and one verse; and though their scope and subject matter are limited and often rough, they are not without feeling and beauty and mystical truths. In them the couplet or *dohira*, which was further developed and perfected by Shah Latif, nearly a century later, reaches its culmination. They are written in pure Sindhi, without many Arabic or Persian words.

After the death of Shah Karim, there is once again a gap of nearly a hundred years, during which there is no evidence of any great name in poetry through the lack of records; indeed it is clear that the great Shah Latif who was born in 1698 owed much to his predecessor of this time, particularly to Shah Inayat of Nasrpur. Shah Latif has a universal appeal and he can be ranked as a great poet. His poetry breathes the spirit of the calm and divine content.

> Think not, O man, that these are mere couplets—they are divine verses:
> That bear thee to the sacred precincts of the Beloved.

His poetry is like a diamond with many facets and deals with all manner of subjects; mystical, spiritual, didactic, romantic, and lyrical. But in all these forms, the poet's mind is attuned to his Maker, to whom all things ultimately return. It portrays divinely inspired

ecstasy, vividly depicting the pangs of separation, the yearnings of the loving soul, and the heart's desire to be one with the Infinite. It depicts the natural beauty of Sind's earth and skies, and describes the majesty of its mighty river, the Indus. While his poetry has a definite moral purpose, it delights the mind also by its melody and use of imagery. With Shah Latif, the couplet attains a perfection scarcely matched by any later poets who have tried to imitate him in this kind of poetry. Shah Latif was also the originator of another species of verse, the *Wa'i* or *Kafi* (ballad), which was further elaborated by his successors, particularly by Ramadan the Potter, Ahmad Ali, Nur Muhammad, and Misri Shah.

Shah's age, like the Elizabethan period in England, was an age in which people distinguished themselves in many kinds of poetry. The blank verse of the so-called lines ending in an *alifu'l-ishba*, originally introduced by Pir Muhammad Lakhwi, was made popular by Makhdum Abdul Hasan (d. A.D. 1951), Makhdum Muhammad Hashm (d. 1760), and Makhdum Abdullah Mandhro. As this crude form of verse lends itself easily to lines rhyming in *a* it was imitated by inferior poetasters. Makhdum Diyau'd-din's religious poetry (d. 1757) consisting of strophes with different rhymes, is dull. His disciple, Makhdum Muhammad Hashm, wrote finely in his introduction to his *qutu'l-Ashiqin* (Food for Lovers), and similar compositions by Pir Muhammad Ashraf (d. 1860), Miyan Abdullah, Sayyid Harun and Miyan Iso are full of devotion to the Holy Prophet. Comparatively popular were the long *Trih-Akhri* poems that is poems, of which each section begins with a letter of the Arabic alphabet; they have a rich variety of themes. Another interesting poetic form was *Mawlud*, and Mukhdum Abdu'r Ra'uf or Hala Old, who died a year after Shah Latif, was probably the first poet to have composed *Mawluds* in accordance with the canons of prosody.

Shah Latif's younger contemporary, Khwaja Muhammad Zaman of Lunhari (1713-1774), whose blessings he sought towards the end of his life, is famous for his mystical verses, *Abyat-i-Sindhi*, which have been translated into Arabic by his disciple, Shaikh Abdu'r-Rahim Girhori (1739-1778). Abdur-Rahim himself was an erudite scholar and poet, and wrote long poems, called *Kalimas*, and also verses after the manner of Shah Latif.

Most of these poets belong to what is known as the Kalhora Period (1657-1783), which was the Golden Age of Sindhi poetry, and is mostly dominated by the verse form, called *bayt*. One of the princes of this dynasty, Muhammad Sarfraz Khan (reign 1752-1753), was himself an amateur poet and invented a new kind of poetry, called *Madh* or the panegyric of the Prophet and his Companions, and this was further developed by Jaman Charan, Sadruddin, Fath Faqir, and Hafiz Pinye who flourished during the Talpur period (1783-1784). The Kalhora period is also distinguished for the composition of *Mathnawis*, the chief among them being the romance of Laila and Majnun, which has been handled with great skill by Fadil and Khalifa Abdullah Nizamani. The Talpurs were tolerant Shiites and did not persecute anyone for his creed. Indeed, they appreciated the virtue of the Imams and other Alids, which gave rise to elegiac poems, called *Marthiyas*.

Sachal Sarmast (1739-1828) was the outstanding poet of the Talpur Period. His poetry, though extensive in range and typical by itself, did not reach the level of Shah Latif's verse. His *Kafis* and *ghazals* (odes), however, are unrivalled in their own way. Although a *Hafiz* of the *Quran* and learned in Islamic lore, he is unpopular with many people because of his unorthodox religious views. When young he is said to have been noticed by Shah Latif who predicted that one day he would remove the lid of the kettle which he, Shah Latif, had laid on the fire-place.

Other than Sachal, we do not come across many great names in this field except perhaps the Hindu poets such as Swami, Asu and Dalpat, whose subject is generally Vedantism, and the Muslim poets such as Khalifa Gul Muhammad, Pir Ali Gohar Shah Rashidi, Asghar (1816-1847), Sayyid Khayr Shah, and Hamal Laghari (1878). Khalifa Gul Muhammad (1784-1856) is supposed to be the first Sindhi poet who composed a complete *Diwan* according to the rules of prosody. His poetry is rich in diction, but is rather cumbersome and flat. Sayyid Khayr Shah wrote a *Jangnama* in verse in answer to the *Marthias* of Thabit Ali Shah. His poem *Cap and Turban* is a kind of burlesque and is reminiscent of the *Munazara* poems in Arabic and Persian.

In the British Period (1843-1947) poetry tended to adopt Persian verse-forms and lost much of the old vision. Nevertheless,

there were a few writers who have left some good poetry among whom may be mentioned Ramadan Kundhar (Potter), who in his miracle-poems, (*Mujiza*), *Mawluds*, and *Qafis* took his inspiration from his native surroundings and Mawlawi Allah Bakhsh whose Masuddas composed in 1894, is the first poem of its kind in Sindhi.

The younger generation of poets, though following the Persian verse-forms, have developed new forms of poetry, such as quintets, sextets, septets, and octets, and their subjects are varied. Among them Ahmed Nizami, Badwi, Ghulam Muhammad Girami, Hafiz Muhammad Latfullah, Ahsan, Abdullah Athar, and Rashid Ahmed Laghari may be mentioned. Unlike Sindhi poetry, Sindhi prose has developed only recently and it has not acquired the ease and spontaneity which is characteristic of Urdu or English prose; even the best disdained to write in simple, direct prose and instead wasted their energies on crude religious verses.

The earliest specimens of Sindhi prose are to be found in the moral apophthegms of Abdur-Rahim Girhori. The preachings of Shah Karim and Khwaja Muhammad Zaman were originally prose, but their disciples turned them into Persian and Arabic respectively. The early prose works were literal translations from Arabic and Persian and retained the sentence-structure of the original. Thus, we have the translation of the *Quran* into Sindhi of Akhund Azizullah of Matari (1746-1824) and the literal rendering of the *Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi* by Diwan Nandiram of Sehwan. An advance was made by Sayyid Miran Muhammad Shah of Matari in his *Mufidu's-Sabyan* and the story of *Sadhaturo and Kudhaturo* and by Ghulam Hussain in his story of *Sadhaturo*. The best writer of Sindhi prose was Mirza Qalich Beg (1855-1929), whose early attempts are seen in his life account of Shah Latif. In *Khurshid* and *Zinat* and in some plays, which are mostly adaptations, he reached a higher efficiency.

The greatest writer of Sindhi ornate prose was Qadi Hidayatullah "Mushtaq", whose artistry can be seen in his *Hidayatul-Insha*, a book on the art of writing, *Misbahul-Ashiqin*, and *Nusratul Ashiqin*, both of which commemorate in splendid prose the legend of the birth of the Holy Prophet. Maulawai Abdul Khaliq (Khaliq)

of Moro, who died in his youth, was a brilliant writer of piquant style. He and Wasif made a special study of the Hindu scriptures and composed several works of polemic nature. Maulawai Hakim Fath Muhammad Sehwani (d. 1942) was an eminent prose writer and wrote works such as *Nurul-Imam*, an introduction to the study of the *Quran*, *Hayatun-Nabi*, a biography of the Prophet, *Abul-Fadil and Faydi*, *Miran-ji-Sahibi*, and *Kamal and Zawal*. His style is simple, direct and pleasing, though here and there marred by periphrases.

Among the many writers who have worked in Sindhi prose in the recent past and who are now studying it, we can mention the late Dr. Gurbaxani whose *Nur Jehan* and his *Introduction to Shah-jo-Risalo* have become classics; Bherumal Mihrchand Advani, whose style is an interesting blend of Hindu and Muslim traits; Manohardas Khilnani and Asanand Memtoras, who are also good writers.

It is too early yet to appreciate the work of the young writers of Sindhi such as Dr. Baluch, Osmanali Ansari, Allahbachayo Sammo, and Muhammad Ismail Ursani. It seems that in the hands of these writers Sindhi prose is acquiring a vigour and naturalness which will become increasingly more interesting during the coming years. Lutfullah Badwai's *Literary History of Sind* in two volumes is a distinct contribution to Sindhi literary criticism.

Shamsu'l-Ulama Dr. U. M. Daudpota.

Balochi Literature

The term 'Baloch' is used in several ways. By travellers and historians it is used to denote the race known as the Baloch, and in an extended sense as including all the races inhabiting the great geographical area shown on maps as Balochistan or Baluchistan. In the former sense it includes all the Balochi tribes, whether they are to be found in Persia and Afghanistan on the west or in Pakistan and parts of India on the east. The main body of the Baloches, however, live in Pakistan and speak their own Balochi language, although many of them also speak Sindhi, Punjabi, and Siraiki (Luhnda) according to where they live. In this article

Balochi literature is taken to mean the literature of the Baloches in Pakistan (Makran, Pakistani Baluchistan and its adjoining states, Sind and Punjab) and their ancestral Balochi language.

At present Balochi is spoken in two twin dialects, the *Sulaimani* in the north and north-east towards Sind and Punjab, and the *Makrani* in the south-west and west towards Iran. It is very like modern Persian and is a link between the cultures of Pakistan and Iran. Nearly one half of the words in Balochi are apparently corruptions, or possibly similar forms of the published Persian language. However, according to philogists Balochi is not derived from Persian, but is an independent and ancient language resembling in many ways the Zend, or old Bacterian rather than the old Persian. Balochi is particularly rich in terms for the natural features of a mountainous country, the historical environment of the Baloch habitants, such as mountains, streams, valleys, spurs, cliffs, passes, and so on. Such a terminology has produced vivid scenes of love and war in Balochi literature and the significant features of their early bedouin life, their migrations into new territories, their continual wars with the new political powers to preserve their tribal hegemony and freedom, the tribal structure of their society, their strong clanish feelings, and tribal feuds all figure prominently in Balochi prose and poetry.

Balochi prose literature is, at present, not so extensive or advanced as Balochi poetry. It mainly consists of stories which can be divided into categories, such as the legends of the prophets and saints, stories about the Baloches themselves, fairy tales, and love stories, such as Laila and Majnun (which is of Arab origin). There are also the purely Baloch romances, such as *Dosten-Shirin*, *Sheh Murid-and-Hani*, and *Muhabbat Khan-and-Samri*.

There is a considerable body of verse circulating orally among the Baloches. Dames was the first to make a systematic selection of the poems popular among the Baloches of the Sulaimani region. On the other hand, the popular poetry of the Makran region has not yet been collected, though some of the poems included in Dames' volume are also common to it. This region has produced poets of its own; Mulla Fazul and Mulla Qasim of the Mand district, and their contemporary Mulla Boohar have been the well-known poets of the great Rind tribe. Their rivals were the poets of the Kalmati tribe, Mulla Haider and Guhram. The poets of this

region have also sung in the same vein as their compatriots of the Sulaimani region.

Balochi literature is famous for its epic poetry. Dames' appreciation of it runs as follows:

"The forms of Persian poetry which have been the universal standard, even of popular poetry, in Afghanistan and Mussalman India, are not to be found here. There are no *ghazals*, no artificial arrangements of poems into *diwans*, none of the pedantry of Persian prosody. As in form, so in substance, Balochi poetry is simple and direct in expression, and excels in vivid pictures of life and country, which it brings before us without any conscious effort at description on the part of the singer. As might be expected in a parched-up land, where water is scarce and rain seldom falls, the poets delight in describing the vivid thunderstorms which occasionally visit the mountains and the sudden transformation of the country-side which follows a fall of rain."

This epic poetry includes the heroic ballads which form the oldest and most important part of the traditional lore of the Baloches during and after their migrations from the regions around Kachhi and Sibi towards North Sind and West Punjab. The central event dealt with in these ballads is the Thirty Years War between the Rinds and the Lasharis which lasted from A.D. 1489 to 1511. There are ballads too, dealing with the war between the Rinds and the Dodais during the second decade of the sixteenth century, and, finally, those dealing with the Baloch expedition under the leadership of Shahzad which helped Humayun in the reconquest of Delhi in A.D. 1555.

This epic poetry of the Baloches resembles the pre-Islamic poetry of the Arabs, and does in fact, throw an interesting light on the Baloch tradition that they are Arabs in origin. The following translation by Dames of two poems recited by the two central characters in the Thirty Years War, Mir Chakur the chief of the Rinds, and Gwaharam, the leader of the Lasharis, illustrates the character of this epic poetry:

"Mir Chakur, son of Shaihak, sings: the King of the Rinds sings:
Of the Rind and Lashari battle he sings: in reply to
Gwaharam he sings.

"You injure yourself Gwaharam with that enmity, by raising dust among the Baloches, in that you have bound the name 'Nali' on your waistband, and raised a name like Nodh-badagh higher. For once you were lucky in your game, and killed the Rind's swift mares, whose footprints were clearly marked in the lowlands of the Mullah; but remember the vengeance for that; how Bangi and Hasan, sons of Nodhak, were slain together, Adam and famous Nodhbandagh, Ahmed and lordly Kallo. You left out the flight, like a stampede of wild asses, on the day of the fierce struggle when the Rind arrows devoured them from behind in the fatter spots of their hind parts. You took flight from the fort of Dab, and drew breath at the mouth of the Mullah, yet I never made such a mock of you, nor sent a bard to taunt you, reciting a song with twanging of strings in front of your noble face. You did not receive a blow under the ear from my tiger's paw, as you shook your head like a frightened mare, hiding your head in holes and corners of the world. Half of you passed away to Gaj and Gaujrat, half went wandering to Phalpur. You come making obeisance to the Rinds, and asking for a measure of grain in the skirt of your white garments; you toil under shameful burdens, and carry the black waterpots on your head! Now you hide under Omar's protection, I will fall on you as a man slain by his brethren. We are the Rinds of the swift mares; now we will be below you and now above; we will come from both sides with our attacks, and demand a share of all you have. Much-talking Gwaharam, keep your heart's ears open, make a long journey, perhaps your luck may come back. I will spin the top for a wager, and at the end I will raise a dust as I promised, and drive all fear from my friends' hearts."

The later tribal war ballads are mainly accounts of inter-tribal wars during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They vary greatly in antiquity and merit. Some are spirited and fiery: others are little more than catalogues of warriors.

The romantic ballads are written in a clear and simple language, which is free from the corruptions which spoil some of the later war-ballads and the pedantry of some of the love-songs. In style some of them are like the early heroic ballads, and judging from the language, none of them can be of very recent date. Most of the ballads are based on Balochi romances, and even when foreign

romances, such as the Arab romance of Laila and Majnun are used, they are given a Balochi setting.

The most famous Baloch composer of love-songs was Jam Durrak, who lived at the court of Nasir Khan, the ruler of Kalat in the middle of the eighteenth century. "In judging the Balochi love-verse, however, we find that the bazaar atmosphere is to some extent tempered by a breeze from the desert: the Baloch is not a born towns-man, but only a chance visitor, and although his love may be set on a lady of the bazaar, he often draws his images from nature. The clouds, the rain, the lightning, the creeping plants, the flame of a log-fire share the realm of jewels and scents, and show that the author is not a town-bred man." The following specimen is selected to illustrate the nature and spirit of the Balochi love poetry:

Love-song of Jam Durrak:

Jam Durrak Dombki sings: the martyr of love sings:

"The lightning which came last night, flashing and staggering like a drunken man from the direction of julgo, brought me news of my love, which, as it were, clothed my body with flowers. A rainbow sprung up in the south, and near it a purple storm-cloud, it was like my love in every point. I am a fool to fight with my heart, my heart is a fool to fight with me; it weeps like a golden-fronted babe, it struggles like a fierce marauding Turk, and tries to pull out by the chain the peg to which it is tethered. In eight months one is born among a hundred, and I will rain down gifts in thousands and hundreds of thousands."

"I told my mare the state of my heart, and the mare swiftly galloping carried the news, spreading out her tail like the Zamur creeper, and flicking her shapely legs with it."

" 'O my master, intoxicated with odours, the musk of Khorasan is on thy turban, for God's sake be careful of the way, and at eventide I will carry thee thither, to that lordly abode wherein dwells that gazelle-faced one with the figure of a cypress; she will speak with her voice; there are rubies and diamonds, and the odours of bye-gone days; make sure of those words of former times and repeat them; sit and declare the wretched state of thy heart and cast away all thy grief' ".

Religious and didactic poetry has also been written, some of which sets out the rules of Islam while others deal with legends of the prophet and the saints; and finally there are short poems of various types, such as the little songs called *dastanaghs*, mostly short love-songs of a few lines which are sung to the accompaniment of the *nari* or Baloch pipe. Some of these are tender love-songs, some are comic; nearly all are vivid and picturesque. They are all free, open-air compositions without the impress of the town and the bazaar. The *dastanagh* prevails only among hillmen, and tends to die out in the more settled parts of the land. Some of these short poems also have rhymed riddles and puzzles as their themes which are characteristic of the Baloches and are much enjoyed by them. They are often improvized during journeys about happenings during the day's march. All these short poems mirror the character and qualities of a people brought up in wild yet beautiful surroundings and accustomed to a hard open-air life.

Dr. Nabi Baksh Khan Baloch.

CHAPTER XI

THE SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

Pakistan has been called a "crucible of cultures". As has been shown it is heir to the great pro-Aryan Indus Valley civilization that flourished between 2500 and 1500 B.C., and the remains of which have been discovered at Moenjo Daro and Harappa. This civilization is as old and was as advanced as the ancient civilizations of Sumeria and Elam with which it had links and similarities. It came to an end at the hands of the Aryan invaders who later established Hinduism in the sub-continent. Hymns of Rigveda were composed in West Pakistan, but there are surprisingly few material traces of early Hinduism in this region. In the sixth century West Pakistan became an important province of the Persian empire and there was probably a Persian viceroy stationed at Taxila. This contact with what was the mightiest and the best-organized empire of the day had far-reaching effects in the realm of art, administration, and social customs.[1] In 326 B.C. Western Pakistan was visited by Alexander the Great and his companions and came under Greek influence. "Alexander's first halt was at the great city of Taxila, where for the first time, the civilizations of East and West found themselves directly confronted".[2] Alexander soon turned back, but he had broken the wall between East and West, and the contact thus made was maintained. In 190-180 B.C. the Greek descendants of Alexander's colonists in Bacteria crossed the Hindu Kush under Demetrius and established themselves in the Punjab. The greatest of the Indo-Bacterian rulers was Menander (c. 150 B.C.) who was born near Punjnad (now in Bahawalpur State) and established his capital at Sialkot, then known as Sagala. He became a convert to Buddhism, and successfully fought Pushyamitra, under whom "the violent Brahmanical reaction against Buddhism"[3] had led to a "wholesale slaughter of Buddhist priests."[4] After him Antialkidas ruled in

[1] See (1) *Taxila*, Sir John Marshall Vol. I, pp. 13-16, and (2) *India and the Western World*, Rawlinson, pp. 27-29 and 68.

[2] *Legacy of India*, (O.U.P.), p. 9.

[3] *Taxila*, Sir John Marshall, Vol. I. p. 33.

[4] *Taxila*, *Ibid.*

Taxila, and made this town a leading centre of Buddhist learning, art, and culture.

The Sakas, who followed upon the heels of the Bacterians and replaced them almost everywhere, came over to what is now Pakistan and one of their tribes, the Kushans, conquered and annexed the Gandhara and Indus Valleys replacing the Indo-Bacterian princes in West Pakistan. In about A.D. 120 the greatest ruler of this House, Kanishka, succeeded to the throne at Parshapura (Peshawar). Although sympathetic towards all religions, Kanishka was a patron and promoter of Buddhism, and the Council, which he convened to deal with major problems of current Buddhism is a landmark in the history of that religion. In the areas now comprising West Pakistan and in adjoining territories in Central Asia rose the *Mahayana* or the Northern Church, which differs as much from the primitive Buddhism of the Hinayana, or Little Vehicle of the South, as medieval Catholicism does from the simple creed of the Christians of the first century. The change was partly due to the fact that in West Pakistan a number of new influences, Greek, Christian, Zoroastrian, and Central Asian, had crept in and its success was also due to the new vigour and enrichment which the old doctrine received from the new sources.

These areas were not only noteworthy for religious development but were great centres of art and culture. Taxila was a leading seat of learning even at the time of Alexander's visit and the subsequent developments greatly increased its importance. People came here from all parts of the world to study arts and sciences. "That famous miracle-monger, Apollonius of Tyiana (c. A.D. 50) went to Taxila to study under Brahman preceptors."[1] Panini, who wrote the earliest scientific grammar in the world and "one of the greatest ever written"[2], was born at Shalatura in the Taxila region, and Chanakaya, the well-known author on statescraft and the adviser of Chandar Gupta was originally from Taxila.[3] Medicine also received special attention here. Atreya, who is stated to have taught medicine here in the sixth century B.C. and the famous Charaka who, according to Chinese tradition, was

[1] *Legacy of India*, (O.U.P.), p. 18.

[2] *Legacy of India*, (O.U.P.), p. 354.

[3] *India and the Western World*, H. G. Rawlinson, p. 37.

physician to King Kanishka in the first century A.D., are two of the most illustrious names in the history of medicine. The glory of Taxila withered away about the middle of the fifth century A.D., probably at the hands of White Huns and the city never recovered from their depradations.

Taxila and the areas close to it are also famous for the examples of Buddho-Gaecian art, known as the Gandhara School. Gandhara is the area covering Swat Valley and the environs of Peshawar plains, and although some examples of this art are also found in eastern Afghanistan, many fine specimens have been unearthed at Taxila, Peshawar, and the neighbouring areas. The speciality of this art consisted in expression of Buddhist ideas in Hellenistic forms of art—mainly sculpture. All the specimens of Gandhara art are not of high artistic quality, but they typify that fusion of cultures and mingling of traditions, for which West Pakistan has been known from earliest times.

Islam entered Pakistan with the arrival of the Arab general, Muhammad-bin-Qasim, in Sind in A.D. 712, and for nearly five centuries the present province of Sind and a large part of the Punjab remained subject to Arab influence. There is no connected spiritual history of this period, but certain significant trends are clearly visible. One of these was the effort made to adjust the legal and administrative systems of Islam to the new conditions. This was the first contact of the Muslims with a population which was to remain predominantly non-Muslim for a long time to come. The attitude of the Muslim state towards the Hindus had yet to be determined, but the Arab general and his legal advisers at Basra had no difficulty in interpreting (or extending) Islamic law in a liberal direction, and granting to the Hindus all the concessions, which had been originally reserved for "the People of the Book".

Another noticeable feature was that Sind became the link between the ancient civilization of India and the Arab civilization; for when the Arab Caliphate passed from the Umayads to the Abbasides in A.D. 750, and a few years later the seat of the Caliphate was moved from Damascus to Baghdad, the close proximity of Sind to the new Arab capital enabled rulers like Harun-al Rashid and their liberal Barmakide Vizirs (who were descended from

the Barmak, that is the chief priest in a Buddhist monastery in Balkh) to draw upon the Indian storehouses of information about arithmetic, medicine, astrology, and literature, and scores of Indian books were translated into Arabic. One of the ways in which the Indo-Arabic co-operation became apparent was in the realm of mysticism. It is not without significance that the spiritual teacher of Bayazid, one of the earliest and most influential Sufis, was a Sindhi. In *Nafhat-ul-Uns*, Jami quotes Bayazid, as saying: "I learnt the science of Annihilation (Ilm-i-Fana) and Tauhid (Pantheism) from Abu Ali (of Sind) and Abu Ali learnt the lessons of Islamic Unitarianism from me".

The contribution of Sind to the spiritual heritage of Pakistan was considerable, but the real advent of Islam in this sub-continent was through the northern and western passes, from Afghanistan, and Iran. This began with the incursions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, but the large influx of Muslim missionaries, saints, and religious thinkers began after the occupation of Delhi by Sultan Shahabuddin Muhammad Ghori, and was greatly encouraged by the Mongol invasion of the Muslim countries of Central Asia, from where Muslims fled and sought refuge in the newly occupied country. The newcomers became the torch-bearers of Islam in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Dealing with the effects of Mongol invasion, Sir Edward Maclagon says in the *District Gazetteer of Multan*:

> "In one respect, indeed, the devastation of Khorason and Western Iran was to the benefit of this part of India (Multan), for it led to settling of a considerable number of pious and learned men, most of whom no doubt passed on towards Delhi, but many of them stopped to bless Multan with their presence. The preliminary disturbances of Ghori tribes had driven the Gardezi Syeds to this district. A little later came a family of Quraishis from Khwarism, which settled at Kot Karor, and which gave birth to famous Shaikh Bahaul Haq Zakariya, who after traversing nearly the whole of Mohammadan world, chose Multan as his place of residence. To Multan also, about the same time, came Pir Shams Tabriz from Sabzawar, and Qazi Qutubuddin from Kashan, to Pakpatan came Baba

Farid Shakar Ganj, to Delhi (by way of Multan) came Khwaja Qutubuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, and to Uchh came Syed Jalal, the founder of many sacred families in Multan, Muzaffargarh and Bahawalpur. In the same period arose Sultan Sakhi Sarwar, whose father had migrated from Bokhara to Sakot in this district.

"These holy men, with others too numerous to mention, would seem to have set themselves seriously to convert to Islam the remaining Hindu agriculturists and pagans in this part of India, and it is more to their persuasion and reputation than to the sword of any conqueror that the people of Western Punjab owe their faith in Islam. The lukewarmness of the population in previous times was roused into a keen fervour by the pagan invasion; an emperor's tomb was granted as the resting-place of the body of Shaikh Rukh-i-Alam, and from this time forward, the holy men and holy shrines of Multan bestowed upon the city a unique reputation throughout the Mussulman world."[1]

In this passage Sir Edward Maclagan has dealt with the Sufi saints who were responsible for spreading Islam in the Punjab. But Islam was spread in the entire Indo-Pakistan sub-continent through the efforts of the Sufis. These saints were men who practised goodwill towards all human beings, and did not denounce other creeds, or vilify their founders, but were content to offer spiritual sustenance according to their lights to those who came to them. Many of their listeners, that is to say, the untouchables, had no right to spiritual education in Hindu India, and were only too glad to meet men of religion interested in their souls. Hindu society did not seem to object to these conversions;[2] with the ancient Hindus spiritual enlightenment was a privilege of the few rather than a basic right of everybody, and their religious leaders were not distressed by desertions from their fold. Sufis were able to

[1] *District Gazatteer of Multan*, Sir Edward Maclagan, p. 37.

[2] Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says on the subject: "Conversions to Islam in those days, whether individual or group aroused no particular opposition, except when force or somekind of compulsion was used Friends and relatives or neighbours might disapprove, but the Hindu community as such apparently attached little importance to this." (*Discovery of India*, Nehru, p. 221).

work in an atmosphere of goodwill. Khwaja Muinuddin, who introduced the Chistia order into India, is regarded as one of the greatest missionaries of Islam in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, and it is interesting to read what a modern Hindu writes about him: "Khwaja Muinuddin lived a life of piety. He never preached aggression, he was a man of peace and goodwill towards all God's creatures."[1] Another important order of this sub-continent is the Qadiri, about whose founder Rinn says: "The guiding principles that governed the life of Abdul Qadir were love of his neighbour and toleration: though kings and men of wealth showered their gifts upon him, his boundless charity kept him always poor, and in none of his books or precepts are to be found any expressions of ill-will or enmity towards the Christians; whenever he spoke of the people of the Book, it was only to express his sorrow for their religious errors, and to pray that God might enlighten them. This tolerant attitude he bequeathed as a legacy to his disciples, and it has been a striking characteristic of his followers in all ages."[2]

The most important Sufi saints, who either by recorded history or by traditional account are known to have assisted in the spread of Islam were Khwaja Muinud Din of Ajmer (d. 1236), Baba Farid of Pakpattan (d. 1266), Hazrat Bahauddin Zakariya of Multan (d. 1267), Syed Ali Hamdani (d. 1287) and his son, Mir Mohammad Hamadani who worked in Kashmir, Shah Jalal of Sylhet (d. 1340), and Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-Alam of Pandua (d. 1415). Nearly all of them were heads of families which carried on their work after their death. Baba Farid started the practice of systematically training and sending disciples to different parts of the sub-continent. This practice was more than maintained by his famous successor, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi. These efforts were not confined to Sunni or orthodox Pirs; and there are good grounds for believing that Ismaili missionaries carried on systematic work in Western Pakistan and, by allowing many Hindu practices to their followers, provided a half-way house between Hindusim and Islam. Ultimately with the spread of Islamic learning and the increase of orthodoxy many who were on the fringes of Islam were absorbed, and gradually became a part of orthodox Islam.

[1] *Ajmer*, Harbilas Sarda.

[2] Rinn quoted by T. W. Arnold in the *Preaching of Islam*, p. 329 (1935 edition).

Muslim saints established centres from where Islam spread to different parts of the sub-continent, but proselytism was never their sole or even main occupation. They led holy and ascetic lives, and brought spiritual enlightenment to all—Hindus and Muslims alike. They were as much interested in reclaiming a Muslim sinner from sin, as in bringing a polytheist to the worship of one God, and historians such as Barani have described the role which saints like Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia played in raising the spiritual and moral tone of the Muslim society.

These saints had great influence over the public, and the worldly rulers found it expedient to show deference to them. At some places (for example in West Punjab and Sind) the Pirs used their influence to redress public grievances, but normally Sufis kept away from the worldly affairs. There were, however, a few exceptions and two of the most interesting relate to Bengal. One is Shah Jalal of Sylhet. He was a Suhrawardi, and, as is usual in this order, was a great traveller. In the course of his travels he came to Bengal, where a conflict between the Hindu Raja of Sylhet and the Muslims induced him to take part in a Holy War. The Hindu Raja had authorized a brutal punishment for a Muslim, who had slaughtered a cow to celebrate the birth of a son. The Muslim complained to the neighbouring Muslim ruler, who sent his army to avenge the wrong, but it was defeated; it was not until Shah Jalal gave his moral and spiritual support that the Muslims were victorious. According to the Provincial Gazetteer of the old province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the last Hindu King of Sylhet was "more overcome by the magic of the faqir, Shah Jalal, than by the prowess of the officer in command of the expedition."[1] This is based on the Hindu traditions[2] as well as the later Muslim chronicler, Suhail-i-Yemen. Shah Jalal's presence with the army and his inspiring support to the campaign was, by all accounts, a major factor in raising the morale of the troops, and in winning the victory. This was the beginning of the Muslim conquest of Sylhet, which has ever since remained an important centre of Muslim religion and culture.

Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-Alam, who lies buried at Pandua, a few miles from the Pakistan border, also used his influence in worldly

[1] *Eatern Bengal and Assam*, Gazetter, p. 420.

[2] *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, J. N. Sarkar, p. 79.

affairs. In his day Raja Ganesh, a Hindu Zamindar of Dinajpur, brought about the assassination of the reigning Muslim King and usurped the throne of Bengal. Ganesh began to harass the Muslims, so that the saint found it necessary to write to Sultan Ibrahim, the Muslim ruler of Jaunpur and ask for his help. The Sultan sent his armies but on their approach Ganesh begged the saint's forgiveness, and agreed that in his place his son, who adopted Islam at the hands of the saint, should rule over Bengal. On this assurance, the saint asked the Jaunpur armies to return, but immediately after they did so, Ganesh tried to violate the undertaking and reconvert his son to Hinduism. The son, however, had been greatly impressed by the piety of the saint, and refused to renounce his new religion.[1] In this way the last effort, on the part of Hindus, to oust Muslims from political power in Bengal was frustrated.

It is not possible here to describe at length the efforts of the important Sufi saints or even to refer to thousands of others, who worked in the towns, cities, and villages of the sub-continent. One can only take note of the results achieved by them. Through their efforts not only was a large section of the population converted to Islam—as a matter of fact the spiritual influence of these missionaries seems to have been more abiding than the political influences of the Muslim emperors—but Hinduism itself underwent far-reaching changes. A number of sects arose amongst the Hindus, who claimed that both Hinduism and Islam showed the right path. Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion, expressed these views in Western Pakistan, while in the reign of Sikander Lodi we read of a Brahmin from Kaner near Lakhnawati (Bengal) who preached the same doctrine. There were many others like them, and the result of their efforts was that Hinduism itself became spiritually more democratic and the Hindu conception of God underwent important changes.

These tendencies were strengthened by the influence of certain Muslim saints, who expressed the same views and fraternized so much with the Hindus that the orders associated with them (for example Kabir Panthis and Dadu Panthis) have become a part of Hindu society. Kabir was so popular with the Hindus

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 266-267.

and the Muslims during his lifetime that after his death both these communities claimed him as their own, but as may be seen from his own name, the name of his son (Kamal), and from details about his religious preceptor (Sheikh Taqi), Kabir was a Muslim and his biography finds a prominent place in many Muslim lives of the saints.[1] Dr. Mohan Singh writes on the question of Kabir's religion: "Was Kabir a Hindu or a Mussalman?" Luckily we have convincing evidence and we need not infer one way or the other, like Keay (*Kabir and His Followers*) from Kabir's intimate knowledge of Hinduism revealed in his poetry. In the *Adi Granth* of the Sikhs compiled by Guru Arjan Dev, the fifth Guru, and edited by Bhai Gurdas, and completed in 1604, we have, on pages 1198-9, a *Shabad* by Bhagat Ravidas which definitely and finally gives us Kabir's nationality by birth "in whose family on the occasions of Eid and Baqrid, the cow is butchered; (in whose family) Shaikh, Shahid and Pir are reverenced: whose father did like that, the son following him, he, Kabir, well-known in the three worlds."[2]

As Kabir's language and temperament did not fully accord with the increasing orthodoxy of Muslim society, the result of the influence of the Naqshbandi order and the orthodox reaction against Akbar's religious innovations, he has been generally neglected by Muslim scholars, and as Professor Sherani says, "there have been extensive interpolations in his works";[3] but his message is essentially the one of Muslim Sufis. The life and teachings of the other similar figure, Dadu, have been the subject of an able monography by Reverend Orr[4] and he leaves no doubt that Dadu, (whose original name was probably Daud) was a Muslim.[5]

In the past there has been a tendency to dwell almost exclusively on the religious aspects of the so-called Bhakti movement

1 For example, *Tazkira-e-Auliya-e-Hind*, (Urdu) and *Mirar-i-ul-Wilayat*, (Persian.)

2 *Kabir and the Bhagti Movement*, Vol. I, Mohan Singh, p. 2.

3 See *Punjab Men*, (Urdu), Prof. Mahmud Sherani, pp. 147-154.

4 *A Sixteenth Century Indian Mystic*, W. C. Orr, D.D., (Lutterworth Press, London).

5 On pages 195-198 of his book on Dadu, Rev. Orr traces the "gradual elimination of the Islamic element in the Dadu tradition" during the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign. Presumably the same process took place in the case of Kabir Panth.

which resulted from direct and indirect influence of the Sufi saints on the Hindu society. Actually the movement had a very broad basis, and as an eminent Hindu student of sociology has stated, it may be compared to the "European Renaissance". It not only influenced religion, but was an important factor in the development of regional literatures and profoundly influenced the growth of Indian music. Its approach was humanistic, and it "had as much of the socially revolutionary content as the religious."[1]

It would be outside the scope of this chapter to deal with the contribution made by Chaitanya and other Hindu leaders of the Bhakti movement to the cause of Hindu religion, regional literatures, and popular music, but perhaps, after having outlined the work of Sufi saints in the religious sphere, it may not be out of place to discuss in some detail the contribution made by them at various times to the growth of regional literatures and popular music.

In Chapter I the contribution made by Sufis to regional literatures has been briefly mentioned. In Sind, Shah Abdul Latif, the greatest figure in Sindhi literature, was a well-known Sufi. The same is true to a lesser extent of Pushto in which Baba Rahman, probably the best-known of all the Afghan poets, was an uncompromising Sufi; so were other Pushto poets such as Mirza Khan Ansar, Abdul Qadir Khan Khattak, Kazim Khan Shaida, and Khwaja Muhammad Bangish. Even the poetry of Hamid, "the hair-splitter", is coloured by Sufi doctrine. Punjabi literature was also encouraged by Sufis; indeed it was Sheikh Ibrahim Farid, a saint of the Chistia order, who in the fifteenth century encouraged writers to use Punjabi.

Urdu poetry was patronized in later days by the declining Mughul court, but all the original writers of Urdu poetry and prose—in Deccani, Gujrati, and Rekhta dialects—were Sufi saints. Even the contribution of Muslim Sufis to Hindi is not negligible. Dr. Dhar says: "If we desire to form a correct appreciation of Islam and its great contribution to the development of a greater India during the last six or seven hundred years, we should study the writings of those spiritual leaders of Islam who lived with the masses

[1] *Indian Music—An Introduction*, Prof. D. P. Mukerjee, Reader in Economics and Sociology in the University of Lucknow, p. 10.

fruit of peace and economic prosperity under the Muslim empire of Delhi[1], but this is not the whole truth. Peace and prosperity were, of course, conducive to literary activity, but regional literatures would not have developed if the Muslim rulers had not actively assisted and patronized literary efforts in the languages of the people. Almost all Muslim courts in India maintained a tradition of encouraging art and literature and this naturally helped the regional literatures. But it was not merely a matter of goodwill. Muslim nobles and kings could encourage popular languages because they were not hampered by the Hindu ban on patronage of all languages except Sanskrit. For Hindus Sanskrit was "Deva Bhasha" or the Divine Language, and the all-powerful Brahmins threatened with Divine displeasure all those who cultivated other languages. "If a person hears the stories of the eighteen Puranas or of the Ramayana recited in Bengali he will be thrown into the hell called the Rourava".[2] Muslim were free from this taboo, and freely encouraged the languages of the people. Dr. Sen, after explaining this, tersely remarks: "If the Hindu kings had continued to enjoy independence, Bengalis would scarcely have got an opportunity to find its way to the courts of the kings".[3] So far as Hindi is concerned, Dr. Lachhami Dhar says: "It must not be forgotten that Muslims were the first to employ the indigenous language or Hindi for a literary purpose, which as we know, was totally neglected by the Brahmins as a vulgar speech unworthy of attention".[4] One has only to look at Keay's *History of Hindi Literature* to see how much the Muslim kings encouraged Hindi. From the days of Akbar to the decline of the empire each Mughul king had his Hindu poet laureate as well as a Persian poet; and even after the austere Aurangzeb dispensed with the services of the Persian Malik-us-Shuara, the Hindi Kavi-Rai continued to hold his office.

Under Muslim patronage regional languages and literatures came into their own, but an interesting, indeed a characteristic, distinction marked the subject, which Hindu and Muslim writers favoured for their literary compositions. Analysing the quality

[1] *India through the Ages*, Sarkar, p. 55.

[2] *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, D. C. Sen, p. 7.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 10.

[4] *Muslim Year Book of India 1948-49*, p. 82.

of India and worked for their betterment, by precept and example, in the Islamic spirit of unselfish purpose and love. Happily, the writings of the Muslim authors and Saints, that led to the creation of a New India, still survive in Hindi. The rich treasure of Muslim writings in Hindi still remains unearthed. It will require generations of Hindi scholars to collect all the material, to classify it and to fully appreciate its value .... I have in my own list, names of at least 500 Muslim authors and their works in Hindi, some of which are the best exposition of Islam dressed in an Indian language."[1]

The contribution of Sufis to the literary field, is, apart from the spiritual field, perhaps most noteworthy, but they also promoted the cause of music. In this book in the contribution of Sufis to Urdu literature, Dr. Maulvi Abdul Haq says: "Many saints of Muslim India encouraged Indian music with their patronage, and achieved great perfection and aptitude in this art. For example, Shaikh Bahuddin Zakria of Multan and Sahikh Bahauddin Barnavi were accomplished artists. Amir Khusrau also was encouraged at the Dargah of Khwaja Nizamuddin. He was one of the favourite disciples of the saints; we greatly enjoyed listening to him."[2] Dr. Halim also says: "Muslim mystics of India of Chishtia Order, and the Bhakti poets and musicians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries contributed a great deal to the development of music. As music without instruments was allowed in the assemblies of the Chishtia mystics, as a means of arousing ecstasy, their monasteries were attended by Qawl singers. Samat and Niaz, the two disciples of Amir Khusrau, were attached to the monastery of Hazrat Nizamuddin. It is said that whatever song was sung in the monastery of the Shaikh, was learned the next day in every street or lane of Delhi."[3] In the section on music we have already dealt with the contact of Shaikh Bahauddin Barnavi and other Sufi saints to the development of Indo-Muslim music. In Kashmir the role of the Sufis in development of music was so marked that even to-day Kashmiri classical music is called "*Sufiana Kalam*".

But, of course, the chief contribution of the Sufis was in the realm of religion. By the end of the fifteenth century they had

[1] *Muslim Year Book of India*, (1948-49), p. 81.

[2] *Urdu ki Taraqqi men Sufiya-i-Eeram Ka Hissa*, (Urdu).

[3] *A Seventeenth Century Indian Mystic*, Orr, p. 20.

taken the message of Islam to all parts of the sub-continent, and such a large section of the population had been converted to Islam that not only was there the wide-spread Bhakti movement, strengthened by the impact of Islam with Hinduism, but vigorous movements, such as the Mahdaviya, were set in motion within the fold of Indian Islam itself. The Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was in a great spiritual ferment, when Akbar, the Muslim Emperor, influenced as much by political motives as by his disgust at the narrow-minded and avaricious Ulema at his court, began to experiment in religion. This was a dangerous step for an Oriental despot to take. Obliging courtiers praised every vagary which caught the fancy of the Emperor or his favourites, and many puerile and ridiculous edicts were issued, which estranged and offended Muslims without helping other religions or the cause which Akbar had at heart. Besides, "the place assigned to Akbar as high priest of the new cult was an offence, not only to orthodox Hindu and Muhammadan sentiments, but to the religious sense of many earnest souls who, in response to the spirit of the times, were feeling after a common basis of fellowship resting for a more solid foundation than on Imperial edict."[1] Soon Akbar's efforts deteriorated from religious toleration into a bias against Islam. This inevitably led to a violent orthodox reaction, the effects of which have not yet fully worn off.

Akbar's religious innovations were unpopular with the Muslims, and many of his loyal and influential nobles openly opposed them. The Muslim position was strengthened towards the end of Akbar's reign with the arrival, from Afghanistan, of Khwaja Baqi Billah, who first worked at Lahore and later at Delhi. He included amongst his admirers some of the most powerful nobles of the empire, such as Qulich Khan, the devout Governor of Lahore, Abdul-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, the Commander-in-Chief in the Deccan, and Khan-i-Azam, the Regent. Shaikh Farid, later known as Nawwab Murtuza Khan, who helped Jahangir in getting the throne on Akbar's death, and who headed the deputation of the nobles who obtained from the new king an undertaking that he would abide by the laws of Islam, was Khwaja Baqi Billah's greatest friend and patron, and undertook to pay the entire expenditure of the saint's monastery. Khwaja Baqi Billah did not live very long but he influenced the most important people of the day,

[1] *Akbar and the Jesuits*, Payne, p. 278 to footnote 4.

and the spiritual revival, which his labours engendered, created an atmosphere in which religious heterodoxy could not flourish.

Khwaja Baqi Billah's principal disciple, Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, was in many respects abler than his *Murshid*, and had been greatly embittered by Akbar's religious innovations. Born at Sirhind in East Punjab, he was educated at Sialkot and worked for a time at Lahore, but the greater part of his life was spent at Sirhind, with some years of imprisonment in Gwalior Fort and of detention in Jahangir's Camp. Shaikh Ahmad became not only a champion of Islamic revival, but adopted a spirited, almost an aggressive, attitude towards non-Muslims and even those Muslims who did not belong to the Sunni sect. He advocated re-imposition of Jizya on the Hindus, and strict enforcement of the restrictions recommended by orthodox Muslim opinion on the building of the new Hindu temples. He also advised that a stern attitude should be taken towards the Shias. Shaikh Ahmad was the most influential saint of the Naqshbandi order, which emphasizes strict adherence to the Islamic Law. He is also remembered for expounding the philosophy of *Tawhid-i-Shuhudi*, which is perhaps one of the most important contributions made to Islamic philosophical thought in this sub-continent.

Shaikh Ahmad died in 1623, but his work was carried on by his sons and an ever-increasing circle of disciples and admirers. His teachings bore fruit in the reign of Aurangzeb. Some historians say that Aurangzeb was a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Masum, the son and successor of Shaikh Ahmad. This cannot be verified, though the letters of the Khwaja contain a long epistle addressed to Prince Alamgir, but the court historians of Aurangzeb record a number of occasions when the Emperor made handsome presents to the grandsons of Sheikh Ahmad and greatly honoured them. In any case the policy which Aurangzeb carried out, after ascending the throne, towards the Hindus, and even the minority groups in Islam, was the one advocated by Shaikh Ahmed during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir.

While the seeds planted by Shaikh Ahmad were slowly germinating, a different school of thought gained temporary ascendancy during the reign of Shah Jahan. This was the Qadiri order, which advocated the normal Sufi attitude of toleration and goodwill

towards all religions. The most prominent Qadiri saint of Shah Jahan's reign was Hazrat Miyan Mir, who originally came from Sind, and settled down at Lahore. A royal exponent of this point of view was Dara Shikoh, Shah Jahan's favourite child and Aurangzeb's rival for the throne of Delhi. Dara Shikoh had become a *murid* of Mulla Shah, a disciple of Hazrat Miyan Mir, but he went further than the orthodox Sufis, and made systematic attempts to work out a synthesis between Hindu and Muslim thought. With the aid of Hindu and Muslim co-workers, he wrote a number of books, which emphasized the unity of all religions and in *Majama-ul-Bahrain*, he emphasized the similarity between Hindu Vedantism and Islamic Sufism.

The idological trends, of which Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb were two typical representatives, have frequently made their appearance in the history of Islam in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. One stands for assimilation from all sources; the other is primarily concerned with purification and rejection of anti-Islamic or non-Islamic elements. With the enthronement of Aurangzeb, Dara Shikoh's opposition ceased, but spiritual confusion persisted and indeed became more serious when the death of Aurangzeb was followed by a political collapse of Islam in India. Shia-Sunni differences also became more acute. These problems were tackled by Shah Waliullah (1703-1762), who is perhaps the greatest Muslim theologian this sub-continent has produced. His writings breathe a spirit of goodwill and are completely free from bitterness not only against the minority groups within Islam but also against the non-Muslim. He did more than anyone else to spread the knowledge of true Islam amongst Muslims and make it a great spiritual and moral force. He realized that Islam could not be really followed by the people, unless they understood the *Holy Quran* and therefore undertook what was at that time the unpopular and according to many Ulema, the unlawful step of translating the *Holy Quran* into a language more generally understood by the people—Persian.[1] This was the beginning of an extensive study of the *Holy Quran* in the sub-continent. Later two sons of Shah

[1] The objections which Ulema in many Muslim countries (*e.g.* Egypt) take even today against translating the *Holy Quran* may be seen in *Loyal Enemy*—the biography of Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall. "The translator and all who read the translation or abetted it, or showed approval of it, were condemned to everlasting perdition." p. 411.

Waliullah translated the Holy Book into Urdu. Shah Waliullah wrote books on practically all the important Islamic subjects such as Exegesis of the *Holy Quran* (*Tafsir*), Traditions of the Holy Prophet (*Hadis*), Islamic Law, Islamic History, and Sufism. The books were all so marked by profound scholarship, balanced outlook, and the ability to appreciate and synthesize conflicting points of view, that they became standard text books in these branches of Islamic studies.

Shah Waliullah's writings reached the highest watermark of Muslim scholarship in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, but besides being a well-read and balanced scholar, he was a social reformer. He criticized the extravagant habits and other social iniquities which had crept into Muslim society, and his work was carried on by his sons and grandsons. A by-product of Shah Waliullah's efforts and the era of spiritual revival started by him was the movement often loosely called the Wahabi Movement, which was started by members of his family and led by Syed Ahmad Brelvi, a disciple of his son, Shah Abdul Aziz. This movement ultimately led to a Jihad against the Sikh rulers of the Punjab, who were denying ordinary religious liberties to their Muslim subjects. The military side of the movement came to a disastrous end at Balakot (in the Abbotabad district of the North West Frontier Province), when the French-trained generals of Raja Ranjit Singh destroyed the army of the Mujahids (1831). But the religious side of the movement continued to flourish.

At this time Bengal also saw a great intensification of religious life, and vigorous attempts to rid Muslim society of non-Islamic elements. These efforts were due partly to influences from Arabia. Haji Shariatullah, who was born at Bahadurpur in Faridpur district went on pilgrimage to Mecca at an early age and returned in 1802, after a stay of twenty years in Hejaz. While he was away, he was influenced by the doctrines preached by Shaikh Muhammad Abdul Wahab in Arabia, and began to teach them on his return to his native district. He denounced the superstitions and corrupt beliefs which had been developed by long contact with Hindu ploytheism. He even condemned the Sufi method of initiation and among other things urged that as Indian Muslims under British rule were living in Darul-Harb, it was not lawful for them to offer Friday prayers. Haji Shariatullah's followers were known

as *Faraizis*, and his work was carried on by his son, Dhadhu Miyan. Under him, the sect was efficiently organized, and at one time became the spearhead of the resistance of Muslim peasantry of East Bengal against Hindu landlords. However the agrarian movement was ruthlessly suppressed, and in course of time the sect lost its vitality, having become eventually preoccupied with extreme views on a few minor questions of Islamic Law.

Another movement for Islamic revival in Bengal was headed by Maulvi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur. He was a disciple of Hazrat Syed Ahmad Brelvi, but before the disaster at Balakot, had been sent on his mission to Bengal. Maulvi Karamat Ali was great organiser, and for forty years he moved up and down the elaborate river system of East Bengal with a flotilla of small boats, carrying the message of Islamic regeneration and reform from the Nagas of Assam to the inhabitants of Sandip and other islands in the Bay of Bengal. His flotilla of country craft was like a travelling college; one boat was the residence of his family, another was reserved for the students and disciples accompanying him, while the third was for Dars, lectures, and prayers. He repeatedly toured and halted in the districts of Khulna, Jessore, Barisal, Faridpur, and Chittagong, but the district in which he worked longest was Noakhali. Through his well-planned and well-organized efforts extending over half a century, Maulvi Karamat Ali was able to revitalize Islamic life in East Bengal, and it has been said that one has only to contrast the religious fervour, the orthodoxy of social life or even the normal dress and appearance of Muslims of East and West Bengal to realize the revolution which he brought about in the area in which he worked.

Maulvi Karamat Ali followed the tradition of Shah Waliullah and Shah Abdul Aziz and was no extremist. He did not consider British India to be a *Darul-Harb* and issued pamphlets and *fatwas* urging that Muslims should live their normal religious life in this country and not give up Friday prayers. He gave himself up "with un-reserved zeal to the double task of combating the Hindu customs and superstitions, which had crept into the practice of Islam in eastern Bengal, and of trying to bring back into the fold of orthodoxy the new heterodox schools, which had grown up as a result of the work of Shariatullah and his son Dhudhu Miyan."[1]

[1] *Indian Islam*, Titus, p. 187.

He was not opposed to the doctrine of spiritual preceptorship (Piri Muridi) and regarded Hazrat Syed Ahmad Brelvi, as the Mujaddid (Renovator of Faith) for the thirteenth century of Hijrah. Maulvi Karamat Ali "exhibited remarkable power for the regeneration of Islam all his life, so that at the time of his death in 1873, there was scarcely a village in Bengal that did not contain some of his disciples."[1] He is buried in the principal mosque of Rangpur in Bengal. His work was carried on by his son and his nephew, and in many parts of East Pakistan his influence is alive even today.

Shah Waliullah had seen and provided remedies for the intellectual and religious problems which were confronting Muslims in his day, but before long Islam had to deal with an entirely new situation and with unprecedented problems. By the middle of the nineteenth century, a foreign Christian power became firmly entrenched in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, and with the opening of a large number of Christian missionary schools and the spread of Western education new problems, and new opportunities arose.

S. M. Ikram.

[1] *Indian Islam*, Titus, p. 187.

CHAPTER XII

MODERN INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

The eighteenth century saw the Muslims gradually displaced from the position of political pre-eminence they had hitherto enjoyed in the world. The Ottoman Turks in the West and the Mughuls in the East, the two foremost Muslim Powers of that period, found themselves fighting a losing battle against the West both on the economic and the military fronts. Meanwhile, since the fateful Battle of Plassey of 1757, British influence had begun to be felt in Delhi, the capital of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. In 1803, Lord Lake captured the metropolis: and though the blind, old Emperor Shah Alam still reigned in the Red Fort, the British Resident was virtual ruler of the country.

It was a decade after the fall of Delhi to the British that Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) was born in a noble family attached to the Mughul Court. In him met the two main streams of our national, religious and political life. His father, Mir Muttaqi, was a religious recluse, and a great favourite of Shah Ghulam Ali, the last great Naqshbandi saint of India, but Sayed Ahmad Khan spent his childhood at the house of his maternal grandfather, Dabir ud Daula Khwaja Farid ud Din, who had varied administrative experience both under the East India Company and the Delhi Durbar. He held the post of the superintendent of the Calcutta Madrassah and was later selected by Lord Wellesley as an attache to the British Mission sent to Persia in 1799. On his return to Delhi the Mughul King appointed him his Minister, and he strove hard to put the royal finance on a satisfactory basis. Sayed Ahmad spent his childhood at the house of his maternal grandfather, whose influence in moulding the mind of the child during this formative period can hardly be exaggerated.

Noble heritage did not bring material gains to Sayed Ahmad. On the death of his father in 1838 and the loss of ancestral property, he entered the service of the East India Company, and soon attained the coveted post of a Munsif. In 1846, he was posted to Delhi where he remained until 1855. These nine years proved fruitful in

more ways than one. He had access to the Court of Bahadur Shah and observed poets like Ghalib and Zauq competing with each other for royal favour. He was a welcome visitor to people such as Hakim Mahmud Khan and Nawab Mustafa Khan Shaifta whose houses were the rendezvous of the *elite* of Delhi. He met the successors of Shah Ismail Shahid who continued his traditions of disseminating religious learning and preaching social reforms from the steps of the Jame Masjid.

In 1857-8, Bahadur Shah, the last Mughul king, headed the revolt for freedom from foreign domination. The revolt failed, and the Muslims seemed finished as a political force in the sub-continent, they were looked upon as traitors by the British and an easy targets by their erstwhile Hindu subjects to pay off old scores. Sandwiched between the two, Muslim frustration deepened, and the Muslims began to sink lower and lower in the economic, political, and educational spheres.

It was left to Sayed Ahmad Khan to remove the suspicions of the British and at the same time to drag his co-religionists out of their sullenness to prepare them for new values that could challenge their old notions. Syed Ahmad adopted two methods. Firstly, he wrote profusely on questions that agitated Muslim minds and that appeared to create a gulf between the Christians and the Muslims; to that end he published his commentary on the Bible. Secondly, he applied his energies to popularizing western education among the Muslims of the sub-continent.

In 1859, Sayed Ahmad Khan started a Madrassah at Moradabad. On his transfer to Ghazipur, he established the first English school there in 1864. A year earlier, at the same place, he had founded the Scientific Society, with the object of undertaking the translation of useful English books into Urdu. Among these translations were Elphinstone's *History of India*, Mill's *Political Economy*, Malcolm's *History of Persia*, and books on chemistry, zoology, and so on. The Duke of Argyle, then the Secretary of State for India, was the patron of the Scientific Society. A bilingual newspaper in English and Urdu, devoted to social reforms, was also published by the Society.

In 1869, Sayed Ahmad visited England, going to Cambridge

and other British Universities and carrying back with him profound impressions of the British educational system. On his return he worked incessantly to generate in Muslim society respect for the western system of education.

In 1875, Sayed Ahmad founded the Muhammadan Educational Conference, and remained the moving spirit behind it until his death. Even at the age of seventy-eight he would enthusiastically sit for six hours a day at the annual session of the Conference at Shahjahanpur, guiding its deliberations as secretary. The conference held its annual sessions in different parts of the country and aroused enthusiasm among the Muslim masses for western education and social reforms.

Sayed Ahmad's efforts showed promise of success when, nearly six months after his retirement from service, Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India, performed the opening ceremony of the Muslim Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, on 8th January 1877. The M.A.O. College, which later grew into the famous Muslim University of Aligarh, imparted, through English as the medium of instruction, knowledge of western arts and sciences, together with instructions on Islamic thought and philosophy.

As the Aligarh movement of Sayed Ahmad Khan gathered momentum, it succeeded in attracting to its fold a number of scholars of eminence. Maulana Altaf Husain Hali (1837-1914), "the founder of the New School of Poetry, and indeed the greatest name in modern Urdu literature",[1] took a leading part in preparing the ground, through his poetry, for the great reforms initiated by Sayed Ahmad Khan. Born at Panipat, Hali was influenced by Ghalib at an early age. After the revolt of 1857-8, he went to Lahore, but later returned to Delhi where he came under the influence of Sayed Ahmad Khan.

On Sayed Ahmad's suggestion, Hali wrote the famous poem *The Flow and Ebb of Islam*, more popularly known as *Musaddas-i-Hali* (1879). It may as well be called an "Elegy on the Rise and Fall of Islam". With a masterly pen, Hali described the grief felt by every Muslim at the decay of Islamic society, and his verses profoundly

[1] *The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature*, S. A. Latif, p. 52.

of Muslim thought in India, Dr. Spear says: "Islamic thought, like that of the west, it world-accepting, and, therefore, the Muslim can be as interested as the westerner in material development without any inner conflict of ideas. Like the westerner, the Muslim looks outwards rather than inwards, and he is, therefore, more open than the Hindu, to the scientific attitude of life, with its emphasis upon the reality of nature or the external world".[1] The truth of this becomes clear if we study and compare the works of the Hindu and the Muslim writers. Hindus developed poetry, drama, and philosophy, but history and biography were practically unknown to them and were the gift of the Muslims. "The chronological sense was very imperfectly developed among the Hindus, probably because being a race of Vedantists they kept their gaze fixed on eternity and despised this fleeting world and its ephemeral occurrences".[2] On the other hand Muslim interest in history was derived from the *Holy Quran* itself. Iqbal, in his chapter on "The Spirit of Muslim Culture" says: "But inner experience is only one source of human knowledge. According to the *Quran* there are two other sources of knowledge—Nature and History, and it is in drawing on these sources of knowledge that the spirit of Islam is seen at its best".[3]

Under Muslim rule the Hindu began to write in regional languages, but they wrote only on supernatural themes, about gods and goddesses; Muslim writers made man the subject of their study. In Hindi poetry, the most famous name is that of Tulsi Das, who wrote about Ram, to him a deity, and other Hindu poets also were pre-occupied with gods and goddesses and similar Bhakti themes. Muslim poets, such as Malik Muhammad Jaisi and Rahim, wrote about human love and worldly subjects. The same tendency is discernible in Bengali, where poetry was, devoted primarily to the praise of gods, until Daulat Kazi and other Muslim poets enriched it by stories of human beings.

Muslim contribution to the music of northern India was as important as their contribution to regional literature and followed the same lines of rationalization and healthy enjoyment

[1] *India, Pakistan and the West*, Dr. Spear, p. 215.

[2] *Mughul Administration*, Sarkar, p. 230.

[3] *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Iqbal, p. 12.

affected Muslim thought throughout the entire sub-continent; for almost a generation recitation of passages from this moving poem became a regular feature of programmes at national gatherings of progressive and reformist Muslims, and it has been said that *Musaddas-i-Hali* had almost an equal share with the Aligarh College in the awakening of the Muslim masses. It carried the message of Sayed Ahmad Khan to the remotest hamlet in the far-flung sub-continent. No wonder that the great Sayed himself declared that when on the Day of Judgment he would be asked about his good deeds, the only answer he would give would be "I got Hali to write his *Musaddas*". Hali's other famous works are his *Introduction to Poetry* (1893), which is really the preface to his *Diwan*, *Hayat-i-Saadi* (1886), *Yadgar-i-Ghalib* (1897), *and Hayat-i-Jawed*, the biography of Sayed Ahmad Khan (1901).

Another eminent scholar who helped Sayed Ahmad Khan's movement with his literary works was Dr. Nazir Ahmad (1836-1912). Generally known for his novels, *Mirat-ul-Urus*, *Binat-un-Nash*, *Ibn-ul-Waqt*, *Tauba-tun-Nasuh*, *Ruya-i-Sadiqa*, which have become household names in Muslim society. Nazir Ahmad enriched the Urdu language with his thought. His fiction, modelled on western pattern, imperceptibly but effectively helped in spreading what was the best in the liberal movement of Sayed Ahmad Khan, and his translation of the *Quran* is considered to be one of the best works in the Urdu language.

Another celebrity who had identified himself with the Sayed Ahmad movement was Maulvi Zakaullah (1832-1910). He was, like Nazir Ahmad, a product of the Delhi College and was for some time Professor of Persian at the Muir Central College, Allahabad; but he is known primarily for his monumental *History of India* in six volumes. Most of his life Maulvi Zakaullah devoted to translating books on science, mathematics, and history in Urdu. Being a great supporter of western liberalism, he was a pillar of strength to Sayed Ahmad Khan's movement.

Another enlightened colleague of Sayed Ahmad Khan was Maulvi Chiragh Ali (d. 1895). Originally a Government employee in British India, he was selected for the Hyderabad State Service where he filled many posts of responsibility with distinction. He was a great scholar and was stated to have known Hebrew,

Chaldean, Latin, and Greek besides Persian and Arabic, and was an author of many books in the English language. In his *A Critical Exposition of the Popular Jihad*, he proved that all the wars of the Prophet were defensive and not aggressive in character. Another of his important contribution to Islamic literature was his *Reforms under the Muslim Rule* which was dedicated to the late Sultan Abdul Hameed of Turkey. This book sought to refute the charge that Islam hampered progress. The author analysed and interpreted the system of Islamic government and legislation, illustrating how vast social and political improvements were possible through the observance of Islamic principles. Sayed Ahmad Khan's last years were clouded by personal tragedies. But he could seek comfort in the thought that his movement for reform had generated among the Muslims of the sub-continent a new confidence and a new purpose in their national life.

Sayed Ahmad filled the big void created in the life of the Muslim community by the disapperance of the Muslim rule. But he did more. His long life, spanning almost a century, bridged the gulf between the Medieval and the Modern Islam in India. Himself, a relic of the palmy days of the Great Mughuls, he ushered in a new era. He gave the Indian Muslims a new prose, a new approach to their individual and national problems, and built up an organization which could carry on his work. Before this there was all disintegration and decay. He rallied together the Indian Muslims, and became the first prophet of their new nationhood.[1]

A contemporary, though not directly connected with the Aligrah Movement, was Syed Amir Ali of Bengal (1849-1928), an eminent jurist and a prolific writer on Islamic subjects. Born on 6th April 1849, at Chinsurah (West Bengal), in a comparatively poor family, Amir Ali gave early signs of a brilliant career. He topped the list of successful graduates of the Calcutta University in 1867, and thus attracted the attention of Nawab Abdul Latif, who had established the Muhammadan Literary Society at Calcutta in 1863. After taking his M.A. and B.L. degrees from the Calcutta University, he secured a government scholarship and went to England for higher studies. In 1873, he returned to the sub-continent after qualifying for the Bar and started legal

[1] *Makers of Pakistan*, Albiruni, p. 60.

practice at the High Court. He was elected a Fellow of the Calcutta University in 1847, and the next year he was appointed Professor of Muhammadan Law at the Presidency College.

Political activities soon attracted Syed Amir Ali's attention, and in 1876 he founded the Central National Muhammadan Association. In 1881, he was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council and later to the Imperial Council. His extensive knowledge of law secured him a seat on the Bench of the Calcutta High Court which he occupied till 1904, when he returned to England. His academic attainments and extraordinary grasp of juristic principles were recognized when he was appointed a member of His Majesty's Privy Council on 23rd April, 1909.

In his *History of the Saracens*, Syed Amir Ali has drawn upon the original authentic sources of Islamic history and has treated the highly controversial periods of Islamic history with a rare objectivity. The salient features of the social, intellectual, and economic trends from the Khilafat-i-Rashida down to the Abbaside period have been succinctly brought out in the *History of the Saracens*. Amir Ali's fame, however, rests on his classical work, *The Spirit of Islam* (1891). In this book which was orginally published under the title of *The Life and Teaching of Muhammad*, Amir Ali protrays Islam as a dynamic religion commensurate with modern ideas; indeed its teachings release that very spirit which promotes such ideas. He showed the republican character of Islamic policy stressing "the duties of sovereigns towards their subjects, and. . . .the freedom of equality of the people."[1]

In the Chapter entitled "Rationalistic and Philosophical Spirit of Islam", Amir Ali elaborates upon the activities of the Prophet directed towards generating among the Arabs faith in "the assertion of a free agency in man and of the liberty of intellect" compatible with a divine will. "The mind of this remarkable Teacher (Muhammad) was in its intellectualism and progressive ideals, essentially modern. Eternal striving was in his teachings a necessity of human existence: 'Man cannot exist without constant effort'; 'the effort is from me, its fulfilment comes from God.' "[2]

[1] *Spirit of Islam*, Amir Ali, p. 288.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 122

Amir Ali sums up the spirit of Islam: "The primary aim of the new dispensation was to infuse or revive in the heart of humanity a living perception of truth in the common relations of life. 'The moral ideal of the new gospel', to use the phraseology of an eminent writer, was set in the common sense of duty and the familiar instances of love."[1]

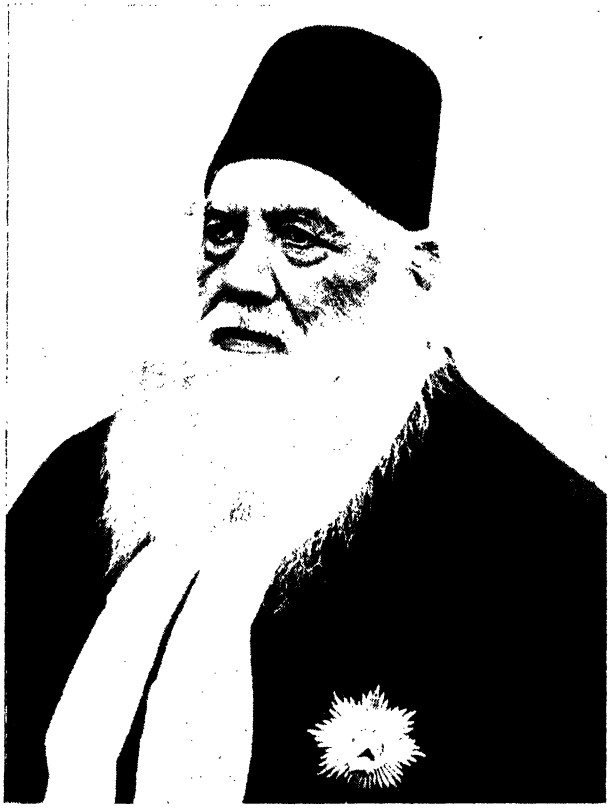
In his *Anglo-Mohammadan Law*, also, Ali codifies and interprets Islamic laws and institutions so as to bring them in harmony with the modern legal concepts. The preciseness and thoroughness of the Muslim law of inheritance and the liberal spirit that permeates the whole field of Muslim jurisprudence have been brought out effectively in the *Anglo-Muhammadan Law*.

Another Muslim writer who was associated with Calcutta, and whose writings were welcomed in the West and who influenced the Muslim intelligentsia of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was Salahuddin Khuda Baksh. Son of the famous founder of the Oriental Library of Bankipur, Salahuddin rendered great service to Islamic learning by translating into Urdu some of the works of Von Kremer, Welhauseen, and other German writers. He also portrays in his writings the progressive and liberal spirits of Islamic teachings.

While Sayed Ahmad Khan was seeking to extricate his co-religionists from the slough of despondency through western education and co-operation with the British, another school of thought believed that the salvation of the Muslim community lay in precisely the opposite direction. This school had its centre at Deoband. Its followers, who were mostly orthodox ulema, (religious scholar) maintained that in interpreting Islam to the West, Sayed Ahmad Khan, Maulvi Chiragh Ali, Syed Amir Ali, and others had made too many concessions to western thought. Even among Sayed Ahmad's co-workers were persons who refused to endorse his ready acceptance of western remedies for Muslim ills.

One such person was Maulana Shibli Numani (1857-1914). Shibli was born in a village near Azamgarh and was reared in orthodox traditions. He was greatly influenced by Maulana

[1] *Spirit of Islam*, Amir Ali, p. 248.



Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan

Mohammad Faruq, an eminent scholar of the old school of thought, who was so much opposed to the Aligarh school that he wrote a poem in opposition to Hali's *Musaddas*. His father wanted Shibli to acquire a working knowledge of the English language, but he disdainfully rejected the idea. After some years, however, Shibli came under the spell of Sayed Ahmad Khan and worked as Assistant Professor of Arabic at Aligarh for sixteen years.

At Aligarh, Shibli met and became an ardent admirer of Sir Thomas Arnold who initiated him into the art of modern criticism; in the liberal atmosphere of Aligarh his thought was changed to such an extent that he learned French from Sir Thomas, the knowledge of which introduced him to western thought. Under the inspiration of Sayed Ahmad Khan and the guidance of Sir Thomas Arnold, Shibli wrote masterpieces in Urdu prose. His monumental work on Persian poetry, *Shi'r-ul-Ajam*, and his *Muwazina-i-Anis-o-Dabir* will be cherished for their high critical skill and literary flavour. Equally important are his biographies, *Sirat-un-Nabi*, *Al-Faruq*, and *Al-Mamun*.

During all the sixteen years that Maulana Shibli was at Aligarh he not only lauded Sayed Ahmad Khan, but identified himself with the Aligarh movement. On Sayed Ahmad's death, however, Shibli left Aligarh and, after spending some years at Hyderabad, joined the more conservative group which had established "Nadva-tul-Ulema" at Lucknow in 1894. The avowed object of "Nadva" was to aim at a synthesis of the old and the new viewpoints, and its foundation, as well as early development, was encouraged by various leaders of the Aligrah movement; but soon it became, in opposition to the Aligrah College, a centre of revivalist, if not reactionary, activity. As soon as "Nadva" was on its feet, Shibli and his co-workers declared that this institution and not Aligarh was best fitted for the intellectual leadership of the Muslims of the sub-continent. Shibli very nearly succeeded in capturing the Muslim leadership, but just then on account of a personal quarrel the "Nadva" group disowned him, and this led eventually to his resignation in 1913. A year later he died broken hearted.

The most gifted disciple of Shibli is undoubtedly Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (b. 1888) who joined Shibli at "Nadva-tul-Ulema", and edited *An-Nadva* for some time. Later, he became

the editor of *Wakil*, and on 13th July, 1912, brought out the first issue of *Al-Hilal*, which exercised much influence on the Muslim minds in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Through the columns of *Al-Hilal*, Azad encouraged resentment against the contemporary British policy towards Turkey, and incited Muslims to renounce western mode of thought. "Aligarh with its mission of collaboration with the British and the West has paralysed the Muslims" was the refrain of many of the articles appearing in *Al-Hilal*. Azad vehemently preached the message of "Back to the *Quran*", and succeeded to a considerable extent, at least for the time being, in dimming the glory of the ideals and objectives of Sayed Ahmad Khan.

A study of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's recent writings show that during the last 40 years his outlook has undergone far-reaching changes, but the vision that caught the imagination of the people has come out of the pages of *Al-Hilal*. At that time Maulana was "champion of the old against the new of religious revivalism against the rationalism of Sir Sayed, of Pan-Islam against regional efforts of the theory of Muslims being the chosen people of God against the view that the remorseless laws of nature are same for all, and that the Muslims will have to borrow from others—particularly the West—if they want to hold their own."[1]

By the end of the second decade of the twentieth century two distinct if not conflicting trends were visible in the intellectual life of the Muslim of the sub-continent. One was the modernist movement started by Sayed Ahmad Khan to enable the Muslims to adjust themselves to the new political, intellectual, and spiritual atmosphere, and partake of general human progress, which had its latest manifestations in the West. The other was led by Shibli, Abul Kalam Azad, Akbar of Allahbad, and the *Ulema* of Deoband which aimed at conserving old values and institutions, and resisting the inroads of western thought. Soon there arose a man of genius, who having been influenced by both these forces, was able to reconcile and synthesize them.

Born at Sialkot, Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal (1873-1938) received

[1] For a detailed account of the Aligarh movement and the orthodox reaction against the movement the reader is referred to *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India* by A. H. Albiruni, especially the chapter on Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan, Viqar-ul-Mulk, Hali, Shibli, and Abul Kalam Azad.

his early education under Shams-ul-Ulema Mir Hasan, whose memory has been enshrined by the poet in beautiful verse. For higher education, Iqbal moved to Lahore in 1895, and after taking his M.A. Degree, joined the local Government College as lecturer. In Lahore, he came under the influence of Sir Thomas Arnold, who had left Aligarh and had joined Government College, Lahore, as Professor of Philosophy. On Sir Thomas's advice, Iqbal proceeded to Europe for higher studies in 1905.

For the next three years Iqbal's thought developed in the libraries of Cambridge, London, and Munich. He studied philosophy at Cambridge, took his doctorate degree on the *Development of Persian Metaphysics* from Munich, and was called to the Bar in London. He studied the old masters of the East and the West, discussed philosophy and metaphysics with the renowned Dr. McTaggart, and conversed on literature and Islamics with Professors Nicholson and Browne.

Iqbal had established quite a reputation for himself as a poet before he went to Europe, but the opportunity of a comparative study of the philosophies of the East and the West, led him to a re-assessment and re-orientation of his former sense of values. So far his poetry had a marked pantheistic bias, but now his study of Persian and other Muslim philosophers created in him doubts and misgivings as to the validity of Islamic mysticism (*tasawwuf*) as an esoteric form of Islam. He turned from pantheism towards Islam as a social force extending beyond geographical limitations. Before going to Europe, Iqbal was considered a vigorous champion of Indian nationalism; now he became a Pan-Islamist. His changed attitude is reflected in a poem which he wrote in August 1908, when, returning to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, his ship passed near Sicily. The sight of this island which was ruled once by Muslim Arabs, touched him so deeply that he wrote an elegy, comparable to the poems of Saadi on the fall of Baghdad, of Dagh on the sack of Delhi (1857), and of Ibn Badrun on the fall of Granada.

Weep to thy heart's content, O Blood-weeping eye,
Yonder is visible the grave of Muslim culture.
Once this place was the tent of those dwellers of the desert,
For whose ships the ocean was a playground,
Who raised earthquakes in the courts of mighty emperors,

In whose sabres lay hidden life-scorching flames,
Whose birth tolled the knell of effete ideals,
With whose fear the strongholds of falsehood trembled,
Whose electric touch revived life in the world,
And broke the chains of superstition.
Tell me of thy anguish; I too am full of pain.[1]

In the beginning, Iqbal had written mainly lyrical and patriotic poetry, but in the East the poet is something of a prophet also, and Iqbal began to use his poetry more and more for the expression of his mature thought. Of course, echoes of Iqbal's philosophy occur in all his works, but its most systematic expression is to be found in the two *Mathnavis*, *Asrar-i-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self) written in 1915 and *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (Mysteries of Selflessness), published in 1918. Later they have been published together, and thus form a complete whole, the first part (*Asrar-i-Khudi*) dealing with the development of personality as a separate entity, and the second part (*Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*) dealing with the life of the individual Muslim as part of a bigger Islamic community.

The gist of Iqbal's philosophy, as conveyed in the *Secrets of the Self*, is that life is a "forward, assimilative movement" which removes all obstructions that hamper its forward march by the simple process of assimilation. But in its "movement towards uniqueness", as Iqbal calls it, the Ego has to undergo three stages:

The first stage is of "obedience to the Law". No human personality is complete without its continuous subordination to the law of life directed towards a desired end. In so submitting, the individual loses little of his liberty and gains for himself the end itself.

Endeavour to obey, O heedless one!
Liberty is the fruit of compulsion.
By obedience the man of no worth is made worthy;
By disobedience his fire is turned to ashes.
Whoso would master the sun and stars,
Let him make himself a prisoner of Law !

1 *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 141.

of life. Similar characteristics distinguish the Mughul School from the Rajput school of paintings.

We have quoted Dr. Spear as saying that Muslim thought is "world-accepting", and that as compared with the Hindus the Muslims show greater interest in things of this world. It was, therefore, natural that Muslims should be more sensitive to material comforts and introduce far-reaching changes in living conditions in India. The way in which things have normally existed in India has been described by the emperor Babur in a passage which has become famous. "Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow feelings, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-mellons, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick".[1]

Babur was a product of the cultural renaissance of Central Asia and remained a stranger to India. His remarks may, therefore, need some qualification, but anybody who knows the history of India or even the conditions which exist today in those parts of the country which remained outside the orbit of Muslim influence can easily see that there is much truth in his remarks and can visualize the stage of civilization at which society had been held up by what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru calls "some inherent want of interest in this aspect of life in the Indian mind".[2] When we compare the condition which Babur described with what the western travellers found during the reign of Jahangir or Shah Jahan, we get a correct measure of the changes brought about by the Mughuls. "Food, dress, furniture, especially chinaware and carpets and manners too were greatly influenced by the Muslim love for the good things of life. The Islamic standpoint was essentially practical. It took life as it found it and enjoined the Muslim

1 *Memoirs of Babur*, J. Seyden & W. Erskine, vol. II, p. 241.

2 *Discovery of India*, Jawaharlal Nehru, p. 213.

The air becomes fragrant when it is imprisoned in the flower-buds;
The perfume becomes musk when it is confined in the navel of the musk-deer.
The star moves towards its goal;
With head bowed in surrender to a law.[1]

The second stage is of "self-control", which is the highest form of self-consciousness or ego-hood. The individual must have full command over himself, before he can claim to command life itself. By overcoming one's weakness, one emerges a master of strength:

Thy soul cares only for itself, like the camel:
It is self-conceited, self-governed, and self-willed.
Be a man, get its halter into thine hand,
That thou mayst become a pearl albeit thou art a potter's vessel.
He that does not command himself
Becomes a receiver of commands from others.[2]

The third and the last stage of human development on earth is that of "Divine Viceregency". The highest power in him is united with the greatest knowledge. In his life, thought and action, instinct and reason become one:

God's vicegerent is as the soul of the universe,
His being is the shadow of the Greatest Name.
He knows the mysteries of part and whole,
He executes the command of Allah in the world;
He rolls up this ancient carpet.
His genius abounds with life and desires to manifest itself:
He will bring another world into existence.
A hundred worlds like this world of parts and wholes;
Spring up, like roses, from the seed of his imagination.[3]

[1] *The Secrets of the Self*, lines 827-836.
[2] *The Secrets of the Self*, lines 849-854.
[3] *Ibid*, lines 899-908.

In *Asrar-i-Khudi*, Iqbal bitterly attacks the attitude of passivity, resignation, and inaction that had been the hall-mark of Sufistic attitude to life. Owing to political frustrations and subsequent Sufistic teachings, the Muslims had acquired a certain defeatist mentality and given it the misleading name of "contentment". Iqbal lashes out against this somnolent philosophy with all his force, and seeks to rouse the Muslims to action:

The pith of life is contained in action;
To delight in creation is the law of life.
Arise and create a new world!
Wrap thyself in flames, be an Abraham!
To comply with this world which does not favour thy purposes
Is to fling away thy buckler on the field of battle.
The man of strong character who is master of himself
Will find fortune complaisant:
If the world does not comply with his humour,
He will try the hazard of war with Heaven;
He will dig up the foundations of the universe
And cast its atoms into a new mould.
By his own strength will produce
A new world which will do his pleasure.[1]

Iqbal's abhorrence of inactivity and moribund life has been forcefully expressed in:

An infidel before his idol with wakeful heart
Is better than the religious man asleep in the mosque.[2]

You do not understand it, stupid ascetic,
That a single frenzied error of the heart is the envy of a hundred prostrations.[3]

The life of this world consists in movement;
This is the established law of the world.
On this road halt is out of place;
A static condition means death:

[1] *Ibid*, lines 1019-1030.

[2] *Javed Nama*, p. 40.

[3] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 125.

Those on the move have gone ahead,
Those who tarried even a while got crushed.[1]

Ask the secret of life from Khizr inspired by noble motive.
Every object lives by ceaseless striving.[2]

Apart from Iqbal's philosophy of Self, emphasis on action and change, and the three stages of the development of Ego, *Asrar-i-Khudi* is noteworthy for Iqbal's theory of art and literature. Essentially it is a part of Iqbal's general philosophy of Self: that art is sound and valuable, which helps the development of Self, individual or national, and that art which weakens the self is something to be deplored. Iqbal waxes eloquent on the functions of the poet who enriches life and strengthens human personality:

'Tis in the poet's heart that Beauty unveils,
'Tis from his Sinai that Beauty's beams arise.
By his look the fair is made fairer;
Through his enchantments Nature is more beloved.
From his lips the nightingale hath learned her song.
And his rouge hath brightened the cheek of the rose.[3]

He is naturally unhappy about the artist whose works weaken the zest for life and serve as "opium" for the people.

Woe to a people that resigns itself to death,
And whose poet turns away from the joy of living!
His mirror shows beauty as ugliness,
His honey leaves a hundred stings in the heart.
His kiss robs the rose of freshness,
He takes away from the nightingale's heart the joy of flying.
Thy sinews are relaxed by his opium;
Thou payest for his song with thy life.

He bereaves the cypress of delight in its beauty.
His cold breath makes a pheasant of the male falcon.
He is a fish, and from the breast upward a man,
Like the Sirens in the Ocean.[4]

[1] *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 131. [2] *Ibid*, p. 138.
[3] *The Secret of the Self*, lines 689-694.
[4] *Ibid*, lines 721-732.

Iqbal attaches great importance to the role of poets and artists in shaping the destiny of their people. In his introduction to the *Muraqqa-i-Chughtai*, Iqbal says: "The spiritual health of a people largely depends on the kind of inspiration which their poets and artists revive. The inspiration of a single decadent, if his art can lure his fellows to his song or pictures, may prove more ruinous to a people than whole battalions of an Atilla or Changiz."

When *Asrar-i-Khudi* was originally published in 1915, Iqbal's attitude towards art and literature was considered somewhat peculiar in circles which had been influenced, directly or indirectly, by the Art for Art school of thought, but now even in the West thoughtful critics and writers are expressing views strikingly similar to those of Iqbal. For example, Professor F.L. Lucas of the Cambridge University has in his thought-provoking book, *Literature and Psychology*, emphasized that, in assessing a work of art, one has to take into consideration not only its aesthetic side, or the "pleasure-value", but also its effect on the reader or the "influence-value".

To Iqbal, the "influence-value" of literature is far more vital to human progress than its "pleasure-value". He would readily have agreed with Professor Lucas, who says: "I believe it is usually better to take a true view of things than a false, and better to be sound than sick....A work that gives little pleasure can hardly do much good or harm; a work that gives a great deal, may still have little visible effect, good or bad, on men's lives; on the other hand, its influence can sometimes be splendid—or poisonous. These after-effects seem most marked in literature and, perhaps, music; but none of the arts can be wholly without them. If you move men at all, you move them in some direction".

While dealing with the influence of books, the well-known psychologist, Dr. Stekll has expressed views which are strangely reminiscent of the views expressed by Iqbal in his Introduction to *Muraqqa-i-Chughtai:* "I can confirm from my own experience that books can make men good or bad, and I can no less affirm that they can make them ill or well. People underestimate the influence of the printed word, which contains an enormous power of suggestion. Many books penetrate the human soul like high-explosive shells and destroy what has been built by labour of years".

Dr. Sir Mohammed Iqbal.

The *Secrets of the Self* deals with the development of the individual. When the individual, after passing through successive stages, acquires the highest attainments and becomes the "completest Ego", he should place himself at the service of the community. Because "the individual who loses himself in the community reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror so that he transcends mortality and enters into the life of Islam which is infinite and everlasting". This has been brought out at length in *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi.*

According to Iqbal, the growth of a full and free personality is impossible except when it draws its spiritual sustenance from the society. The individual is born into society, and can live only through and because of it. A hermit is a heretic.

A strength, a blessing, is the social tie
To the individual self; within society
Alone it gains perfection. Therefore, try
Within the group to live in harmony;
Be, if you can, the life of the company.
Remember what the Holy Prophet said;
'From company the devil flies in dread.'
The Self is to society, one may say,
As pearls to string, as stars to the milky way.
When Self becomes one with society;
The tiny drop becomes a mighty sea.[1]

In *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi* (Mysteries of Selflessness), Iqbal describes the basic principles on which an ideal human society can be organized. In illustrating these principles, he draws freely on Islamic tenets, and elaborates upon topics such as the origin of society, the divine guidance of man through the prophets, the formation of collective life-centres, and the value of history as a factor in maintaining the sense of continuity in a people.

Apart from the two *Mathnavis*, Iqbal's mature thought finds expression in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* This book consists of seven lectures, some of which are very

[1] *Rumuz-i-Bekhudi*, pp. 1-2.

abstruse and deal with highly abstract philosophical subjects; but one important factor, which becomes obvious even from the title of the book, is Iqbal's acceptance of the need for a "reconstruction" of religious thought of Islam. The other important feature which becomes manifest on a study of the book is Iqbal's balanced approach towards the fruits of western thought and culture. He is not dazzled by European culture and is at pains to realize and appreciate its fundamental, and not only external, manifestations; but Iqbal is not unappreciative of the contributions made by the West. About this he wrote:

"The most remarkable phenomenon of modern history, however, is the enormous rapidity with which the world of Islam is spiritually moving towards the West. There is nothing wrong in this movement, for European culture, on its intellectual side, is only a further development of some of the most important phases of the culture of Islam. Our only fear is that the dazzling exterior of European culture may arrest our movement and we may fail to reach the true inwardness of that culture. During all the centuries of our intellectual stupor Europe has been seriously thinking on the great problems in which the philosophers and scientists of Islam were so keenly interested. Since the Middle Ages, when the schools of Muslim theology were completed, infinite advance has taken place in the domain of human thought and experience. The extension of man's power over nature has given him a new faith and a fresh sense of superiority over the forces that constitute his environment. New points of view have been suggested, old problems have been restated in the light of fresh experience, and new problems have arisen. It seems as if the intellect of man is outgrowing its own most fundamental categories—time, space and causality. With the advance of scientific thought even our concept of intelligibility is undergoing a change. The theory of Einstein has brought a new vision of the universe and philosophy. No wonder then that the younger generation of Islam in Asia and Africa demand a fresh orientation of their faith. With the re-awakening of Islam, therefore, it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in the revision and, if necessary, reconstruction of theological thought in Islam."[1]

[1] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 7-8.

Iqbal completed his education at Western Universities, but he was doubly influenced by the atmosphere created by Shibli, Akbar, and Abul Kalam Azad. The result is that "advanced Muslim socialists as well as reactionaries of the deepest dye can find verses in his works to support their conflictiing ideologies." But with advancing years and gain in maturity Iqbal was able to reeoncile both points of view and his final position may be summed up in his own words: "The task before the modern Muslim is, therefore, immense. He has to re-think the whole system of Islam without completely breaking with the past. The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us".

It was Iqbal who was destined to play the historical role in the reconstruction of Islamic thought; he brought to bear upon Islamic institutions, which he respected no less than any Muslim of this time, a searching analysis of their fundamentals; he re-interpreted Islam as a dynamic rather than a static religion, and a liberal rather than a reactionary force. In fact, in Iqbal's view, Islam would cease to be Islam if its fundamentals were not living enough to allow a continuous process of fresh experiments and new adjustments to changes in society. It was this dynamic view of Islam that best fitted Iqbal for a happy synthesis of the East and the West in him.

The vision of a "new world" for the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was projected by Iqbal when he acclaimed that the future of Muslims, with their distinct cultural and spiritual urges, lay in a separate homeland. Presiding over the 1930 session of the Muslim League at Allahabad, he declared that he would "like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan, amalgamated into a single State. Self-Government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North West India Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India".

Iqbal was the first to see the vision of Pakistan. The role he played in promoting that intellectual revolution among the

Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, which heralded the emergence of Muslims as a separate political force, conscious of their national destiny, decidedly constituted his most valuable contribution to the Muslim cause.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohomad Ali Jinnah said about him: "To me Iqbal was friend, guide and philosopher, and during the darkest moments throughout which the Muslim League had to go, stood like a rock and never flinched one single moment....Iqbal ....was the bugler of Muslim thought and culture. He was the singer of the finest poetry in the world. He will live as long as Islam will live. His notable poetry represents the true aspirations of the Muslims. It will remain an inspiration for us and for generations after us".

Mohomad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) personified the liberal spirit of Islam released by Sayed Ahmad Khan and Amir Ali, as well as the dynamic philosophy of Iqbal with its emphasis on relentless action. His able leadership of their struggle for freedom, culminating in the creation of Pakistan as an independent State, brought unprecedented hope and vitality to the Muslims of the sub-continent, producing in its wake a whole cultural renaissance and youthful idealism.

Jinnah's pre-occupation with political issues left him little time to devote himself to writing; but his speeches and sayings have been compiled by his admirers into a series of volumes, and they are all permeated with a liberal outlook.

Like Iqbal, Jinnah believed in Islam as a dynamic religion. "The discipline of the Ramzan fast and prayer will culminate today in an immortal meekness of the heart before God," he said in a broadcast speech on Eid Day, "but it shall not be the meekness of a weak heart, and they who would think so are doing wrong both to God and to the Prophet, for it is the outstanding paradox of all religions that the humble shall be the strong, and it is of particular significance in the case of Islam; for Islam, as you all know, really means action. This discipline of Ramzan was designed by our Prophet to give us the necessary strength for action implies society of man."[1]

[1] Speech broadcast on Eid Day, November 13, 1939.

to make the best of it. It imparted refinement, dignity, and ease where it went, for the life of a Muslim is essentially social and lived as it were in the open".[1]

The Mughul emperors introduced changes in many aspects of daily life, but perhaps the most far-reaching changes were in clothing. Owing to the Indian climate and the general Hindu indifference to the things of this world, simplicity if not paucity of wearing apparel was the normal rule. The Mughuls, however, came from a different climate, and knew not only the comfort but the beauty and dignity of well-made clothes. They attracted master weavers from Iran, China, and Europe, set up big *karkhanas* and factories at Delhi, Lahore, Agra, and Ahmadabad, trained the local artisans and introduced many varieties of new cloth. The gifted queen, Nur Jahan, designed new types of dress and jewels and drove out of fashion previous styles which were less graceful. *Chandni*, which is a floor covering used both in poor houses and for protecting rich people's carpets was designed by her.

The Mughul kings introduced many fruits and flowers into India. They encouraged horse-breeding and camel-breeding, and Jahangir sent his agents to Goa to buy new animals imported by the Portuguese. Jahangir described these birds and animals in his autobiography and had their pictures painted by the court artists. Akbar who had a more practical mind made two notable contributions to the problem of the summer heat. He introduced the system of cooling water with the help of saltpetre, and invented the *Khas-ki-Tatti*, which has for centuries remained the Indian method of air-conditioning. The Mughuls also made elaborate arrangements for obtaining ice from the Garhwal hills during winter and storing it in underground wells for use during summer.

Jahangir was the great gardener amongst the Mughuls. His principal delight was in the laying out of large terraced gardens, the romantic beauty of which contributed greatly to the aesthetic reputation of the Mughul dynasty. "Through Jahangir's love of nature inherited from his progenitor Babur, the Mughul gardens were brought to perfection, and at all places where the Emperor

[1] *Contribution of Islam to Indian Culture*, N. C. Mehta, p. 23.

Religion for Jinnah implied not duty to God, but to Mankind "Man has indeed been called God's caliph in the *Quran*, and if that description of man is to be of any significance, it imposes upon us a duty to follow the *Quran*, to behave towards others as God behaves towards his mankind, in the widest sense of the word, this duty is the duty to love and to forebear. And this, believe me, is not a negative duty but a positive one. If we have any faith and love for tolerance towards God's children, to whatever community they belong, we must act upon that faith in the daily round of our simple duties and unobstrusive pieties. It is a great ideal and it will demand effort and sacrifice. Not seldom will your minds be assailed by doubts. There will be conflicts not only material, which you perhaps will be able to resolve with courage, but spiritual also. We shall have to face them; and if today, when our hearts are humble we do not imbibe that higher courage to do so, we never shall."[1]

Whenever Jinnah got an opportunity to speak on religion, he advocated a rational approach. "In the pursuit of truth and the cultivations of beliefs," he said, "we should be guided by our rational interpretation of the *Quran*, and if our devotion to truth is single-minded, we shall, in our own measure, achieve our goal. In the translation of this truth into practice, however, we shall be content with so much, and so much only, as we can achieve without encroching on the rights of others, while at the same time not ceasing our efforts always to achieve more."[2] In another context, he remarked: "The text of greatness is not the culture of stone and pillar and paint and pomp but the culture of humanity, the culture of equality.....and only a man who is dead to all the finer instincts of humility and civilization can call a religion based on determination and exploitation a heritage."[3]

Jinnah was outspoken in his condemnation of reactionary elements which generated retrogade tendencies in religion. Dealing with the contribution of the Pakistan movement to our national life, he said: "We have to a great extent to free our people from

[1] Speech broadcast on Eid Day, November 13, 1939.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Statement in reply to Mr. Gandhi's criticism of an article in "*Dawn*", March 11th, 1942.

the most undesirable reactionary elements. We have in no small degree removed the unwholesome influence and fear of a certain section that used to pass off as Maulana and Maulvis. We have made efforts to take our women with us in our struggle....".[1]

He championed the cause of womanhood, advocating for women an equal share with men in social and national life. "In the great task of building the nation and maintaining its solidarity, women have a most valuable part to play. They are the prime architects of the character of the youth who constitute the backbone of the State. I know that in the long struggle for the achievement of Pakistan, Muslim women have stood solidly behind their men. In the bigger struggle for the building up of Pakistan that now lies ahead let it not be said that the women of Pakistan had lagged behind or failed in their duty."[2]

The liberalism of Jinnah freed the minds of the Indo-Pakistan Muslims, turning their intellectual activities towards tackling traditional Islamic ideas and ideals in terms of modern standards and requirements. Thus the final phase of the intellectual movement among the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent that was ushered in by Iqbal, began to be re-enforced by Muslim thinkers under the inspiring leadership of Mohamad Ali Jinnah. With the growing strength of Pakistan that phase is gathering momentum and spreading in ever widening concentric circles, permeated with the spirit of both the Seer and the Leader.

Abdul Qayyum.

[1] Message to the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, March 7, 1942.

[2] Broadcast from Dacca, March 28, 1948.

लाल बहादुर शास्त्री राष्ट्रीय प्रशासन अकादमी, पुस्तकालय
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sojourned for any length of time, one of these pleasances grew up. It is to him that we owe the Dilkusha Bagh at Shahdara near Lahore, the Nishat and the Shalimar in Kashmir and the Wah garden at Hasan Abdal, near Rawalpindi". Dr. Spear, dealing with the court of the last Mughul Emperor, Bahadur Shah says: "The Mughul Court, so long as it lasted, was the school of manners for Hindustan. From the time of Akbar it had much the same influence upon Indian manners as the Court of Versailles upon European. Sorely pressed as it was in the eighteenth century by the rough Afghans, the uncouth Marathas and the rustic Jats, its influence revived with the new tranquillity of the early nineteenth century. "Nawabi" Lucknow was an offshoot which maintained and spread its influence farther down country. Another was Hyderabad in the Deccan. From Bengal to the Punjab, and as far as Madura in the south, Mughul etiquette was accepted as the standard of conduct and Persian was the language of diplomats and the polite. Forms of address, the conventions of behaviour and to a large extent ceremonial dress, approximated to the standards of Delhi. Even the Marathas felt its subtle and all pervading influence and the Jats were proud to decorate a replica of a Mughul palace at Dir with the plunder they had carried from Delhi. At a time when English cultural influences had hardly begun to spread beyond the Presidency towns, such an influence was an invaluable cement to the society. The fall of the dynasty was a serious cultural loss and inaugurated the period of nondescript manners and indefinite conduct, from which India suffers today".[1]

In its very nature Islamic culture is cosmopolitan. Islam does not emphasize national divisions, and a Muslim is heir to all that is good in the culture of all Islamic countries and indeed of the whole world. The development of Islam in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, though not on ideally Islamic lines, has shown this characteristic. Islam re-established India's contact with the outer world. Through the passes on the north-west frontier flowed a constant stream of visitors, immigrants, and merchants from Bukhara, Samarqand, Balkh, and Khurasan, Khwarizm, Persia, and Afghanistan. In the south and on the Bengal coast contact between the sub-continent and the outside

[1] *Twilight of the Mughuls*, Dr. Spear, pp. 82-83.

world was maintained through the many ports. The Muslim rulers obtained benefits from all parts of the globe. The gunners of the Mughul army were very often European, and, of course, the Mughul culture was greatly enriched by the stream of poets, writers, architects, and administrators who came from Iran.

This constant intercourse was not confined to the upper classes. Under its influence the peasants of Bengal and Sind learned about Alexander the Great of Macedonia, Sohrab and Rustam of Iran, Laila and Majnun of Arabia, as well as the personalities of the Old and the New Testaments, the religious personages of Islam, and principal figures of Muslim history. The story of the cultural contacts between the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and the outside world has not yet been written, but there are enough indications to show that this contact was not a one-sided affair and that this sub-continent had its influence on the outside world. For example, Snouck Hurgronje and other Dutch scholars have now established that Islam spread to Malaya, and later to Sumatra, Java, and Borneo from here. Similarly the most important Sufi order in the Sudan, the Qadiria, was introduced from this sub-continent.[1] Contacts with the Middle East were naturally closer. The intimate connections which Mughul India had with Iran are well-known, but it had cultural links with distant Turkey also. The Naqshbandiya Sufi order, which in 1927 had more than seventy *Takias* in Constantinople and was the most influential religious order in Turkey towards the end of the Ottoman Empire, came originally from Central Asia, but the branch which gained popularity in Turkey was imported from India. It was the Mujaddidiya branch of the Naqshbandi order, which was started by Sheikh Ahmad of Sirhind, generally known as Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani. The order was introduced to Turkey by Sheikh Khalid Kurd after a visit to Delhi towards the end of the eighteenth century. Turkish literary traditions were also influenced by the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. In the Ottoman Empire Persian literature was cultivated in higher literary circles, and in the history of Persian literature in Turkey there is a period in which the influence of the Indian school (*Sabak-i-Hindi*) was dominant.

The Mujaddidiya order gained admirers in other parts of the

1 *Islam in the Sudan*, J. S. Trimingham, p. 216.

Muslim world also. Mullah Murad, a Russian scholar, translated the *Maktubat* of Hazrat Mujaddid from Persian into Arabic, and the famous commentator of the *Holy Quran*, Shihab Baghdadi drew considerably from Mujaddid's writings. The commentaries of Mullah Abdul Hakim of Sialkot on standard Islamic works enjoyed a considerable vogue in the Hejaz and other Islamic countries. Recently writings of Shah Waliullah have been included in the courses of studies at Al-Azhar University of Cairo and at Gordon College, Khartoum.

With regard to the contact of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent with the outside world, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes: "Abul Fazal tells us that Akbar had heard of the discovery of America by Columbus. In the next reign[1], tobacco from America reached India *via* Europe. It had an immediate and amazing vogue in spite of Jahangir's efforts to suppress it. Throughout the Mughul period India had intimate contacts with Central Asia. These contacts extended to Russia and there are references to diplomatic and trade missions. A Russian friend has drawn my attention to such references in Russian chronicles. In 1532 an envoy of the emperor Babur, named Khoja Husain, arrived in Moscow to conclude a treaty of friendship. During the reign of Tsar Michael Dedorovitch (1613-1645) Indian traders settled on the Volga. In 1625 an India *serai* was built in Astrakhan by order of the military Governor. Indian Craftsmen, especially weavers, were invited to Moscow. In 1695 Semean Melenky, a Russian trade agent, visited Delhi and was received by Aurangzeb. In 1722 Peter the Great visited Astrakhan and granted interviews to Indian traders".[2]

An interesting example of contact between Muslim India and Western Europe can be found in the interest aroused amongst prominent European artists by Mughul miniatures. "The fact

[1] Actually tobacco was first introduced in Akbar's reign, and *Wiqaya* of Asad Beg contains an interesting account of a debate at the royal court on the desirability of trying the new "medicine". The royal physician was critical but Akbar was, as usual, on the side of those who favoured experiments. "Truly, we must not reject a thing that has been adopted by wise men of other nation merely because we cannot find it in our books; or how shall we progress?" See *History of India*, Elliot and Dawson, Vol. I. p. 167).

[2] *Discovery of India*, Jawaharlal Nehru, p. 219.

that no less a figure than the great Rembrandt was one of the first to be captivated by the artistic quality of figural paintings from a Muslim country speaks for itself. He owned a collection of twenty-five Mughul miniatures which he liked so much that he copied them when, about 1656, adverse conditions forced him to part with them... That it was not an unusual caprice of Rembrandt to have such miniatures in his possession is shown by the fact that the same paintings were later owned by several leading English painters of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. The president of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds greatly admired another fine set, now one of the treasures of the British Museum".[1]

The European contact with Muslim Arabs in Spain, in Sicily, and during the Crusades, opened up new vistas of intellectual activity, and the foundation of new learning was laid. Indian contact was mainly with Muslims from Central Asia, who excelled in political and military organization, and who reached Delhi at a time when the intellectual decline of Islam had begun. Islam's contribution to the intellectual life of this sub-continent was perhaps not so distinguished as was the case in Spain or Abbasid Baghdad, but it certainly enriched intellectual life. Sind was the channel through which intellectual intercourse between India and Abbasid Arabia took place and this activity was of no small significance for the world. When Turks from Central Asia established their empire in India, they were handicapped for a long time by a lack of continuity, resulting from frequent dynastic changes. They were also preoccupied at first with the expansion and consolidation of the empire, and later with the gigantic task of resisting the Mongul hordes and sparing India the fate which had overtaken Baghdad and the Muslim countries of Central Asia. Intellectual life in Muslim India did not reach its height until the establishment of the Mughul rule, but signs of active intellectual life are apparent even earlier. Apart from what are called Islamic sciences, literature was greatly encouraged, and at an early stage appears the great figure of Amir Khusrau, who excelled in Persian poetry, Hindi verse and music, and has been called India's Leonardo de Vinci by a Hindu scholar.[2] Muslims introduced

[1] *Near Eastern Culture and Society*, Edited by T.C. Young, pp. 20-21.

[2] *Indian Music*, D. P. Mukerjee, p. 22.

Fragments of ancient Baluchistan pottery.

new branches of knowledge, such as biography and history. They also introduced the use of paper, and spread knowledge in all sections of society. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar says: "We owe to the Muhammadan influence the practice of diffusing knowledge by the copying and circulation of books, while the early Hindu writers, as a general rule, loved to make a secret of their productions".[1] Intellectual co-operation with the local population was very active during the Arab rule in Sind, and later Firuz Shah Tughluq made elaborate arrangements for the translation of Hindu classics into Persian. This process continued under the Lodis, and became very active under Akbar, at whose court the Gospels, the Sacred Books of the Hindus such as the *Atharwa-Veda*, the *Gita*, the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, and scientific works, such as *Lilavati* (on mathematics) *Tajik* (on astronomy), and literary classics such as the fables of *Bidpai* and *Sanghasan Battisi*, were translated. With the arrival of scholars, teachers, and hakims from Persia, new sciences were introduced.

The Muslim system of education has often been criticized, and Aurangzeb's strictures on the methods followed by his tutor have become famous.[2] Yet there are good grounds for believing that under the Muslim rule there were elaborate educational facilities, and the system of education provided excellent intellectual discipline. After describing the cultural developments of the Mughul period Rawlinson says: "The high degree of culture in Mughul India was largely the result of the excellent system of education. Education was considered to be a religious duty".[3] The position of education in what now constitutes two main parts of Pakistan, was surveyed at the beginning of the British rule by two European experts, Adam in Bengal and Dr. Leitinner in the Punjab. Their reports are extant and bring out the remarkable fact that not only was there a good system of education prevalent at the close of the Muslim rule, but education was more widespread in the early nineteenth century than it is today. Adam estimated that there were 100,000 schools in Bengal and Leitinner's estimate of literacy percentage in many districts of the Punjab

[1] *India through the Ages*, Sarkar, p. 68.

[2] *Travels in the Mughul Empire*, Bernier, pp. 155-161.

[3] *India—A short Cultural History*, Rawlinson, p. 372.

was higher than it was at the end of the British rule.[1]

The quality of Muslim education can be shown by a quotation from General Sleeman who wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century: "Perhaps there are few communities in the world among whom education is more generally diffused than among Muhammadans in India. He who holds an office worth twenty rupees a month commonly gives his sons an education equal to that of a Prime Minister. They learn, through the medium of Arabic and Persian languages, what young men in our colleges learn through those of Greek and Latin—that is, grammar, rhetoric, and logic. After his seven years of study, the young Muhammadan binds his turban upon a head almost as well filled with the things which appertain to these branches of knowledge as the young man raw from Oxford—he will talk as fluently about Socrates and Aristotle, Plato and Hippocrates, Galen and Avicenna: (*Alias* Sokrat, Aristotalis, Aflatum, Bokrat, Jalinus and Sena). . . ."[2] Sleeman writes elsewhere: "The best of us Europeans feel our deficiencies in conversation with Muhammadans of high rank and education, when we are called upon to talk subjects beyond the everyday occurrences of life. A Muhammadan gentleman of education is tolerably acquainted with astronomy, as it was taught by Ptolemy, with the logical ethics of Aristotle, with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, through those of Avicenna, or, as they call him, Sena; and he is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science and arts, and very much inclined to do so and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times".[3]

Education was not confined to men only, and in pages of history we come across scholarly and cultured princesses, and women saints. "Women, owing to the *purdah* system, could not attend public institutions, but in nearly every nobleman's establishment a school-mistress or governess was kept. Muhammadan noblemen demanded culture in their wives, and Akbar, always in advance of his age, built a girls school at Fatehpur Sikri.

[1] (*a*) *The Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar* 1835-38, William Adam.
(*b*) *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab*, (1882), Dr. Leitinner.

[2] *Rambles and Recolletions*, Sleeman, p. 523.

[3] *Rambles and Recollections*, Sleeman, p. 339.

Many Muhammadan women were patrons of literature and themselves writers. The memoirs of Gulbadan Begum, Akbar's aunt, are well-known, and his foster-mother Maham Anga, endowed a college at Delhi. Akbar's wife, Salima Sultana, the famous Empress Mumtaz Mahal, and Aurangzeb's sister, the Princess Jahanara Begum, were poetesses of note. Muhammadan women, despite *purdah*, governed empires and led armies in the field; among these, the Sultana Razziya of Delhi, Chand Bibi, the heroic defender of Ahmadnagar, and the masterful Nur Jahan, were the most distinguished".[1] Aurangzeb did not encourage poetry at his court, but his own daughter, Zeb-un-Nissa was a poetess of merit.

The spread of knowledge and intellectual development is linked up with the growth of libraries. Printing was not introduced in the sub-continent till the end of the Muslim rule, but hundreds of *katibs* (calligraphists) were available in every big city, and no Muslim noble would be considered cultured, unless he possessed a good library. Many had magnificent collections. "The Imperial palaces contained immense libraries. According to Father Manrique, the library of Agra in 1641 contained 24,000 volumes, and was valued at six and a half million rupees, or nearly three-quarters of a million sterling".[2]

The cultural history of Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent has not been studied to any great extent and what small attention it has received has been devoted to the activities round the royal courts. It has not been realized that away from the splendour and brilliance of Delhi and the provincial capitals there existed numerous other centres of cultural and spiritual activity, which in certain spheres exercised even greater unfluence than the courts of kings and provincial potentates. These were the *khanaqahs* or monasteries of Sufi saints, who have been so completely neglected by historians that even a writer of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's eminence seems to think that Sufism "spread and developed in India from the time of Akbar",[3] and considers Akbar and his great-grandson, Dara Shukoh, as the principal Sufis.

[1] *India—A Short Cultural History*, Rawlinson, p. 373.

[2] *India through the Ages*, Sarkar, p. 64.

[3] *India through the Ages*, Sarkar, p. 4.

Actually it would be truer to say that Akbar's religious innovations and the orthodox reaction against them really meant the end of that broad-based and tolerant Sufism, which had been accepted by orthodox Islam, and which had dominated Indian Islam for centuries. At any rate Sufism did not begin with Akbar, and was not confined to kings and princes. Many Sufis were men of learning but they had thousands of illiterate people amongst their disciples, and for centuries their *khanaqahs* were the principal seats, not only of popular religion but of popular literature and popular art. Indeed in the history of Islam in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, there were two independent and distinct trends of cultural activity, one centering round the king and the nobles, and the other away from them and round the Sufi *khanaqahs*. Occasionally these trends intermingled as in the case of Amir Khusrau who had one foot in the royal court, and another in the *khanaqas* of his beloved Pir, Khwaja Nizamuddin Awliya; but generally they kept apart and developed different traditions. Cultural activity round the courts was marked by urbanity, higher technical perfection, polish, ornament, and artificiality. It was at its best in arts such as architecture, which needed large-scale organization and substantial material resources. But in literary, intellectual, and spiritual spheres, the activities of the other group were equally important. Even in Persian literature the contribution of the Sufis was considerable, but the part which they played in the development of regional literatures was greater, and when reading an account of regional literature, one is struck by the large, if not the preponderating, content of Sufi thought in them. In fact, the promotion of Sindhi, Punjabi, and Pushto literatures was very largely the work of this group and their contribution to Hindi and Urdu was also considerable.

The contribution of Sufis to the literary fields, is, apart from their spiritual work, perhaps most noteworthy but as will be seen in Chapter IV, they also promoted the cause of music. Sufis made contributions in other spheres as well. They were great travellers, and frequently became the media through which ideas and usages passed from one country to another.

Perhaps the most interesting contribution made in mundane matters by a Sufi saint was the introduction of coffee to the sub-continent. Baba Budan, who is also known as Hayat Qalandar

and who lived in the fourteenth century, came across the coffee-plant in the course of his travels, and tried its cultivation near Mysore, where the soil proved congenial. His shrine is situated in Baba Budan hills, where coffee-plantations thrive even today.[1]

Islam is the gift of a Semetic people, while the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent are mainly Aryan in race and origin. An aptitude for synthesis is, therefore, in the blood of the people, and recent developments have further strengthened this capacity for synthesis, assimilation, and adaptation. Perhaps Muslims of no other country have been subjected so systematically and for such a length of time, to the influence of a system of western education and administration, while they are second to none in devotion to Islam and the spiritual values of the East. It is not, therefore, surprising that they have been foremost in grappling with the problems arising out of the impact of the West and the East. In recent times all Muslim countries have had to face these problems and many honoured individuals in Muslim countries particularly in Egypt, Syria, and Turkey, have made valuable contributions to the solution of these problems. The efforts made in undivided India suffered from neglect, which is usually the fate of the cultural and spiritual activities of the minority groups. Furthermore, much of the work done here was in Urdu, and naturally failed to be so generally and widely known as the Arabic writings of Syed Jamaluddin Al-Afghani and Mufti Muhammad Abduhu. Despite these handicaps the worth of the contribution made by Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is being gradually recognized. Syed Ahmed Khan's bulky volumes of Urdu commentary of the *Holy Quran* may be comparatively unknown, but Syed Amir Ali's *The Spirit of Islam* is recognized as the best exposition of Islam written in modern times. In Muslim Egypt itself, says Professor Smith: "*The Spirit of Islam* is the most widely quoted modern book on the religion".[2] In course of time, Iqbal's contribution may prove even more far reaching than that of Amir Ali. Dealing with modern trends in Islam, Professor Gibb considers Iqbal "the exponent of the most sweeping modernist reformation of Islamic

[1] *Islam in India*, edited by W. Crookes, Herklot, p. 140.

[2] *Modern Islam in India*, W. C. Smith, p. 456.

doctrine",[1] and Gibb seems to know Iqbal mainly through his English lectures on *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.*

This book does not deal with the political and the administrative heritage of Pakistan, as that subject is so vast that its proper treatment will require a separate volume. Indian administration even under the British followed the lines evolved in the course of centuries by Alaud Din Khalji, Sher Shah Suri and Akbar, and extended by Aurangzeb to the Deccan. We may, however, briefly mention those aspects of political heritage which influenced cultural life. The first is that Muslim rulers unified India and centralized administration as had never been the case before. Not only was the extent of Alaud Din Khalji's and Aurangzeb's empires greater than that of Asoka, but there was closer co-ordination between various parts than ever existed under any Hindu or Buddhist king. "The Mughul empire at its greatest extent covered a larger portion of our country than the Indian dominion of Asoka or Samudragupta. These Hindu empires also consisted of loosely united collections of independent provinces which did not acquire any homogeneity, nor created a sense of political unity or nationality, among their people. Each province led its own life, continued its old familiar system of government (though under the agents of the central power), and used its local tongue; on the other hand, the two hundred years of Mughul rule, from the accession of Akbar to the death of Muhammad Shah (1556-1749), gave to the whole of northern India and much of the Deccan also, uniformity of the official language, adminstrative system and coinage and also a popular *lingua franca* for all classes, except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk. Even outside the territory directly administrated by the Mughul Emperors, their administrative system, official nomenclature, court etiquette, and monetary type were borrowed, more or less, by the neighbouring Hindu Rajahs".[2]

The unification and centralization, which was made possible by the administrative ability and skill of the Muslim rulers, opened up a new chapter in the history of India, and led to closer political, linguistic, cultural, and spiritual integration of

[1] *Mohammadanism*, H. A. R. Gibb, p. 185. Oxford University Press.

[2] *Mughul Administration*, Sarkar, p. 238.

various parts of the sub-continent. It is impossible to study all these aspects here, but the extent of Muslim influence on Indian society may be seen from the fact that the consolidation of Hinduism owed not a little to the political consolidation of India.

Another aspect of the political heritage is the tradition of tolerance, which prevailed under the Muslim rulers in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Certain western historians have so systematically stressed the disagreeable incidents which took place during wars and periods of conquests or due to the vagaries of despotism that the non-Muslim world is only now beginning to feel that normally a high degree of tolerance was maintained under Muslim rulers in various countries. The celebrated Russian scholar Bartold says in his study of Mussalman culture that the Muslim government in India "was superior to contemporary Europe in riches and religious tolerance".[1] Sri Ram Sharma, after citing certain restrictive orders issued by Shah Jahan against the Roman Catholics of Hugli as a punishment for their intolerable excesses against the local population says: "The rights enjoyed by the Roman Catholics in India, even after this eruption, far exceeded those enjoyed by their religious brethren in Protestant England about this time and even later".[2]

But apart from the general policy of tolerance, the basic political theory of medieval Islam was of the type which was not only fair but partial to non-Muslim minority groups. It was a cardinal principle of Islamic jurisprudence that Muslims were to be governed by their laws and non-Muslims by theirs. This, in practice, gave to non-Muslim not only social, religious, and cultural freedom, but a very large measure of political and administrative autonomy. As a result of this the disputes of the Hindus were decided by their *panchayats*, and the Hindu villages continued to function as small, autonomous Hindu republics. The Hindu caste guilds became all-powerful, and gained a complete hold over the economic and commercial life of the country. Muslim rulers were normally so cautious about interfering with the Hindu usages that in spite of their abhorrence of *Sati*, they at first allowed it to continue. This policy is, of course, not con-

[1] *Mussalman*, Bartold, p. 144.

[2] *The Religious policy of the Mughul Emperors*, Sharma, p. 105.

ducive to firm and effective administration. It curtailed Muslim sovereignty and in the Near East led to the institution of Capitulations which crippled the Ottoman Empire. In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent it meant that the Muslim rule even after several centuries did not permeate so deeply as the British administration of a hundred years did, but for the non-Muslim groups it was a blessing and enabled them to develop according to their own laws and traditions.

During Muslim rules Islamic law was administered by Qazis and Muftis. The devout and the tactful rulers showed great courtesy towards religious leaders, but Muslim government in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was never a theocracy. Balban, who was most punctual in performance of religious duties and regularly visited the distinguished Ulema after Friday prayers, established this at an early stage of the Muslim rule. Barani says about him: "He would enforce whatever he considered beneficial to the state, irrespective of whether it was considered religiously lawful or not".[1] Firishta says that another important early king, Sultan Alaud Din Khalji used to say "that orders and regulations of a kingdom relate to the decisions of the kings and they do not fall within the domain of the religious law; on the other hand, the settlement of disputes and decision of legal matters and mode of prayers etc., are the concern of the Qazis and Ulema". Accordingly he ordered whatever he considered useful to the state and did not examine whether it was religiously lawful or unlawful.

In Pakistan a new experiment is being attempted. The pattern before the new state is of the days of the early Caliphs, and not of the Sultans of Delhi. But even here it has been made clear that although the state is pledged to work out Islamic ideals, Pakistan will not be a theocracy, and "the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people".[2]

S. M. Ikram

[1] *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Barani.

[2] Vide Objectives Resolution passed by Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.

CHAPTER II

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

Pakistan has flowered suddenly as the largest of the Muslim States; but its roots strike deep into pre-Islamic tradition, and we must know something about those roots if we would understand the great new growth which has sprung from them. It has long been appreciated that no Christian civilization of the West can be comprehended without some considerable study of its pre-Christian antecedents. Similarly, Pakistan derives its present strength and character not only from a dominant ideology which first came to its land twelve centuries ago, but also from a multitude of older ideas and achievements which are worthy of the closest and most sympathetic study. It is of no small matter to the Pakistani that, long before Islam, his country was the scene of one of the great civilizations of the prehistoric world, that in the early historic period it produced a remarkable art which mingled eastern and western concepts, and that later, in Bengal, it evolved a lively craftsmanship from the genius of its own fertile soil. Such things count for much in the intellectual prestige of a modern nation. They add distinction to the cultural heritage of Pakistan, and deserve the attention alike of the Pakistani and of the world at large.

The Geographical Setting

The first step to an understanding of a nation's past is to understand something of its geography. West Pakistan lies at the eastern foot of that ancient meeting-ground of cultures and commerce, the Irano-Afghan plateau. Through the rugged barrier of the Baluchistan hills, it has at all times been in contact with the plateau by way of a number of passes, of which today the Khyber Pass near Peshawar and the Bolan Pass near Quetta are the most important. Towards the south-east, the coastal strip of Makran and the coast-wise traffic of the Persian Gulf have on occasions provided alternative though not easy approaches. In the north, the Himalayan massif offers a more formidable obstacle, and towards the south-east the great desert

largely separates the Indus valley from Rajputana and Gujrat. Only towards the east, in the Punjab planes there is no obvious natural frontier; here, more than elsewhere, man is arbiter of his destiny, and geology yields to ideology. But rather than hills and sands, it is the great river-system of the Indus that gives West Pakistan its geographical unity, today as in the days of the famous Indus valley civilization, four thousand years ago. This tremendous factor, the Indus valley, and its age-long links with the adjacent plateau, combine to stamp the personality of West Pakistan.

East Pakistan (Eastern Bengal and the neighbouring district of Sylhet in Assam) present a different picture. Separated by nearly 1,000 miles of the Indian plains from its western partner, it appears at first sight to be something of a geographical anomaly. Barred on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by the Bay of Bengal, and on the east in part by the Arakan hills, it nevertheless lacks any superficial aspect of geographical isolation. Here the dominant isolating factor has been climate. Whereas the annual rainfall of West Pakistan rarely exceeds and often fails to reach ten inches, the boundary of East Pakistan coincides closely with the seventy-inch line, and the average annual rainfall ranges from 70 to more than 200 inches, the highest in the sub-continent save for a strip down the south-western coast of India. The resultant floods and jungle have joined with human factors to produce an isolation which is not apparent on the contoured map. The contrast with the west is at first sight striking; but the contrast loses force when we turn from physiographical environment to less material factors. A Muslim Punjabi can enter the house of a Muslim Bengali and feel instantly at home. A thousand intervening miles of India are transcended by a common ideology, a common way of life.

The Beginning

The oldest evidence of mankind in Pakistan consists of certain crude implements of quartzite found in the Rawalpindi district, on the banks of the Sohan river. Some of these implements take the form of rough choppers, others are pear-shaped and are known to archaeologists as "hand-axes". Both kinds may be from 300,000 to 500,000 years old; but of their makers no actual skeleton

remains have yet come to light. They belong to ages when the aspect of West Pakistan was very different from that of today, and we cannot at present fit them into any continuous story of human development there. They are one of the many subjects which await investigation from Pakistani archaeologists and geologists.

Pre-historic Hill-Villages

The more or less continuous story of man in West Pakistan begins with the study of the ancient mounds which can be seen in great number in the vicinity of the Indus-system and in the Baluchistan hills. These mounds are the accumulated remains of prehistoric villages, rebuilt again and again until the relics of their houses rise above the countryside, to a height sometimes of a hundred feet or more. They date mostly front 5,000 to 20,000 B.C., and represent small stock-raising, agricultural, and trading communities who used stone, copper and bronze (an alloy of copper and tin) for their tools and weapons, and often painted their pottery gaily with geometrical or animal patterns. They linked the Indus valley with the population of the plateau, and led the way in the great valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates further west, to the development of civilization, that is, the art of living in cities, which makes the next phase in Pakistan prehistory. Examples of these mounds can be seen near Quetta, in the Nal and Zhob valleys, near the Indus at Amri and elsewhere, in Bahawalpur State, and in many other places.

The Indus Valley Civilization

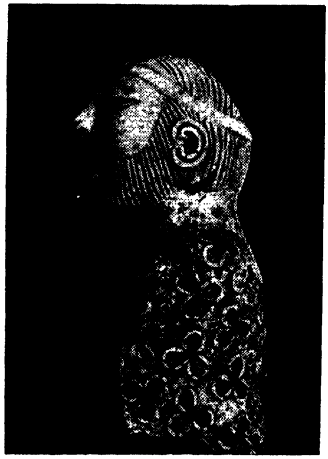
It was apparently about 2,500 B.C. that certain of these communities developed in the Indus valley on a scale which has placed their cities at Harappa, near Montogomery in the Punjab, and above all at Moenjo Daro in Sind amongst the most famous ancient cities of the world. The visitor to Moenjo Daro, as partially excavated since 1922, finds himself in the midst of a district city, with baked-brick buildings still towering above his head, and needs little to conjure up in his mind the busy scene of four thousand years ago. On one side of him rise the remains of the citadel, now crowned with the vestiges of a Buddhist stupa of much later date; on the other are the wide streets and narrow side-

lanes, flanked by shops and courtyard-dwellings where the craftsmen and traders lived whose wares found their way as far afield as Ur and other cities in Mesopotamia. The craftsmen worked in gold and ivory and made scale-stones of steatite, bearing vivid representations of oxen, buffaloes, elephants, tigers, rhinoceroses, and other animals; they sculptured stone, cast a great variety of bronze tools and weapons, and produced vast quantities of red pottery, some of it painted with naturalistic and other patterns. The farmers who tilled their fields round about, grew wheat and barley, sesamum, field-peas, and even cotton. The children played with clay dolls and model carts, and other clay figurines were made for the household shrines. A mother-goddess was worshipped, and the gods included a deity who may have been akin to the Hindu Shiva. Animals, notably the bull, appear also o have been worshipped. And one of the great mysteries of the civilization is a distinctive script which occurs on many of the seals and is scratched on some of the pots. No one has yet read this script satisfactorily, though many have tried.

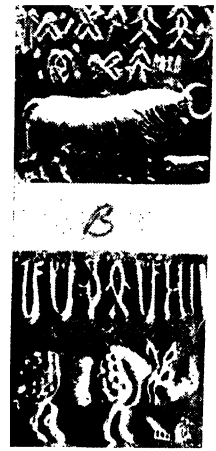
Life in Moenjo Daro was regulated by a regular administration. Great care was taken that weights and measures conformed with standard, and numerous street-drains were kept carefully clean, obviously by municipal scavengers. At Harappa there were municipal granaries, threshing-floors, and carefully laid-out coolie-quarters beneath the shadow of the citadel. And no less remarkable than the quality and discipline of this civilization was its extraordinary extent and its uniformity. It extended from Makran, 300 miles west of Karachi, to the foot of the Simla hills. Nearly the whole of it, as known to us, lay within West Pakistan. Indeed, its territory curiously foreshadowed that of the new Islamic State.

So it continued, perhaps for a thousand years. Then one day, about 1,500 B.C., something happened to it. Invaders burst into the streets of Moenjo Daro and slew those of the inhabitants who failed to escape them. The bones of the slain lay in the streets, under a covering of wind-blown sand, until they were laid bare by excavators in the twentieth century.

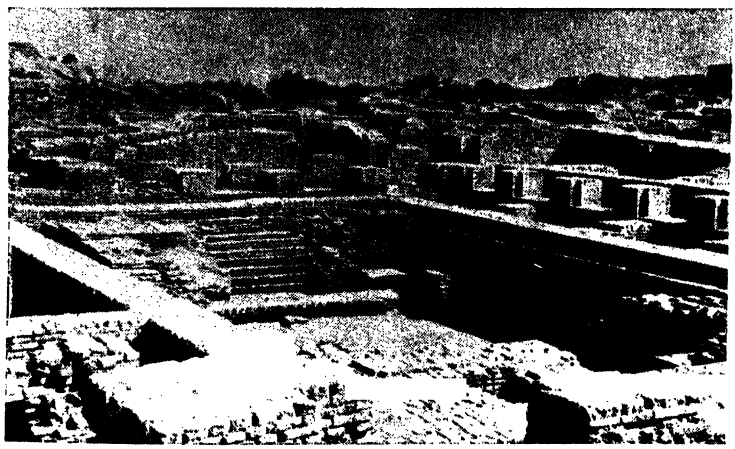
Who were the slayers? It is widely conjectured that they were the Aryans who invaded the Punjab and doubtless Sind in



Steatite bust of the High Priest of Moenjo Daro.



Seals from Moenjo Daro.



The great bath of the Capital at Moenjo Daro.

or about the fifteenth century B.C. Of these Aryans archaeology has at present little to tell us, and this is not the place to discuss them. It is not indeed until a thousand years after the end of Moenjo Daro that we can again trace the works of man in Pakistan. This gap of a thousand years is another challenge to Pakistani archaeologists.

Taxila

At the end of the sixth century B.C. the great King of Persia absorbed a large part of what is now West Pakistan into his empire. With that event, Pakistan enters into history, although of a nebulous sort. Archaeology has given a measure of substance to the epoch by uncovering a part of a provincial capital of this period at the Bhir Mound, Taxila, near the border of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, some twenty miles from Rawalpindi. There the visitor can still wander down the irregular streets and lanes and see about him the crumbling remains of the earliest Taxila. He is treading on historic ground; for we are told how, in the year 326 B.C., Alexander the Great of Macedon, fresh from the conquest of Persia, came here to claim the ultimate province of his newly-won empire. The local king, making the best of necessity, had welcomed him and the event was celebrated with triumphal games in the Greek fashion. Alexander, like any distinguished visitor, was shown the sights of the city; the busy market-place, the burial-ground where the dead were exposed to the vultures in the Persian manner, and the local philosophers who, incidentally, gave Alexander short shrift in argument. The conqueror passed on his way, and reached a point somewhere near the eastern borders of the Punjab. There his much-tried troops became restive, and he turned westwards. Three years later, he lay dead at Babylon.

Thereafter, Alexander's "Indian" province was absorbed in a rising empire from the Ganges plain. As a part of this new Mauryan empire, Taxila remained a provincial capital, and to it about 280 B.C. came the great Asoka, whilst still a prince, to quell a local rebellion. Later, as the third of the Mauryan emperors, he left a more permanent impress upon West Pakistan: for at two places, one near the village of Shahbaz Garhi, forty miles north-east of Peshawar, and at Mansehra in the Hazara district his famous edicts can still be seen, carved on the live rock

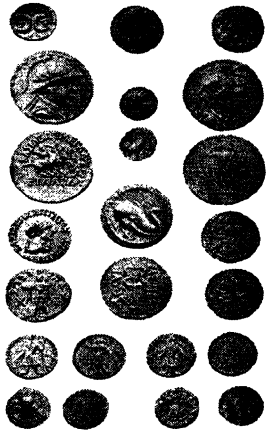
in a script of Persian derivation. These edicts convey humanitarian precepts in accordance with the tenets of Buddhism, and they mark the beginning of the Buddhist colonization that was to have great and increasing influence in these parts during the following centuries.

But the visit of Alexander, brief though it was, had not been without enduring results; he had left a semi-Greek regime in Bactria, in the north of Afghanistan, and thence, through various channels, Greek influence spread across the Hindukush into Pakistan. In the second century B.C. partially Hellenized Scythians reached Taxila and rebuilt the city on a new site (Sirkap) and, as again rebuilt by their Parthian successors in the following century, its streets and houses are today, after extensive excavation, one of the archaeological sights of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The long straight main-street, flanked by shops, shrines and a palace, is the axis of a regular, rectilinear plan like that of the Greek cities of the west or of a modern city of America. The contrast with the older Taxila on the adjacent Bhir Mound is striking, and marks the advent of new ideas. Later again, probably towards the end of the second century A.D., the city was yet again rebuilt (Sirsukh), this time by the great Kushans, with elaborate defences of which a part has been exposed to view by archaeologists. Meanwhile, great numbers of Buddhist monasteries had been growing up in the surrounding countryside, and drew numerous students. For many centuries the University of Taxila was famous amongst the universities of Asia.

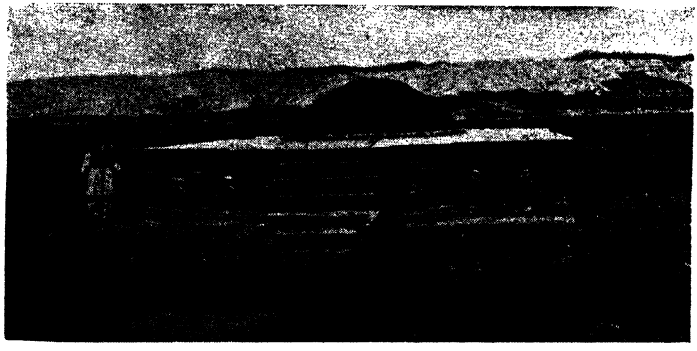
Here again, as at Moenjo Daro, the end was to come by violence. Soon after the middle of the fifth century A.D. the White Huns swept down from Central Asia, and Taxila and its monasteries were put to fire and the sword. The ruins, augmented by an excellent museum, remain amidst farm-lands and villages to attract and instruct the visitor, and are well worthy of his attention.

Buddhist Remains in East and West Pakistan

Although Taxila today boasts of the greatest visible assemblage of Buddhist remains in the sub-continent, Pakistan has much else to show of this remarkable phase of religious thought



Indo-Greek and Kushan Coins from Gandhara.



Shrine of the double-headed eagle, Taxila.

and artistic expression. Here it must suffice to mention two or three examples. In West Pakistan, probably the most dramatic relic of Buddhism is the excavated monastery of Takht-i-Bahi, on a rugged and picturesque hill-top ten miles north-east of Mardan, in the North-West Frontier Province. It comprises a remarkable assemblage of stupas, cells, and other buildings terraced precariously upon the crag with a romantic outlook towards the border-mountains. It dates approximately from the second to fifth centuries A.D. Far less impressive, but at one time far more famous, are the mounds which represent Kanishka's mighty pagoda, in the outskirts of Peshawar. The bronze casket, bearing the name of Kanishka, which was found in it by archaeologists many years ago, is one of the treasures of the Peshawar Museum. In that Museum, too, and in the Museum at Lahore, are two of the world's finest collections of the local Buddhist sculpture, which combined elements of western art with others of eastern origin in the expression of an eastern ideology.

East Pakistan is also full of Buddhist remains, but of a somewhat different kind. At Paharpur, in the Rajshahi district towering above the crops and plantations of the flat Bengal countryside, are the ruins of the largest Buddhist monastery known south of the Himalayas, nearly 1,000 feet square, with a central stupa still seventy feet high, terraced and adorned with long lines of sculptures, most of terracotta. These sculptures derive largely from the local folk-art; as well as hieratic forms, they include vast numbers of purely secular subjects, such as animal-fables, dancers, acrobats, warriors, mendicants, ploughmen, musicians, birds, and trees, rendered in a vivid, direct style which itself illustrates the absorption of Buddhism into the traditional life and customs of the vicinity. Similar sculptures have been found on other Buddhist sites near Comilla and elsewhere in Bengal, and give a strongly local character to the composite religion of the region. They date mostly from the time of the Pala kings in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

Pre-Islamic Brahminism

Here and there, both in West and in East Pakistan, can also be seen remains of the Brahminical regimes which were reasserting

themselves against a decadent Buddhism at the time of the Islamic conquest. In the Attock and Jhelum districts of the North-West Frontier Province and the West Punjab are ruined temples, some of which represent the individual style of Kashmir and reflect the extension of Kashmiri rule into the northern Punjab in the eighth century A.D. In the Dera Ismail Khan district, among the western foot-hills, temples of this period and later are associated with impressive fortifications, which presumably represent the strongholds of hill-rajas on the eve of the Muslim conquest.

In East Pakistan, the most famous Hindu site of the period is at Mahasthan, in the Bogra district. The mounds and fortifications here represent the ancient city of Pundranagar, which was a provincial capital as early as the Mauryan period in the third century B.C., but so far as explored, is of later date. The present town-walls were probably built by the Palas, and of not very different period are a number of temples raised high up above the flood-plain on pedestals built of brickwork caissons. Little is at present known about them.

The Muslim Invasions

But while Buddhism and Brahminism were still the faiths of East Pakistan, Islam had already reached the Indus valley. It is well known how, in and after A.D. 711, Arab invaders from the Persian Gulf conquered and colonized Sind, and ultimately established twin capitals at Mansurah (the former Brahmanabad) in Sind and Multan in the Punjab. Archaeologists have not yet searched adequately for material vestiges of this Islamic phase. A little excavation has been carried out at Mansurah and fragments of small mosques, which may belong to this period, have been detected. But here again, almost everything remains to be done.

It is not until after the final conquest of the Punjab by Mahmud of Ghazna and his successors in the eleventh century A.D., that visible remains of importance begin to appear. They are most of them to be found at Multan, where five famous tombs still represent the prowess of the Muslim builders of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. Of these tombs, the most magnificent is that of the saint Rukn-i-Alam, which rises

to a height of 115 feet above the margin of the old fort. It has been described as "one of the most splendid memorials ever created in honour of the dead", and was built by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, the ruler of Delhi, as his own intended resting-place, about A.D. 1320. It is octagonal in plan—the earliest use of this Iranian form in the sub-continent —and towers in three stages to a low dome; its walls are elaborate with carved brickwork and timbering and with coloured tiles. There is no more remarkable building in the whole of Pakistan.

Few relics of the Middle Ages have, however, survived in West Pakistan; it was not until after the establishment of the Mughul dynasty by Babur in 1526 that building began there on a consistently large scale. But from the time of Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) onwards our difficulty becomes one of choice, not of material. Lahore became, with Delhi and Agra, one of the three capitals of the Mughul Empire and, in spite of grievous damage during the past two centuries, remains one of the great centres of Islamic architecture. Reference can be made here only to a few of the surviving buildings.

Old Lahore

Lahore was a pre-Islamic city, but the days of its greatness began when Akbar and his son Jahangir undertook the building of the fortress there on the mound which probably covers its predecessors. Akbar is credited also with the building of the town-walls which, as augmented by the Sikhs, survived until half a century ago. And here and there in the recesses of the old town can still be seen elaborately carved window-frames and doorways which date from Akbar's time.

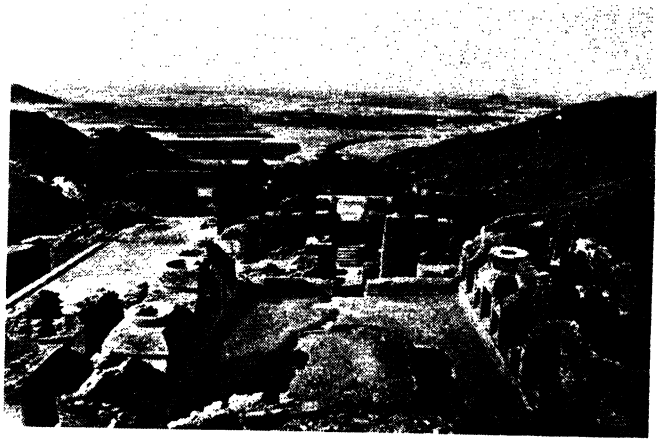
The fortress-palace was brought to completion by the Emperor Shah Jahan, whose name with the date 1632 is written upon the famous Hathi Pol or Elephant Gate. It was Shah Jahan, the builder of the Taj Mahal, who perfected what may be called the Mughul court-style, distinguished on the one hand by its carved and inlaid marble and on the other by its mosaic tile-work, which is better represented at Lahore than anywhere else. The finest in the world is that which decorates the Hathi Pol and the adjacent walls and corner-tower. Gate and walls are richly

panelled with floral patterns and with a very notable series of figure-subjects which, on a secular building, did not offend the Muslim tradition. The panels include camel and elephant fights, court-officials, a goat-and-monkey man, richly-caparisoned horses, a game of polo, and many other subjects. They are a picture-gallery of Indo-Iranian court life.

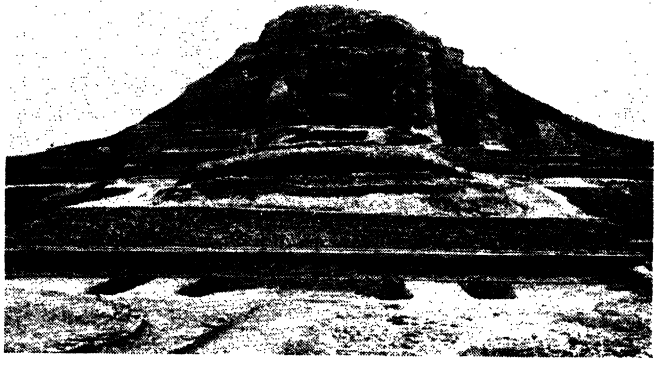
Within the fortress, even a summary cannot omit reference to the Shish Mahal or Hall of Mirrors. It opens on to a courtyard through an arcade of double pillars carrying multi-cusped arches and inlaid with vine and flower patterns in semi-precious stones, and its interior walls and ceiling are elaborately inlaid with glass mosaic, now marred by Sikh renovations. In the courtyard is a charming little marble pavilion with a convex roof derived from Bengali bamboo construction.

In and about the town is a large number of mosques, tombs, and gateways of the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century. Chief amongst them is perhaps the mosque of Wazir Khan, built in A.D. 1634 by one of Shah Jahan's Punjabi ministers. The building is a riot of gay mosaic tile-work, set in an architectural framework of unrelenting severity. Here, if anywhere, may we speak of "jewelled" architecture. Of the tombs, priority must be given to the great mausoleum of the Emperor Jahangir at Shahdara, three miles north-west of Lahore. Jahangir, who died in A.D. 1627, is the only Mughul emperor buried in Pakistan, and, though much mutilated, the tomb is a monument of high distinction. It stands in a formal garden which was originally laid out for the Emperor's celebrated queen, Nur Jahan, one of many gardens planned by the Mughul in the Persian manner. The tomb-building, more than 100 yards square, has a wall of red sandstone richly inlaid with white and black marble, and at each corner is a tall octagonal tower crowned by a pavilion. At one time, a marble pavilion also stood, as would appear, over the centre of the tomb. Inside are ceiled or vaulted compartments ornamented with panelled and inlaid flower-patterns and mosaic-tile panels, most of which has been restored. The marble gravestone is also inlaid with floral decorations, and with the ninety-nine attributes of God.

For the rest, it must suffice to mention the famous Shalimar Garden, three and a half miles east-north-east of Lahore beside



Remains of the Buddhist monastery, Wakht-i-Bahi, N.W.F.P.



View of Raherpur, Rajshahi District, East Pakistan.

the Grand Trunk Road. It was laid out in 1637 as a place of recreation for the royal family: today it is a shadow of its former self. Turbid water—all that is available without great cost—flows sluggishly through its channels, its fountains have ceased to play, and most of the marble has been removed from its pavilion and dead whitewash substituted. But it is still the favourite resort of many thousands, and on fair-days it is alive with great holiday crowds. It is an oblong, 1,650 by 730 feet, planned in three descending stages, of which the outermost are sub-divided by water-ducts whilst the central stage contains a tank from which the water descends down a marble cascade. There are a *hammam* or a bathsuite, summer-house, and two ancient richly tiled entrances (the present entrance is a modern cutting). It was at one time the most splendid of the Mughul paradises.

And, lastly, there are the two great works of Aurangzeb: the monumental West Gate of the fort, and the famous Badshahi or Imperial Mosque to which the gate gave entry from the palace. The mosque was built in 1673-4, and, with its three vast bulbous marble domes and its four tall minarets, looms over the city. It belongs to the end of the great Mughul tradition and is perhaps a trifle academic in its detail; but none can deny the majesty of the design, the severe dignity which reflects something of the character of its royal patron.

Other Mughul Buildings of West Pakistan

Outside Lahore, pride of place amongst Mughul buildings may be given to two notable tiled mosques built respectively in A.D. 1588 and 1644 at Tatta, the capital of a succession of provincial dynasties in Sind. In the presence of these two mosques, the Dabgir Masjid and the Jami Masjid, the spectator is in Persia. Within the severe outlines of the Iranian tradition, the walls are lit up with strong, simple colour; the interior of the dome of the Jami Masjid is a superb starry vault in blues and white, and the main lines are emphasized with a great variety of semifloriate geometry on square tiles.

Three miles to the north-west, on the Makli ridge is an immense cemetery dating mostly from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. It includes the tombs of many of the local

princes in a style which owes something to Iran but is essentially local and provincial. Much of its elaborate decoration is, strangely, a rendering of tile-work in low relief on stone, producing a rich but curiously lace-like effect.

To a more strictly Mughul style belong a number of works relating to the Sarak-i-Azam or Grand Trunk Road, which led from the Mughul dominions towards inner Asia and, incidentally, was traversed in part by the court on its periodical progresses into Kashmir. Long stretches of it were marked out in distances of about two and a half miles by *Kos Minars* or cone-shaped monuments, about twenty-five feet high, such as the excellent surviving specimen near Lahore Railway Station. Every few miles wells were built, some of them with ample shelters from the midday heat; examples may be seen in Akbar's fort at Gujrat (Punjab) and beside the Grand Trunk Road five miles north-west of Taxila. *Sarais*, or enclosures, where travellers might rest at the end of the day's march, were also maintained; a good example may be seen at Attock. And finally, the roads had to be guarded from dacoits or invaders, and forts were built along them; like the huge fort of Sher Shah at Rohtas (about A.D. 1540) near Jhelum, or Akbar's fort beside the Indus crossing at Attock (A.D. 1581).

East Pakistan

Islam came to Bengal in A.D. 1199, when Ikhtiar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiar, a general of the Turkoman Viceroy of Delhi, burst into the headquarters of the Hindu king Lakshmana Sena at Nudia and, thereafter, established himself at the Hindu capital of Lakshmanavati of Gaur. The Muslim rulers who succeeded the conqueror, never very closely tied to remote Delhi broke away altogether in 1338, and it was not until after 1575 that East Bengal under a series of powerful viceroys ruling principally (after 1612) from Dacca, reverted formally to the central power.

In these conditions of political independence or semi-independence, it is not surprising that the strong local traditions of Bengal retained something of their individualty within the new Islamic framework. Whilst the main lines of the Bengal mosques

and tombs were derived from medieval Delhi, much of the detail was of local inspiration; and Bengali Muslim architecture as a whole constitutes a separate provincial school unlike anything else in the Muslim world. The convex roof-ridges to which the Bengali was accustomed in the bamboo structures of his countryside were transferred in a remarkable fashion to the ridges and eaves of his stone and brick buildings. The close-set panelling which is a structural feature of his plaited grass huts is reflected in the panel-decoration of his mosque and mausolea. The close roofing of his buildings with multiple domes, a feature not altogether alien to his Delhi prototypes, was developed as a protection from his wet double-monsoon climate; and narrow, undifferentiated, almost prison-like entrances were encouraged by the same natural circumstances. Above all, the exuberant terracotta decoration of his walls and mihrabs reminds us of his traditional, pre-Islamic skill in this technique.

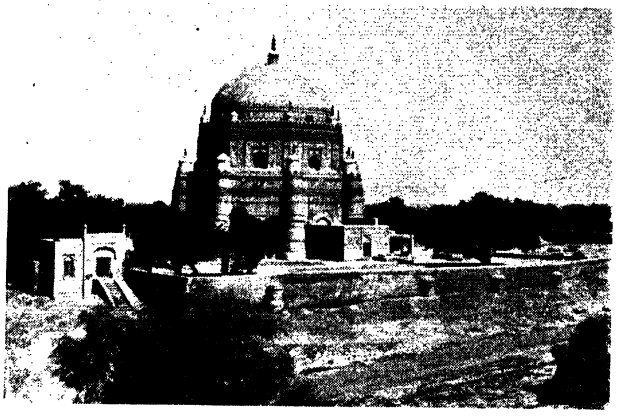
Probably the oldest Muslim monument in East Pakistan is the ruined tomb of Ghyas-ud-din Azam who ruled from A.D. 1389 to 1409, and was buried within the site of the ancient capital of Sonargaon, near Dacca. The tomb is of black basalt and is decorated with elaborately arched panels enclosing floriated hanging lamps. Of a number of lavishly ornamented mosques of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, mention must be restricted to the famous Chhota Sona Masjid or Small Golden Mosque built about A.D. 1500 at Gaur, originally with gilded domes. The mosque has the characteristic Bengali convex cornice, small equal openings, and multiple domes, but the central domes take the odd form of Bengali roofs with curved eaves. The walls are richly decorated in the Bengali style both externally and internally.

The arrival of the Mughul did not at once make itself felt in architectural form, but by the middle of the seventeenth century something approaching a standard imperial pattern had begun to emerge in the architecture of the viceregal capital at Dacca. The principal market-place there had, by A.D. 1640, a monumental entrance, the Bara Katra, of the normal Mughul pattern. By 1678 the Lalbagh Fort had been begun on Mughul lines and within it a mosque of this date has the three graded arches of the Iranian tradition, in place of the uniform openings

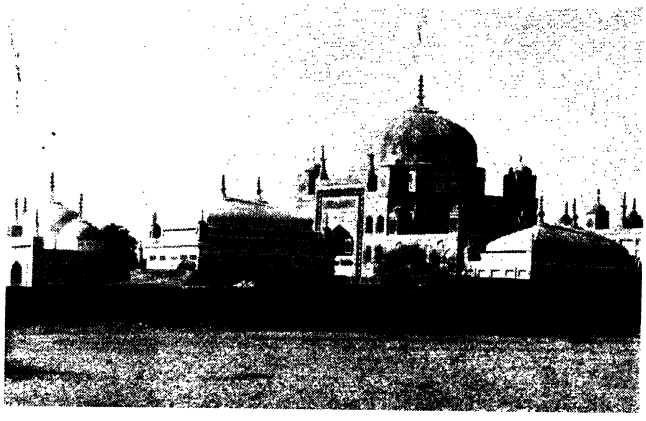
of the local style. But nearby is a building, the Tomb of Bibi Pari, which, though of nearly the same date, conforms neither with the vernacular nor with the imperial mode. The burial-chamber and side rooms are covered by corbelled roofs imitating timberwork, and the small external dome has no structural significance. Architecturally the building is of considerable interest in a period when design was becoming increasingly stereotyped.

Thus it is evident that although Pakistan is one of the youngest states in the world today, its people have inherited an amazingly rich store-house of some of the most spectacular civilizations that ever flourished in the world. Her people may take pride in the achievements of their soil which are among the historical treasures of the world. They may gain confidence too in tackling the most important of modern problems, that of assimilating new ideas and techniques, for the most striking artistic production of both East and West Pakistan result from the adaptation of ideas from outside to suit the local genius. Outsiders may be attracted to modern Pakistan by an interest in its past, and indeed, many illustrious foreigners have already visited this country to study and appreciate civilizations that flourished in bygone ages.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler.



Tomb of Shah Rukn-i-Alam, Multan.



Tombs of Halhara and Talpur kings, Hyderabad (Sind)

CHAPTER III

ARCHITECTURE

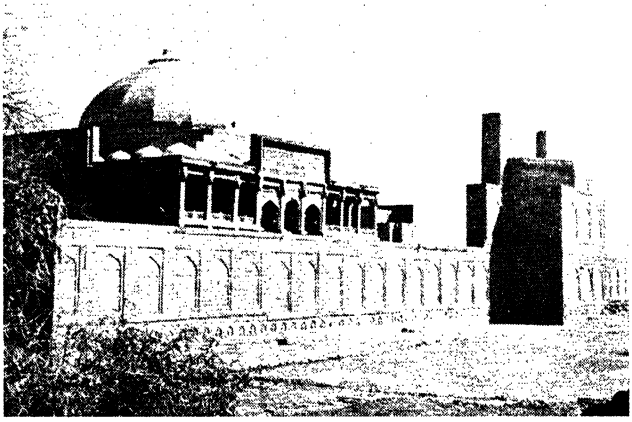
The earliest contact between the Indian sub-continent and Islam was through the Arab traders who had well-established colonies both on the east coast and the west, but these traders do not seem to have created any enduring buildings which could have given us some idea of their influence over local architecture. The Hindus did not attach much importance to secular architecture and in their religious buildings they were far too conservative to deviate from the rules laid down by their writers on architecture. If one visits the numerous temples of the south, one is struck by the uniformity of the plan as well as the structure and even sculpture follows certain familiar patterns. And yet South India does not seem to have escaped Muslim influence completely, because the Naik's Palace at Madura has been so deeply affected with Muslim ideas that but for a few minor deviations it might well be called a Muslim building. This building is contemporary with the great temple at Madura, and it is surprising how two distinct and different styles were followed by the same people in their secular and religious buildings, the temple of Madura following in every detail the old Hindu forms of architecture.

The real contact began in Sīnd. The earlier Arab buildings have not endured and such architectural remains of the Muslim period that still exist in Sind do not go back to the days of the Arabs. There are certain traditions, however, which Sind has inherited which illustrate long contacts with the Muslim world. The coloured encaustic tiles of Hala show distinct Muslim influence as well as the forms of architecture in vogue in the medieval period. But there is nothing to prove that these features date back to the Arab days. When the Muslims entered this sub-continent they possessed well-developed traditions in architecture and the more lasting buildings, the work of the Turks, the Afghans, and the Mughuls, are all essentially Muslim buildings.

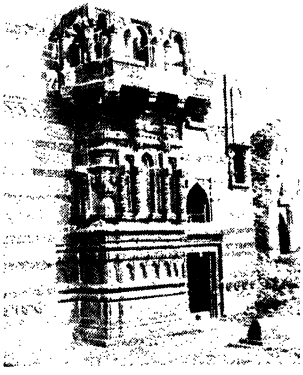
The difference between Islamic architecture and its Hindu

counterpart was a difference both of form and spirit, and the two styles also used different methods of construction. All great architecture corresponds to the needs of the people, and a study of the different religious and social customs of the Muslims and the Hindus, as well as of the natural conditions under which they lived, will show that the forms of architecture used by them were bound to be completely different. The Muslims prayed in large congregations, their ritual was simple and did not permit any symbolism, and their religion discarded priesthood and the mystery which all priesthood tends to create around its ritual. They believed in the burial of the dead, and a custom had grown up of building lasting monuments over their graves. Their social life, too, was congregational. On the other hand the Hindus believed in symbolism and idol worship, and their form of worship consisted of individual visits to the image of the diety where large congregations were not necessary. Further, the Hindus burnt their dead and did not construct tombs. In their social affairs as well, the Hindus were insular. Inter-dining between the different castes was prohibited, and sometimes even members of the same caste could not dine together.

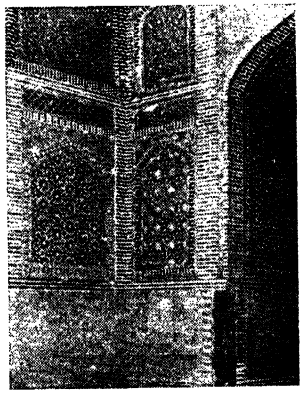
Spiritually the Muslim civilization had been developed in areas where large and thick forests were unknown, where against the wide horizons of the desert or semi-barren lands, the forms of all objects looked well-defined and stood out clearly; clarity and beauty of form, therefore, played an important part in Muslim art and architecture. Hinduism had thrived in lands densely covered with forests, where more attention is given to the minute beauty of the tracery of the leaves and the delicacy of the details in the beauty of a flower, where the eye notices the individual leaf and the individual flower, but seldom the entire tree, and never the entire forest. The Hindu mind, therefore, loves the details of decoration, but is not so anxious to create a well-defined, cut-silhouette. Methods of construction also were diametrically opposed. The Muslim lands did not have much durable timber and in many areas even large stones were not available, and yet the architects had to cover large spans because both their religious rites and social customs demanded large gatherings. They developed, therefore, the arch and its adaptations, the vaulted roof and the dome. The Hindus, on the other hand, established a tradition of wooden architecture which they never completely



Isa Khan Tarkhan's tomb, Thatta, (Sind)



Tomb of Nizamuddin, Thatta (Sind), with Arabic calligraphy.



Glazed tile and mosaic ornamentation in the Jame Masjid, Thatta (Sind).

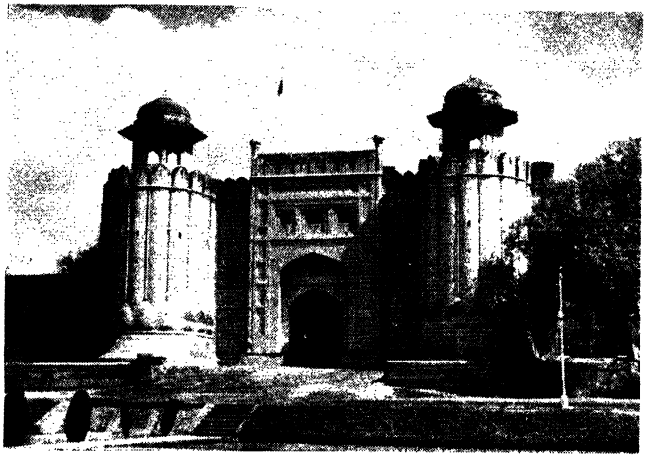
gave up, and they used pillars and the beam and its modification, the bracket; even when they built in stone their buildings were mostly imitations of wooden architecture. Hindu architecture was, therefore, trabeate. Another difference in the method of construction was that the Hindus used hardly any building material such as mortar, whereas Muslim buildings depended upon a lavish use of mortar without which their system of construction would be impossible. The Muslim mosque was open and spacious and consisted of large halls for congregations, whereas the Hindu temple had a small room for the image of the deity which was generally approached by a long, narrow, dark passage through which worshippers usually filed singly to see the dimly lit image, returning through the same or another passage. It is true that the Hindu temples had *mandapams* to accommodate the pilgrims; sometimes these pilgrims were entertained with religious music, but the main sanctuary was always small, narrow, and mystifying. The Hindus decorated their buildings with plastic modelling; the Muslims believed in colour and line, flat surface, carving, geometrical patterns, and calligraphy. Hindu decorations were more naturalistic and exuberant, but the Muslims believed in greater reserve in their decorations. In addition, the Muslims introduced new features like minars and minarets, pendentive and squinch arches, stalactite, honeycombing, and the half-domed double portal. They sometimes painted or gilded their buildings, sometimes they used stones of varying hues for creating colour effects and, more effectively, to accentuate architectural features. At a later date they used tessellating which was soon developed into *pietra dura*. They also brought with them encaustic tiling and mosaic. However, more striking than all these features was their emphasis on the majesty of outline and the grace of the form and the skyline. They introduced the beauty of the calligraphic curve into architecture.

This gulf between the two systems of architecture was real and wide, and yet such was the catholicity of the spirit of Islam that the Muslims were able to bridge the gulf and to bring about a synthesis. The Indo-Muslim architecture remained Muslim in spirit, but it adopted many features of Hindu architecture; in different areas and different ages the two styles mingled in varying degrees; yet Hindu influence was never avoided. Indo-Muslim architecture is a definite school of Islamic architecture and its different styles have varying degrees of Indian influence.

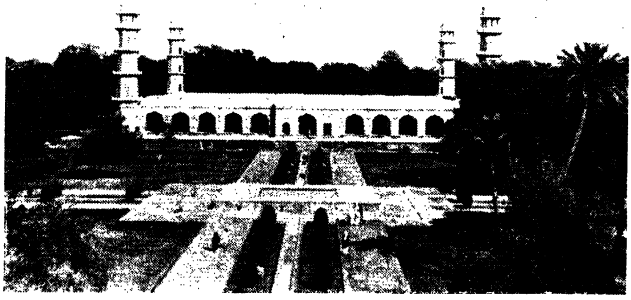
The synthesis between the Islamic and the Hindu styles of architecture was brought about without any self-consciousness or clumsiness. Indeed the untrained eye would find it difficult to point out the different trends in the same buildings, such has been their harmonious integration. The extent of Hindu influence has often been determined by the availability of Muslim architects and builders and also by the strength and the vigour of the local tradition.

When the first mosque was constructed by Qutbuddin Aibak in Delhi, it seems that the purpose was to create a building with hastily-collected material, and such masons as were locally available were employed. The result is that the main features of the oldest section of the Masjid-i-Qubbat-ul-Islam are a spacious courtyard, a main hall of worship, and narrow corridors running on the three sides of the courtyard. In the centre of each of the three corridors is an entrance gate. These broad features are Islamic but the details are Hindu. The building was built with the stones of Hindu buildings and, therefore, the halls and the corridors consist of carved pillars with similar beams and false domes constructed by laying diagonally pieces of stones to provide an ornamental ceiling. It is obvious that the Hindu architects who were employed were able to imitate the general plan of a mosque, but their construction was entirely trabeate. The result of the material used by them as well as their lack of knowledge of the principles of arcuate architecture was disappointing to the Sultan who missed the loftiness and spaciousness of the arch, and to hide the insignificance of the main hall he asked his architects to put up a screen of arches in front of it.

This screen built in 1198, two years after the completion of the mosque, is noted for its ornate carvings. There are several texts written in beautiful *tughra* which is almost lost in the decorations in the Hindu style of "naturalistic design of curling leaves and sinuous tendrils side by side with floral scrolls and flowing arabesques or geometrical traceries of surpassing richness". This screen breathes the very air of romance, but its construction is faulty. It consists of false arches without key stones or *voussoirs*. Although the method of construction is purely Hindu, the shape of the arches is Islamic. It seems to have been realized from the beginning that these arches could not take any weight and are



Gateway of the Lahore Fort.



Emperor Jahangir's tomb, near Lahore.

disconnected with the main building. In decoration as well the dominant effect is Hindu and the Islamic features have been completely overwhelmed. In 1230 Iltutmish more than doubled the mosque by adding to the wings as well as to the screen. Here the decoration changed its nature; the patterns became essentially Islamic and geometrical, and the calligraphy stands out better; the structure gained in organic unity and tectonic propriety: there is less exuberance, and the Hindu influence is hardly noticeable in the decoration. The method of construction, however, still remained unchanged.

Much more Islamic in conception is the Qutb Minar built near the mosque. It was founded by Qutbuddin Aibak, finished by Iltutmish, and repaired by Firuz Shah and Sikandar Lodi. Sikandar Lodi's repairs cannot be traced, but Firuz Shah's work can be seen, because the top storey, which was hit by lightning, was removed by Firuz Shah and replaced by two smaller storeys, in this way adding to the height of the structure. The lower storeys are of grey quartzite and their facings are of red sandstone. Firuz Shah built in red sandstone with marble facings. In the original building, the elaborate carving and stalactite corbelling under the balconies are distinctively Islamic. The carving is exquisite and restrained and the symmetry is perfect.

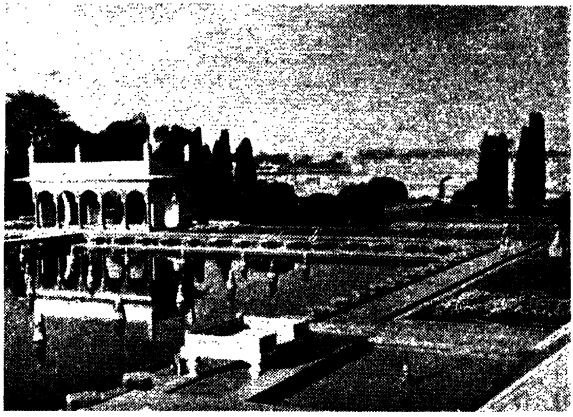
Qutbuddin Aibak built another mosque at Ajmer commonly known as Arhai-Din-ka-Jhonpra, so called because of a yearly fair lasting two and a half days held in the days of Maratha occupation. This mosque was built at greater leisure and it is more spacious and dignified; its colonnades are not crowded with pillars, and the pillars and the domes are more symmetrical. The architects succeeded in designing a hall of great beauty with ceilings of wonderful workmanship. The marble niche facing the west is outstanding. The screen in front of the hall is broader and more massive, and its engrailed arches provide a pleasing novelty. The screen is indeed attached to the building though it serves no structural purpose, because, the arches being false, it is incapable of bearing any weight. This building is important as the principles used in its construction set the fashion for architecture in Western Rajputana and Gujrat for a long time and the Gujrat school of Indo-Muslim architecture is heavily indebted to it. The tomb of Iltutmish built at the back of the Masjid-i-

Qubbat-ul-Islam at Delhi is a charming building with elaborate decorations of Quranic texts in *naskh*, *tughra*, and *Kufic* with formal arabesques and geometrical patterns. But the construction is still on the same lines. The true arch first appears in Balban's tomb at Delhi, which otherwise is a simple structure.

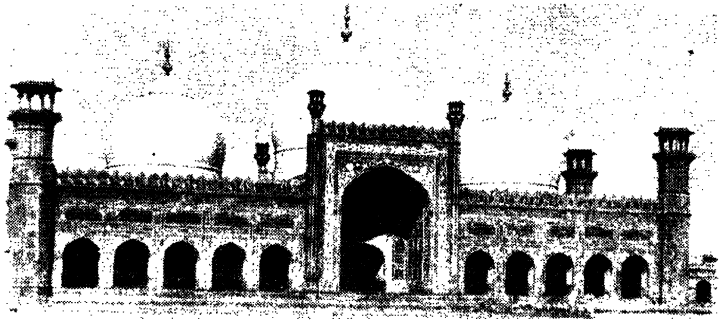
The Muslim architectural tradition was firmly established by the time the Khaljis came to power. The methods of construction were then revolutionized, the true arch and the dome being used freely. The most important building of this period is the 'Ala'i Darwazah built in 1311 which was the southern portal leading into Alauddin's extension of the Masjid-i-Qubbat-ul-Islam. In spite of the damage which it has suffered by an incorrect restoration, its well-proportioned form, its dignity, and its wealth of decoration, combine to make it one of the most fascinating buildings in the world.

After the creation of such a masterpiece a natural reaction set in, and we find that the buildings built by the House of Tughluq are less exuberant in decoration. The founder of the dynasty, Ghiyas-u'd-din Tughluq, had been a governor at Multan when the tomb of Baha-ul-Haqq was built, and so the Multan tombs assume an added importance from their great influence over Indo-Muslim architecture for several centuries. The main feature which was borrowed from these tombs is the use of sloping walls, which gives an impression of great strength. Tughluq himself built the Tughluqabad Fort which produces an impression of unassailable strength. It is today one of the most impressive ruins of the world although at one time its four walls contained palaces and buildings whose glittering domes captured the imagination of the famous traveller Ibn Batutah.

Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq's tomb built by his son Muhammad bin Tughluq is a simple building depending for its charm on its excellent proportions and the use of red stone with some ornamentations of marble. Firuz Shah was a great builder who created cities, forts, palaces, mosques, canals, and tombs. His empire was small but his building activity was extensive. He was forced to use cheaper materials and his buildings are mainly constructed with local quartzite covered with plaster. These buildings, however, are extremely well proportioned and have



The Shalimar Gardens, Lahore.



The Badshahi Masjid, Lahore.

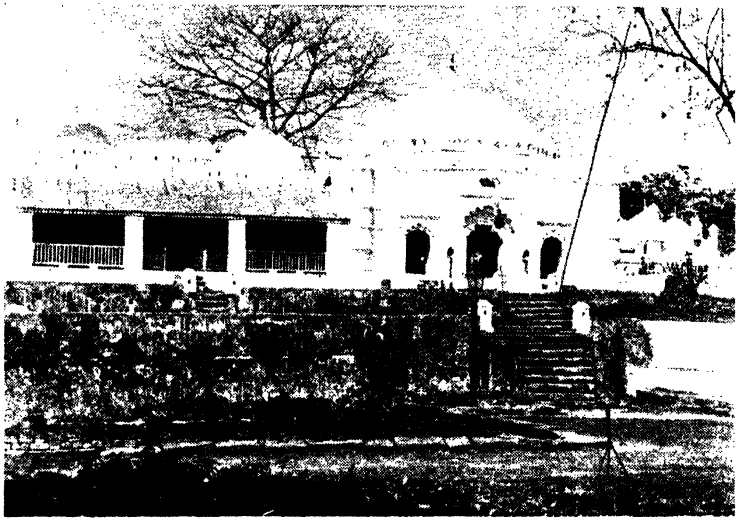
been constructed like their fore-runners of the Khalji period on sound engineering principles. Erroneous views have been expressed by certain writers in trying to explain the change in style and material, but the real reasons were a natural reaction against a style which had already culminated in a great masterpiece, and the search for cheaper yet equally enduring building materials. In actual fact these materials had already been used in the construction of Siri, the royal suburb created by Ala-ud-din Khalji. It has also been erroneously supposed by certain writers that these buildings eschewed ornamentation. There is evidence, both documentary and archaeological, to prove that encaustic tiles, gilding, and decorative painting were lavishly used which, of course, have mostly vanished because of the extremes of heat and cold, leaving only the plastered shells of buildings to posterity. The best examples are the university by the side of a big reservoir of water called Hauz-Khas and Firuz Shah's fortress palace called Firuz Shah-ka-kotla in Delhi. It is a tribute to Firuz Shah's architects that the necessary economy of material has resulted neither in shabbiness nor in degeneration. These buildings are virile and free from the pretentiousness which is often the result of small resources. His style is essentially Islamic but Hindu features and motifs have been freely used.

Firuz Shah's palace fortress, now known as Firuz Shah-ka-kotla, has only two buildings left which can be studied in some detail. A good description of the general plan of the palaces has been left by the contemporary 'Afif, but those palaces no longer exist. The Jame Masjid was built around an open court with the main hall facing Mecca and with cloisters on the three other sides. The portico is a small chamber with a flight of steps, a feature which has been repeated in other mosques. The Kushk-i-Zarrin Minar is a solid building, its main feature being the huge pillar on the top. This is one of Asoka's columns and was brought from the neighbourhood of modern Meerut. We read in contemporary records that the pillar was painted with gold, hence its name Zarrin Minar or Golden Column. It was visible from some distance and was a noted land-mark. Firuz Shah's mosques are made of stone covered with plaster, grey stone being used for pillars and brackets. The gateways are projecting, the porticoes correspond to the type used in the Jame Masjid of the Kotla, the roofs are multi-domed, and the quoins have tapering turrets. Another

mosque built at Khirki near Delhi has, in addition to the *liwan* and the cloisters on three sides, two running cloisters intersecting at right angles in the middle of the courtyard, dividing it into four small courts. This was perhaps designed to give greater protection to the congregation for the mid-day prayer, because the smaller courts could be easily covered with canopies, but it mars the perspective of the *liwan* and takes away the spaciousness and grandeur of the courtyard. An additional disadvantage was that the mosque must have been hotter at night.

A notable building of this reign is the tomb of Khan Khanan Maqbul, built on an octagonal plan surrounded with a verandah. This structure is important because it set the fashion for tomb architecture for some time. The Saiyyids and the Lodis developed, in spite of the instable conditions of those days and the smaller resources at their command, a style which depended for its effect on sound and dignified planning, and the use of stones of various colours and shades to accentuate the architectural features. Their tomb architecture was founded on the model of Khan Khanan Maqbul's tomb, but it was carried further. The main features were the octagonal plan of the building, an outstanding dome on the central chamber and a number of *chhatris* and pinnacles surrounding the main tomb. This architecture found its culmination in Sher Shah's tomb which is considered one of the most beautiful buildings of the world. Cunningham was inclined to believe that it was better even than the famous Taj Mahal in Agra. It has been described as "a magnificent grey pile emblematic of masculine strength and at the same time the embodiment of eternal repose". The architect 'Aliwal Khan gained this effect by putting the building in the middle of a large rectangular tank, the building itself being a pyramidal mass of diminishing tiers mounting up from a stepped plinth, and crowned with a semi-spherical dome. He used architectural details with great effect to break up the mass of structure, and the harmonious transition from square to octagon, and from octagan to circle is remarkable. Sher Shah's other great building is his mosque built inside his fort in Delhi. The arrangement of its facade of five arched bays decorated with marble inlay and other decorations contributes to its beauty.

This brings us to the Mughul dynasty which began with



Shah Jalal's mausoleum at Sylhet.

Babur. The first notable building is Humayun's tomb at Delhi built in the early years of Akbar's reign. This building introduced, for the first time in the sub-continent, the fashion of putting tombs in the middle of formal gardens. The tomb stands on a large square terrace surrounded by an arcade. White marble is used to accentuate the main architectural features against a background of red sandstone. Its facade is striking because of the dominant, well-shaped dome mounted high on a drum, the central bay set back against the wings, and a deeply recessed archway in the central fronton and repeated in the wings.

The buildings of Akbar's reign inside the Fort are mostly trabeate, arches being used sparingly. Akbar's main architectural achievements, however, was the city of Fatehpur Sikri near Agra which was built with great rapidity. "Fatehpur Sikri, with its great mosque—which was also a university—its palaces, assembly halls and public offices, its schools and hospitals, baths, waterworks and its spacious caravanasarais for travellers, most of which are still intact bear witness to Akbar's splendid capacity as an organiser and ruler of men". The mosque in Fatehpur Sikri uses a number of features from Sher Shah's architecture. On one side of the mosque is the great Buland Darwazah which stands on a platform forty two feet high from the road. The gate, which is 134 feet high is a building by itself, consisting of rooms, verandahs, and chambers concealed in its massive proportions and yet, like other Mughul buildings, the building gives an impression of being slender because of its excellent proportions. The other buildings of Fatehpur Sikri are characterized by wide projecting drip stones, often by exquisite carving, and a lavish use of stone pillars and beams. The buildings are mostly in grey sandstone, but the fine tomb of the saint Salim Chishti standing in the courtyard of the mosque made of marble. Akbar's tomb at Sikandara has a vast gateway and the final storey of the main building is delicately executed, but the greater part of the building is a confusing array of arcades and kiosks.

In Jahangir's reign (1569-1627) the most remarkable building was built by the Empress Nur Jahan. This is the tomb of her father, Itmaduddaulah built in marble and enriched by *pietra dura* in semi-precious stones. The building is small with a vaulted roof in the centre and four stunted towers on the corners. Its decoration is so delicate that it has been described as "a rich

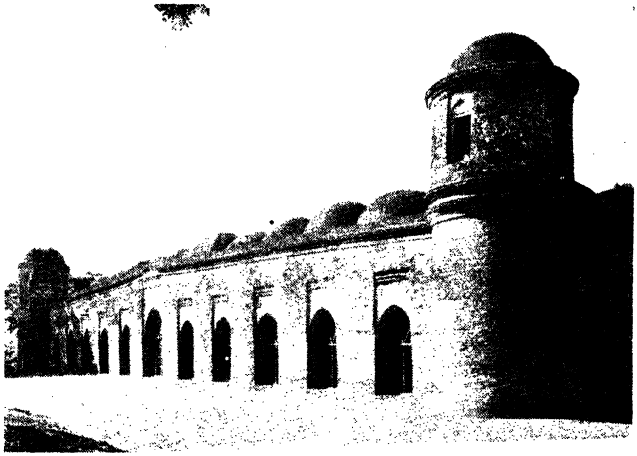
article of jewellery magnified into architecture". Jahangir's own tomb at Lahore is an oblong building with minarets at each corner and with fine inlay work. It looks incomplete because the central pavilion was removed by the Sikhs.

With Shah Jahan (1627-1658) we enter the most glorious period of Indo-Muslim architecture. He found the Mughul cities of sandstone and left them of marble. In this period calligraphic curves and the flowing rhythm, the main characteristics of Muslim architecture, find their greatest fulfilment. At Agra he built a number of palaces and halls richly decorated with inlay and *pietra dura* which breathe the very air of elegance and romance. The sparkle of many fountains and waterways add to the splendour and beauty of these buildings. The Moti Masjid has been praised by all critics: "Few edifices convey to the beholder a finer sense of purity than this chapel royal." In the Delhi group of palaces architecture makes further strides. The Jame Masjid at Delhi is "an example of the highest type of religious architecture, precise and perfect". From its largeness of conception, pleasing proportions, and unity of the design, it must be considered one of the finest mosques in the world. But perhaps the most beautiful and also the most famous of his creations is the Taj Mahal built as a mausoleum for his beloved wife Arjumand Bano Begum (Mumtaz Mahal) who died in 1631 at Burhanpur. It was built by the architect Ahmad who also was responsible for the Red Fort of Delhi. In the Taj Mahal architecture is translated into the realm of poetry. In the words of Arnold:—

"Not architecture: as all others are,
"But the proud passion of an Emperor's love,
"Wrought into living stone, which gleams and soars
"With body of beauty shrining soul and thought."

Technically too this was a remarkable building, as its lines and angles are just as accurate today as when they were built, thus proving the scientific knowledge and technical skill of the architects and builders of those days.

At Lahore Mughul architecture developed on parallel lines, though in some buildings great emphasis was laid upon mosaic



Satgumbad Masjid at Begerhat, East Paki:

Interior of the Satgumbad Masjid

encaustic tiles. The best example of this type is Wazir Khan's Mosque which is remarkable for fertility of design, diversity of colour, and the ornamentation.

The buildings on Mokli Hill near Thatta in Sind also belong to the Mughul period, but the inferior quality of the local stone and the salt air have been responsible for the damage done to some of the carving. The mosque in the city was built in the reign of Shah Jahan and contains notable tile work.

After such glorious achievement, a period of sterility was inevitable. Yet, Aurangzeb gave Lahore a fine mosque in the Badshahi Masjid.

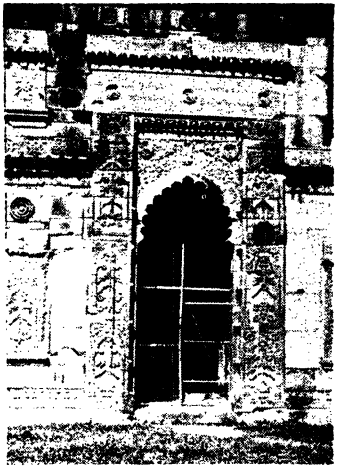
The Mughul buildings depended for their beauty as much on architectural design as on the decorative effect of the calligraphy, the traceries of the screens and inlay, and mosaic work. Similarly, many buildings would be meaningless without the gardens around them. The silhouettes are incomplete without the cypresses and the symmetrical trees on either side, and the effect is incomplete without the fountain, the running water, and the flower beds; for the buildings themselves suggest in Ferguson's words "elasticity, intricacy and glitter—suggestion of fountain-spray and singing birds".

After the reign of Aurangzeb the resources of the empire declined rapidly and, with it, the vigour of Mughul architecture. The various provincial dynasties had developed pleasing varieties of architecture, especially in Gujrat and the Deccan. In Bengal brick was mostly used because of the lack of stone. The curvilinear roof was the main contribution of Bengal to Indo-Muslim architecture. Bengal also developed surface ornaments of great delicacy. Their spontaniety is perhaps the great characteristic of these buildings. The most famous buildings are the Dakhili Darwazah, Adinah Masjid, and the Bara Sona Masjid.

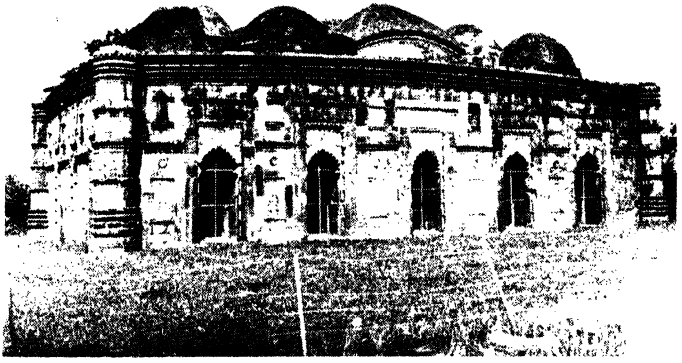
The provincial schools which came into existence after the downfall of the Mughul Empire had little to commend them. Gradually, however, there emerged a form of architecture which combined some of the features of the Indo-Muslim architecture with modern needs. Public buildings, such as universities, hospitals,

public halls, and sometimes palaces, were built which combined European ideas of accommodation with Indo-Muslim traditions of decoration and motif. The older parts of the Punjab University, the Lahore Museum, and the Islamia College at Peshawar are examples of this style. Today, however, architecture in Pakistan tends to follow the latest trends in simplicity of lines. In religious architecture, however, the old traditions are still followed and sometimes good buildings are produced.

Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi.



Central doorway of the Sona Masjid, Rajshahi.



View of the Chhota Sona Masjid, Rajshahi.

CHAPTER IV

MUSIC

When Muslims came to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, they brought with them a well-developed system of vocal and instrumental music. Religious circles had looked askance at the cultivation of music, regarding it as an idle pleasure, but from the beginning the Arab rulers patronized it and the people in general shared their views. This popular point of view was supported by serious thinkers like Ibn Sina, Al-Farabi, and Al-Kindi, who wrote learned books on the subject.[1] Damascus, Baghdad, and Granada became important centres of the art, and the Arab music enriched European music. "European minstrels, prior to the Arab contact, only had the *cithara* and harp among stringed instruments and they only had their ears to guide them while tuning. The Arabs brought to Europe their lutes, pandores, and guitars, with the places of the notes fixed on the finger-board by means of *frets* (cf. Arab *farida*, *fard*) which were determined by measurement".[2] When Muslims came to India, they were not only heir of the rich Arab heritage in music, but had also benefitted by the developments of Persian and central Asian music. They brought to India a variety of Perso-Arab musical instruments, such as the *Rubab*, *Chang* (harp), *Ghichak*, *Tambura*, *Shahrud*, *Qanun* (dulcimer) *Ud*, *Nay* (flute), *Duff*, and the *Naqqara*.[3] The most popular musical (and literary) form with the newcomers was the *ghazal*. For many years *ghazals* continued to be sung to the traditional Persian airs, and the rules and regulations of the twelve *maqamat* of Persian music were rigidly adhered to. The most popular musical instruments were also those which had been introduced from Iran and Central Asia. India, however, had its own elaborate musical system, and a large class of singers and musicians.

In course of time Amir Khusrau who is primarily known as a Persian poet, but who perhaps played even a bigger role in the

[1] For titles see Farmer's article on Music in *Legacy of Islam*.

[2] *Legacy of Islam*, p. 374.

[3] See Dr. Halim's article on "Muslim contribution to development of Northern India Music" in the *Muslim Year Book of India* 1948-49, pp. 107-108.

history of Hindustani music, brought about a synthesis of the two systems; he took the main features of important Indian *rags* and fitted them into suitable *pardahs* of Persian music, and with his knowledge and understanding of the two musical systems created a new musical form in which both were blended. In an old Persian work called *Chishtia Bihishtia*, written in A.D. 1655, the author has described in detail the technical changes introduced by Khusrau, and says: "Just as by the combination of yellow and blue colours, a new colour—the green—is created; similarly Amir Khusrau by harmonizing, with the grace of God and his inborn genius, distinct musical forms, created something which was new and beautiful."

In his learned work on Amir Khusrau Dr. Wahid Mirza writes: "He (Khusrau) has, since very remote times, been regarded to have been as great in music as in poetry, and able to express in musical numbers even the sounds produced by a gong or a carder's bow. Tradition, again, ascribes to him the invention of the *Sutar* as well as several new melodies compounded of Persian and Indian tunes, and he is said to have defeated in open contests a famous musician of the Deccan, Naik Gopal by name. That Khusrau had studied well the science of music is abundantly clear from his writings. He seems to have been quite familiar with the Persian system and to have known well all its intricacies—the four *usuals*, the twelve *pardahs*, and so on. He knew well also the Indian system and was a great admirer of it. Musical contests, too, would appear to have been a favourite pastime of his day, and Khusrau did apparently take a keen interest and an active part in them. It is quite reasonable, therefore, to believe that he made some attempt to combine the Persian and Indian systems and to evolve new melodies characteristic of the new Indo-Persian culture of India. But it is difficult to determine exactly the extent or importance of the modifications introduced by him. According to an old Persian work on Indian music (which is supposed to be a translation of an older work written in the time of Rajah Man Singh of Gwalior), he invented the following new melodies: *mujir*, *sazgari*, *aiman*, *ushahaq*, *ghazal*, *zilaf*, *farghana*, *sarparda*, *bakharz*, *frodast*, *qual*, *tarana*, *khyal*, *nigar*, *basit*, *shahana*, and *subila*".[1]

As the result of the efforts made by Khusrau and others,

[1] *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, Dr. Wahid Mirza, pp. 238-239.

such as Sultan Hussain Sharqi, a new school of music began to be popular in India; this kind of music is generally known as Hindustani or northern Indian music. After its adoption, in the early nineteenth century by Hindu artistic circles in Bengal, and by Bhatkhande and others in Bombay, it became, to all intents and purposes, the national music of India. It differs in many respects from the southern India music, which is confined to Madras and Mysore and which is known as Karnataki music.

Professor Ranade says with regard to changes introduced by Amir Khusrau: "Just after Sharangdev, that is, soon after the close of the thirteenth century, the Muhammadans invaded the Deccan and overthrew the dynasty of the Yadavas of Devagiri. This had its own reactions on Indian music, as on other matters of culture. Persian models began to be introduced into Indian music, evidently widening the gulf between the Northern and Southern schools. The Northern school later on adopted a new scale as its model or *shudda* scale, while the Southern school retained the traditional one. Scholars believe that this change in the Northern school was wholly due to our contact with the Persian art, of which Amir Khusrau was the pioneer."[1]

In Khusrau, two major streams of our cultural heritage had met. Theological lawyers condemned music, but it was popular at the royal courts and with the Sufi saints, particularly of the *Chistia* order. Khusrau was both a Sufi and a courtier, and his musical devices enriched cultural life both at the court and the *khaniqahr*. The *ghazal* was more popular at the courts, while Chistiyaral Sufis, who looked upon music as "a means of revelation attained through ecstasy" found that the *Qaul*, which had been developed by Khusrau, enlivened their spiritual gatherings.

Amir Khusrau lived to see the Tughluqs on the throne of Delhi. They were orthodox Muslims, and for a long time to come, music received greater encouragement at the provincial courts than at the court of Delhi. Amongst the provincial rulers Hussain Shah Sharqi, king of Jaunpur (1457), is regarded as the founder of the *Khiyal* school of music, which was to come into its own in the days of the later Mughuls. The introduction of *Khiyal* is a great

[1] *Hindustani Music*, Ranade, pp. 8-9.

event in the history of Indian music. So far the traditional Hindu music consisted of *Dhrupad*, which was devotional in its aim, with its theme consisting normally of invocation to God, gods, and goddesses, or describing incidents from Hindu scriptures. *Khiyal* was not devotional music. Even when it dealt with Hindu themes, it consisted of narration of the pranks of Lord Krishna and Gopis, and these were a thinly veiled description of human love and romance. *Khiyal* differed from *Dhrupad* not only in theme, but in mode of singing. It aimed at giving aesthetic pleasure through endless melody embodied in what is known as *Tan*, conforming to the rules of grammar of music. During the decline of the Mughul empire *Khiyal* tended to become very elaborate and ornate, but its basic structure consisted of a great simplification of *Dhrupad*. An author of the Mughul period says: "After sometime, Sultan Husain Sharqi, who was the ruler of Jaunpur, reduced the four stanzas of *Dhrupad* to two, changed the melody, making it more cheerful, and had the new composition known as *Khiyal* or *Chutkala*. But he made the music more an expression of human love, and unless the interpreter is particularly pious, he cannot link this music with devotional themes".[1] *Khiyal* became so popular in course of time that it has "for the last two hundred years and over almost monopolized the attention of the best musical brains".[2] The traditional Hindu *Dhrupad*, which it gradually replaced is, in the words of Professor Mukerji, "so high-brow that nobody now listens to it".[3]

Music was cultivated at other provincial courts too. In Central India, Baz Bahadur, the last king of Malwa, and his favourite consort Rupwati were accomplished musicians. In Malwa the old *Dhrupad* school of Hindu music was in vogue, and in later days we see at the Mughul court a number of musicians from Malwa (Dhar), who had specialized in *Dhrupad* music. Bahadur Shah, king of Gujrat (1526-1537) was an accomplished musician, while in the distant north Zainul Abedin, the liberal king of Kashmir (1416-1467), was the author of a treatise on music. But the most influential centre of traditional music in northern India was Gwalior. During the weakening of the Delhi Sultanate it was taken over by a Hindu raja, and the rajas of Gwalior

[1] *Tazkirah Mira'tul Khiyal*, p. 140.

[2] *Hindustani Music*, Ranade, p. 120.

[3] *Modern Indian Culture*, D. P. Mukerji, p. 149.

enthusiastically patronized music. The most famous among them was Raja Man Singh, who ruled from 1486 to 1527. He appointed a commission to examine the condition of the existing music, to give it a standard form, and purify it by removing anomalies which had crept in as a result of the fusion of Hindu and Muslim styles. At least one member of the Commission, Nayak Mahmud, was a Muslim, and as a result of its deliberations *Man Kautuhal* was issued, which classified and standardized *rags* and *ragas*. Raja Man Singh made another contribution to Hindu music. Hitherto *Dhrupad* was chanted in Sanskrit only. He substituted Hindi for Sanskrit and helped a great deal to popularize it. The work of the Hindu rajas of Gwalior was facilitated by the setting up of a *khaniqah* by the famous saint, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior. Badauni says that the saint himself composed new melodies and encouraged his disciples to do so. He is the favourite saint of the musicians of northern India.

Apart from the patronage of the courts, music found influential supporters amongst Sufi saints; for example Shaikh Pir Bodhan of Barnawa (d.A.D. 1497), who was contemporary with Sultan Husain Sharqi, was a great lover of music. "Sultan Husain Sharqi would send the distinguished musicians of his court to the saint, and would consult him about his own compositions."[1] The monastery of the saint was a rendezvous of musicians from Delhi, Deccan, and Jaunpur. These traditions were more than maintained by his son, Shaikh Badrud Din, who had contingents of musicians and instrument-players attached to his ancestral *khaniqah* and they included *Qawwals* from Delhi, *Khiyal* singers from Jaunpur and Khairabad, and other musicians from Sind, Mewar, and Deccan.

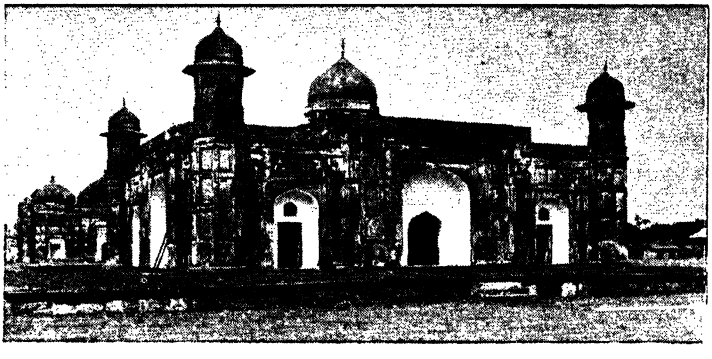
Even more important than the contribution of individual Sufi musicians was the general encouragement given to the art by Sufi support. With the theologians' ban on music its cultivation might have been confined to circles outside the pale of orthodoxy, but Sufi patronage saved music from this fate, and gave Muslims many forms of semi-religious music, which were free both from Hindu traditions and shortcomings of the type of music which became popular during the decay of the Mughul empire. Sufi patronage greatly helped the popularity of music with the

[1] *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, August 1927, p. 47.

masses. *Qawwali*, performed at the *Urs* of various saints and on other occasions, appealed to thousands of illiterate villagers, who were present on such occasions, and were like free concerts of congenial and inspiring music. The share of Sufis in the cultivation of popular music may be judged by the fact that a large proportion of the folk music of Pakistan, such as the *Marfati*, *Murshidi*, and *Baul* songs of East Bengal, and *cafis* of Sind and Punjab, are concerned with Sufi themes, and in Kashmir classical music itself is called *Sufiana Kalam*.

Several kings of the Lodi and the Sur dynasties, including the orthodox Sikandar Lodhi, patronized music, but of course the art received the fullest encouragement at the court of Akbar. Popley writes about him in *Music of India:* "The Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) was a fervent lover of music and did much for its development. During his reign *ragas* were considerably modified under foreign influence and, though some of these modifications transgressed the established practice, they were on the whole to the advantage of music and helped to give to Northern music some of its more pleasing characteristics. *Durbari* or chamber music was introduced in the time of Akbar, and from that time developed side by side with the music of the temple and drama". Abul Fazl gives the names of nearly forty prominent musicians and instrument-players, who flourished at Akbar's court. The principal artists came from Gwalior, Malwa, Tabriz (in Iran), and Kashmir. The most famous musician of the period was Tansen. He is stated by some Muslim chroniclers to have grown up in the monastery of Shaikh Mohammad Ghaus of Gwalior, while the Hindu tradition describes him as a disciple of Swami Haridass. It is not certain whether he formally adopted Islam, but his son, Bilas Khan, was certainly a Muslim. "A singer like him", wrote Abul Fazl, "has not been in India for the last two thousand years". Tansen is the inventor of a *Malhar*, a *Todi*, and a *Sarang*, which are known as *Mian-ki-Malhar*, *Main-ki-Todi*, and *Mian-ki-Sarang* respectively, and retain their popularity in classical music. Tansen, though generally considered as one of the greatest musicians this subcontinent has produced, was not very popular with the ultra-conservative Hindu musicians. Fox-Strangways says about him in *The Music of Hindustan:* "The Hindus, however, hold him principally responsible for the deterioration of Hindu music. He is said to have falsified the *rags*, and two, *Hindol* and *Megh*, of the

Another view of the Satgumbad Masjid.



Mausoleum of Bibi Pari, Dacca, East Pakistan.

original six have disappeared since his time".[1]

At Akbar's court vocal music was mainly represented by local musicians, whereas almost all the instrument-players were foreigners, from Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia.

Music continued to be patronized at Jahangir's court, where Bilas Khan, the inventor of *Bilas Todi*, took the place of his father, Tansen, but Jahangir's main interest was in painting, and music received greater encouragement under his successor, Shah Jahan. Dr. Halim says about this period: "During Shah Jahan's reign there had sprung up a tendency for beautification and ornamentation in the art of singing. Another feature of this reign is that the contact between the indigenous and foreign systems of music resulted in their blending and fusion. Indian or Persian music loses its individuality and both coalesce to take a pronounced Indian form. While during Akbar's time, more than half a dozen musicians and instrumentalists hailed from Persia and Trans-Oxiana, we come across only two such artists in Shah Jahan's reign. It is a proof that Indian music had reached a stage of satiety and had ceased to draw from foreign sources. Thirdly, *Khiyal* invented by Husain Shah Sharqi gradually asserts itself, though it had only two exponents in the court circle."[2]

Early in Shah Jahan's reign Shaikh Baha-ud-din of Barnawa died at the age of 117. He had travelled far and wide, and had been to Deccan to complete his study of music. He was accomplished in *Geet*, *Dhrupad*, *Khiyal*, and *Tarana*. He played Amrit Vina very well, and invented an intricate musical instrument, called *Khiyal*. Amongst his admirers were the famous Tansen, and Sheikh Fahim Ullah, (son of Sheikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior), himself a composer of note.

During Shah Jahan's reign Prince Shuja was appointed as Governor of Bengal. During his prolonged governorship Prince Shuja made his court a great cultural centre. He persuaded his father to permit Misri Khan and Gun Khan, two prominent musicians of the royal court, to accompany him. Misri Khan

1 *The Music of Hindustan*, Fox Strangways, p. 84.

2 *Muslim Year Book of India* (1948-49), pp. 114-115.

came from Dhar (in Malwa) and was a pupil of Bilas Khan, the son of the famous Tansen.

Aurangzeb (1658-1707) started by patronizing music and was himself a good judge of it but with his deepening puritanism he began to object to it on religious grounds and in 1688 disbanded the musicians attached to the royal court. A story is told of how the court musicians, desiring to draw the attention of the Emperor to their distressing conditions came past his balcony, carrying a gaily dressed corpse upon a bier and chanting mournful funeral songs. When the Emperor asked what it was, they told him that music had died from neglect and that they were taking its corpse to the burial ground. He replied at once: "Very well, make the grave deep, so that neither voice nor echo may issue from it."[1]

During Aurangzeb's reign music ceased to enjoy royal patronage, but of course the popularity of the art with the Mughul nobility was, by now, too firmly established to allow it to suffer. Perhaps the art even gained by being cultivated by its true votaries and those keenly and sincerely interested in it, and a large number of books on the history and theory of Indo-Muslim music were written during Aurangzeb's reign. One of the most famous was *Rag-darpan* (The Mirror of Music), written by Fakirullah (Saif Khan), who was at one time Governor of Kashmir. It purports to be a translation of *Man-Kauthal* written at the court of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior, but contains much additional information derived from other sources.

With the reaction against Aurangzeb's puritanism under his grandson Jahandar Shah and his great-grandson, Muhammad Shah Rangila—the Gay— music gained unprecedented popularity. A marked characteristic of the later Mughul period was that music became more decorous and ornate. This was partly due to the general tendency towards greater elaboration and sophistication, which also appears in the architecture and literature of the period; another reason was that even the nobles and princes began to have as much interest in music as they formerly took in war and other vigorous outdoor exercises. In comformity with their tastes music

[1] *The Music of India*, Popley, p. 20.

became more decorous, and *Khiyal* or the ornate school of music came into its own.

The most famous musician of the court of Emperor Muhammad Shah was Nimat Khan, who later appears to have taken the nom-de-plume of Sadarang. He composed many *Khiyals* in Muhammad Shah's name. "Nearly seventy per cent of the standard *Khiyal* sung today were either composed by *Sadarang* or Muhammad Shah Piya-Rangila, the names being put to the songs either at the beginning or at the end." An ancestor of Sir Salar Jang visited Delhi in 1738 and has left an interesting account of Delhi, as it existed during the days of Muhammad Shah. He writes about Ni'mat Khan: "This country is indeed very lucky in having some one like him. He is an expert in the invention of new melodies and can be compared with the great Naiks of the past. He has composed many beautiful *Khiyals* and has written books in many languages."[1] Nimat Khan's brother was also a renowned musician, and specialized in instrumental music. Amongst the prominent disciples of Nimat Khan was Lala Bengali, who along with Niazi Qawwal assisted Nimat Khan to compose a large number of songs.

With the weakening of the Mughul empire and the setting up of provincial governments, music was encouraged in provincial capitals, and just as Lucknow became the refuge of Urdu poets, musicians in northern India flocked to the court of the nawabs of Lucknow. Music found ready patronage at Lucknow, but here it underwent some important changes. For one thing, with the break-up of the empire and the denial of the patronage of a formal and highbrow court, the musicians had to take account of the opinion of the middle classes, or even of the man-in-the-street. Moreover, folk-music which had been completely ignored by serious musicians in the past, but which had been gradually growing after the Muslim conquest, and had by now gained from the general cultural improvements of the Mughul period, began to secure recognition and some of its forms were adopted by better-known musicians. After describing the social conditions in the early ninteenth century, Dr. Halim says: "*Khiyal* which required considerable exertion and exactitude made less

[1] *Delhi in the Twelfth Century of Hegira*, (Persian), p. 55.

appeal, not to speak of the acrobatic and mathematical music embodied in *Dhrupad.* A music which made an appeal to sensual emotions suited the peoples' temperament better. In these conditions two different forms of light music took their origin—*Thumri* and *Tappa,* both springing from the provincial court of Lucknow. *Thumri* may very conveniently be classified as love music, because apart from making an appeal to the senses, by harping on notes, or by the repetition of a word or syllable in scores of beautiful settings, its subject matter consists of the feeling between lover and the beloved. It differs from the *Khiyal* in the sense that, whereas in the *Khiyal* love is symbolic and allegorical, in *Thumri* it is actual and real. *Tappa* was invented by Shori, a court musician of Lucknow. Its origin is traced to the song of the camel-drivers of the Punjab, its rhythm being determined by the pace of the camel. Some even trace its antiquity to Tartar-Mongol cameleers. Shori's contribution consisted in converting an old outlandish popular mode into a civilized form of music. But it must be remembered that *Thumri* and *Tappa* are regarded as *Dhuns* or tunes of music and do not conform to the actual rules of grammar as rigidly as *Dhrupad* and *Khiyal* do. *Dhrupad* and *Khiyal* singing did not go out of vogue. They existed side by side but suffered in competition with their more popular rivals, just enumerated."[1]

This period was also noteworthy for an important work on music, which was named after one of the early rulers of Oudh. In 1813 Muhammad Raza, a nobleman of Patna wrote a standard work on the music of northern India, and called it *Usul-ul-Naghmat-ul-Asafiya* (usually abridged as *Naghmat-i-Asafi*) after Asaf-ud-Daula the contemporary Nawab of Lucknow. In his book on the cultural history of Lucknow, the well-known Urdu author, Sharar says about Muhammad Raza: "The author is mature and scholarly, and appears to have a command of Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit. He has successfully tried to explain the theory of Indian music". Muhammad Raza's work was not merely explanatory. "He tried to bring order into the mass of numerous *Matas* or schools of musical traditions, which hardly agreed with one another. He boldly criticized all the four *Matas,* or systems of music, current in his day and pronounced them

[1] *Muslim Year Book of India* (1948-49), p. 118.

as wholly out of date and unsuited to the spirit and practice of his times, and then gave his own *Mata* or system. The book was written by the author after full consultation with the best artists of the day, and hence serves as a reliable guide to the music of the day."[1] Pandit Bhatkhande, who did so much for Indian music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century drew up his system "in the manner of the *Naghmat-i-Asafi*".[2] After Muhammad Raza, the next important Muslim writer on music was Raja Nawab Ali of Lucknow, who recently wrote *Muarif-ul-Naghma* in two volumes, apart from his *Melodies of Amir Khusrau.*

Tappa, which first gained admission into serious musical circles at Lucknow has had an interesting history. It is a "peculiar product of the Punjab" but it "leaped across a thousand miles and founded tradition in Bengal."[3] The first "hop" was, of course, Lucknow, but when *Tappa* reached Bengal, it fascinated Nidhu Babu, the first pure love lyrist in Bengal. He composed 4720 *Tappas,* and was followed by a number of other *Tappa* composers, amongst whom Nazr-ul-Islam is the most eminent. *Tappa* became refined and brief in Bengal and shed all traces of its original outlandish coarseness.

During the nineteenth century Calcutta was the capital of India, and Bengal was fully brought into the tradition of Indian Muslim music. One factor contributing to this was the exile of Wajid Ali Shah, the last king of Lucknow to Matiya Burj, near Calcutta. "The event proved a great blessing for Bengal. About 110 musicians came with Wajid Ali and scattered themselves all over the province and thus gave a tremendous impetus to the Bengali musicians to learn Northern Indian music. Taj Khan's *Dhrupad* and Tassadaq Husain Khan's *Khiyal* charmed the people. Some renowned *Dhrupad* singers switched over to *Khiyal.* Among them were Bawa Charan Babu of Behala, Imdad Khan of Dacca, Bishnu Bhattacharje of Barisal, and Lalit Mohan Sen of Mymensing."

[1] *Hindustani Music,* Renade, pp. 11-12.

[2] *Hindustani Music,* Renade, p. 15.

[3] *Modern Indian Culture,* Mukerji, p. 155.

Indo-Muslim music came to be generally cultivated by the upper classes in Bengal, and the Tagore family made particularly rich contributions to its developments. The Muslim artist who did most for the northern Indian music was the famous poet Nazr-ul-Islam; he wrote 435 *Thumris*, composed a number of *Khiyals*, and wrote many *ghazals* in Bengali. *Thumri* with him became more refined, and even in *Khiyal* his theme was not only human love, but divine also. Nazrul Islam spent a long time at Karachi and in Iraq, and was well acquainted with Persian and Arabic music. He wrote 297 *Qawwalis*, and composed poems and songs in various *ragas* and *raginis* in Indian, Arabic and Persian, and not infrequently blended and composed new music from tunes he himself had formulated originally.

This period was also noteworthy for some poetic treatises on music written in Bengal by Muslim writers. In 1840 *Tal-Nama* was composed giving an account of various modes of Hindustani music, and with songs in illustration by Syed Amiruddin, Syed Murtaza, Alaol, and others. Another book of this type was *Rag Mala*, though perhaps an even more useful compilation was *Dhyan Mala* by Ali Raj. These books contain a detailed account of various modes of music of the six *Ragas* and twenty six *Raginis*, with directions as to the hour and season suitable for singing them. The songs given as illustrations in *Mata Dhyan* are all composed by Ali Raj.[1]

Distant Bengal came within the orbit of Hindustani music, but curiously enough the type of music which gained currency in Kashmir was not of northern India but of Iran. This was the position when Saif Khan completed his *Rag-Darpan* in A.D. 1665. The basis of Kashmiri melody is the Persian *maqam*, and the wording or the text of the music is usually in Persian. Presumably Persian music was introduced in the valley by the Sufi saints, who accompanied Amir Khan Syed Ali of Hamadan in the thirteenth century, and were responsible for the spread of Islam in what was called Iran-i-Saghir (smaller Iran) by their leader.

After the exile of the last king of Oudh to Bengal, court musicians of Lucknow were scattered in different parts of the country.

[1] *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Sen.

In northern India the place of Lucknow in court patronage was taken by Rampur, but generally speaking it is true that in the latter half of the nineteenth century the "Hindustani" music, in developing which Muslim rulers and musicians played such an important part, came to be patronized more at the courts of Hindu maharajas than of Muslim nawabs. Muslim musicians, however, continued to hold their own, and the dominant position which they occupied, at least until Partition, may be judged by reference to the chapter on "Torch-bearers of a Dying Tradition" in Chaubey's *Indian Music Today.*

As with the other arts, Muslims simplified music and made it more secular and understandable to the ordinary people. The characteristic Muslim attitude was manifest not only in the type of music introduced and encouraged by Muslims, but in the very style of their singing. Fox-Strangway's observations on the subject may be taken as those of a competent neutral observer: "The difference between Muhammadan and Hindu singing is more easily felt than described. One's general impression, which a longer stay would no doubt have corrected in details, is that the Muhammadan prefers the more cheerful *Rags—Khamaj, Kafi,* and the *Kalians;* and the simpler rhythms, such as *Titala* and *Dadra:* and the rondo to the variation form. With these he takes a considerable amount of liberty, concealing the rhythm, especially by interspersed rests and broken phrases that run counter to it, so that it would be unintelligible sometimes without the drummer. He has the performer's instinct; he rivets the attention of the audience as a whole, and the less able singer is apt to tear a passion to pieces rather than not challenge their admiration. The performance of the best musicians (Ustads) has a wonderful fascination in spite of the language difficulty. The phrases are finished off and fit so well into their place, there is so much variety and so much telling gesture, that the time goes quickly by, although you may find that with the help of another singer perhaps, he has sung for at least half an hour continually."[1]

During the twentieth century the music of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent has undergone far-reaching changes owing to the impact of western music and the development of radio and films;

[1] *The Music of Hindustan,* Fox-Strangways, pp. 89-90.

music ceased to be highbrow. With the increasing democratization of audiences and patrons *Geet* became the most popular item of music, though *ghazal* also benefitted by the new changes. Muslims, however, did not fail to adapt themselves to new conditions, and to judge by the popularity of Muslim composers in the film world, and of Muslim singers and musicians on All-India Radio, they continued to hold their own, at least until the Partition.

The partitioning of India has created an interesting situation. Pakistan is without those feudal states which have been the main prop of classical music, and many classical musicians, although they are Muslims, have continued to stay in India. Furthermore, it so happens that the areas which now constitute Pakistan have played only a small part in cultivating Indo-Muslim music. Writing about East Bengal Professor Mukerjee says: "There was no classical music among Muslim families in that province, but *Deshi* music was indulged in while the Maulvi was away."[1] The same is largely true of the Punjab, Sindh, North-West Frontier, and Baluchistan.

Areas now constituting Pakistan are without a vigorous tradition of classical music, but they are particularly rich in what has been called by Professor Mukerjee *Deshi* music. This type of music is not so well-regulated, systematic, and elaborate as the classical music, but it surpasses the other in sweetness, vigour, and spontaneity. The classical musicians were often inclined to sacrifice feeling for technique, and their compositions, though superior in subtlety and system, were often lacking in freshness and natural charm. Composers, such as Tagore, have therefore, found it necessary, after studying classical music at the hands of the ablest *Ustads*, to turn to different varieties of folk-music to find a basis for experiments in this art. It is this music, rich in natural melody and truly mirroring the soul of the people, which has fallen to the share of Pakistan.

On a superficial view folk music appears to be regional in character, but a close study brings out a marked similarity of pattern and theme in the folk-music of various regions of Pakistan. For example, dance-music, such as *Jhumar*, exists virtually under the

[1] *Modern Indian Culture*, D. H. Mukerji, p. 157.

same name in East Bengal, Punjab, Sindh, and Baluchistan, and probably goes back to pre-Aryan days. A very large proportion of folk-music is Islamic and Sufi in origin and content, and though there may be slight variations in technical details, essentially the same thoughts and sentiments are expressed. For example, *Marfati* and *Murshadi* of East Bengal are types of Sufi music which have their counterpart in the Punjab and Sind, while *Jari* ballads of East Bengal are really *Zari* (the Persian word for mourning) and along with *Marsiyas* are based on an account of the martyrdom of Imam Husain, and the legends connected with this tragedy. They have their counterparts in all regions of Pakistan. Similarly, what are called *Ghazi* songs of East Pakistan are similar to *Jang-namas* in Punjabi, *Fatehnamahs* in Sindhi, and *Charbaita* of Pushtu (which in spite of the title does not consist of four verses, and really means a long poem describing the exploits of a hero). Of course local heroes varied, but many figures of Islamic history, and those taken from the Arabian Nights Entertainments were common, and even in the case of local heroes, (like Hanif and other Ghazis who are reported to have spread Islam in Bengal etc.) the general Islamic atmosphere is common to the folk-music of East and West Pakistan. In districts of Mymensingh and Sylhet *Lamba geets* are common; these are really long narrative poems (*lamba* meaning long) and are also common in certain areas of Sindh and Punjab. As a matter of fact the author of *Chishtia*, writing in the late Mughul period, described them as typical compositions of "musicians from Sindh and Thatta". *Baramashya* is a musical item common throughout East Bengal mainly among women, but really it is the same thing as *Bara Masa* of the Punjab and other parts of West Pakistan. Popular love music (apart from the *ghazal*, which is a heritage of the days when Persian was the court and literary language in all parts of modern Pakistan) has often a distinct local flavour, but perhaps it is an indication of the common spirit and genius of the people of Pakistan that experiments in making the love music of one region popular in another have been extraordinarily successful. For example, *Bhatiali* is a typical product of East Bengal, sung by boatmen while plying their countrycraft on the extensive river system of that province. The Lahore station of Radio Pakistan has tried to fit Urdu words to *Bhatiali* tunes, and the result has been enthusiastically received by Punjabi listeners. Similarly *Dholak* songs are a typically Punjabi product, but they also have been popular on radio stations outside the Punjab.

In the absence of court patronage, the future of music in Pakistan is largely linked up with the patronage and direction given by Radio Pakistan. Apart from being the main prop of classical musicians, it has encouraged the collecting of folksongs and improvements in folk-music, together with their adoption in other regions of the country, and an examination of the possibilities of introducing music from other Muslim countries.

S. M. Ikram.

CHAPTER V

PAINTING

In the realm of painting the heritage of Pakistan consists of all that the artists of this land produced in Lahore and other centres of art and culture as the direct result of the advent of the Muslims and of the encouragement and patronage of Muslim rulers. This painting is a continuation of the main-stream of Muslim art which was developed in the other countries of Islam. The great contribution of the Muslims in this field of art is the development of miniature painting, by which is meant almost any painting about the size of the page of a book with great detail but no close-ups, as distinguished from the larger easel paintings which are meant to be framed and hung on walls.

To study the origin of the Muslim miniature, we have to go back to the early thirteenth century in Baghdad, about the same time that the art of illuminating manuscripts was developing in England and France. Among the earlier great examples of miniature work are the illustrations in that copy of Hariri's *Maqamat* known as Shefer's *Hariri*, dated 1237, now in the Bibliotheque Nationale. The illustrations are the work of Yahya Ibn-i-Mahmud of Wasit. The style shows marked Hellenistic influence, and though the workmanship is crude, the effect is so full of spirit and vigour that this artist and his contemporaries are considered to hold much the same place in Muslim painting as the "primitives" of Italy in the art of Europe.

The conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1237 cut short the progress of the arts of peace in Islam and when painting revived later, it was reborn in northern Persia. All the artistic influences now came from China instead of Byzantium and the West as before. These influences were not only very pronounced in the earliest manuscripts such as the *Manafi-ul-Hayawan* (1297, Maragha), but they bequeathed permanent features to Persian and thus to all Muslim painting: for example, the floating cloud forms or *tai*; the fondness for pictures of birds and animals, particularly flying ducks; the rhythmic quality and floating figures of men and women; the

interest in landscape background; and above all the calligraphic quality of the whole linework, which was not so much borrowed as reinforced, for the tendency was already present, due to the similar relation in China and in Islam between drawing and painting.

A new chapter of painting began after Timur's conquests about 1400. His son and grandson, Shah Rukh and Husain Baiqara, were patrons respectively of Khalil Mirza and Kamal-uddin Behzad, the greatest names in miniature painting. Delicately drawn small figures, decorative conventional landscape with formless hills, a high horizon, and a conventional way of showing perspective were some of the characteristics of this school.

Behzad deserves special notice for his contribution to our painting. The best examples of his work are the *Bostan* in the Royal Egyptian Library and the *Khamsa* in the British Museum. Behzad taught the use of a wider range of colours and new and arresting combinations. But his greatest contribution was in the development of figure painting, to which he imparted action and individuality. Also, he was the first artist in Islam to raise portrait making to the status of an independent art, apart from book illustration.

The Safavid monarchs also, contemporaries of the Mughuls in this sub-continent and of the Tudors and Stuarts in England, were great patrons of art, and under them, in the seventeenth century, a new school arose, led by Sultan Muhammad and Mirak. It was marked by richly decorative miniatures, refined and elegant in technique, and sophisticated in subject and spirit. Arcadian scenes of love and pleasure, showing young cavaliers and princesses, recur constantly in Safavid painting. Riza Abbasi made a gallant attempt to revive painting in Safavid Persia to its earlier vigour, but with his death in 1645 the great art practically died.

The basic character of Muslim painting had been established in Persia before it spread into Bokhara, Constantinople, Lahore, and Delhi. Painting in this country was based on all the great traditions of art as developed before, but it is interesting to note that the traditions which nourished the growth of our painting were not only derived from Persia, where one branch of Muslim painting flourished in the fourteenth century and after; rather

our art stemmed from the source, that is, thirteenth century Baghdad, where Muslim painting first took distinct shape as we know it today. Persian influences came only with the Mughuls. During the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, however, when the Muslim kings of the Delhi Sultanate ruled this country, close relations were maintained with the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad. Many kings, such as Muhammad Tughluq, strove to get proper investiture on the throne by the Caliph in Baghdad. It is natural, therefore, that our cultural life lay open to influences from the heart of the Muslim world. In respect of painting we know that the influence was marked. Thus Dr. Goetz says of painting in Delhi: "To judge from later indications, painting seemed to have followed what is commonly called the manner of the Baghdad school of the thirteenth century. . . . . .Ahmedabad also continued the Baghdad school style of Tughluq Delhi, though with some admixture of Gujrati, Jain and Hindu elements. Of Bengal we know nothing except that early in the sixteenth century the manner of the great Behzad had already been accepted."[1]

But the sixteenth century is another matter; by that time the Mughuls had come and with them the latest and most developed forms of painting as developed under the Timurids of Herat. As we shall see, however, these influences were all assimilated and utilized to create an entirely new school, expressive of the spirit of a distinct culture, a different locale, and a new age.

Painting in this Sub-continent

The wall paintings of Ajanta and Bagh are evidence that this art was developed to great heights in the southern parts of the sub-continent, but there are no similar works to prove that in the vast Indo-Gangetic plain also it was successfully cultivated before the coming of the Muslims. That mural painting was much patronized even by the earliest Muslim rulers in the north is confirmed by a glimpse of Delhi under Iltutmish (1210-1236), given by the historian Taj Reza, who describes mural decorations there, including a large portrait of the Sultan, which were made to adorn the streets of Delhi on the visit of the envoy of Caliph Mustansinbillah in 1224. The great king Firoz Tughlaq has himself written how he ordered the effacement of paintings of living

[1] *The Legacy of Persia*, ed. Arberry, Oxford University Press.

objects with which he had at first decorated his palace in Delhi, ordering garden scenery to be painted instead. The paintings that Akbar had made on the walls of the palace of Jahangir's mother, called the House of Miriam, are still extant, as also some renovated paintings in the Agra Fort in a room that was Akbar's library. Jahangir is himself said to have practised mural painting. He says in his autobiography that in his palace at Lahore he had a gallery containing pictures of the members of his family and the officials of his court, and in his palace in Kashmir, portraits of his father and grandfather and others. In the outer hall were landscape paintings showing the various stages of the route from Lahore to Kashmir. These unfortunately are not extant, but there are the remarkable fresco paintings on the walls of the mosque of Wazir Khan in Lahore about which J. L. Kipling wrote in 1876: "This work which is very freely painted and good in style, is true fresco painting, the *fresco bueno* of the Italians, and like the inlaid ceramic work, is now no longer practised, modern native decoration being usually '*fresco secco*' or mere distemper painting".

Thus we find the Muslim rulers continued in Lahore, Delhi, and Agra the traditions of the Muslim rulers all over the world of decorating great public buildings with paintings, as was done by the Umayyads in Samarra and Cordova, the Fatimids in Cairo, and the Timurids in Samarqand and Herat. Except the last, traces of all the rest have survived and can be studied.

Miniature Painting

It is in the realm of miniature painting, however, that the Muslims of this land as of others made the most lasting and noteworthy contributions. Before the advent of the Muslims in this land, Muhammad of Ghor (c. 1200), there is no trace of any miniature painting. The Gujrat school, on which Professor Norman has done such thorough research, is not claimed by him to be older than the middle of the twelfth century; but the work then was in a very rudimentary stage, done on pieces of palm leaf two inches by three inches, with a rough surface not susceptible to fine workmanship. Moreover, the palette was seriously limited by the lack of good pigments, and the narrow range of conventional figure-poses was another cramping influence.

Paper was introduced into this sub-continent by the Muslims. The earliest illustrated paper manuscripts in the Gujrat style belong to the fifteenth century, by which time Muslim rule was well established in Gujrat. Paper and colours were being imported from Persia, and the influence of Persian miniature painting began to show itself slowly in the treatment of drapery and even in the mode of dress. These paintings have a more archaeological than artistic value.

As for the so-called Rajput school, all the best authorities are agreed that it is later to, rather than contemporary with, Mughul paintings; in Smith's *History of Indian Art* it is said that Goez's study of costumes and dated examples of Rajput painting has proved without a shadow of doubt that most of Rajput paintings were done after the Mughul school was well-established.

The Mughul School

Babur, the founder of the Mughul dynasty, even when he was fleeing for his life from Samarqand to Kabul, carried with him some illustrated manuscripts painted by the masters of Herat; Babur subsequently brought them to this country and they can still be seen bearing his seal. In his memoirs his keen aesthetic sensibility is everywhere in evidence, and he makes the most intelligent observations on the work of contemporary artists, such as Behzad and Shah Muzaffar. Unfortunately the period between his conquest of India in 1526, and his death in 1530, was spent more in extending and consolidating his empire than in constructive works of peace for which he was so eminently fitted. It is impossible to say whether he actually established a studio; and there is only one illustrated manuscript which can be said to date from his reign, the Persian version of his memories, now in Alwar. Although the text was written in Babur's reign, the pictures were probably added much later.

The next reign, however, proved more fruitful. Babur's son, Humayun, lost his kingdom about ten years after ascending the throne, and spent the next fifteen years of his life (1640-55) as an exile in Iran. His royal host, Shah Tahmasp, did all he could to make his stay pleasurable, and among other things, Humayun had every opportunity to satisfy his taste for art and

literature by studying contemporary and classical works in every field. Thus when he returned to India to recover his kingdom in 1655, he set out not only with an army but with two of the most outstanding artists of Iran, Mir Sayyed Ali of Tabriz and Khwaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz. To these two masters he entrusted the task of illustrating the romance of Amir Hamza in twelve volumes of a hundred folios each. Every page consisted of twenty eight inches by twenty inches of cloth. Since Humayun himself died soon after establishing himself in Delhi, the work was continued and completed in the reign of his famous son, Akbar.

It was Akbar, with his great intellectual curiosity and broad tolerance, who founded the Mughul school of painting. He established an *atelier* attached to the Royal Library, where the arts of the book were practised, including that of painting, in this case manuscript illustration. A large number of artists were employed (Sir Thomas Arnold has counted at least 111) who worked here under the direction of Mir Sayyid Ali and later Khwaja Abdus Samad.

Work was done according to an interesting system of division of labour. The director or some senior artist outlined the basic composition, another drew the faces, a third filled in the colours, and another did the background scene, animals, and birds. After Akbar, when, instead of manuscript illustration the fashion for separate pictures began, they were handed over to the men who mounted them, decorated them with borders, and bound them into albums. It was only in this way that by 1641, 24,000 volumes had been collected in the royal library, as reported by the Spanish priest Sebastian Manrique, who visited Agra in the reign of Akbar's grandson, Shah Jehan. When it is considered that in this collection there were books like the Persian translation of the *Mahabharat*, or the *Razm Nama* containing 169 pictures, which Akbar had made for himself at a cost of £ 40,000 in labour and material, it will be realized that an artist single-handed could not have produced even one book in his lifetime. The personal interest which the emperor took in the work, his weekly inspections, his rewards and encouragement, contributed much to the development of this art.

Among the manuscripts illustrated during Akbar's long

reign of about fifty years, the most important are the *Romance of Amir Hamza*, of whose 1200 pages, only about seventy survive, most of them in Vienna. This early work is unique for its large size, the use of cloth to paint on, uniformity of style, showing how the personality of the director dominated that of his numerous assistants. This series is rather like early Safavid painting of Persia, except for largeness of scale, the introduction of some Indian features in dress and scenery here and there, and a somewhat more articulate expression of emotion.

Also produced in the earlier part of the reign were the *Babur Namah* and the *Darab Namah*, both in the British Museum, and *Timur Namah* (Oriental Library, Bankipur). Later were produced the *Jaipur Razm Namah*, the *Shah Namah*, the *Babur Namah*, the *Baharistan-i-Jami*, and the *Khamsah-i-Nizami*, while in the later part of Akbar's reign were produced the *Akbar Namah* and *Anwar-i-Suhaili*. Akbar employed his artists mainly to illustrate classical works of literature which he loved to have read to him, than romances and histories. Unfortunately another great work which he ordered to be made, an immense album containing portraits of himself, members of his family, and all the important persons of his realm, has not survived.

The main feature of painting under Akbar is a certain crudeness combined with strength, both in drawing and colourings. As time progressed the drawing began to show more proportion and balance, while the colours, because of better ingredients and improved technique, became purer, smoother, and softer. The local influence asserts itself in a greater humanism, interest in landscape and animal and bird-life, and a growing realism in the drawing of female figures and trees. The pictures reflect in subject and style the vigorous activity of the times and have something of the spirit of pioneering and adventure which marked the age. One of the most impressive examples that may be quoted in this connection is a picture of Akbar on an elephant chasing another elephant over a collapsing bridge of boats.

In other respects the features of Persian painting continued unaltered: the three-quarter representation of the face, the gnarled tree-trunks and sparse foliage, the wavy hills with layers of cliffs, more or less formless, the plain blue sky sometimes with *tai* clouds.

Under Jahangir, Mughul painting developed a more mature and independent style. His keen personal interest in the work of his artists showed itself in a new direction which he gave to painting. He was an aesthete rather than an intellectual, conscious of sensation rather than of ideas, and interested more in the world around him than in the past. The result was that apart from the illustration of his own memoirs, the work of book illustration was relegated to the back-ground, and he himself gave subjects from contemporary life for his artists to paint. In his *Memoirs*, he has mentioned the numerous objects and incidents of which he had pictures made. Most of these were exploits or ceremonies in which he himself figures, but there was much else too, such as interesting characters, someone very fat or very thin, some rare animal, bird, or plant, and of course portraits of everyone of importance.

Among the great artists of this reign some were old workers of Akbar's time, whom Jahangir continued to employ, for example the remarkable Farrukh Beg who came in the last years of Akbar's reign and helped to illustrate a copy of *Babur Namah* among other things, and may be said to have the most individual style in the whole school; Mansur who excelled in painting birds and flowers and who was honoured with the title of "Nadir-ul-Asr"; Abul Hasan who is so highly praised by Jahangir in his *Memoirs* and who was given the title "Nadir-ul-Zaman"; and Bishan Das, "matchless in taking likenesses" who was sent with the mission to Shah Tahmasp to make portraits of the king and the court. The director of his library and studio was a man named Maktub Khan, while among other great artists were Murad and Manohar who excelled in painting animals and birds.

The tendency towards naturalism, which was the result of local influence, continued to increase, and was accentuated by the fact that the subjects painted were now drawn from contemporary life; the proportions of human figures became more correct and women were clearly distinguished from men, unlike Persian painting where the contours of the face are more or less amorphous. Trees began to be painted with straight trunks, mountains of solid conical masses, and clouds with natural shapes. Local types of men and trees appeared more and more, while certain local conventions in painting both came to be adopted: profile instead of three quarter-face, and bunched foliage, instead of sparce leaves on trees.

A new spirit pervaded the work of Jahangir's time. The gruesome scenes of bloodshed and turbulent activity gave place to peaceful scenes of courtly grandeur or the pleasures of the chase, or the beautiful forms of birds and flowers; and grand equestrian portraits were an innovation of this reign. A surer touch, better finishing, more perfect blocking, are shown by the artists on the technical side. The Persian palette dominated by blue, pink, and white was replaced by red, yellow, and green, brilliant colours were on the whole avoided and soft and liquid effects were aimed at; there was more and more merging and blending of colours rather than division of area rigidly by linework as before; the Persian method of outlining the figure and face in red and the eyes in black, gave way to the use of grey or a neutral tint for all the figure drawing.

The great advance in the art of painting was observed by the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, who remarked that: "Indeed in the arte of limning, his paynters work miracles". The prints and pictures which these foreign missions brought to Jahangir excited his eager interest, and he had many of them copied, so that Western influence gradually grew stronger in the world of Mughul art. This showed itself mainly in the gradual adoption of linear and aerial perspective. In early Mughul painting, as is well known, one plane is super-imposed on the other and all are depicted as if seen equally clearly in every detail. Secondly there is no idea of the existence of an atmosphere which dims receding planes and distant objects. In Mughul painting all colours are equally bright and there is no shadow or any idea of mass. Gradually under the influence of European pictures brought to the court by foreign embassies more and more use of perspective and *chiaroscuro* was introduced. A low horizon, the converging of horizontal lines to a vanishing point on the horizon, decreasing size of distant objects, blending and shading of colours, and tonal harmony began to appear more and more as time passed.

Although Shah Jahan's interest lay mainly in architecture, painting also received his full patronage. On the very first day of his accession, he wrote with his own hand the following inscription on the superb copy of the *Shah Namah* which Babur had brought with him from Herat: "This *Shah Namah* has been entered in the private library of this suppliant at the court of God

on the 25th day of the month Jamadi II in the year 1037 Hijri, which is the date of my blessed accession. Written by Shahabuddin Muhammad Shah Jahan Padshah, son of Jahangir, son of Akbar Padshah Ghazi." Numerous other inscriptions and incidents testify to his lively appreciation of art treasures and there is no doubt that Mughul painting reached its zenith in his reign.

It was in Shah Jahan's reign that many of the typical conventions of Mughul art as different from Persian, were developed. Thus although the round three-quarter face of Persian painting had been generally replaced by a properly formed head in profile, the profile was not perfect but showed a little of the further eyebrow and forehead. It was only in Shah Jahan's time that the use of profile became universal and perfect. Figure-drawing was systematized according to a fixed canon of proportions. Thus the body was between eight and a half to nine of the head. The eyes were always almond-shaped and the hands often in one of the accepted dance gestures.

The art of portraiture reached its height in this period. Thousands of portraits of princes and nobles were produced, usually in full ceremonial dress, armed and bejewelled, standing in stiff formal attitudes as if in the court. Always they are shown holding a flower or a sword or a lance in their hands. Other characteristic subjects of this period are pictures of dervishes especially when being visited by princes, scenes of hunting at night, but above all large durbar scenes with their magnificent array of courtiers and gorgeous furnishings, all depicted with meticulous detail. All this is of great historical interest besides being artistically valuable.

On the technical side the drawing becomes very careful and correct but without the free flow of the earlier days. Grace rather than vigour seems to have been the ideal. Great store was set by fine brush-work, and the use of the single-hair brush to draw fine lines microscopically became common, the pigments became so refined and the colouring so even and smooth, that no coarseness remained and stippling became very rare. The use of gold became more profuse and the borders became very broad and ornate, including not only a thin arabesque panel next to the portrait but another broader margin of floral patterns and landscapes including birds, animals, and even human figures.

The Emperor Jahangir holding council.

Typical works of this period are the pictures showing Shah Jahan receiving the Persian embassy, in the Bodelian Library; the portrait of Faqir-ullah and his seven assistant artists in the margin; and above all the picture of Shah Jahan on the peacock throne, both which are in the Rothschild collection. The great artists of this period were Faqir-ullah, the director of the royal studio, Mir Hashim, and Bichitr.

There is much material forthcoming, says Percy Brown, which conclusively proves that the arts continued to flourish under Aurangzeb, as much as they did under his less religious predecessors. Miniature painting was one of the important arts patronized by king and nobles alike. The number of portraits that have survived of Aurangzeb are at least as numerous as those of Jahangir though the quality has fallen.

The artists whose plight Bernier has described are bazaar artists and not employees of the court. Now it is obvious that this plight was not the result of decreased patronage but rather of the number of artists having greatly increased during the century and a half of generous encouragement; numerous inferior practitioners filled the ranks of this profession. As for the decline of painting, the seeds of decay were already present in the style and were independent of external causes. The entire attention and energy of artists was focussed on refining techniques rather than on developing new styles and exploring new sources of artistic beauty. The weakening of line had become evident in the later work of Shah Jahan's period; and in Aurangzeb's time the process continued. It is interesting to note that a somewhat similar decline is discernible in the field of poetry, if we compare the fresh original poetry of Faizi, Naziri, and Urfi, with the rather thin vintage of Talib Amli, Mirza Saib, and Abu Talib Kalim.

It must be remembered, however, as Wilkinson has pointed out, that the decline though real was not as abrupt as it is sometimes represented. The political unrest naturally meant changes in the fortunes of artists but the instability meant freedom in work also. Thus we find that painting in the eighteenth century is more varied in subject and style than ever before, and some of it is of very high quality. While the equestrian portraits of Farrukhsiyar are of the finest in our art, genre painting of high

quality also was being done in response to a more popular taste.

Under the inspiration of the imperial court, local schools had been established in many provinces, and when these were able to draw upon the talent released from the centre, they grew in importance. Among these local styles, called *qalams* or pens, the most important were in Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, Hyderabad, Jaipur, and Kangra, which became the centre of semi-independent kingdoms. Among these the most important is the Delhi *qalam* with its crisp line and lucid colours, as against the rounded contours and softer colouring and generally more sentimental atmosphere of the Lucknow *qalam*. In Hyderabad, which had many direct relations with Persia and Turkey, the development in the early days was largely independent of Mughul art; but in the seventeenth century it became more or less a variation of the Mughul school, although some old features were retained, such as a monochrome background and a single plane. Patna was one of the inferior schools, and together with Benares and Lucknow catered to the tourist trade by painting what are called *firqa* (profession) pictures, showing men of different trades and professions, various social customs and ceremonies, fairs and festivals, and so forth. All this work was done mainly for a European *clientele*, and was strongly marked by European influences in style and use of material. It has little artistic merit to commend it but is interesting historically. The ivory miniatures of Mughul princes and princesses (the latter all imaginary) and of historical monuments in correct perspective, started only in the eighteenth century. The only remarkable development in this period was in Kangra, which became a great centre of art after Suleiman Shikoh, the fugitive son of the unfortunate Dara Shikoh, had sought refuge with the cruel Raja of Garhwal. With him went some of his court artists, among whose descendants was Mola Ram, the creator of what is called the Kangra School, which is a variation of the Mughul School. Jaipur became the centre of another great school, the so-called Rajasthani; the style certainly has a more lyrical quality, freer lines, richer colours, but it lacks the refinement and tone of orthodox Mughul painting.

Although some names find honourable mention in the art history of the nineteenth century, such as Zulfiqar Ali Khan

(d. 1863) and Ghulam Husain Khan (d. 1872), both of Delhi, all these were more or less mechanical practitioners of a lost art. Meanwhile the influence of British rule began to give a new outlook and new standards to the whole people. Art turned in quite new directions, and cheap imitations of Western style found easy appreciation among the petty Rajas and Nawabs of the country. Men like Ravi Varma of Travancore and M. V. Dhurindar of Bombay were the great names of the last decades of the nineteenth century. The founding of art schools by the government in Calcutta, Bombay, Lucknow, and Lahore, worked in the same direction because, although the founders had the best intentions, Western methods of education in art did not take into account the local traditions and the native genius in art.

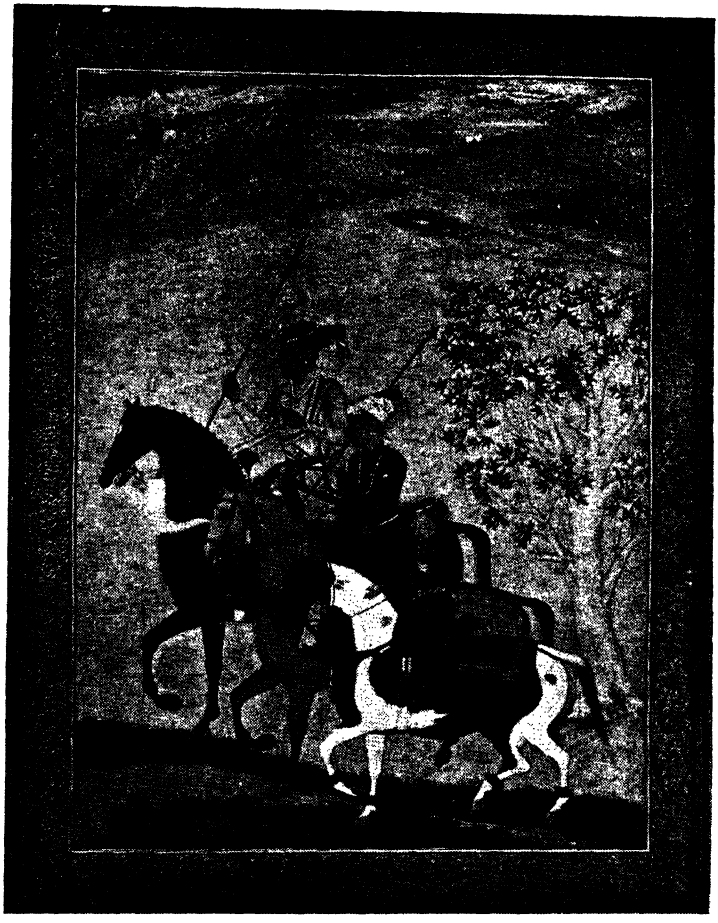
In Lahore arose a Muslim artist who gave proof of authentic genius, Abdur Rehman Chughtai. He began with miniature painting in the old Muslim tradition by illustrating the classic *Diwan* of Ghalib, but went on to paint numerous other large paintings, all of which are marked by a unique technique of successive washing out of coats of colours, so that the final colouring has a remarkably soft and mellow effect. This is very unlike the Mughuls who laid on their colours one on top of another without any mixing or washing. Meticulous linework of a highly ornamental nature is another important feature of his work, but his line lacks the strength and vigour of the best Mughul paintings. The drawing of figures and trees is highly stylized, while perspective is entirely ignored. There is, however, distinct atmosphere and colour harmony in his work.

Among the many artists who arose in Bombay was Fyzee Rahamin, who later worked under Sargent in England, and produced work which once received the compliment of being mistaken for Sargent's. Rahamin had the courage to abandon a style in which he had achieved such unique success because he felt it was not a natural expression of his artistic temperament, and he developed a new line in which he picked up again the thread of Muslim tradition in painting. This style abandons the conventions of academic European art and contents itself with surface modelling; it emphasizes line and pure colour, and reduces technique to a severe simplicity while bringing out to the full the spiritual beauty inherent in forms and colours.

Conclusion

When reviewing the achievement of Muslim painting in this sub-continent, we notice above all that the dominant quality of design and pattern, which seems to form a typical expression of the Muslim artistic mind in all arts, has been gradually toned down and counter-balanced by other elements, particularly realism and humanism, and the desire to delineate things accurately and objectively. J. V. S. Wilkinson in his introduction to the Studio publication of the illustrated manuscript of *Anwar-i-Suhaili* (The Lights of Canopus), a mature work of the last days of Akbar's reign, points out the difference between a painting of the King of Yemon's court by Aqa Riza and of the King of Baghdad's Court by Bishandas. Both were outstanding painters, but the first was a fresh arrival from Persia. The difference between these two paintings shows, perhaps too strongly, the difference between Persian and Mughul painting; the arrangement of the areas in the latter is most remarkable, but there is nothing arresting about the former although the composition is good. The interest centres more on the persons and their facial expressions.

What is even more important, however, is the fact that the entire pictorial technique becomes colouristic rather than linear, representing objects and persons as shades of colour rather than shapes of line. In the total composition also the unity begins to depend not only on distribution of spaces but a harmony of colour, in which different parts merge and mingle together. The quality of the colours also, found in the old Muslim miniature painting of Persia, Bokhara, and Turkey, is replaced by a softer, lower scale of colours; while the importance of colour increases, their peculiar quality changes because the colour combinations generally show a warmer tone as the Mughul school develops, while the Persians favoured cool colours. The keynote of the Persian harmonies is blue; that of our painters in this sub-continent is red and to a lesser extent brown. But colours became softer and lighter as time went on, and the intrusion of *chiaroscuro*, too, threw a shadow on the colours. The works retain the quality of what have been called "coloured drawings" since their basis is drawing, but the swing and sweep and freedom of the line is restrained and, to a great extent, lost in the interests of a more realistic draftsmanship and an attempt to indicate different planes and surfaces correctly.



Shah Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad Baksh.

The new temper also shows itself in the greater interests in landscape and the life of nature including bird and animal life, which also is a feature of the national temperament. The numerous bird studies in the Lahore Central Museum are a testimony to this spirit, and the quality of these works almost rivals that of Mansur and Murad. The great popularity of landscape painting in modern Pakistan continues the tradition of emphasizing scenic background in later Mughul work. Zainul Abidin and Safiuddin who are among the most promising younger artists in Pakistan specialize in this line.

In our art today, the subject of our painting and its entire inspiration is still as of old purely secular; our artists, leaving aside the world of the spirit, religion and mysticism, are expending their talent in portraying the world of appearance. The romanticism of the nineteenth century Delhi and Lucknow *qalam* is a thing of the past; love of pattern and design still continues to run in the blood of our artists, but it is counter-balanced by the deep interest in portraiture. Some abstraction is finding favour because it reinforces the beauty of design, but complete abandonment of objective reality cannot be popular in the present state of the national mind which is realistic, practical, and earnest. This shows the distance we have travelled from the arabesque patterns of the Ummayyad period to the first decade of the history of Pakistan.

The Muslim mind of Pakistan demands wider expression for its aesthetic sense than that provided by the miniature, as portraits of the heroes of the independence movement that have been made by many artists show. There is a tendency towards the heroic, and however boyish it may appear to outsiders, it reflects the mood of the nation. More dramatic and moving subjects such as the sufferings of the refugees are attracting attention. The life of our peasantry, their fortitude in the face of adversity, their determined industry, all these are finding reflection in our art in a larger and loftier style than was possible in the days of a more peaceful, refined, and aristocratic culture. There is great artistic activity in the various centres of our culture, in Lahore, Karachi, and in Dacca. The cultural heritage of Pakistan is bearing fruit.

Amjad Ali.

CHAPTER VI

MUSLIM CALLIGRAPHY

Muslim calligraphy flourished as a fine art for twelve centuries in various parts of the Muslim world, including the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It is based on the Arabic script which was originally derived from the Nabathean and Syriac characters. The early style of Arabic script was Kufic, called after the city of Kufa in Iraq. The Kufic character originated two centuries before Islam and was used in the oldest Arabic documents, inscriptions, and coins. For nearly five centuries the Kufic style was popular, but it was artificial, awkward, and complicated, so that in time the scribes developed a more precise style, now commonly known as Naskh, with orthographic marks. This style received its final shape at the beginning of the tenth century and was perfected a hundred years later. At the end of the thirteenth century the Nastaliq character was developed in Persia, with rounded circles and a more formal and correct symmetry. As the centuries passed the Naskh character gradually came to be used in the writing of Arabic, and the Nastaliq character in the transcription of the Persian language. For example, after the Muslim conquerors came to the sub-continent, the Naskh character was used in the copying out of the *Holy Quran* and other books in the Arabic language. Finally the Urdu language adopted the Nastaliq character while some regional languages including Sindhi adopted the Naskh character.

The Nastaliq style was beautiful and fluent, but the scribes needed much time and patience to give the full shape and form to the circular letters. There developed, therefore, a style of writing Nastaliq called Shikasta that is, broken style, and this gave rise in its turn to another form, Shafia, named after the scribe of that name. Shikasta was also called Khatt-i-Diwani, that is, civil script, since it was used mostly in the law courts and for private correspondence. It was developed still further by the famous calligraphists Kifayat Khan and his son Dirayat Khan, and was named after them Khatt-i-Kifayat Khani and Dirayat Khani.

Although very little is known about the development of the art of calligraphy under the various Muslim dynasties in power from the time of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazna down to the actual establishment of the Muslim Empire, most of the Muslim rulers, being themselves fine calligraphers, were great patrons of the art. The historian Firishta records that Sultan Ibrahim, the son of Masud and grandson of Mahmud of Ghanza, excelled in calligraphy and like many Muslim monarchs before and after him, transcribed with his own hand two copies of the *Holy Quran* and sent them to Mecca and Madina respectively. The next Sultan, Nasiruddin Mahmud, (d. A.D. 1227) of the so-called Slave Dynasty, was a great scholar and an excellent calligraphist, and according to tradition is supposed to have been a royal saint who earned his living by selling the copies of the *Holy Quran* which he transcribed. An example of his work done with great taste and elegance was shown to the famous traveller Ibn Batuta by Qazi Kamaluddin in India about a century later.

The Mughul Emperors were great patrons of the art and, indeed, some of them were themselves good calligraphists. The Emperor Babur was very fond of calligraphy and in A.D. 1504 he introduced a style of handwriting called Babari hand (Khatt--i-Babari). According to the historian Badauni, he actually transcribed a copy of the *Holy Quran* in this particular script and sent it to Mecca. His grandson the Emperor Akbar, a great connoisseur of art and patron of letters, kept a large number of painters and calligraphers at his court, most of whom he rewarded handsomely for their excellence and skill by conferring high honours and landed properties as *jagir* upon them and by occasionally raising them to high positions in the Government. Among a number of prominent calligraphists, most of whom are noted in the *Tazkira-i-Khush-Nawisan*, Abdul Fazl mentions Muhammad Husain of Kashmir (d. A.D. 1611), who was known as Zarrin Qalam, the possessor of the golden pen, an honorary title conferred upon him by the Emperor; he transcribed the *Ain-i-Akbari* so excellently with such exquisite illustrations that the manuscript, formerly at Ujjain and thence taken to London, has become one of the most valuable in the world. Among many famous calligraphists of the time were Sultan Bayazid upon whom Akbar bestowed the title of Katib-ul-Mulk Ambarin Qalam, a great Nastaliq writer who copied the *Khamsa* of the Persian poet Naizmi, Mir

Masum of Qandhar who wrote most of the inscriptions on the buildings at Fatehpur-Sikri in his own hand, and Muhammad Asghar known as Ashraf Khan who was an expert in the Nastaliq character as well as a writer of seven pens, that is to say, a writer in six styles of Naskh and in one of Nastaliq calligraphy. At this period there were also several Hindu calligraphists of note, namely Rao Manohar, Pandit Jagan Nath, and Todarmal.

The Emperor Jahangir was as interested in the art of calligraphy as his father and, as his autobiography shows, he was a very good writer in Persian. Like his predecessors he was also a great patron of calligraphists, most prominent among whom was Mir Abdullah of Tabriz who knew seven kinds of writing and was known as Mushkin Qalam, a title granted to him by Akbar; he died at Agra in A.D. 1625. Other famous calligraphists were Mirza Muhammad Husain, an expert in Shikasta; Muhammad b. Ishaq of Herat who copied the *Diwan* of Mirza Kamran (the manuscript is still preserved in the Bankipore Library); and Ahmad Ali Arshad, a writer in the Tugra style who wrote the inscriptions on the Western side of the Great Gate at Fatehpur-Sikri.

At the beginning of his reign the Emperor Shah Jahan was so attracted by the style of the Nastaliq calligraphy practised by Imad that according to the *Tazkira-i-Khush-Nawisan*, he rewarded those who imitated this style with the office of Commander of 100 horsemen. The Emperor himself was fairly expert at Nastaliq and during his reign there were many experienced calligraphists such as Abdul-Baqi, an expert in Naskh and a tutor of Prince Aurangzeb, who copied the entire text of the *Holy Quran* on to thirty sheets and presented it to the Emperor in return for the title of Yaqut Raqam (ruby-penned); Arif "Qaqut Raqam" Khan, the pupil of Abdul-Baqi of whose transcription of the *Holy Quran* a photostat copy was taken in Bhopal recently; Maulana Ihsanullah and his pupils; and many others who are mentioned in the *Tazkira-i-Khush-Nawisan*. Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of the Emperor Shah Jahan became a caligraphist of exceptional merit, having been trained in the art by the famous Persian master Aqa Abdur-Rashid Dailami who had been appointed particularly for this purpose by the Emperor. A *Wasli* written by Dara Shikoh in his own hand has been preserved in the Fort at Delhi.

Specimens of calligraphy.

Although the Emperor Aurangzeb did not encourage painting he was a great patron of calligraphy, the art of which he had also learnt from his librarian and court calligraphist, Sayyid Ali Khan Jawahar Raqam (diamond-penned), a follower and imitator of Mir Imad. While the Emperor was quite expert in Nastaliq as well as in Naskh, he admired the writing of another contemporary calligraphist and court librarian Hidayatullah Khan Zarrin Qalam, and actually mentioned him in his letters. Another Jawahar Raqam at this time was Shamsuddin Ali Khan. During the reign of Aurangzeb there were also some Hindu calligraphists such as Pandit Lakshmi Ram, Lala Sukh Ram, Munshi Mahbub Rai, and Munshi Kasal Rai.

Even in the days of the decline of the Mughul Empire the art of calligraphy continued to flourish. Under Farukh Siyar, Haji Namdar and Mirza Khatim Baig were well known calligraphists, and during the reign of Muhammad Shah, Muhammad Afzal of Lahore was an expert in the art. Muhammad Muqim and Mir Muhammad Musa followed Imad's school of calligraphy but there was no one to equal Mohammad Sadiq in the writing of Shikasta in which he made many improvements besides being adept in Raihan, Thulth, and Naskh. Among his pupils Rai Prem Nath Khatri specialized in Shikasta, and in turn his pupil, Mawlai Hayat Ali, (Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan has noted him in his book *Asar-us-Sanadid*) was also well versed in that script. Nawab Murid Khan, Nawab Mazhar Khan, the son of Nawab Rawshanuddawlah, entitled Zafar Khan, a noble of Muhammad Shah's court, and Muhammad Hafiz Khan were notable calligraphists at this time and all had many pupils in the art.

During the reign of Shah Alam, Qazi Ismatullah was a calligraphist of great repute with several pupils. His brother Faizullah was also an expert and his son Ibadullah achieved some distinction in copying the *Holy Quran.* Muhammad Mir, known as Mir Soz, a well known Urdu poet, was a fine writer of Nastaliq and was particularly good at writing in the Shafiah style. In the reign of Asif-ud-daula, who became his pupil, he went to Lucknow.

Under Akbar II several calligraphists attained great distinction; among them were Mir Muhammad Husain, Ghulam Ali Khan, Ghulam Muhammad, a writer of seven pens and the author

of *Lives of the Calligraphists* (this book has been edited by M. Hedayat Husain and was published in 1901 by the Asiatic Society of Bengal), and Khwaja Ghulam Naqshaband Khan.

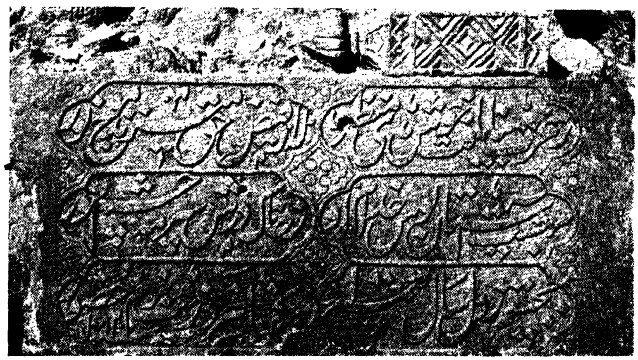
Finally, there is Bahadar Shah Abu Zafar, last of the Mughuls, who was a great artist, poet, and penman. Examples of his calligraphy are the inscriptions on the Zinat Mahal at Farash Khana and the Bath of Hakim Ahsanullah Khan (Mohalla Sirkiwalan) at Delhi. Specimens of Bahadur Shah's writings are preserved in the Delhi Museum. Under this rule there were many expert calligraphists, not least of whom was Sayyid Amir Ridvi, known as Mir Panja-Kash who, in addition to being a fine artist and a good calligraphist, was wrestler, boxer, painter, book-binder, and illuminator. He had many pupils, and at the request of the Maharaja of Alwar he wrote and illuminated a copy of Sadi's *Gulistan* with many illustrations, a work which took seventeen years to complete. He was shot dead in the Mutiny of A.D. 1857. The manuscript is preserved in the Alwar State Museum.

Apart from the court circles there flourished a host of calligraphists in different provinces such as Gujrat, Deccan, Sind, and the Punjab, whose contribution to the art is by no means insignificant. Several Muslim dynasties who came into power in these provinces, following the old cultural traditions of their ancestors, encouraged and patronized this art and handsomely rewarded the artists whose names have been recorded in the local histories of each particular province.

Since Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, and Lahore were the main centres of the Mughul Empire, they became great centres of learning where this art of calligraphy thrived and flourished. As a result, these centres became the so-called four schools of caligraphy and although, generally speaking, there is not a very marked difference between the products of the schools, yet they can be differentiated in many minor points of calligraphic technique.

So far as the cultural traditions of the Muslims are concerned, calligraphy played a great part in education in different Muslim countries and as such it formed an integral part of the curriculum. Here should be noted that, although the Arabs and the Persians originated the art of calligraphy, nevertheless

Inscribed tablet on the Talpur tomb, Hyderabad (Sind).



Inscribed slab by Shah Makai, Hyderabad (Sind).

the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent made themselves so accomplished in it that they were worthy and excellent competitors in elegance and beauty of style. Furthermore, they actually invented certain new forms and styles which may be called as decorative art. Some of these styles are Khatt-i-Gulzar (Rose), Khatt-i-Ghubar (Rose-Petal), Khatt-i-Mahi (Fish), Khatt-i-Sumbul (Dandelions), Khatt-i-Raihan (Jasmine), Khatt-i-Paichan (Curl), and Khatt-i-Nakhun (Nail), most of which were used for decorative purposes and to show the writer's skill. To inscribe a whole verse of the *Holy Quran* on a grain of rice showed remarkable artistic skill in calligraphy.

After the distintegration of the Mughul Empire many of the learned scholars and well known poets went to Lucknow, which had become the centre of all literary and artistic activities under the Nawab Wazirs of Oudh. Their patronage of the art of calligraphy produced great artists such as Hafiz Nurullah, Qazi Nimatullah of Lahore, Hafiz Ibrahim, Munshi Sarab Singh Diwana, Mian Wajhulla, and Muhammad Abbas. In 1792 an Oriental College was founded at Delhi where calligraphy was prescribed in the syllabus to be taught with other subjects. A famous calligraphist, Sayyid Muhammad of Delhi, was appointed professor for the teaching of this art.

At the downfall of the Mughul Empire, the art began to decline. The writers who had depended greatly on calligraphy for their living were forced to take to the writing of *waslis*, or the transcription of some classical Persian writings at the request of a princely ruler or member of the aristocratic class who rewarded them handsomely. Under the East India Company, correspondence with the native chiefs and rulers was carried out in Persian, and calligraphists accordingly had some chance of offering their services as writers of *kharitas* in Nastaliq on glazed paper illuminated and decorated with golden marks, but with the ever-increasing prosperity under British rule, this practice also diminished. Eventually when a printing press with Naskh type was installed at Fort William, Calcutta, *circa* A.D. 1800, the fate of professional calligraphists was sealed; the art which had flourished for nearly eight centuries gradually disappeared and was forgotten.

Before the invention of printing, clear and neat hand-writing was regarded as an essential accomplishment, and this was an excellent reason why so much stress was laid on the practice of the art of calligraphy. With the advent of printing and the lithotype process, the art has been so circumscribed that it has lost all its artistic significance. For less remuneration scribes are writing Nastaliq in which most books, newspapers, and magazines are printed. There are now very few penmen of real merit in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent who can write in the style of the old Persian masters or their contemporaries. At present only Naskh and Nastaliq are popular but in fact the use of the Arabic Naskh type is gradully replacing both to the detriment of Nastaliq which may become completely lost in the near future.

Qazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar
Junagarhi.

CHAPTER VII

PAKISTAN MINOR ARTS

It is not always realized that one of the most original contributions to the art of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent lies in the sphere of minor arts. The Muslim aptitude for design and surface decoration applied to things of everyday use is a phenomenon whose influence from the twelfth century onwards spread through Asia, Europe, and Africa. This influence was all pervasive, extending to all parts of the continent, and most crafts have been for hundreds of years the monopoly of Muslim craftsmen.

The most important contribution of Muslim craftsmanship is the application of surface decoration to things of everyday use, whether in metal, wood, clay, marble, glass or textiles. They let their fancy play with design, and experimented with patterns on such a vast scale that even today almost any floral or geometrical design, whether on chinaware, or book-borders, or in architecture can be directly or indirectly traced to them. A.U. Pope in his monumental work, *The Survey of Persian Art*, has distinguished hundreds of border designs and scrolls used on portals of mosques which are in use even today on metal, woodwork, and fabric. The strength and beauty of Muslim floral and geometrical ornaments and the masterly elaboration of certain decorative motifs has been enthusiatically praised by western critics. Roger Fry in his *Vision and Design* refers to the Muslim system of decorative design in the following words:—

"One of the features of early Mohammedan art is the vitality of its floral and geometrical ornament, the system of which is uniformly spread throughout the Mohammedan world. The question of where and how this system of ornament arose is not easily solved, but there are indications that Egypt was the place of its earliest development. Its characteristic forms seem certainly derived from the universal palmette of Graeco-Roman decoration. The palmette, so rigid, unvarying and frequently so lifeless in the hands of Graeco-Roman artists, became the source of the flexible and infinitely varied systems of Mohammedan design, so

skilfully interwoven, so subtly adapted to their purpose, that the supremacy of Mohammedan art in this particular has been recognized and perpetuated in the word Arabesque."

Another notable feature in Islamic ornament is the use of Arabic inscriptions. The beautiful Arabic characters, developed by generations of expert calligraphers, are often used to enliven a border, a frieze, or the surface of the largest or the smallest object, such as the wall of a mosque or the border of a silver plate. So beautiful was this script that Christian workers in Europe often mistook it for pure decorative design and used it on religious objects. A. H. Christie mentions a bronze-gilt Irish Cross of the ninth century bearing an inscription of *Bismillah* in Kufic lettering.

It is only possible here to trace briefly some of the important crafts at which Muslim artisans excel in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent generally and in Pakistan in particular, and this survey covers only the work of craftsmen who produce things of everyday use by hand and not through machinery and lathes.

Metal

The famous swords of Damascus and Ispahan are still valued by collectors all over the world. Muslims also excelled in producing gold and silver work of exquisite beauty in India, the Middle East, and in Pakistan. Gold and silver work made in the Punjab generally resembled the work of Kashmiri craftsmen. Gilt silver vessels were particularly famous. Due to the rise in the prices of gold and silver and general lack of patronage for the sumptuary arts, the standard of workmanship has declined. The designs are still executed on copper vessels, lotas, goblets, trays, and bowls.

When done in gilt silver a most charming effect is produced by the delicate tracery which is graven through the gilding to the dead white silver below, thus softening the lustre of the gold to a pearly radiance. A considerable quantity of gold and silver plate of good original design is made at Dacca in Eastern Pakistan.

Damascene Work

Damascene work is the art of encrusting one metal on another. Generally speaking, damascening is limited to encrusting gold

Sultan Ferozshah of Bengal.

and silver wire on the surface of iron, steel, or bronze. This system of ornamentation takes its name from Damascus where it originated. In Pakistan damascening in gold is carried on chiefly at Gujrat and Sialkot and is called *Koftgari.*

Damascening in silver is called *Bidri*, after Bidar in the Nizam's dominions. After the occupation of Hyderabad many Muslim craftsmen from most parts of the State migrated into Pakistan and are practising their art there. In *Bidri*, the metal ground is an alloy of copper, lead and tin blackened on the surface by dipping it in a solution of sal ammoniac, saltpetre, salt, and blue vitriol. This compound is first melted and cast and is then turned on a lathe in the form of goblets, spittoons, trays, or huqqa-stands. Then the required pattern is engraved over it and inlaid with silver wire which is beaten into the pattern. The ground of the vessels is then blackened and its silver encrustation is polished to a dazzling bright finish. Damascening is also practised in East Bengal at Dacca, Noakhali, and Chittagong.

Enamel

The main centre of enamelling, or the application of coloured glazes to metal and earthenware is mainly done by Muslim craftsmen at Multan, Lahore, Jaipur, Benares, and Lucknow. There are three forms of enamelling.

With metal, the enamel is simply applied to the metal as paint is applied to canvas; in earthenware, translucent enamels are laid over a design which has been etched on or hammered out of the metal. The third form of enamelling has two varieties, both of very ancient origin. One is the *cloisonne* in which the pattern is raised on the surface of the metal by means of strips of metal or wire welded on it, and the *champleve* in which the pattern is filled in with enamel. In all forms of true enamelling the colouring glaze has to be fused onto the metal. The mingled brilliance of ruby and coral red, emerald green, turquoise, and sapphire blue produces a bright and transparent effect like that of a pure gem.

Swords and hunting-knives of good quality are made in the North-West Frontier Province and in Baluchistan. Copperware, especially trays, ewers with basins, and wine bowls are made

in Peshawar and are often identical reproductions of famous Persian originals so familiar to students of art.

Ceramics

Unglazed pottery is made everywhere in Pakistan and has been so for the last 5,000 years. Earthern toys and vessels recovered from the ruins of Moenjo Daro are identical with those in use today. In West Pakistan the places famous for the manufacture of unglazed pottery are Gujrat, Gujranwala, Lahore, Montgomery, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Kohat, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Dera Ismail Khan. In Eastern Pakistan the best pottery is made at Dacca.

The glazed pottery of Sind, Bahawalpur State, and the Punjab is famous for the simplicity of its shapes, the spontaneity and the beauty of its colouring. The antiquity of the art has given the Pakistani potter an instinctive insight into the fundamental principles of decoration; the contours of his earthenware are never concealed beneath excessive ornamentation; colour and ornament are always subordinated to form, and it is this economy which gives Pakistani pottery its distinctive character. Only two colours are used at the same time and even they are usually light and darker shades of the same colour. The glazed pottery of Sind is made principally at Hala, Hyderabad, Thatta, and in the Punjab at Lahore, Multan, and Jhang.

The glazed pottery of the Punjab and Sind dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century and has obvious traces of Persian influence. It is used in many shapes for a variety of drinking vessels of all kinds, jars, bowls, dishes, pinnacles for the tops of domes, pierced windows, and particularly tiles. All jars and bowls made in the Punjab are distinguished by their graceful necks; they are glazed in turquoise of the most brilliant transparency, in rich, dark purple, dark green or golden brown, and generally they are decorated with floral designs. Sometimes a wreath of the knop and flower pattern is simply painted round the bowl on a white ground.

The use of glazed pottery in architectural decoration in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was the exclusive contribution of Muslims. The art spread into this sub-continent from centres

Light pottery of Bahawalpur.

Pottery of Multan.

situated in Persia, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, and the first buildings decorated with glazed tiles were built by Muslims in Multan and Lahore in West Punjab and in Thatta in Sind.

Textiles

Until the early nineteenth century, Dacca muslin was popular with the world's dress connoisseurs and large quantities of it were exported to the European markets. In 1840, James Taylor in his *Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca* tells us that thirty-six different varieties of cotton cloth were being made at Dacca, and in the time of Jahangir (1605-1635) Dacca muslin could be manufactured fifteen yards long and one broad, weighing only 900 grains.

A rare muslin was formerly produced in Dacca which became invisible when laid wet on the grass: and because it thus became indistinguishable from evening dew it was called *Shabnam* or the "dew of evening". Another kind was called *Ab-e-rawan* which means "running water" in which it became invisible. The cheaper machine-made products of Manchester, however, killed this industry though the material is still produced in small quantities. The hand-spun and hand-woven muslin is as soft as silk and so fine that six yards of it can be folded and put inside a box of matches. And this is not at the cost of durability, for the hand-made muslin wears and washes well. A product of great beauty is the Dacca *Jamdani* or figured muslin which consists of lovely white patterns woven into the texture and not embroidered or superimposed. The prices which were paid for Dacca products are an indication of their high aristic merit. Taylor writes that in Emperor Jahangir's time, the price of a piece of *Ab-e-rawan* measuring 10 cubits by 2 cubits and weighing only 900 grains was Rs. 400, while the *Jamdani*, or figured muslin made for Emperor Aurangzeb cost Rs. 1,250. Even as late as 1776 the best *Jamdani*, made in Dacca, cost Rs. 450 a piece.

Nearly all silk weaving in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is done by Muslim weavers. But the great contribution of Muslim craftsmen from the artistic point of view was the introduction of floral and geometrical designs worked on silk in gold and silver thread. The famous brocades (*Kamkhwabs*) meaning "beyond

dreams", of Benares, Ahmadabad, and Murshidabad woven by Muslim weavers are identical in design with old Sicillian brocades, and have marked Assyrian and Sassanian affinities. The trade is confined to Muslims and the skill in weaving and designing is handed down from father to son.

Since austere Muslim custom does not permit the use of pure silk by males, Muslims started the manufacture of cotton mixed with silk. The name of this fabric is *Mushru* or "permitted". These fabrics are woven with a cotton warp or back and woof of soft silk in a striped pattern. They are made all over Pakistan with local variations in design, the principal centres being Lahore, Multan, and Bahawalpur, Thatta in Sind, and Kohat and Hazara in the N.W.F.P.

Plain silk is called *Daryai*. If shot with two colours, usually red and green, it is called *Dhoop Chhaon*, meaning "sunshine and shade". A variety reflecting several colours is called *Par-e-taoos* meaning "peacock feathers". Checked silks, such as checked cottons, are called *Charkhana*. The *Lungi* when of silk is usually enriched with a border of gold or silver and finished off with a gold or silver fringe.

All figured or damasked silks are called *Shuja Khani*, from the name of the person who first introduced them in the West Punjab. The principal place of their manufacture is Bahawalpur and Dera Ismail Khan. Kohat and Peshawar in the North-West Frontier Province produce fine silk fabrics generally woven for turbans mostly in grey or dark blue, with richly worked end-pieces of gold threads.

Carpets

There are two kinds of Pakistani carpets, cotton and woollen. The cotton ones which consist of plain-stick fabrics are called *Daris* or *Shatranjis* (chess board pattern), and the woollen ones are called *Kalin* or *Galicha* and consist of the pile-stick.

Daris and *Shatranjis* are usually striped blue and red, blue and white, or brown and blue. Often square and diamond patterns are woven into the fabric. Lahore, Multan, and Bahwalpur in Western Pakistan, and Rangpur in Eastern Pakistan are the

chief centres of production. These products, though pleasing and lasting, are not of the same artistic interest as pile carpets. The manufacture of pile-carpets of Persian design and workmanship was introduced in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent by Muslim weavers in the time of the Mughul Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), and the art has ever since remained in Muslim hands.

The best carpets in Pakistan are made in Baluchistan. Strictly speaking they are not woollen but made of goat's hair which gives them their singularly beautiful lustre. The patterns are usually of the fantastic geometrical characters found in Turkoman rugs. They are laid either on a deep indigo or deep maroon ground and traced out in orange, brown, or ivory-white, intermixed with red, when the ground is blue, and with blue, when the ground is red.

Formerly carpets of fine design and colouring were produced in Sind, but the industry has deteriorated and now only cheap and coarse carpets with modern designs are produced. The Muslim carpet weavers of Amritsar (now in India) have migrated to Pakistan and are slowly resuming their old industry. Amritsar carpets were for the most part good imitations of Persian originals and had a large sale in foreign countries.

Marble Inlaying

The system of enlivening the plain surface of marble by encrusting it with coloured stones in place of coloured tiles used by the Pathans and Persians, is attributed to the Emperor Akbar, who was the first to portray animal and vegetable life in inlayed marble. This form of ornamentation is used in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, and its greatest perfection was achieved in the famous mosaic work of the Taj Mahal and the forts at Delhi and Agra.

Its use in architecture was too costly to outlast the golden period of the Mughuls, but the descendants of the Imperial mosaic workers have continued the tradition by manufacturing small articles of decoration such as fruit-dishes, ash-trays, paperweights, bowls, book-ends, and lamp-stands.

Lacquer Work

Lacquer work is a popular industry in Pakistan and is applied to furniture and house decoration and to small articles of every-day use. The lacquered wooden and *papier mache* boxes, trays, ink-stands, and toys are popular with foreign visitors because of the beauty of their colouring and design. In Sind the boxes are made by laying variously coloured lac in succession on the boxes while they are turning on the lathe, and then cutting the design through the different colours. Other boxes are simply etched and painted with hunting scenes, and natural or conventional flowers, and then varnished.

Perhaps the best kind of lacquer work is executed by Kashmiri craftsmen on *papier mache* articles in Persian style. The articles made are usually pen-cases, boxes, small replicas of Kashmiri shikaras, and toys. Painting is done mainly in minute floral patterns which are also common on embroidered shawls. With the increased demand for this sort of work, the technique is also being applied to large objects such as tables and chairs. The common Kashmiri flowers such as roses, pinks, and jasmine are painted in natural colours.

Ivory

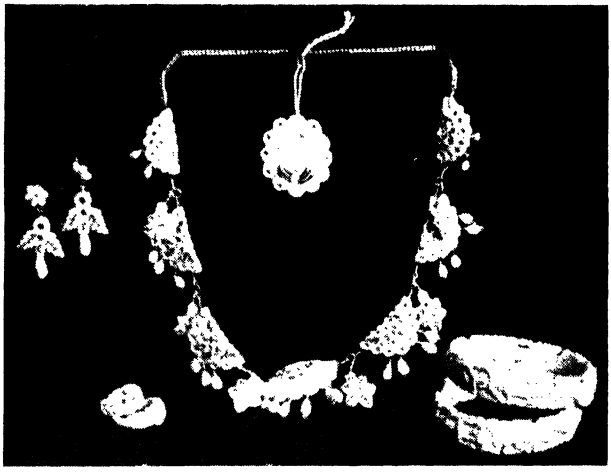
Excellent ivory and horn work is done in Dacca and Rangpur in Eastern Pakistan. Minute floral and geometric designs are carved on ivory caskets, toys, decorative images of Hindu gods, and animal figures. The peculiar feature of East Bengal ivory carving is the minuteness of the work which requires eighty different tools.

Muslim craftsmen of Dacca also specialize in horn work; buffalo and deer horn is used as raw material. Beautiful animal figures, musk-deer, lions, bisons, and some birds are chiselled out of the horn and then polished. The colour, when finished, is a natural black shot with grey and brown. The products are much sought after by foreign visitors.

Conch-Shell Work

Dacca is an age-old centre for conch-shell work. The shells are imported from Cochin and Madras and also from local

Jamdani work of Dacca.



Conch shell jewellery of East Pakistan.

fisheries, particularly from the Nyhna river. The products consist of bangles, buttons, bracelets, rings, and small images and conch-shells for Hindu temples. The bangles are much in demand by Hindu ladies and the superior qualities are studded with pearls and precious stones.

There are many other smaller industries in Pakistan, such as the lock-making industry of Aligarh, the shoe industry of Agra; the making of utensils at Moradabad; the brocade-work of Benares, and the needle-work of Lucknow. These have been introduced since 1947 into West Pakistan by Muslim refugees from India. New centres are already being established, and new arts are being introduced, and as time goes on Pakistan will surely improve upon the arts of Iran and Central Asia, and also upon the cottage industries and handicrafts of the Gangetic Valley.

M. M. Taqi.

CHAPTER VIII

PERSIAN LITERARY HERITAGE

Today Persian is not spoken or written in any part of Pakistan, but the importance of this language and its literature to the cultural heritage of the country can hardly be exaggerated. Persian was the court language and the vehicle of literary and intellectual activity for seven centuries of Muslim rule, and during this period poets such as Masud Saad Salman, Khusrau, Faizi, Ghalib, and Iqbal, whose literary merit has been acknowledged by Iranian critics and historians of literature, composed verses in this language. Persian prose literature of the sub-continent was nearly as important. Professor Browne, whose scholarly work is the normal source of information regarding Persian literature, was writing "a literary history of Persia", and not a history of Persian literature, and has, therefore, omitted an account of the contribution made to Persian literature in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. But all fair-minded and prominent Iranian historians of Persian literature, such as Malik-ush-Shu'ra Bahar, who wrote a history of Persian prose in three volumes, and Dr. Shafaq who wrote a comprehensive history of Persian literature for Tehran University, have done full justice to the writers of India and Pakistan. Historical literature produced in the sub-continent is handicapped by being confined to local events and is, therefore, not studied abroad, but judged by purely literary and technical standards. Barani, Badauni, and Abul Fazl compare favourably with the best historians of Persia, and in the realm of biography it is doubtful whether Iran has anything of the charm and beauty of *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* and *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri.*

Apart from the intrinsic worth of the Persian literature produced in this sub-continent, Persian has deeply influenced all modern Muslim languages such as Urdu, Pushto, Sindhi, Punjabi, and what is called "Mussalmani Bangala". In fact, next to Islam itself, the Persian literary tradition is the most important factor which has created similar traditions in East and West Pakistan, and has brought about the cultural unity of the country.

Persian Literature in West Pakistan

Pre-Mughul Period (1021—1525).[1]

There have been close contacts between West Pakistan and Iran from earliest times, but literary activity in Persian did not begin in Pakistan until Mahmud of Ghazni annexed the Punjab to the Ghaznavid Empire in 1021. Thereafter, Lahore became the seat of the Ghaznavid Governor and Persian became the language of the new court. At that time Ghazni was the most important centre of Persian literature and Lahore became a parallel centre of literary and cultural activities. The officials, scholars, poets, and saints who settled down at Lahore made the city what the contemporary historians call *Ghaznin-i-Khurd*, or "Smaller Ghazni". In the course of a time Mahmud's successors were driven out of Ghazni, and for a time Lahore became their capital and the principal centre of the literary and cultural activities, which flourished under this dynasty.

Much of the literature produced during this period has perished, but the works of two distinguished poets and some prose writings have survived. One of the poets, Abul Faraj Runi (c. 1091) was a native of Run or Runa. Some historians have described Run as a village in the district of Lahore, but it is impossible now to locate it exactly. It is, however, certain that the poet spent a long time at Lahore and many of his panegyrics were composed in the praise of the Ghaznavid Governor stationed there, or to commemorate the royal visits to the provincial capital.

The other poet, Masud Saad Salman (1046-1121) was born and educated at Lahore. His father occupied an important position under the Governor of Lahore and he himself held many responsible posts. Later, however, he incurred royal displeasure and underwent long terms of imprisonment, during which he composed the famous poems known as *Habsiyat*, or "Prison Poems", in which he introduced a new note to Persian poetry. Masud's poems contain archaic expressions and peculiarities of prosody common to his period, but he wrote on a large variety of subjects, and his poems are marked by sincerity, pathos, and

[1] *Shinasai-i-Sadi*, edited by M. Hazar Shirazi, pp. 94-95.

a high technical skill. He occupies a very high place in the history of Persian poetry, and the celebrated Persian critic, Aqai Said Nafisi, considers him one of the ten greatest poets of the Persian language. He gives the following reasons for his choice:—

> "So far as Masud Saad Salman is concerned my reasons (for giving him this high place) are that, apart from being a fine poet and a writer of beautiful verses, he was the first Persian poet to strike a personal note in his poetry and to make an attempt to free his verse from the preponderance of eulogy. He described with great beauty the realities of human life, and his own happiness and suffering, and in this respect is not only a great Persian poet but is a poet of the world and humanity, as the feelings which he has expressed are common to all mankind."[1]

For a long time Persian biographers and literary historians claimed Masud to be of Persian birth and a native of Hamadan, but his voluminous works have been recently published in Iran and leave no doubt about his nationality. Masud was not only born at Lahore, but he was greatly attached to the city and some of his most moving poems are those in which during his captivity, he remembers his native town:—

> "Thou knowest that I lie in grievous bonds, O Lord!
> Thou knowest that I am weak and feeble, O Lord!
> My spirit goes out in longing for Lahore, O Lord!
> O Lord, how I crave for it, O Lord!"[2]

In another poem he says:—

> "The Id festal time is come, and I am far from the face of that charming sweetheart;
> How can I live without the sight of that *houri* of Paradise?
> Who shall say to me, 'O friend, a happy Id to thee !'
> When my sweetheart is at Lahore and I in Nishapur?
> Why do I long for the city of Lahore and my beloved?
> Well, was there a man who did not miss his sweetheart and his native land."

[1] *Shanasai-i-Sadi*, edited by M. Hazar Shirazi, pp. 94-95.

[2] Translated by Prof. E. G. Brown (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, October 1905).

Amongst the prose writers of this period the most famous was the celebrated saint, popularly known as Data Gunj Bakhsh Lahori, who died about 1071 and was the earliest Persian writer of this sub-continent. He wrote both in prose and verse but his *Diwan* (collection of poems) was lost during his lifetime and the few verses that are preserved in his prose works are not of a high order. His fame as an author rests on *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, which is the oldest Persian treatise on Sufims, and is, therefore, a work of great historical importance. The value of *Kashf-al-Mahjub* lies not only in the authentic information which it gives about contemporary and earlier mystic orders, but in a systematic and sound exposition of *Tasawwuf*, and it has been treated as a standard text book in Sufi circles.

The Ghaznavid rule came to an end towards the close of the twelfth century, and was soon followed by the conquest of Delhi by Sultan Muhammad Ghori and his generals. One of the new important centres of Persian literature was Uch, (now in Bahawalpur State), where Nasiruddin Qabacha, the Governor of Sind and Multan, held his court, and where he established a college. Among those who came to his court was Aufi, the first biographer of Persian poets, Qazi Minhajuddin Siraj, the historian, and many other writers. *Chach Nama* the history of the Muslim conquest of Sind, was also translated during this period from Arabic into Persian. Qabacha perished in the struggle for power which followed Ghori's death and with him the literary glory of Uch came to an end.

Sultan Muhammad Ghori was succeeded by his slave general, Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, who made Delhi his capital. Now capitals of the newly conquered provinces of Northern and Eastern India also became centres of Muslim culture and Persian literature, but, of course, the Imperial capital attracted the highest talent. Specimens of compositions of a number of poets and the writers of the pre-Mughul period have been preserved by the historian Badauni, but the greatest poet and, incidentally, one whose works have survived most, was Amir Khusrau. He was born in 1253 and from childhood showed promise as a poet. After spending a few years in Oudh, he became attached to Bughra Khan, the son of Emperor Balban. Bughra Khan was Governor of Samana (East Punjab) and when he became Governor of Bengal, the poet accompanied him there.

Some years later he joined Prince Muhammad, the other son of Balban, who was the Governor Multan. Prince Muhammad was not only a brave warrior but a patron of literature, and it was at his court that Khusrau spent nearly five years, and wrote some of his finest lyrics. After Prince Muhammad's death in a battle with the Mongols, Khusrau moved to Delhi, where he became the greatest literary figure of the capital and remained until he died in 1325.

Of Amir Khusrau's poetry, Jami, the famous Persian poet, wrote in the *Baharistan* "Amir Khusrau of Delhi was a poet of exceptional merit. He wrote *qasidas*, *ghazals*, and *mathnavis*, and attained perfection in all. He follows Khaqani and although in *qasidas* he does not reach Khaqani's heights, in *ghazals* he is superior to him. His *ghazals* are universally popular on account of their depth of understanding which people interested in love appreciate and interpret according to their own experiences. Nobody has composed better *mathnavis* than Khusrau in reply to the famous *Khamsa* of Nizami, and in addition to these he has written many other *mathnavis*, which are tastefully and skilfully composed".

Khusrau has been the subject of a scholarly book in English by Dr. Wahid Mirza and Professor Muhammad Habib of Aligarh University has also written an interesting monograph about him. Professor Habib has given beautiful translations of some of Khusrau's lyrics, one of which reads:—

Pleasant the grove, pleasant the fields;
    Pleasant the advent of the spring!
Pleasant beneath a popular tree
    To hear above the *bulbul* sing,
To pass the cup from hand to hand
    While music in our ears doth ring!
Fly, Zephyr, nimbly to her side
    And softly with this message greet;
"Pleasant the lawn, pleasant the dew,
    Pleasant the running water sweet!"
And bring her quickly to my arms
    That in soft love our lips may meet.
'Tis pleasant with wine-heated blood
    To kiss, to caress and cajole;
From her the wantonness of youth,
    The cry of pain from Khusrau's soul.

Another famous poet of the period was Hasan, a native of Delhi, and the friend and companion of Amir Khusrau. His voluminous collection of poems has been recently lithographed at Hyderabad and contains much fine poetry. He was equally at home in prose, and his *Fawaid-al-Fua'd*, in which he has collected the Table-Talk of his and Khustrau's spiritual guide, Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya, is one of the classics of Sufi literature.

Khusrau and Hasan were contemporaries of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji, under whom Muslim rule was expanded to its widest extent. During his reign, regions like Gujrat were re-occupied, and vast areas south of Vindhiyachal brought under Muslim domination for the first time. Ala-ud-Din's successors could not retain their hold on the far-flung parts of the sub-continent, and independent kingdoms under Muslim rulers sprang up in Bengal, Deccan, Gujrat, Malwa, Junpur, and Sind. The use of Persian court as a language was, however, now so firmly established that although regional languages were encouraged in the provincial capital, Persian continued to be the official language and the language of serious literature at all the Muslim courts.

History

Although poetry was the most popular literary form during the pre-Mughul period, other branches of literature were not neglected. Muslim India has been particularly rich in historical literature, but those works have suffered a singularly tragic fate. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the reputation of the historical literature of Muslim India stood high. Important works such as Babur's *Autobiography*, Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Firishta's *Tarikh*, and *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin*, had been translated into western languages and had been praised by competent scholars and historians.

In 1849, Sir Henry Elliot, Secretary to the Government of India, published his *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Mohammadan India*, and later embarked on a comprehensive selection and translation of important portions of histories written in Muslim India. After his death the work was carried on by Professor Dowson, and in due course eight bulky volumes of the *History of India as told by its own Historians* were published. Since then European and other

non-Muslim scholars have generally turned to this source to learn and assess the work of Muslim historians. Sir Henry Elliot and Professor Dowson deserve gratitude from scholars who are ignorant of Persian, for making a vast amount of historical literature available to them, but they approached their task in a spirit and with an object which can hardly appeal to unbiased scholarship. Sir Henry Elliot leaves no doubt that the main object of his undertaking was to show the deficiencies of Muslim rule, and thereby bring into bold relief the benefits of the British *Raj*. In the "General Preface" he says about these translations: "They will make our native subjects more sensible of immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. We should no longer hear bombastic babus, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position".

A natural result of Sir Henry Elliot's and Professor Dowson's approach was to conceal rather than bring out the real value of the Muslim historians. Apart from the mistakes committed through insufficient knowledge of the language, the defects of mansucripts, and the neglect of many important works, they failed to bring to their task that sympathetic understanding, without which very few works of medieval literature of any country, Eastern or Western, can be properly appreciated. The editors were so much dazzled by what they call "the full light of European truth and discernment" that to them all else was darkness. Their presentation of the originals was calculated to repel rather than attract; their translations were too literal, and as a result what was a straightforward narrative became quaint, and what was only a silly mannerism in the original appeared to involve moral turpitude. The translators criticized the Hindu historians for adopting the same style and idiom as the Muslims. "He usually opens with 'Bismillah' and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of Godhead, followed by laudation of the Holy Prophet, his disciple and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammadans". Sir Henry Elliot was even more angry with the Hindu historians of the British period for not abusing the Muslims, and appeared to drop more than a gentle hint as to what they should do. "Even at a later period, when no longer "*Tiberii ac Neronis res ob metum false*", there is not one of this slavish

crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions, and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without restraint and without adulation."[1]

Scholarly Englishmen like Raverty criticized Sir Henry Elliot's approach when the first volume of the series was published, and Sir Wolsley Haig has based his volume of the *Cambridge History of India* on a study of originals rather than on the summarized and selected versions of Elliot and Dowson. Hindu historians such as Tarachand, Tripathi, Beni Prasad, Qanungo, Banarsi Parshad Saxena, and Pannikar have consistently showed a true understanding of the political currents and personalities of Indo-Muslim history. Sir Henry Elliot's point of view has, however, had powerful supporters in the Education Department and for nearly a century Indian students were fed on historical manuals written by Lethbridge, Marsden, and more recently on Mr. Vincent A. Smith's *History of India*. The effect which this has had on young minds, and ultimately on the Hindu-Muslim relations, would be an interesting subject for study, but what concerns us here is that the presentation by Sir Henry Elliot and Professor Dowson of Persian histories written in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent has not been altogether fair, and has tended to obscure their worth. Of course, these works have their limitations; some of the writers were connected with the royal courts and naturally tried to see things through the eyes of their patrons; very often they attributed to a religious zeal the campaigns undertaken by the royal patron for sheer self-aggrandisement, and some of them show the defects and mannerisms of the literary traditions of the language in which they wrote. Many of these works have deficiencies, but very few European histories of the corresponding period are free from them. Even then, no charge of suppression of truth has been brought against them and the peculiarities of method and language can easily be accounted for. And the variety of these works is so remarkable that one can range from the tact and the eulogies of the court chroniclers to the biting sarcasm of Badauni, the cool and detached analysis of Khafi Khan and the author of *Siyarul-Mutakhirin*, the balanced

[1] *General Preface to History of India*, Elliot and Dowson, p. xxii.

summing up of Firishta and Barni's "philosophy taught by examples".

The first important work of the period is the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, which has been ably translated and annotated by Major Raverty. The author who was related to Sultan Muhammad Ghori held posts of responsibility, including that of the Chief Judge, and he gathered material for his work during his residence at various places, Uch, Delhi, Gwalior, and on a six month's visit to Bengal. He brought the history of the period up to the end of the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin, after whom the book is named. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* is a candid and lucid record of events leading to the foundation and consolidation of the Muslim Empire of Delhi.

Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi* is not available in English except for the extracts in Elliot and Dowson, but it is a rare piece of historical literature. Barni is not very particular about dates (normally the strong point of the Muslim historians),[1] and this naturally detracts from the value of his book. He also had a definite political philosophy and saw things from the point of view of the aristocratic and orthodox coterie to which he belonged. But he wrote history as an artist, selecting his material so that his book, instead of becoming a monotonous chronicle of events, emphasized the characteristics of various rulers and different reigns. He does not confine himself to the kings, but gives details about the literary and the religious history, the prices in the market and other matters of concern to the ordinary people. Even more interesting is the gallery of portraits which he has brought to life not only by a skilful analysis of the personalities with whom he had dealt, but by providing those significant details which most oriental historians omit and which would have delighted Lytton Strachey; for example, the picture of the disciplinarian Balban, who never laughed in public and whom even his valet did not see without his shoes and stockings on.

Barni called his book after Firuz Shah Tughluq, who ruled from 1341 to 1388, but as the author died before the end of Firuz Shah's reign, he could not deal with it fully. The affairs of this reign were more comprehensively and methodically chronicled

[1] *India Through the Ages*, J. N. Sirkar, p. 39.

in another *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi* written by Afif. Firuz Shah himself wrote an autobiographical account of his reign in his *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*. Firuz Shah who rescued from oblivion Ashoka's pillars and had them set up near Delhi, had a full summary of his own achievements recorded inside the dome of the Royal mosque. These were collected in *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi* and give an interesting, though at times a naive, account of Firuz-Shah reign.

Biography

Futuhat-i-Firuz-Shahi, to which a reference has been made, is as much an autobiographical as a historical work. The first collection of biographies of Persian poets was completed in 1222 A.D., by Aufi at Uch in West Pakistan. "Aufi has a double claim on our gratitude for he also compiled an encyclopaedia of anecdotage, the *Jawami-al-Hikayat*, that is an inexhaustible mine of curious and interesting information"[1] about various kings, ministers etc., but the biographical literature which has survived mainly deals with the Sufi saints of the period. Best known "Lives of the Saints" written in this period were *Siyar-ul-Auliya* by Amir Khurd and *Siyar-ul-Arifin* by Jamali. Individual biographies of the saints usually took the form of *Malfuzat*, or "Table-talk" in which the day-to-day remarks of the saint were collected. Some of the collections in circulation are apocryphal, and the supernatural element tends to dominate in many of them, but in responsible and careful hands, these *Malfuzat* become not only an important source of biographical details and books of guidance in spiritual matters, but a mine of information on material affairs also. *Fawaid-al-Fu'ad* written by the poet Hasan gives the table-talk of the famous saint Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya (c. 1325), and is not only a literary masterpiece, but is invaluable for the light it throws on the religious, literary, cultural, and political history of the times. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, which relates the table-talk of Hazrat Chiragh of Delhi, are two other important works of this type. It is interesting that the supernatural element is virtually non-existent in the five books named here and is at any rate less marked than is the case in corresponding "Lives of the Saints" written in Europe about the same time.

[1] *Legacy of Persia*, Prof. Arberry, Oxford University Press, p. 221.

Letters

Another important branch of Persian literature consisted of *Maktubat* (letters) which can be broadly divided into two main groups. One consists of the letters of saints and other religious personalities, which occasionally contain a few biographical details but are really essays on religious and spiritual subjects, set down for the guidance of the distant disciples. The most famous *Maktubat* of this type in the pre-Mughul period were written by Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Maneri, who after receiving his education at Sunargaon (near Dacca) ultimately settled down at Maner in Bihar. His letters contain an elaborate system of the Sufi philosophy, which was current in influencial circles of the day.

The other group of the *Maktubat* consists of the letters of men of affairs, which are useful not only for biographical details about the authors but are full of information on historical and political matters. Two of the most important collections of this type made in the pre-Mughul period are *Insha-i-Mahru*, the letters of Ain-ul-Mulk, who was the Governor of Oudh under the later Tughluqs, and *Riaz-ul-Insha*, containing the letters of Khwaja Mahmud Gavan, the able Prime Minister of Bahmani rulers of the Deccan.

Miscellaneous

Another field in which the local writers of this period did pioneering work was Persian lexicography. As Persian was not generally spoken in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, arrangements for teaching the language and its literary classics had to be made here on a scale obviously unnecessary in Iran. Lexicography, therefore, received early and special attention. For school children, versified and convenient "*Vocabularies*", such as *Khaliq Bari* were written, but more elaborate and comprehensive dictionaries had also to be prepared. Some of them are a useful source of literary history, for when explaining the meaning of various words, the editors quote, in support of their views, verses from poets whose works have now perished. An important dictionary of this kind is *Sharaf Nama*, written in Bengal in the fifteenth century. It contains a large number of the editor's own poems, and other quotations. Apart from Persian dictionaries, commentaries on Persian classics came into vogue very early.

The Mughul Period (1526-1857)

Babur defeated the last Lodi king and established the Mughul Empire in 1526, but his son Humayun was expelled from India and spent several years in Iran seeking military aid from the Persian king. He regained the throne of Delhi in 1555, but died in the same year and the work of consolidation of the Mughul Empire was carried out by his son, Akbar, who ruled from 1556 to 1605. As a result of Humayun's visit to Iran, military and political collaboration opened up a new era of close co-operation between Iran and the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in literature, education, and art. On his return Humayun was accompanied not only by Persian soldiers, but by Iranian poets and scholars, who heralded a movement which was to continue till the last days of the Mughul Empire. The new-comers gave a new impetus to Persian literature and were responsible for polishing and refining the current language. Hitherto Persian had reached this sub-continent mainly from Afghanistan and Turkistan, but now the linguistic and literary current began to flow from Iran itself.

Before we deal with these developments two poets may be mentioned whose poetry had matured before they came under new influences, and who, therefore, represent the older, indigenous tradition. One of them was Bairam Khan, the friend, philosopher, and guide of Humayun, and the tutor of Akbar. He has left a slender volume of Persian verses, remarkable both for their elegant diction and a deep personal note. The other was Faizi, the poet-laureate of Akbar. Though he was a friend of Urfi and other immigrant Persian poets, he himself adhered to the older tradition. He says:—

> "And if you want to know my guiding light,
> It is the generous spirit of Khusrau and Hasan".

Faizi was essentially a scholar and we miss in his poetry the sweet lyricism of Khusrau. But he is a true representative of a great age. Akbar's reign was marked not only by a large scale expansion of the Mughul Empire and far-reaching constructive developments, but is also remembered for religious controversies. Many of Faizi's poems breathe a spirit of exultation and confidence, and reflect a triumphant age. He was, however, tortured by

the religious doubts and controversies which were raging at Akbar's court, and his poetry mirrors this aspect of the age as well. Faizi's complete poetical works have not yet been published, but there can be no doubt about the high place he occupies amongst the poets of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. According to the *History of Persian Literature* published by Tehran University, Faizi enjoyed a great vogue in Ottoman Turkey and "his influence was responsible for the popularity of Persian literature in that country".[1]

Amongst the poets of Akbar's long reign, Faizi stands in a class by himself. The popular pattern of poetry, however, was the one introduced by immigrant poetry from Iran. They contained amongst them such celebrated names as Urfi, Naziri, and Zahuri. Urfi is best known as a writer of *qasidas* (odes) though he wrote good *ghazals* (lyrics) also; the other poets mainly specialized in *ghazals*. They belonged to the school of Fughani, who had made popular an intellectual and involved type of poetry, and tried to achieve distinction not by striking a personal note or by extending the general sphere of poetry and writing on new subjects, but by introducing subtleties in old themes and bringing out their obscure and uncommon aspect. The poetry of Urfi, Naziri, and Zahuri is of a high order; there were no contemporary poets superior to them in Iran itself. Naziri's poetry in particular was remarkable not only for the polished, elegant diction but for *maumila bandi*, that is, the poetic delineation of various phsychological stages in love. The introduction of Fughani's style had, however, an unfortunate influence. Sincerity and spontaneity gave place to artificiality, and play of fancy became the main delight of the poets. Ultimately it led to the highly elaborate and involved conceits of Nasir Ali of Sirhind and Ghani of Kashmir, and poets ceased to write from the heart. The poetry of Bedil, who wrote in Aurangzeb's reign is perhaps even more obscure and complicated than that of Nasir Ali and Ghani, but he at any rate used his intellectual efforts on philosophical subjects, and his verse is remarkable for its philosophical depth and originality of thought and treatment. Even today he is one of the most popular poets in Afghanistan, and was at one stage very popular in those circles which cultivated Persian poetry in Turkey.

[1] *Tarik-i-Adabiyat-i-Iran*, Dr. Riza Zada Shafaq, p. 374.

During the Mughul rule, several immigrant poets had special links with the areas now known as Pakistan, and of course many poets were born here. Urfi died and was buried at Lahore before his bones were removed to Najaf by a *dervish* who mistook his grave for that of his brother; Talib Amuli, the poet-laureate of Jahangir was the disciple of Shah Abul Maali, a well-known saint of Lahore, and wrote beautiful verses in praise of the city, which in the days of Akbar and Jahangir was the second capital of the Empire.

The local poets also maintained a high literary level. Composition of Persion poetry was so common under the Mughuls that a Hindu poet of Lahore, with "Brahmin" as his *nom-de-plume* composed a *Diwan* in that language. His verses are not free from linguistic lapses but they are simple and sincere and it is refreshing to turn to them as an alternative to the artificial verses which were so common. Brahmin's example was followed by many other Hindus, and in the eighteenth century the contribution of Hindus to Persian poetry was substantial enough to form the subject matter of a separate book, *Tazkira-i-Gul-i-Raana* by Lachmi Narain Shafiq. In fact, Dr. Syed Muhammad Abdullah, who has made an exhaustive study of the subject says that, "at the end of the eighteenth century the contribution of Hindus to Persian literature was equal to that of their Muslim compatriots".[1]

Perhaps the most popular *mathnavi* of the period was written by Ghanimat, a poet of Kunjah, near Gujrat (Punjab). During the eighteenth century a number of poets in the Punjab wrote Persian *mathnavis* about Hir and Ranjha, whose romance forms the theme of the best known Punjabi classic, *Hir* by Waris Shah. An important Persian poet of this province was Waqif whose verses attracted the attention of Ahmed Shah Abdali, who invited him to Kabul. After a short stay at Kabul he returned to Bahawalpur where he became a court poet of the local Nawab and died in 1776.

During the Mughul rule Persian literature was being cultivated and studied in all parts of the Empire. We shall deal with Bengal separately. In the north-west, Khushhal Khan Khattak the well-known Pushto poet wrote verses in Persian also, and many of his Persian *ghazals* are included in his Pushto *Diwan*.

[1] *Adabiyat-i-Farsi men Hindwon ka Hissa*, S. M. Abdullah, p. 30.

Kashmir, with its salubrious climate attracted many Iranian poets who found the summer heat in other parts of the sub-continent trying, and some famous poets such as Kalim, Salim, Shaida, and Tughra spent their last days there. Persian poetry in Kashmir was encouraged by Zafar Khan Ahsan, the governor of Kashmir, and many local poets like Ghani, Fani, and Nadim achieved distinction. Sind, Thatta, Bhakkar, and Sechwan were important centres of literary activity in Persian. Ali Sher Qane of Thatta and Muhammad Masum of Bhakkar (who also wrote a history of Sind in Persian) were two literary lights of the province.

The greatest Persian poet of the Mughul period was born during the decline of the Empire and lived to see the exile of the last Mughul Emperor from Delhi. Mirza Asad Ullah Khan, who is better known by his poetic surname Ghalib, was born in 1706 at Agra, but migrated at an early age to Delhi. He wrote both in Persian and Urdu, but he was more devoted to Persian and his more mature and serious work was written in that language. He began in the style of Bedil, but later started paying more attention to the literary tradition of Urfi and Naziri, and with his native genius transformed the *Muamila Bandi* of these peots, which was primarily confined to a few traditional situations in love, to an unrestricted and comprehensive account of love and life. Ghalib epitomizes all that is best in different Mughul schools of Persian poetry. His verses had a solid intellectual basis, but he was a born artist and was able to transmute his ideas into poetry of great beauty and charm. His verses are not only a polished and artistic account of his own inner experiences but faithfully mirror the sad end to which the great Mughul Empire was drawing.

History

All branches of history were studied during the Mughul period. Some of the works such as *Akbar Nama* and *Shahjahan Nama* were court chronicles; their limitations are obvious but generally these books were written with great technical skill. Abul Fazl who was the *doyen* of court historians belonged to a family which originally came from Sind. He and his brother, Faizi entered Akbar's service at an early age and soon earned the confidence and esteem of the Emperor, though officially Abul Fazl was only the

head of the Department of Imperial Correspondence. About Abul Fazl's merits as a historian, Professor Rawlinson says: "Of the historians of the age incomparably the greatest is Abul Fazl himself. His vast *Akbar Nama* or Life of Akbar, of which the *Ain-i-Akbari* is a part, is the most important historical work which India has produced. The first part contains a history of the home of Timur down to the forty-sixth year of the Emperor; the remainder is a Gazetteer. It deals with the Imperial Household and court; the military and civil services; the judicial and executive departments, including finance and land revenue; the social, religious, and literary characteristics of the Hindu population, and lastly, the sayings and observations of Akbar himself."[1]

Histories written by courtiers are normally not critical of the reigning monarch, but there are some notable exceptions. For example, *Muntakhab-al-Lubab*, written by Khafi Khan, an official of Aurangzeb, is a responsible and carefully worded work of history, in which the author has not failed to describe weaknesses in Aurangzeb's administration and even the virtues of his enemies and rebels like Shivaji. The book is written in a pleasant style and contains references to the literary and religious life of the times, which relieve the monotony of political chronicling. But even more remarkable is Badauni's *Muntakhab-al-Twarikh*, which begins with the advent of Islam in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The bulk of Badauni's book is a chronicle of events during Akbar's reign and contains a full account of contemporary poets, writers, scholars, and theologians, though a courtier of Akbar, Badauni did not agree with the Emperor's religious views and gives in quiet and restrained language, a most damaging account of Akbar's religious innovations. One may differ from Badauni's views, but his skill as a writer cannot be denied. He gives thumb-nail sketches of a number of contemporary figures and such is his eye for significant detail, his mastery of the telling phrase, and often venom and rancour that the image becomes vivid. Some of Badauni's images border on caricature, but essentially he resembles miniature painters of the Mughul court, who, with a few deft strokes, could paint a portrait and make it look alive. Another other important historical work of this period was *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin* by Ghulam Hussain Tabbatabai, which is a general history of the

[1] *India—A short Cultural History*, Rawlinson, pp. 370-271.