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# **KINGS OF THE EAST**

BY

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Dedicated, with his kind permission,  
to *C. S. I.*

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Chief Secretary to Government  
United Provinces.



## PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

This is yet another valuable contribution to the literature on Jaunpur by the learned author of the 'Sharqi Monuments', which, as we already know, has met with a warm reception both from the Press and the public. The elegant style in which the story of the Kings of the East and the notabilities of their Court has been told in this book makes it equally useful for the student of History as well as of Literature.

The 'Sharqi Monuments', limited as its scope was, naturally left the reader in the dark as to the events of the Sharqi period and the origin of its Architecture.

Hence the *Pioneer*, while greatly appreciating the services rendered by the author to Muslim Archaeology, made the following criticism on the book : —

"The author treats each monument separately, carefully and systematically. But his introduction is distinctly upon the meagre side ;



and we feel that he has provided a guide book rather than a history. Now a guide book, if well done, is useful and by no means to be despised ; but if we mistake not, the Khan Bahadur has both the taste and the knowledge to aspire to higher flights. We could wish that he had elaborated his Introduction into a systematic explanation of the singularities of Jaunpur Architecture and thorough account of the characteristics, which made the culture of the Sharqi Kings a thing rather apart from the main development of Islamic artistic achievement in Northern India. Perhaps he may yet fulfil this task."

We are, therefore, thankful to the author for having snatched sufficient time from his busy official life to satisfy, what we may call, a genuine public demand, and we are sanguine that this excellent production will command even a wider popularity than the preceding work.

NIZAM UDDIN & SONS

of Zulqarnain Press,

BUDAUN.

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## بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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كل من علمها فان و يلقى وجهه ربك يا ذوالجلال و الاكرام

“ All things created are destined to perish’ but alone survivest Thou, filled with all greatness and honour”.

### INTRODUCTION.

A chronicler perhaps realises, more than others, the truth contained in the above quotation from the sacred Koran, as he follows the vicissitudes of fortune in the lives of nations and individuals, from their cradle to their grave. After recording the part played by each character on the stage of this world, the glories won and triumphs achieved, the defeats and losses suffered and the alternatives of joy and sorrow, he is inclined to lay down his pen with feelings of despondency and to echo the sad but true remark of the Wise king, Vanitas Vanitatum—all indeed is vanity.

Often than not he finds the fluctuations of fortunes as strange and unaccountable and all his inquisitiveness to discover the prime causes simply increases his bewilderment and makes him feel that there is a strong hand behind the azure veil of the skies which controls the destinies of mankind.

For this reason to a right thinking man History serves as an useful antidote to the doctrines of blind materialism. The truth announced by Browning at once dawns upon his mind

‘God’s in his heaven all’s well with the world’. Such in sooth we felt on pen<sup>ing</sup> the concluding lines on the disruption of the Sharqi kingdom and the down-fall of that illustrious race of rulers. Enough of moralising. Let us now describe the scheme, in accordance with which this little work has been compiled. The two separate divisions of the opening chapter give a cursory glance of the evolution of the Sharqi rule and also of contemporaneous events while that rule was in duration.

This we consider necessary in order to enable the reader to clearly grasp the state of medieval India and to connect incidents happening in Jaunpur with those of the world outside the limits of that kingdom.

In writing this chapter our intention has been to give a broad sketch of men, manners, and cities beyond Jaunpur and to lay greater stress on personal traits of the actors on the scene than on the affairs of war and policy. This is so, because we realise that an interesting anecdote of a king or a courtier remains impressed on the memory more vividly than any series of dates or accounts of battles and sieges. We must frankly admit that our difficulties in getting at the materials dealing with the actual lives of the Sharqi kings have been great.

The general conspiracy of silence observed by Moham-  
medan historians of the Lodi and Moghal periods proved

a serious drawback in our way. This omission was not accidental but deliberate ; it is clear that any recital of the glories of the Sharqi rulers was not likely to be appreciated by members of Delhi dynasties. The treatment of the Sharqi monuments by the Lodi and Moghal kings is an instance in point

The Badauni is strangely silent as regards the Sharqi kings, while the brief reference of the Farishta to Jaunpur simply helps to increase our bewilderment.

We had therefore to pick <sup>up</sup> bits of information from various books, both printed and manuscript, in order to put the lives of the Eastern monarchs into a readable shape. Dr. Fuhrer and Zakaullah as well as Nur Uddin, have made a laudable attempt in this direction but their narratives also are too racy to satisfy an inquisitive reader. We have, ~~therefore~~, attempted to resort to every possible source of information available in Jaunpur, and to present to the public a succinct description of what these kings did, though we are sure that a more competent writer with better facilities will be able to improve considerably upon the subject later on.

The second part of the second chapter on Sharqi architecture and coinage was needed to render our work complete where the history of Jaunpur itself was concerned.

Chapter III treats of personages too important to be omitted from any work dealing with Jaunpur in the 15th century, to wit the Ulemas, or literati, of the Sharqi period. To render the life and teaching of these learned men more intelligible it became incumbent on us to attach

a preamble to this chapter in the shape of a description of what might properly be called the Jaunpur School. For the fourth and the last chapter of the book we will demand special attention, dealing as it does with a class of persons little known, and less understood outside the world of Islam. We could have given a long list of celebrated Ulemas and Sufis who flourished during the Sharqi rule but we have contented ourselves with mentioning only a few in order to avoid monotony. We may note that equally celebrated Ulemas and Sufis existed during the Moghal period, but these did not fall within the scope of a work professedly treating of the Sharqi rule. The names of Mohammed Afzul, ( Ustad-ul-Mulk ) and Mulla Mahmud, author of the immortal "Shams Bazgha", among the former and of Shah Kabir and Shaikh Majzub among the latter, continue to adorn the annals of Moghal history and of the hagiology of Islam. We have incidentally corrected some of the mistakes which have crept into our former book "The Sharqi Monuments", the prominent of these being the geneology of the Sharqi kings and the origin of the name of Zafarabad.

I cannot be too thankful to Mr. Arthur Gordon for having materially assisted me in the collaboration of this book and to him only is due the credit of the poetical translation to be noticed in this book. Haji Mahbub Hassan also gave very good help.

**CHAPTER I.**  
**A CAMEO FROM MEDIEVAL INDIA.**





## PART I

( *Before the Fifteenth Century* )

It must be confessed that the study of Indian history taken as a whole, is a task calculated to daunt most seekers after this particular branch of knowledge

The mists of tradition, legend and of ancient mythology, recede so slowly and landmarks in the shape of authentic records occur so seldom, that it is not till the eleventh century that one reaches firm ground. It is then that we are in a position to form some idea of what must have happened during the rule of the Hindu dynasties, the Palas, Mauryas, and Guptas that preceded the Mohammedans as masters of India. The country was then a hot-bed of intrigues and internecine warfare and the various rival Hindu rulers, warring with one another, were doomed to yield before the gradual development of Mohammedan sway with its never-failing aspiration after one central government.

The approach of Islam from the north-west has been useful to historians in later times, because many followers of the Prophet possessed what might be called the 'historic instinct'. Students at the University founded by Mahmud Ghaznavi, in the city whose name he bore, might not have written learned treatises on metaphysics and philosophy,

but they turned their energies in a more practical direction by compiling chronicles of their own times and of those immediately preceding the inroad of Muslim armies from their original home in Central Asia. We have it on undisputed authority that Sultan Mahmud found leisure between his seventeen invasions of the Punjab to collect learned men at his court, and to create a literary atmosphere in his capital.

To charge the old Mahomedan chroniclers with a fondness for exaggeration and a want of impartiality is merely to ascribe to them faults common to writers of history in every nation and at every period, from the ancient Greeks to modern times

The Father of History, as the famous Herodotus is sometimes styled, relates the most marvellous events as if they were matters of daily occurrence

A natural desire to represent their own country and race in the most favourable light has always proved a temptation too strong for the great majority of compilers of history to resist, with perhaps the honourable exceptions of Thucydides, Tacitus, and the author of the 'Retreat of the Ten Thousand'. A man devoid of all prejudices is a somewhat colourless individual. So our admiration for Gibbon survives in his rarely losing an opportunity for indulging in a solemn sneer at the faith of his fore-fathers. Similarly for the sake of a telling sentence or a well-rounded period we pardon Macaulay if he obtains these brilliant effects by magnifying or minimising actual facts.

We should for the same reason hoodwink at the never-ending rhetoric of Abul Fazal or the high-flown and figurative language of Hindu chronicler in praise of his heroes.

The historian has only to steer a little cautiously along the path of bare facts, avoiding the shoals of figurative language and his success is ensured.

There is another obstacle against the attainment of a speedy knowledge of Indian history.

Most of the chief characters, kings and their ministers, generals and court favourites, had an awkward habit of assuming different titles, thus making it difficult to trace their identity at different stages of their career.

Besides, this huge continent was not actually brought under one consolidated Government till the days of the four great Moghals (Akbar to Aurangzeb inclusive). Thus till the middle of the 16th century, we find India presenting a blurred vista of small separate kingdoms, some large, some small, perpetually changing hands and either at war with outside enemies or engaged in tribal strife. Even in the case of the Mohammedans, in spite of their aim at consolidation of power, we find various Delhi dynasties succeeding one another with remarkable swiftness in some cases.

Of these different lines of kings, the Khilji dynasty was rendered notorious by the wanton cruelty of some of its monarchs and the sensuality and shameful indolence of others. Allauddin certainly extended the conquests of

Islam, but wrote his name in characters of fire and slaughter on the ruins of the great Rajput fortress of Chitore, besides over-throwing the leading Maratha State, with its capital at Deogiri. Again, he made his way to the throne by the dastardly murder of his uncle Jalaluddin Khilji, whom he met with warm embraces and when the old king was scarcely out of his arms, signalled hired assassins to cut down his unsuspecting relative. Still public opinion would forgive a great deal in a strong man of action, whose economic policy contributed to the prosperity of the people

Mubarak, who succeeded Allauddin, was all that a ruler ought not to be, and when his vile favourite, a Hindu of mean extraction from Gujerat (Khusru), saw fit to murder his master and seize the crown for himself, Mahommedan pride was aroused and a sturdy warrior in the person of Ghayasuddin Tughlaq was invited to depose the wretched Khusru and take the reins of sovereignty in his own hands. The forces of the affrighted pariah were utterly routed and their abject master was caught hiding in a garden and beheaded (1321 A.D.). In the absence of any scion of the royal family Ghayasuddin Tughlaq ascended the throne with the common consent of the nobles and officers.

Having thus placed the first of the Tughlaq line on the throne at Delhi, one must see how Jaunpur figures in the dim annals existing prior to the events just mentioned.

That Syed Salar Masaud Ghazi passed this way, when leading his fierce horsemen on a crescentade against

the heathen aborigines of eastern Oudh, is tolerably certain. A partially obliterated inscription on the Zafrabad mosque denotes the arrival of the warrior Saint, the Ghazi Miyan of many ballads.

The word 'Almujahid' on the inscription clearly points to Syed Salar, for at that period he was unrivalled in India as a "wager of Jihad." Besides, the passing of his hosts through Fyzabad district, *en route* from Zafrabad to Gonda and thence to the Bahraich forests, is yet remembered in the annals of the poor. Any unwonted sound after nightfall is said by simple villagers to be the sound of the horsemen led by Ghazi Miyan,

"Ghostly riders' tramp, tramp  
Across the land they ride  
Splash splash, across the sea".

It seems uncalled for scepticism to doubt the existence of Syed Salar merely because his memory is enveloped with numerous traditions. To describe the nephew of the Iconoclast as a 'legendary person' is as much as to question the identity of Wallace and Rollo the Ganger, or expect a patriotic Swiss to pronounce William Tell a myth, an English boy to deny that Robin Hood ever hunted and fought under the green-wood tree. The erection of at least one mosque in Maneech (modern Zafrabad) and the existence of the tombs of Ghazi Miyan's followers (Ghalib Shahid, Ahmad Shahid, etc.) also confirm the reality of the warrior saint.

We have it on good authority that after the departure of Syed Salar from Zafrabad a strong Mohammedan

colony continued to exist in that place. It remained there under the Pal dynasty of Benares till the latter were replaced in their turn by the Rathor princes of Kanauj, but at the close of the 12th Century these had to give way before the attack of Shahabuddin Ghorî. From Zafrabad the Ghorî king carried out successful forays to Benares, and returned to Delhi after having placed one of the Gahrwar Rajputs, Jai Singh, in charge of this town.

The real power was, we imagine, vested in the Mohammedan contingent stationed there, as it was evidently a convenient 'taking off' place for Muslim troops, envoys, and traders, proceeding to Bengal. As the Muslim sway over India showed signs of becoming firmer, outposts of empire were created along the main lines of communication, and these served as military antennæ for the main strength of Mohammedan power at Delhi. In several districts of the United Provinces these old *qasbas* may still be seen, marked by the mournful dignity of departed greatness.

The advent of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq secured the peace and prosperity of Hindustan, proper. His reign was marked by the recovery of the Deccan provinces under the leadership of his son, Prince Junai, and the subjugation of Bengal under his own personal command.

As will appear from subsequent chapter, his son Prince Zafar and his son-in-law, Makhdum Sheikh Sadruddin, entitled Chirag-i-Hind, ( the Lamp of India ) rescued Zafrabad from Sakeet Singh, the last of the Gahrwar

Rajas, a dynasty which, as already noted, had been introduced in Jaunpur by Shahabuddin Ghori. It is probable that Ghayasuddin stayed with his two relations at Zafrabad, *en route* from Bengal to Delhi, in a palace, the gate of which is still in a state of good preservation and bears the following important inscription :—

بعهد ملک ذوالقرنین ثانی  
 بلعاع ثرة را از عدل باسی  
 عوالت الدین و دنهالوالمطفر  
 سلامان خانم و حمشه ادر  
 شه آفاق تغلق شاه اعظم  
 که بروی شد جهانگیری مسلم  
 بر آمد این حصار چرخ ایوان  
 که در رعب گذشت از فرق کوهان  
 دوشنبه پست هشتم روز بوده  
 ربیع الاول ماه ستوده  
 همایون ساعت و در وقت مسعود  
 رهنجرت سال ۵۷۲۱ هفصد پست و یک بود  
 مظفر چو شد معسور دایم شهر  
 مظفر آباد قامش نهانده دودهر

1. During the reign of the king resembling Zulqarnain founder of justice as inculcated by Islam.

2. Ghayasuddin, the hearer of complaints in both the worlds, and the Conqueror.

Possessor of the ring of Solomon, and the crown of Jamshaid



3. King of the world, Tughlaq the great, conquest follows him every where.

4. This palace has been reared up to the skies. It has surpassed the mansion of the Ceasars in loftiness.

5. It was built on Monday, the 28th of the sacred month of Rabi-ul-awal.

6. It was an auspicious hour and a favourable time, i.e., seven hundred and twenty-one Hijri

7. As the city was conquered and repopulated, its name was fixed as Zafrabad.

The inscription alludes to the conquest of the town by Prince Zafar and the reason why it got its present name. Zafrabad, in place of the old name Maneech. It may be noted that both the son and son-in-laws of the great Tughlaq he buried within the enclosure of this Palace, their tombs being marked by a black marble slab and a small dome respectively. It will be interesting to briefly note the tragic circumstances attending the death of this noble king whose memory is so closely associated with Jaunpur. As he proceeded from Zafrabad to Delhi his son Ulugh Khan, better known as Mohammad bin Tughlaq, was making grand preparations to give his father a suitable welcome back to the Imperial city.

For this purpose Ulugh erected a pavilion, (Koshak in the language of Turkistan), in the village of Afghanpur, situated on the back of the Jumna, seven or eight miles from Tughlaqabad. His avowed object was that the unsuspecting Ghayasuddin should spend the night at the

temporary rest-house so that the inhabitants of Delhi might have time to decorate the city and make all the arrangements for giving the victorious king a hearty welcome home. This pavilion is described as being constructed chiefly of wood, carved in lovely designs.

Alighting from his favourite war-horse, the great Tughlaq expressed his delight at the appearance and comforts which this staving palace offered. Next morning audience was given to Ulugh Khan and courtiers, which was followed by a sumptuous repast. "From this meal Ulugh Khan and his attendants rose hurriedly without even washing their hands", says an old chronicler, and went out of the pavilion to see that preparations for the Royal procession were ready and in order. Ulugh Khan busied himself in marshalling the elephants and horses which he had brought as a present for his father. 'All of a sudden a crash was heard, and to the horror of the on-lookers the entire roof of the pavilion collapsed, on its unfortunate inmates, consisting of Ghayasuddin, his pet-son Mahmud and four body-servants. Thus the twenty first of Rabi-ul-awal 726 A. H (27 February, 1325 A. D. ), on which this tragic event occurred proved to be an unlucky day for the Founder of the Tughlaq dynasty. Various versions of the fall of the pavilion are given by historians. One writer, Haji Mohammad Kandhari, declares it to have been struck by lightning and another opines that the structure being a new one was shaken by the movements of so many elephants and cavalry in the immediate vicinity. We regret, however, that the mass of opinion attributes the death of the king.

not to misadventure but to a deliberate scheme on the part of his son Ulugh Khan by whose order the pavilion was erected without much necessity. The fall of the house directly after Ulugh Khan and his followers had quitted the building and the fact that another and pet-son of Ghayasuddin was involved in the fate of his parent naturally arouse great suspicions against the Heir-apparent. A Gujerati writer, Sardar Jahan, puts forward the quaint theory that the pavilion was erected under magical influences and therefore was destroyed on a word from Ulugh Khan when the latter was himself in safety. The well-known Moorish traveller, Ibn Batuta, who visited the Delhi Court sixteen years later, settles this controversy by narrating what had been told to him by an eye-witness. The interesting nature of the narrative and the stamp of veracity it bears must serve as an apology for its introduction in these pages. The narrative of Ibn Batuta tells us how Ghayasuddin was annoyed with his eldest son for trying to create a party of his own among the nobility, and making other clandestine attempts to become the possessor of the crown, before he could claim it by right of succession.

The historian goes on to say that the pavilion took three days to build and rested on pillars of wood—the plan of which was made by the royal engineer, Ahmed, son of Aiyaz, and the Dining Hall was so feebly constructed as to fall-down on any great movement or disturbance of the surrounding earth or air, such as would be caused by the hurried tramp of a large number of horses and elephants.

This was done under direct instructions from Ulugh Khan. The king having dined, Ulugh Khan sought permission to form up the procession of elephants and horses, which was granted. Syed Ruknuddin, the famed Pir of Multan, who was present at the banquet, informed the Moorish historian that Ulugh Khan persuaded him to leave the house by warning him that the hour for prayers was at hand. Before, however, he could begin his prayers, he noticed elephants being brought inside the enclosure and hurried towards the spot indicated by Ulugh Khan. Instantly the pavilion fell, burying all those who were inside. Syed Ruknuddin at once ran to the scene and heard Ulugh Khan ordering his men to extricate his father and brother, but simultaneously making private signs to them not to comply with this behest. Nor till evening did tools for removing the dead arrive. When the Royal corpses were finally unearthed, the attitude in which Ghayasuddin lay showed that even in the moment of death he had done his best to shield his pet-son Mahmud. His body was removed to Dehli the same night and placed in a grave made by the gallant Turkoman in his life time. It may be added that Malikzada Ahmed was speedily rewarded for his treachery by rapid promotion and was allowed to continue as a grand Wazir till the death of Mohammad Tughlaq.

Another anecdote shows the origin of the familiar proverb, " Hanoz Dilli dur ast ", equivalent to the saying of Clan Campbell ' Its a far cry to Lochow '. ,

The celebrated Nizamuddin Auliya happened to be at

variance with Ghayasuddin and the latter ordered the Pir to leave Delhi prior to his arrival there. In reply the Saint sent the phrase above referred to.

Perhaps no stronger king with a strange combination of highly developed virtues and vices ever held the royal sceptre than Sultan Al-mujahid Abul Fateh Mohammed Shah, known during the life-time of his father, as Ulugh Khan or Juna Khan, the word "Juna" meaning the "son" in the language of the Tartars. He is justly described by contemporaneous historians as *Jama-ul-azdad*, an embodiment of contraries. He was complete in all that high culture could give in that age, a great scholar, a perfect stylist, a keen rhetorician, a philosopher and a mathematician. Besides, he possessed a natural genius for original conception, a marvellous memory and an indomitable will. He was a good soldier and a natural leader of men. He was also a teatotalter and performed his prayers with the punctuality of a clock. Attractive as this picture of his character is, the other side of it is equally repulsive. His over-weening pride coupled with an utter disregard for the sufferings of mankind and his blood-thirsty nature formed the key-note of his administration. The famous Moorish traveller, Abu Abdullah Mohammad, better known by his pet-name Ibn Batuta and as Shamsuddin in the contemporary histories, speaks of this king in the following remarkable words —

"He excelled all men in his unbounded prodigality and in his thirst for blood. Every day he used to change poor men into rich men and living men into dead men".

In fact it appears from the harrowing account given by this historian that Mohammad Bin Tughlaq had a mania for man-slaughter and he did not spare even his own brother, Masud, and his innocent handsome wife. The stories of indiscriminate murders committed by this enemy of human life are too numerous to detail, but perhaps the most disgusting of these is his man-hunting expedition in Kanauj. Helpless people crawled behind trees and bushes in the jungle, while the king's army surrounded and butchered them with much less remorse than the present day *Shikari* would shoot a teal or a pigeon.

It is true that he founded a large number of hospitals, and asylums for widows and orphans, but he likewise displayed equal zeal in furnishing those institutions with a crowd of inmates.

Modern historians, however, take a more indulgent view of his character. They seem to think that his ideas were much more advanced than his age, although the manner in which he executed them left much to be desired. His scheme of central Government at Daulatabad, and his theory of a nominal token currency, like most of his schemes, might be sound, but they were highly impracticable. There were rebellions on all sides. Deccan, Gujerat, Carnatic and Malabar Coast in the south, Multan, Kandhar and Kashmir in the North-West and Bengal and Behar in the East, all began to show signs of revolt, and the king had an up-hill work to save his kingdom from a complete break-down. He at last died on 21st Moharram, 752 A. H. ( 20th March, 1351 A. D. ) on the river Indus.

The following pathetic verses were on his lips at his death-bed —

بسهار در این جهان چسبیدیم \* بسهار نعیم و ناز دیدیم  
اسهان بلند بر نشستیم \* ترکاب گراندها خریدیم  
کردیم بسے نشاط آخر \* چو قامت ماه نو خمیدیم

We strolled around the world so wide.

Pleasures and lures on every side ;

The handsome slave, the gallant steed were ours ;

Of life we plucked the sweetest, choicest flowers ,

But at the last, bowed down our stature high,

Bent as the Crescent in the evening sky”.

Mohammad had too much to occupy his time and thoughts to find leisure to travel in the direction of Jaunpur.

In fact the only point of interest between the king and his eastern possessions lies in the question of whether Jaunpur derived its name from Prince Junah or from the place having been known as Yavanpura, a city of the Yavana tribe. An inscription discovered in Bundelkund by Mr. Ommaney, Collector of Jaunpur in 1848, containing a distinct allusion to “Yavanpura, a city on the Gomti ” is strong evidence in support of the latter theory. However, the chief objection to it is the long distance between Jaunpur and the region inhabited by the Yavana sect. Still the authenticated wanderings of both Mohammadans and Hindus were marvellous in the days of bad roads, frequently of no roads at all, and if the Rajputs travelled into Bengal from their native lands, there was

nothing to excite special wonder when they traversed the country from the confines of Kathiawar to those of Oudh. To return to our subject, one is puzzled to know exactly in whose hands rested the Government to this eastern Fief of the Delhi Empire during the seven and twenty years when Mohammad Bin Tughlaq used, and abused his power as an absolute king. The fortress of Maneech, if not destroyed, must have been garrisoned by Muslim soldiers, not by Rajput levies, and the general administration seems to have run smoothly

At all events, one may feel sure that when Feroz Tughlaq passed through Jaunpur in 1355 A. D., four years after his accession, there was a fairly strong and prosperous Mohammedan colony at Zafarabad to bid him God-speed and a safe return from his expedition into Bengal against Haji Ilias, of Lakhnauti

Feroz Shah Tughlaq was a remarkable ruler in the Tughlaq dynasty, and his close connections with Jaunpur render it necessary to cast a glance at a few interesting events of personal nature in his career. His birth took place in 1309 A. D., his father being Syed Rajjab, brother to Ghayasuddin Tughlaq and Commander-in-chief of the latter's forces. The circumstances of how that gallant soldier won his bride are of a romantic nature and will bear repetition. Ghayasuddin, then Alauddin's governor in Dipalpur, hearing many accounts of the rare beauty of the daughter of Rana Mul Bhatti, a convert Muslim, sought her hand as a bride for his brother, Rajjab. The Rana scornfully rejected the



proposal of the Tughlaq with the result that Ghayasuddin marched on to Tilaundi and claimed from the inhabitants instant payment of the entire annual revenue and various taxes. Hearing of the misery of the people the mother of Rana Mul had audience with her son and begged him to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects. The girl, Bibi Naila, on learning that she was the cause, exclaimed, "If the bestowal of my hand to the Tughlaq will relieve the anguish of the inhabitants of your state, then, Oh, my Sire, do not hesitate to consent to the marriage and console yourself by reflecting that one of your daughters has been carried off by a 'Tartar warrior'". The Rana, persuaded by this reasoning, agreed to the marriage and the nuptials were celebrated in due course. The lady was known by the title of Sultan Bibi Kad Banu and from this union was born Firoz Shah. Owing to the death of his father before the boy was seven years of age, his education and training devolved on his mother under the fostering care of Ghayasuddin Tughlaq.

We find that, on his return from Lakhnauti in 762 A.H. (1360 A. D.), Firoz and his troops halted at Zafarabad for the rainy season. The king was taken with the place, which he considered convenient for both trading purposes and military movements. He therefore lost no time in developing the resources, increasing the size, and adding to the fame of the city across the Gomti of which he may be styled the true founder. The triumphant ride of Firoz on one fine morning to the fort of Karar Bir, one of the Bhar chieftains in whose name a Moballa still

exists in the locality, has been graphically described by some Persian historians. After reaching there, the proud Tughlaq stands on the rampart of the Bhar fort overhanging the flooded Gomti and issues his command to rebuild the fort with stronger fortifications and more beautiful buildings. Subsequently he noticed a massive pile immediately below the stronghold. On learning that the building in question was the temple of the goddess Atal (Immovable) he said in a decisive tone, "I will move the Immovable". A mosque immediately began to be built at the site of the temple. The local Hindus gathered strong and a sanguinary skirmish ensued. Several writers assert that blood began to flow in streets. The result was that a compact was made and Sultan Firoz agreed to discontinue further extension of the mosque, provided that prayers were not interfered with. From the time when Feroz Tughlaq erected the Jaunpur Fort, built the renowned Atala mosque, and generally improved the town on the South side of the Gomti, the original settlement of Zafarabad began to lose its former importance and gradually dwindled down to the status of a large suburb.

The king maintained his close connection with Jaunpur throughout his long reign of 38 years, and kept his son Malik Bahroz at the head of the satrapy. He had to suffer from severe grief during the closing days of his life owing to the sudden death of his son and Crown-prince, Qotlagh Khan. His reign was remarkable for many administrative improvements in the matter of

currency, agriculture, rent-free-grants, military organisation and public works. As to the last named department, Farishta gives no less than 849 works of public utility executed by the order of this monarch. His policy was conciliatory and we have good reasons to differ from Vincent Smith and others of his ilk that Feroz was a bigot. His action in connection with the Atal Devi temple arose more from the momentary fit of a bravado than from the studied desire of an iconoclast. He won the affection and respect of all his subjects and vassals both Hindus and Mohammedans alike. The kingdom which he had reared up would have lasted much longer had his descendants proved worthy successors. He died on 3rd Ramzan, 790 A. H. ( 23rd October, 1388 ) at the ripe age of 90 years.

Within the brief space of the succeeding six years no fewer than five kings occupied the Delhi throne, namely, Ghayasuddin ( Tughlaq II ), Abubakar, Mohammad, Sikandar and Nusrat (Mahmud). The last of these came to the throne in 1394 A. D., at first *de facto*, then *de jure*, master of a dominion stretching from Aligarh to Behar and from Etawah to Bahraich. There is a story extant to the effect that while Mahmud Tughlaq was deputing governors to the outlying Provinces of Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujerat, and Multan, the Court astrologer warned his master that each of the men he was sending forth as vassals would rise up against him and set up kingdoms of their own.

The prediction was verified when Malik Sarwar declared himself an independent ruler of Jaunpur,

Khizar Khan of Multan, Dilawar Khan of Malwa and Zafar Khan of Gujerat.

Malik Sarwar belonged to that unfortunate class of mortals called by Byron the third sex, but like the renowned Nareses he showed by his talents and capacity for work that his mental powers had suffered no emasculation. In 1394 A.D. he arrived from Dehli, provided with the high sounding title of Malikus Sharq, which he saw fit a few years later to discard for the yet more exalted designation of Sultan ( Emperor ) of the East.

To return to Mahmud. He had not long ascended the throne ere terrible tidings were received of Timur the Lame, crossing the Indus and sweeping forward on Dehli with a force calculated to inspire allies with confidence and enemies with dread. Mahmud made no real attempts to meet the foe and to die like a man.

The swift unrelenting approach of the invader has been described by Flora Annie Steel in such graphic fashion that we cannot but quote the words of that talented authoress "A strange march of Death—indeed. The young wheat showing green as ever, the hearth fires still burning bravely, the litter and leavings of human life lying about in the sunlight, but life itself nowhere. Everything, gold, gems, home, country left, but that had gone. It must have angered the horde of butchers to find no blood wherewith to wet their swords, to hear no piteous cries for mercy as they rode. The very hands must have grown listless as they gathered in the unresisting spoils".

The invasion of the Lane one, with its consequent massacres and devilities proved, strangely enough, a boost to Jaunpur. From the days of Firoz Tughlaq the growing city by the bank of the Gomti had been a favourite resort of learned men, pious Ulemas, philosophers and sages of various types and races, and with the capture and sack of Delhi by the Tatar hordes under Timur, Jaunpur provided a refuge for such people, a detailed account of the more prominent of whom is given in the succeeding chapters. We need only add that this stream of Learning and Piety continued to flow in the direction of the Capital of the Sharqi kings for close of half a century. Mahmud survived the Tatar inroad for about twelve years and reigned in puppet fashion at Delhi.

Meanwhile Malik Sarwar found himself strong enough to break the ties binding him as a servant of the Emperor. His rise to such prominence as is now accorded him by history furnishes another of the many instances in the East where "*La carrière est ouverte aux talents*" (genius will always secure for itself proper recognition). The glories of his reign have been overshadowed by the achievements of some of his successors, still one cannot but respect the character and manly virtues of the man who founded an Empire which did so much for mankind.

## PART II.,

### *During the Fifteenth Century.*

We have seen how the once great Tughluq kingdom got frittered away by a succession of weak and incompetent rulers and how it received the final death blow from the ferocious Tatar. The map of India of those days, (which we here reproduce), presents a perfect kaleidoscopic scene and clearly shows how the process of disintegration had set in, which led to the evolution of the dominions of the kings of the East.

Even in the days of Mohammad Tughlaq province after province began to set up the standard of rebellion and the king had to run from one vassalage to another.

Though victory was in his van yet rebellion was in his rear. Bengal and Telingana became independent as far back as 1340, while the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan sprang up on account of the efforts of a group of discontented Moghul nobles in 1347 A.D. with Hasan Gangu Bahmini as their first sovereign. Further south Vijayanagar asserted its supremacy. Simultaneously with Jaunpur, Khandesh, Malwa and Gujerat threw off their allegiance to Delhi in 1394 A.D.

The cow-herd kings held sway over the upper Tapti valley, while Kashmere had an independent ruling Moham-medan dynasty of its own from the year 1326 A.D. and so continued down to the time of Akbar. Kathiawar, Kutch, and Orissa still obeyed Hindu Rajas. Such was the condition of India at the time of the commencement of our

chronicle of the Sharqi dynasty. It naturally facilitated the extension of the Jaunpur kingdom by the ambitious rulers like Ibrahim and Mahmud till it included Behar in the East and Etawah and Kanauj on the west, embracing nearly the whole of territory now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The weakening of the central authority culminated with the death of Mahmud in 1412 A. D.

There was not one available candidate for the throne and the Afghan courtier who was the viceroy of the Doab (Daulat Khan Lodi) carried on the administration for the next 15 months, without assuming the title of King. During this interregnum the Afghan noble was engaged on carrying out expeditions against the small chiefs in the vain hope of extending the kingdom of Delhi. On receiving the news, Ibrahim Sharqi set out for Delhi to try conclusion with this upstart from Afghanistan. However, before he could reach his destination Syed Khizr Khan, the Multan ruler, had already captured the Lodi in the fort of Syre and imprisoned him in Firozabad where he died a few years after.

Related as he was to Khizr Khan, Ibrahim in the early part of 1414 A.D. withdrew his forces to Jaunpur, thus leaving Syed Khizr Khan in undisputed possession of Delhi.

The Syed dynasty thus founded by Syed Khizr Khan exercised a more or less troubled sway from 1414 to 1488 A.D. Khizr Khan followed the example of his predecessor as regards the assumption of the kingly title.

Dr. Fuhrer uses the epithet of Syed for him while, the Tabkat Akbari styles him as Rayat Ala (the bearer of high standard) and Badauni refers to him by the title of Masnad Ala (the occupier of the exalted seat).

Very little is known about the antecedents of Khizr Khan, beyond that his father, Malik Mardan, was a courtier of distinction in the court of Feroz Shah and the Viceroy of Multan. Even the fact of his being a Syed was not recognised till on the occasion of a banquet, when Shah Nizam Uddin Aulia publicly refused to be assisted in washing his hands by this descendant of the Prophet. On coming to power Khizr began to consolidate the Empire, sending out expeditions in various directions, such as Budaun, Katehr, Sambhal, Shamshabad and Gawalior.

The result was that four years had not elapsed before the lost prestige of Delhi was to a great extent restored.

More would have been done in this direction had not this energetic man at the helm of the Delhi Government died after a short illness on 17th Jamadi-ul-Awal, 824 A. H. (15th May, 1421 A.D.)

His son and successor, Moizuddin Abul Fateh had, however, no hesitation in assuming the title of Sultan under the name of Mubark Shah. It is beyond the scope of this work to recite the history of the never-ending struggle which this first Syed king made during his rule of thirty one and a half years to retain and extend the territories left to him by his father, and the wars he carried on with the Sharqi king, Sultan Ibrahim, will receive due notice in their proper place.



The end of this king was of a tragic nature. While proceeding to the mosque to offer his Friday prayers, he received a deputation from the officers of his army, bearing trayloads of presents. The unsuspecting monarch was viewing these gifts with pleasure when he was suddenly attacked and cut down by the treacherous donors.

The courtiers, Sarwar-ul-Mulk and Meeru Shah, who were at the bottom of the plot, took no time to place on the throne another scion of the Syed dynasty, Mahmud Shah son of Fareed Khan and grandson of Khizr Khan.

The king-maker (Sarwar-ul-mulk), however, kept under his own control the important departments of the Treasury, Fil Khana and Quorkhana (armoury) and proceeded to make short work of the loyalists. Having liberally rewarded the participators of the plot, he commenced a wholesale murder of the adherents of the Syed dynasty, the horrors of which are depicted in detail by several Persian historians of that period. Retribution was, nevertheless, not long in coming. The prominent members of the Royal party, such as the Viceroys of Budahun, Sambhal and Gujerat rallied around the Delhi throne to rescue the helpless king. In the meantime Sarwar-ul-mulk precipitated matters by rushing to the palace with a band of armed desperadoes, but the King's body-guard was on the alert and hacked to pieces the rebel leader and his companions.

After reinforcements had arrived from the various Provinces, a somewhat severe hand to hand fight ensued between the loyalists and their opponents. According to some

historians, once more blood flowed like water through the streets of the Indian capital.

Sultan Mahmud again resumed regal powers with the full consent of the assembled Viceroys, but he proved himself unequal to the arduous task of administering a kingdom which was practically in a state of chaos. One of the most prominent Provincial governors, Malik Bahlol, (subsequently Sultan Bahlol Lodi), who succeeded his uncle Islam Khan in the satrapy of Sirhind, contrived to establish an independent kingdom which included Depalpur, and Lahore in the west and extended as far as Panipat in the east. The Royal forces drove Bahlol into the hills, but on a second occasion Hasan Khan who led the Delhi army suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Lodi. The latter promised allegiance to the Delhi king if he put Hasan Khan to death and appointed Hameed Khan as Wazir. Sultan Mahmud did not scruple to carry out the behest—an action which drove other Provincial Governors to declare their independence through mingled feelings of fury and insecurity.

At this stage the Jaunpur King, Sultan Ibrahim, conceived the idea of extending the limits of his dominions and proclaimed his sway over Etawah and other important centres. In fact the prestige of Delhi court had reached to such a low level that in 1440 A. D. Mahmud Khilji of Malwa had the audacity to bring his troops to Delhi with the intention of seizing the throne, and the king had to invite Malik Bahlol to save the situation.

A desperate fight took place beneath the walls of Delhi,

but just when Bahlol's army was on the point of victory the Sultan made overtures for peace. This indiscreet action naturally disgusted the Pathan warrior, who from that time began to cherish the idea of possessing himself of the crown of Delhi.

A few years later (1445 A. D.) the Sultan died, leaving a shrivelled kingdom for his son and successor Syed Alauddin, subsequently known as Alam Shah.

He struggled on for some years despite the taunts and insubordination of his nobility. In 851 A.H. (1447 A. D.) he found an excuse for leaving Delhi in an expedition against Bayana, but returned on hearing the news, afterwards proved false, that Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi was advancing on Delhi. On his way back to Delhi he passed through Budaun which place proved to be so attractive to him that he stayed there for a considerable period before resuming his march to his Capital.

The Imperial dominions were at this time so diminished in extent that according to some Persian writers it did not stretch further than a mile in one direction and nowhere attained a distance of over 12 miles. This circumstance gave rise to a quaint Indian saying

بادشاہت عالم تاجوریلے پالم

( The kingdom of Shah Alam goes as far as the house of Palam ). Matters at last came to such a pitch that at the instigation of some Provincial governors he imprisoned his Wazir, Hameed Khan, and after placing his own two brothers-in-law in charge of Delhi in 852 A. H. (1448 A. D.) he proceeded to Budaun in pursuit of peace

and freedom from care to which he vainly sought amidst the surroundings of a palace. His representatives, however, met an unlucky fate as one of them killed the other in a fraternal quarrel, and the survivor was condemned to death for the murder of his brother.

The subsequent account of Delhi is only a series of individual broils and murders and quick changes of office-bearers. Three years later, Hameed Khan, the ex-Wazir, effected his escape from Budaun where he was confined, and forthwith began to plot the formal deposition of the king and the appointment of a successor. He weighed the claims of three possible candidates, Ibrahim Sharqi, Mamud Khilji and Bahlol Lodi, and his choice fell on the last named. He would have probably selected the Sharqi Sultan if the latter had not been related to the Syed family.

Bahlol, on receiving the invitation, came to Delhi by hurried marches, and his first act was to remove from the scene the scheming Hameed, although he had offered him such a high advancement. He next ingratiated himself with the unsuspecting Emperor by informing him of the arrest of the rebel Wazir and at the same time conveying fervent protestations of his loyalty and obedience to Ala-uddin. The latter in response sent a message of abdication in favour of the astute Pathan, whom, we neglected to mention, he had already adopted as his son. This occurred in 855 A.H. (1451 A.D.). Since then, out of courtesy, he was allowed to remain the king of Budaun for the space of 28 years, till he quitted this life in 883 A.H. (1478 A.D.).

The Mausoleum of this king lies in Budaun in Mohalla Miran Sarai along the Shiekhpur road. It contains not only the tomb of Sultan Alauddin, but also that of his mother, Malika Makhdum Jahan. The Mausoleum is an interesting archæological monument with a massive dome. The blue tile work is unluckily decaying and the enclosure walls have already disappeared. A few writers seem to be under the error that this last of the Syed Kings lies buried in the Mausoleum of Hazrat Sultanji Sahib about a mile from Budaun on the other bank of the Sot river.

The theory has been set aside by the discovery of an important stone inscription which is fixed at the main entrance gate. (See Kanzuttarikh or the History of Budaun written by the writer's father K. B. Moulvi Raziuddin). His descendants are still living near his tomb in Mohalla Miran Sarai (quarter of Syeds) and village Alaipur, a few miles distant perpetuates his memory.

In his character and misfortune Alauddin strongly reminds us of Henry VI of England, 'the pious Henry', of the poet Gray.

At the time of his accession Bahlol had at his back a large population of the Lodi Pathans, spread over the whole of North-West India down to Sind. He must now have realized that the prediction of a Faqir related in the following anecdote had at last approached fulfilment. The story runs thus. While yet a boy he overheard a holy man Syed Anam, offering, in a fit of ecstasy the throne of Delhi for the modest amount of two thousand Tankas. The ambitious Pathan promptly deposited

sixteen hundred of those coins, declaring that he had no more. The bargain was closed forthwith. Without entering into the wearisome details of his various expeditions in different parts of India, it would suffice to note that he was directly responsible for the ultimate overthrow of the Sharqi kingdom.

One does not know whether to award praise or blame to Bahlol Lodi for the able but unscrupulous manner in which he carried out his schemes of aggrandisement.

He died in 894 A. H., ( 1488 A. D.), at Sakeet, while returning from Jaunpur after having subdued a rising of the party which still remained loyal to the cause of the kings of the East.



## **CHAPTER II.**

### **THE KINGS OF THE EAST.**





## PART I.

### 1. MALLIK SARWAR KHAWAJA JAHAN SULTAN-UL-SHARQ.

#### *Founder of the Sharqi dynasty.*

The foregoing account of the political conditions prevailing in India at the close of the Fifteenth century will enable our readers to realise the causes of the growth of the Sharqi kingdom. As previously noted, the founder Mallik Sarwar, better known as Khawaja Jahan, had already distinguished himself for ability, tact and the administrative instinct, required for those destined to play an important part in the history of nations. Under Mahmud Tughlaq he was Khwaja Sara, a post equivalent to Lord High Chamberlain, and subsequently succeeded in securing all the honours which a king could confer. He held the charge of the Elephant stables, and rose to be the Governor of Delhi and the Grand Wazir of Sultan Mahmud. His advancement, however, received a momentary check when he found himself supplanted by his court rival, Islam Khan. This set back was of a short duration, as he regained his position in the following year. In fact, he became a source of dread and envy to his master, who, in the memorable year of 1394 A. D., with a view to remove one who was obnoxious to the court, deputed him to Jaunpur with the title of Mallikul-sharq.

How he consolidated his power will appear from the following quotation from the *Tarikh-e-Mubark Shahi* :

“ In the month of Rajjab 796 A. H. ( 1394 A. D. ), he proceeded to Hindustan with twenty elephants and after chastising the rebels of Etawah, Kole, Kahura-kamil, and the environs of Kanauj, he went on to Jaunpur. By degrees he subjugated fiefs of Kanauj, Karra, Oudh, Shadi Dah ( Sandila ), Dalmau, Bahraich, Behar and Tirhut. He put down many of the rebels and restored the forts which they had destroyed. He succeeded in getting from the *raj* of Jaj Nagar and the king of Lakhnauti the elephants which they used to send as tribute to Delhi.

He also levied tribute from other minor States subject to Delhi, even before he finally threw off his allegiance to that kingdom. Ultimately he brought under his subjection more than half of the territories whose late ruler was now a fugitive from the wrath of Timur”.

The Tartar invasion of India, in 1398 A. D. and the complete disruption of the political and social fabric of the Empire, which followed, helped the enterprising Mallik Sarwar to realise his long cherished dream of an independent kingdom. Hence, simultaneously with the eventful entry of Timur into Delhi, we find Mallik Sarwar assuming the august title of Atabuk-i-Azam Sultan-ul-Sharq, and setting up a separate monarchy in Eastern India, with its capital at Jaunpur.

Who could imagine that a slave, given away by Salar Rajjab to Mohammed Shah as a menial servant, should rise to be the founder of a glorious dynasty, which completely overshadowed the mother kingdom, both as

regards its size and prestige, its patronage of learned and religious men and, last but not the least, its monumental achievements.

Who could foresee that a prosperous kingdom would rise over the ashes of the monarchy of the dreaded Tughlaqs in a most backward part of India and that it should hold to the whole of this Peninsula the torch of learning and of all that is good in arts and administration.

‘Mysterious are the ways of God, His wonders to perform’. It was not, however, fated that this Empire-builder should live long to enjoy the fruits of his skill and labour, since he died in ( 1399 A. D. ), leaving a successor in his adopted son, Syed Mubarak Shah Malik-ul-sharq.

The author of *Tabqat-e-Nasiri* depicts Mallik Sarwar as just, kind-hearted, and a generous king. Several thousands of men from all parts of his empire followed his corpse, weeping and crying, The date of his death according to Abjad is ‘ملک سرور ہمد’ . 802 A. H. or (1399 A. D.).

He left no trace of his reign in Jaunpur, except his unadorned and unpretentious grave, even the identity of which is now a matter for discussion.

## 2. *Sultan Shams Uddin Mubarak Shah Mullik-ul-sharq.*

The best proof of the sagacity and foresight of Mullik Sarwar is to be found in the choice of his successor, Mubarak. Possessed as he was of extra-ordinary abilities, and being the son of the sister of Mahmud's rebellious Governor of

Multan, Syed Khizr Khan, (who subsequently rose to be the ruler of Delhi), Mullik Sarwar found in him at once a great administrator and a natural enemy of the house of Tughlaq. Mubarak Shah may have been a water-bearer of Firoz Shah as some historians seem to think, but certainly not a slave in the modern sense of the word. It is a misnomer to apply the English word "Slave" to a class of men who were treated on almost equal terms with the younger members of the Royal family. The mistake has evidently arisen from the translation of the word 'Ghulam' which stands for both a slave and a handsome page. The history of these pages is to be traced back to the time of the Kai dynasty of the Gueber Emperors of Persia, and the remnant of this institution still exists in that country and Afghanistan. These Ghulams were really page-boys in the house-hold of old Mohammedan kings. They were well connected, highly educated and endowed with more than ordinary abilities. The majority of them rose to be the governors and even kings, the so-called Slave dynasty in India being a striking example. They compared favourably with the pages of medieval Europe. It is not quite certain whether Syed Mubarak himself actually belonged to this category, though it is clear that Mullik Sarwar had adopted him as his son. Mubarak was a sprightly boy, full of vivacity and quick intelligence, a trait of character which led his foster-father to call him Qaranfal (the clown.)

Hardly a year and few months after his accession to the throne, he found himself called upon to meet an attack of Mallik Iqbal Khan, who was ruling Delhi under cover of

Mahmud Tughlaq's name. The cause of the attack was professedly the audacity shown by the Jaunpur vassal, daring to strike and issue coin in his own name. By that time the stupor of exhaustion caused by the inroad of Timur was beginning to pass away, and Mallik Iqbal Khan found it a good opportunity to crush the power of the newly created rival kingdom. He, therefore, contrived to raise a fairly large army with the assistance of Shamas Khan and Mubarak Mewati in the summer of 1401 A. D. The Sharqi king accepted the challenge, and moved his army westward to Kanauj. Before, however, the two rival armies met at Kanauj, the rainy season had set in with full force and the swollen Ganges prevented the rival belligerents from coming to blows. The opposing forces lay on each bank of the river for two months without daring to cross it, till lack of provisions compelled them to retire to their respective capitals. The Sharqi Sultan had not stayed long in Jaunpur before he had to march again in 902 A. H. (1496 A. D.) to encounter the Delhi troops, led this time by Mahmud in person. He had hardly met the enemy when he fell into the hands of a grimmer foe, the Angel of Death, his ambition being thus abruptly terminated.

### 3. *Mallik Ikram Shamsuddin Ibrahim Shah Sharqi.*

Fortunately after the death of Syed Mubarak Shah in 1401 A. D., the kingdom found an even abler ruler in the person of his younger brother Ibrahim, who had accompanied Mubarak to Jaunpur and subsequently filled the post of Viceroy. He had married Malka Khatun, the highly educated daughter of Syed Khizr Khan.

During his prosperous reign covering the first forty years of the Fifteenth century he not only extended the Sharqi kingdom but placed it on a more stable basis and effected numerous improvements in every branch of the administration. In fact, if the Delhi throne had not chanced to fall into the hands of the two Lodi kings, Bahlol and Sikandar, who were imbued with the dashness and martial spirit of Timur, the history of Muslim India would have presented a different aspect. It would not be too much to say that in Ibrahim were combined, to a more or less extent, some of the distinguished characteristics of the eminent Moghal Emperors, who ruled over India in the two succeeding centuries. He had the warlike instinct of Babar, the administrative and literary talents of Akbar, the generosity of Jahangir, the building taste of Shahjahan and the religious fervor of Aurangzeb.

On ascending the throne his first act was to assume the command of the troops raised by his predecessor for the purpose of repelling the attack of Mahmud Tughlaq. The armies again encamped on the two opposite banks of the Ganges at Kanauj. Sultan Mahmud, though a puppet in the hands of Iqbal Khan, still vainly hoped to exert personal influence over a strong minded adversary like Ibrahim, specially when he was impatient to throw off the yoke of his bondage to Iqbal. Under the pretext of a hunting expedition he managed to visit the Sharqi camp, but to his astonishment received a cold reception at the hands of the youthful holder of the Jaunpur sceptre.

Disappointed with this unfavourable result, the Tughlaq

monarch had to return to his camp, where the troops under Iqbal Khan were too weak and demoralised to face the enemy on the opposite bank. The diplomacy of Iqbal Khan, however, atoned for his failure in arms and secured for Mahmud the governorship of Kanauj, largely owing to Ibrahim being desirous to return to his capital. Nevertheless, this cessation of hostilities was not destined to continue very long, for in November. 1403 A. D. Mahmud marched on Delhi, having heard the news of the death of Iqbal Khan in his encounter with Ikhtiar. The titular Tughlaq king left Kanauj in a condition of insecurity, and Ibrahim had to launch a second expedition to annex that debatable ground.

The incompetent and pleasure-loving Mahmud could not, therefore, remain long in Delhi and had to return to Kanauj in order to defend that stronghold. After a few slight skirmishes Mahmud, weak and irresolute as he was, again withdrew to Delhi amidst the jeers and derision of his own troops. Ibrahim in his turn after annexing Kanauj retraced his steps eastward. Soon after this, tales of anarchy and rebellion once more recalled him to Kanauj to find it in the hands of the enemy. He was able to recapture Kanauj after a protracted siege of four months, but the rains prolonged his stay there, and he employed this enforced leisure in strengthening the fortifications. In the meantime numerous courtiers quitted the standard of Sultan Mahmud to serve under Ibrahim and the close of the monsoon found the latter on the road to Delhi. On his way thither he reduced Sambhal and Baran (Bulandshahr), appointing Tatar



Khan and Marhaba Khan Governors of those respective places. He was about to cross the Jumna, when he received the unwelcome tidings of a threatened invasion of his own territory by Muzaffar Shah, ruler of Gujerat, elated as the latter was by his recent conquest of Hoshang Shah of Malwa. Ibrahim had therefore to beat a hasty retreat to Jaunpur. The result of the withdrawal was that the Tughlaq monarch regained confidence enough to endeavour to recover the places recently lost.

In April 1408 A. D. the Delhi forces rushed forward to Baran by forced marches, took the fort by assault, put to death Ibrahim's governor, and then turned their attention to Tatar Khan at Sambhal. Proceeding thither, Sultan Mahmud drove him across the Ganges to Kanauj and in his place installed Asad Khan as his own governor. He failed, nevertheless, to regain Kanauj, which remained a frontier station of the Sharqi Empire till long after the death of this last scion of the Tughlaq family in February 1412 A. D.

After this event and on the usurpation of the vacant throne by an Afghan adventurer, Daulat Khan Lodi, Ibrahim again set out for Delhi, but he could not carry out his intention as he had to march back to Jaunpur on hearing the news that his father-in-law, Syed Khizr Khan, had ousted the Afghan and taken the reins of the government in his own hands. This time the Sharqi hero enjoyed a long spell of uninterrupted peace. The fifteen years that followed were employed by him in strengthening the administration, gathering around his

throne distinguished men of wisdom, learning and piety, and beautifying his capital by the erection of magnificent buildings of ever-lasting fame.

It was not, however, destined that he should end his sovereignty without further plunging himself in the struggle for the acquisition of more territories. In the winter of 1427 A. D. again, we find him donning his armour at the instigation of Mahmud Khan of Gujerat. This time his goal was to conquer the fertile plains of Beyana. The news of the march of Ibrahim had to force to the scene the peace-loving Mubark Shah who had already succeeded his father Khizr Khan on the Delhi throne. It is interesting to note that the Sharqi king had sent a division to Etawah under his brother Mukhlis Khan, and this force was unfortunately repulsed on the way by the Imperial troops detached from Atrauli. Hastily bringing up the main body, Ibrahim captured the fort and the town of Etawah. The contending forces lay on the opposite bank of the Jumna a few miles apart and took shelter in strong trenches remaining in that position for twenty two days. At last, like a gallant general, Sultan Ibrahim laid his troops 'over the top', a phrase familiar to the students of the history of the Great War. A furious encounter at close quarters ensued, which lasted the whole day and only ceased when the night came on and separated the combatants. The next day peace was sealed by the marriage of the daughter of Mubarak Shah (Bibi Razi) to the crown prince of Jaunpur, subsequently known as Mahmud. The contending parties then returned to their

respective capitals. Thus ended one of the most sanguinary campaigns known to the India of those days.

After six years of peaceful domestic life, spent in encouraging arts and literature, visions of conquest again fired the brain of Ibrahim, and he resolved to accomplish his long cherished desire of adding Kalpi to his dominions. He started out for this purpose in the autumn of 1435 A. D., but suddenly found himself face to face with the army of Hoshung Ghorî, the semi-independent suzerain of Malwa, who had also entertained similar designs on Kalpi. The rival armies were hourly expecting to come to blows when Ibrahim found his presence imperatively demanded at Jaunpur on account of the threatened attack by Syed Mubark of Delhi. Hoshung Ghorî was thus left the sole master of the situation on the Kalpi side.

Syed Mubark had sufficient experience of the superior military genius of his cousin, and his scheme had been to seize the Sharqi kingdom through the back door, as it were, by taking advantage of Ibrahim's absence. Ibrahim's timely return, therefore, frustrated his plan.

The Kalpi expedition proved to be the last military feat of this most prominent of the Sharqi monarchs. His two rivals died shortly after, and finally in 1440 A. D., he also passed away from this world full of years and honours. Looking at his long and glorious reign, at his splendid achievements in the peaceful walks of life one cannot but reflect in unison with Carlyle:—

‘ Both kings and subjects run their race,  
 “To the same goal they hie ;  
 “Their glories past, their labours done,  
 “They all alike must die.”

The account of the life of this great king would be incomplete if we were to omit the mention of the improvements he made in the various branches of administration. The impetus he gave to education is still remembered with gratitude by all lovers of Arabic learning. As already seen his efforts in this direction were greatly facilitated by the complete disruption of social conditions in and outside Delhi owing to the invasion of Timur the Lame. Consequently the capital of this patron of learning became the rendezvous of the leading statesmen, sages, and warriors not only of India itself but of Iran, and Turania and acquired from the historian Farishta, amongst others, the title of the Shiraz of India. Ulmas of the reputation and standing of Kazi Sayaid Abdul Muqtadir, Maulana Khajri (whose Hujra still exists in Jaunpur) and Malik-ul-ulma Shaikh Shahab-ud-din, rallied round his Jaunpur throne. We will describe in the succeeding pages the lives of some of these personages, and the schools which they founded. Hashia Kafia, Irshadi Nahwi, Badi-ul-Bayan, Fatawa Ibrahim Shahi and Bahrul-Maw-waj may be mentioned as specimens of the literature of this golden age. Ibrahim did equal service to theology by calling to his capital sages like Khwaja Sadar Jahan Ajmal, Hazrat Usman Shirazi, Hazrat Isa and his son Sheikh Mohammad Bin Isa. For the convenience of the last named he began to build the

Jame-ul-sharq, though he died before its completion. Not only this, but he got two of his brothers Khalis and Mukhlis, to build the highly ornamented Dareeba mosque for the sake of Hazrat Usman Shirazi, and himself built the Jhanjhri mosque for the prayers of Khwaja Sadar Jahan Ajmal. He also invited to his court Khwaja Badeeuddin Madar and Makhdum Jahangir Ashraf, the Hujra of the former still existing near the present town-hall. His religious views, broad as they were, led him to alleviate human sufferings at all costs and to inflict a speedy punishment on the oppressor of the poor and innocent. It was this trait in his character which impelled him to attack the Dal Bhar chief of Dalmau, (Rae Bareilly), when the latter tried to forcibly marry the daughter of Baba Haji, a poor Syed. The king marched with a large army and having arrived on the day of the holy festival he killed Kadoran, the brother of Dal, who had opposed him at village Sodamapur, ~~is~~ fourteen miles distant from the town of Dalmau and then conquered the whole Bhar army. The tomb of the same Dal is still standing about two miles from his capital and the Ahirs offer milk on it in the month of Sawan. A masonry well and a garden on the bank of the river erected by the Sultan in Dalmau still remind us of the incident, and in the same garden there is a tomb of Mohammad Shah his grandson. He has also left at Dalmau a memento, in the shape of a picturesque fort overhanging the Ganges, and commanding the approach by water to the town.

He effected several improvements in administration

having organised, the various departments of the Stables, Armoury, Lighting, Camel corps and such like. Besides the usual posts of ministers, Assistant ministers, Kazis, Muftis, and Kotwals he seems to have created several other posts for the control of various minor departments, such as a Mutawalli for controlling Muafi, Muhtasib or religious censor, the ~~the~~ Khateeb, or reader of the Khutba, Nasbi or teacher of the court rules, Ghariali or time keeper, the ~~Gk~~ Muldagh or the blander of royal stud, and a few others such as Mullas, Astronomers, and Mace-bearers. Several of the incumbents were given rent-free grants in the neighbouring villages, which continue to be still held by their descendants.

Not less marked was the career of this distinguished king in the matter of architecture. The grand Atala Masjid of wide fame, the Char Ungli or the Dareeba mosque, the Jhanjhri mosque and the beautiful octagonal tower of the Fort mosque with its long Tughra inscription overlooking the city of Jaunpur, speak of the building taste of this king.

#### 4. *Sultan Mahmud.*

After the death of Sultan Ibrahim his eldest son Sultan Mahmud ascended the Sharqi throne under the title of Malikush Sharq Atabak Azam. As we have already seen, his queen the famous Bibi Raji, about whom we will hear so much later on, was the daughter of Syed Mohammad Shah, the Delhi king. He ruled for two decades, and followed the example of his father, not only in extending

his kingdom but in making it prosperous. No sooner than he ascended the throne he received the harrowing news that Nasir Khan, (son of Qadir Khan), the vassal of Kalpi, was oppressing his Muslim subjects, had devastated Shahpur town, (which was more populous than even Kalpi; itself) and after expelling the residents, had ravaged the women. He, therefore, sent a letter to Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, to whose kingdom Kalpi then belonged and requested him in pathetic language to prevent further mischief by either punishing his vassal or permitting the writer to do so. The Malwa king expressed his inability to march in the direction of Kalpi as his troops were engaged in Mewar and Kota, but gave full permission to the Sharqi King to chastise Nasir Khan for his brutality. Mahmud was so pleased with this favourable reply that he sent a present of nineteen tuskers to his Malwa ally as a token of his gratitude, and moved his troops to attack Kalpi. On the other hand Nasir Khan succeeded in quickly regaining the favour of his master by assuring him that the charges against him were unfounded and that the real object of the Sharqi king was to annex Kalpi to Jaunpur. The Khilji King of Malwa lost no time in sending one of his courtiers, Ali Khan, as an envoy to intercede at the court of Mahmud on behalf of Nasir Khan. The Sharqi king naturally demanded war indemnity both from the vassal and his master, which was refused. Finally the armies of both the kings met at Orcha, but peace was signed owing to the intervention of the spiritual instructor of the Malwa King, Jamal-ud-din, who enjoyed the high

title of Shaikh-ul-Islam and whose tomb is still to be seen in Shadiabad. According to this peace Kalpi, Ailchar and the surrounding country were to be restored to Nasir Khan after the period of four months. On his return to Jaunpur the Sharqi King had again to proceed to Chunar to subdue a rebellion of the local zamindars. Thence he proceeded to Orissa, conquered it and returned triumphantly to Jaunpur, bringing with him valuable plunder. The Orissa expedition proved to be one of the most remarkable achievements, of this king, inasmuch as it helped in not only swelling the coffers of the State, but in increasing the prestige of the Sharqi kingdom. After six years' residence at Jaunpur, employed in beautifying his capital and improving his administration, he made an attempt in 1452 A. D. to gratify his hereditary ambition to capture Delhi. He was greatly encouraged to put his plans into practice by Darya Khan Afghan, a rebel courtier of the then Delhi king Bahlol Lodi. We have already related how the Syed Dynasty met its fate at the hands of Bahlol Lodi, and the accession of the latter to power. Bahlol was at this time on a marauding expedition in the Punjab, having left Bayazeed in sole charge of the capital. A fitting opportunity was thus offered to Sultan Mahmud to effect his aggressive plan. So he proceeded with lightening speed westward, and actually laid siege to Delhi before Bahlol was aware of his advent. The latter, in his own turn, lost no time in returning to Delhi with a large body of troops, and encountered the Sharqi forces. At this juncture the treacherous Darya Khan sought refuge in a precipitate flight, and the main body under his



command followed his cowardly example. The Jaunpur king, becoming disheartened, ordered a general retreat. This movement was however delayed so long that a fierce battle occurred between the forces of Bahlol and a strong division of Mahmud's army under Fateh Khan of Herat. The unlucky Fateh Khan fell into the hands of the enemy, and his war-elephant was wounded in the battle by Qutab Khan, cousin of Bahlol. Mahmud's troops thus sustained a crushing defeat with a loss of seven war-elephants and much baggage. A period of four years rest ensued, on the expiration of which Sultan Mahmud had to sally forth to repel an attack of Bahlol Lodi in the winter of 1455-56, A. D. After a few preliminary encounters near Etawa, the contending kings came to terms and went back to their respective capitals, the limits of the two kingdoms having been fixed as in the time of Sultan Syed Mubarak of Delhi. It was also arranged that the seven elephants, taken from Fateh Khan, were to be sent back to Jaunpur and Juna Khan, the rebel Governor of Shamsabad, who instigated the present quarrel, was to be banished from the kingdom of Jaunpur, while Shamsabad was to be restored to Delhi in the following autumn. Impatience, however, compelled [ Bahlol to surprise and occupy Shamsabad even before the time appointed, and in a fit of rage Sultan Mahmud hurried towards Shamsabad with a strong army at his back. While waiting to come to close quarters with the Delhi forces early in the following morning, he met a night attack by Qutab Khan, the Commander of Bahlol's army. He succeeded not only in repulsing the attack, but

in capturing Qutab Khan himself. It was not however fated that he should live to reap the fruits of his gallantry, for he suddenly fell ill that very night and died the next morning, probably of heart failure, early in 862 A.H. (1460 A.D.).

The "Tabqat-i-Nasiri" describes Mahmud as a good natured, just, and valiant king. Like his father, he was fond of the society of wise and learned men, who thronged to his court from all parts of India

He left behind him memories in the shape of beautiful buildings, the credit of which really belongs to his Queen, Razi Bibi. These handsome structures were put up at the north end of Jaunpur city and went by the name of Namazgah. All the buildings were made either from red sand-stone or from other materials painted with vermillion. The centre was occupied by a lovely mosque, still in existence, and known as the Lal Darwaza Masjid, reminding us of the founder by the female apartments on either side of the pulpit. The magnificent tile work on the main arch is second to none we have seen elsewhere in India, for fineness of design and intensity of colouring. Round the mosque and other principal buildings were a series of erections, for educational purposes, accomodating students and their teachers, constituting as it were an academy. The red coloured quarter also contained, besides many other palatial buildings, a unique mansion known as Badee Manzil, for the residence of the Queen herself. It is with feelings of mingled regret and anger that one views the destruction of this whole group of marvellous

palaces at the unrelenting hands of the infuriated Lodi Pathan, Sikandar. Except a mosque standing in solitary grandeur amidst a series of miserable ruins, nothing remains but a shapeless mound of stones and broken clods

بڑی ہے خاک و عمارت جو جگہ نہی نور کس کی  
خدا ہی جانے اسے کہا گئی نظر کس کی

"The Narcissus flower in the dust lies down-trod,  
"Whence glanced forth the evil is known unto God."

#### 5. *Mohammad Shah.*

On the death of Mahmud his eldest son Bhekan Khan succeeded him under the title of Sultan Mohammad. He was in the camp at Shamshabad with his father when the battle, we have just described, took place. His three other brothers were eager to contest succession to the throne and, despite his absence from Jaunpur, he secured the coveted prize mainly through the influence of the Queen Dowager, Razi Bibi. He lost no time in renewing the treaty previously made by his father with Bahlol and hastened back to Jaunpur, bringing in his train Kutub Khan and other captives. Unfortunately when once in power he evinced great irritability of temper and cruelty of disposition, so much so that his own mother and courtiers became sick of him and were eager for his speedy departure from Jaunpur. Luckily this desire was soon fulfilled, as the Sharqi sultan had to run in the direction of Delhi in order to intercept an attack of Bahlol Lodi for the purpose of rescuing his brother-in-law, Kutub Khan.

The story goes that on his return to Delhi, he found, to his amazement, the doors of his Harem closed against him, and he encountered the stinging taunts of his favourite wife for having abandoned her brother in the hands of the enemy. The enraged Queen is alleged to have exclaimed "Let me don thy armour while thou wearest my bangles and I shall go forth to rescue my brother". Cut to the quick by the sarcasm of his better-half, Bahlol retraced his steps to Shamsabad, but he found that the Sharqi King had been still speedier in his movements, and had already appointed Juna Khan a governor of that place by ousting the Lodi governor Rai Karan. In this expedition Mohammad was accompanied by his two brothers, Jalal and Hussain. It appears that the newly installed king was anxious to guard any intrigue on the part of his brothers, and therefore did not wish them to stay behind at the capital. Prince Hasan who kept away had to pay the penalty for his life for disobeying the royal command. Fareshta says that Mohammad Shah, suspecting treachery sent secret order to the Kotwal to put both him and Kutub Khan to death. That official was unable to execute the order owing to the extreme caution exercised by the Dowager Queen on behalf of the intended victim. Finding his obstacle in his path, Sultan Mohammad induced Raji Bibi to come over and join him in his camp, and the coast being thus rendered clear he carried out his contemplated crime of fratricide. The news of this tragely alarmed the remaining two brothers. Hussain Shah on pretext of acting against Bahlol obtained permission to depart from the camp with a contingent of troops

for opposing the alleged invader. The other brother Jalal was less fortunate, for while endeavoring to join Hussain, he fell into the hands of Bahlol. Mohammad Shah, frightened by the clever device of his brothers to frustrate his scheme against their person, retreated towards his capital, but on reaching Kanauj, he found Hussain in possession of that stronghold, and prepared to bid defiance. The Dowager Queen Raji Bibi, who had joined Hussain by this time, won over the Sharqi troops to the side of the latter, in order to punish Sultan Mohammad for the hideous murder of his innocent brother. Deserted by his officers and men, the luckless king fled with a handful of horsemen, and took shelter in a garden of the Dalmau Fort. His great personal courage might yet have saved him, had not the queen mother secretly managed the steel tips of his arrows to be removed. In spite of the plot Mohammad Shah presented a bold front but, got slain by an arrow. Thus ended the five months eventful reign of a plucky but unscrupulous wearer of the Jaunpur crown, whose tomb is still to be seen in, what is known, as the Sharqi Mausoleum in Dalmau.

#### 5. *Hussain Shah.*

The last of the Sharqi Kings, Hussain Shah, began his reign in 1458 A D under very favourable circumstances. The cruelty and rashness of his deceased brother enabled him to win the affection of the nobles and the loyalty of his troops. He agreed to exchange Qutub Khan with his brother Jalal, and thus closed a peace-treaty with Bahlol for a period of 4 years.

As a direct result of this truce, and probably owing to Bahlol's intercession, Sultan Hussain espoused Bibi Khanza, daughter of Allauddin, the ex-Syed King, then residing in peace'ul seclusion at Badann. We make special mention of this lady, as we subsequently find her playing an important part in guiding the actions of her Consort, and in finally making him lose the Sharqi kingdom.

The somewhat long truce of 1 year afforded Hussain an opportunity for conducting a strong expedition against Orissa, from which he returned laden with valuable plunder, and an addition to his military fame. During his march to Orissa, the Sultan conquered Tirhut and then his army swept into Orissa like an overwhelming flood. The Raja of that country, surprised by this sudden and terrible invasion, had no option but to pay homage to the victor, in the form of a large sum of money, valuable jewelry and ornaments, as well as many horses and elephants. Sultan Hussain thus returned to Jaunpur full of honours and glory to stay there for strengthening the capital and the outposts of his kingdom. He almost rebuilt the fortifications of Chunar in 871 A. H. (1469 A. D.) and in the same year despatched an expedition to Gwalior in order to levy tribute from the Rai of that State. Prompted by his ambitious queen, he began to conceive the idea of attacking Delhi, and proceeded thither with a huge force, such as had never before followed the Sharqi standard. It appears that this queen could never forget that her father Sultan Alauddin had resigned his throne in favour of an alien, and that too without

struggle. Bahlol invoked the help of Mahmud Khilji in this dilemma, and promised to surrender the fortress of Beyana in return for assistance against Hussain Shah. While these negotiations were in progress, Hussain Shah with remarkable celerity occupied the suburbs of Delhi. Bahlol had to send a very submissive message to his Sharqi adversary, expressing his willingness to become a vassal of the Jaunpur kingdom and to act as his governor in Delhi, if only he was permitted to retain jurisdiction over that city and the surrounding country to a distance of eighteen miles. Puffed up as he was with pride and vanity, Hussain would not accede to this modest request. Skirmishes took place between the contending armies, Bahlol being encamped on the bank of the Jamuna and striving to check any further advance on the part of his rival.

After having crossed the Jumna by a ford unknown to the enemy, he fell on the camp of Sultan Hussain at a very opportune moment, when most of the troops were out-for-aging, and the remainder quite off their guard. The rout of the Jaunpur forces was complete, Hussain Shah resorting to immediate flight, while the number of prisoners taken was large, among them being the Malika Shan (Bibi Khonza), the originator of the expedition. The Lodi victor, from a sense of gratitude towards Allauddin, his former master, sent back to Jaunpur all the captive ladies, headed by the Queen, not only without molestation but laden with rich gifts. This exhibition of kindness did not, however, appease the old standing grudge and restless

ambition of Bibi Khonza, who again incited her husband to embark on a second attempt to capture Delhi. Unable to resist the arguments and entreaties of his favourite wife, Hussain Shah proceeded up the Doab for the second time. Again, we find Bahlol sending another despatch in as flattering a tone as the last, seeking forgiveness in the present, and vowing to act as an useful ally in the future. The ill-starred Hussain Shah again spurned at these amicable suggestions and, as usual, he had to sustain a heavy defeat, and to withdraw in confusion to Jaunpur. This futile campaign must have occurred in A.D. 1474, and, in spite of the unfortunate issue, still left the Sharqi kingdom a formidable rival to Delhi. For the next few years Hussain Shah remained inactive, till, on the invitation of Ahmad Khan, Governor of Beyana who had rebelled against Bahlol, and begged help from Hussain, he again proceeded westward with a large force composed chiefly of cavalry and elephants. On this occasion peace was patched up through the intervention of Khan Jahan, one of the most prominent courtiers of Delhi, only to be broken shortly afterwards. Intervals of peace and war alternately followed, though without any consequences demanding record. The same year witnessed the death of the Queen-mother, Bibi Raji, at Etawah which place, probably for strategical reasons, had been chosen by Hussain Shah for Army Head quarters. Gwalior, Beyana, and Chandawar sent their respective Governors to condole with Hussain Shah on his bereavement, a circumstance clearly indicating these territories to have been counted at that time as a portion of the Jaunpur



kingdom. News of another death, that of Emperor Alauddin, caused Hussain Shah to proceed to Badaun.

Bibi Khonza accompanied him in this journey, in order to mourn with her brothers at the loss of their parent. Strangely enough, Hussain Shah showed his grief for the sad occurrence in a somewhat novel fashion, as on reaching Badaun, he forthwith proceeded to annex that territory to the Jaunpur kingdom, thus robbing Syed Abbas and Syed Hyder, sons of Ala-uddin, of the scanty pittance left them by their father. Going further westward to Sambhal, he assumed charge of that region after imprisoning Mubarak Khan, the Governor deputed by the Tughlaq sovereign. Then changing the direction of his march, he for the third time led a tolerably strong force towards Delhi. Only the river Jumna flowed between the Sharqi and the Lodi kings when the latter, perceiving himself to be inferior in strength, despatched Kutub Khan to interview Hussain Shah and to suggest terms of peace. The envoy won the sympathy of Hussain Shah and the nobles, assembled in open Durbar, by relating the great kindness he had met with from Bibi Raji, during his captivity in Jaunpur. The result was that Hussain Shah set forth on his way back to Jaunpur but Bahlol gave a proof of his treachery by plundering commissariat and camp equipage, seizing a large sum of the Sharqi treasure and the officers on duty with the Sharqi rear guard. Not content with the spoil of his perfidy, Bahlol pursued Hussain, who turned about near Rapri and a battle would have ensued had not the Afghan chosen to again propose a truce which was accepted. Thus

the Jaunpur king journeyed on to his capital. And again, in the succeeding year, Sultan Hussain, forgetting the conditions of the peace he had lately signed, marched towards Delhi with a fine army, inspired by twofold desires of avenging his late discomfiture and also of repeating his endeavours to secure the throne of that kingdom. Bahlol, having resolved to terminate these continual alarms and excursions, summoned soldiers from every part of his jurisdiction in order to make the ensuing contest a decisive one. Hussain, unaware of the scheme of his adversary, proceeded in a happy go-lucky fashion and had halted at the village of Sonahran where the hostile army unexpectedly arrived. The unlucky Sharqi Sultan met with a serious reverse and hastily retreated to Gwalior, travelling *via* Rapri. This time his losses in men and money were enormous, and his disaster directly led to the overthrow of the Sharqi monarchy.

The Rai of Gwalior received the royal fugitive kindly, and furnished him with money and elephants to recoup his loss. The Rai even rode in his train to Kalpi where Hussain decided to make a final stand. Meanwhile Ibrahim, brother of Hussain Shah, stoutly defended Etawah against Bahlol, backed up by Babat Khan, surnamed the "Wolf slayer", until finding their position untenable they took to their heels in the direction of Jaunpur. Bahlol pursued his victory further and overtook Hussain Shah at Kalpi. Once more the Jumna intervened between the rival hosts but the Kalpi Governor, Rai Tilak Chand, conducted the Pathan king over the river by a ford. A desperate fight took place in village Rangoon and the ever-losing Sharqi monarch received another

and this time an irreparable blow. He had to take refuge in the Riwan fort, and Bahlol made speedy use of his victory by overrunning a large part of the Jaunpur territories. This accomplished, the Pathan conqueror returned to Kalpi, traversing Dhaulpur and Gwalior. He then made for Jaunpur itself and replaced the Sharqi Governor by his own son, Barbak Shah. The ex-Sharqi Sultan, as we may be permitted to call him now, betook himself to Bihar after bidding farewell not only to his ambition of occupying the Delhi throne but also to his own Jaunpur dominions. The Lodi King, who was ever on the move, started from Etawa and punished a few disaffected Rajput chiefs, but his restless career was now drawing to a close, for on reaching Sakeet he fell ill and breathed his last in 1451 A D. History will never forgive him for having put an end to a kingdom which contributed such a large share to the prosperity and welfare of a great part of India and that too in a somewhat unscrupulous manner. The Kingdom, like many others, has gone for ever, but it has left indelible prints on the history of Medieval India. One can not read its annals without feeling regret at the disappearance, from the Indian stage, of a series of rulers kind and humane in their dealings with their subjects, and more enlightened in their ideas of Government than their contemporaries. To foster Arts and Science, to afford shelter and protection to both saints and scholars, to establish peace and order within their dominion, to erect monuments of surpassing architectural beauty, are some of the many achievements which win our admiration for them and keep their memory still fresh in our mind.

“ Life is real, life is earnest,”

“ And the grave is not its goal,”

“ Dust thou art. to dust returnest,”.

“ Was not spoken of the soul.”

We have now to follow the fortune of the unlucky Hussain in his hopeless struggle against ~~the~~ adverse fate. As we have already seen, Sikandar, the eldest son of Bahlol, succeeded his father to the Delhi throne in A.H. 897 (A. D. 1491), directly after his return from the Beyana expedition. The new king, while one afternoon enjoying a game of polo, (Chaugan) received tidings that the Rajput Zamindars of Jaunpur, under the leadership of one Joga had broken out in revolt and that their gathering numbered about one hundred thousand men. Information also came to hand that not only Sher Khan, brother of the Jaunpur Governor (Mubarak Khan) was murdered by the rebels, but that the latter himself, while crossing the Ganges, was captured by Rai Sahdeo of Patna. Moreover, Barbak Shah, to whose charge the Jaunpur State had been entrusted, was stated to have fled to Bahraich. Throwing aside his polo stick, Sikandar announced his intention of setting forth for Jaunpur then and there, and hastened to the house of Khan Jahan Khan Lodi to tell him of his immediate departure for the scene of disturbance. The story goes that when the noblemen requested the king to partake of some refreshment before commencing his journey, he declined the hospitable offer, saying, “I will have my meal at the end of the first march from Delhi”. He arrived at Jaunpur in the space of ten days, a rapid performance

only made possible by the troops enduring forced marches. *En-route* he picked up Barbak at Dalmau in the present Rae Bareilly district. The news of Sikandar's rapid approach so alarmed Rae Sahdeo that he deemed it prudent to release Mubarak Khan, and send him in safe escort to the Lodi King.

Joga meanwhile departed with the utmost precipitation leaving, as it is said, his food half cooked and his clothes half wet, and sought refuge with Hussain Shah in the fortress of Jamund in Behar. Sikandar followed him up and pitched his camp at a short distance from the fort. He sent a message to Hussain, couched in very courteous terms, begging him either to himself punish Joga or to expel the latter from the fort.

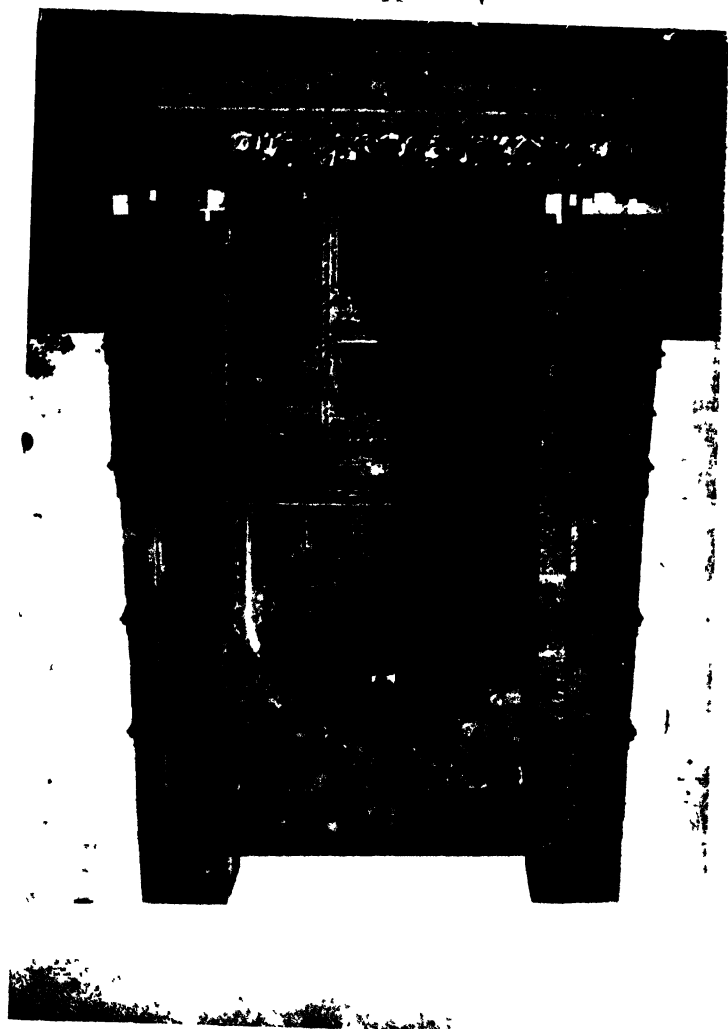
Hussain rejected the proposal saying that Joga was as much a servant of his as the father of Sikandar had been, further adding that he would punish Sikandar did he persist in his insolent demand. The author of *Tarikh Daudi* writes that Sikandar Lodi told Miran Syed Khan, Hussain's envoy, that as a descendant of the Prophet, it was his duty to warn his master against the folly of not giving up Joga. The Lodi went on to predict the defeat of Hussain, and that Miran Syed Khan would be brought as a captive to the place where he then stood in honour and at liberty. The envoy could only answer that his business was to carry out orders, not to exchange arguments. Next morning a fight took place in the open, which soon ended in the defeat of Hussain and his flight to Behar, as the chief city of the province was then named. Thus the prophecy of the Lodi King came to pass and

Miran Syed Khan actually stood hand-cuffed before the Victor who in the true cavalier fashion treated his fallen foe with magnanimity and extreme kindness. Coming back to Jaunpur, Sikandar reinstated Barbak Shah in power and in a fit of vicious indignation busied himself in obliterating all the traces of the Sharqi rule. To this unfortunate display of temper may be attributed the loss of so many specimens of the builder's art, so many lovely mausoleums and handsome structures within the fort of Firoz and the group of red stone buildings erected by Razi Bibi. He was about to deal in like manner with the mosques, but before the work of demolition in respect to the Jhanjhri, Khalis Mukhlis and Jami-us-sharq could be completed the Ulemas saved the situation by issuing a Fatwa of Kufr against Sikandar. The dilapidated East gate of the Jama-us-sharq and the heaps of stones in the Jhanjhri and Khalis-mukhlis mosques as well as the mounds surrounding the Lal Darwaza mosque still continue to remind us of the barbarity of this Afghan king.

Sikandar then proceeded to Oudh on a shooting trip and there got news of trouble again having broken out at Jaunpur where Barbak Shah proved unable to maintain peace and order. He sent his general, Kala-Pahar (Black mountain) as he was popularly known, along with Azam Humayun Sherwan and Khan Khanan Lohani, to suppress the rebellion and also issued instructions to Mobarak Khan to advance from Karra and put Barbak Shah under arrest. After finishing his shooting excursion he personally returned to Jaunpur, and punished the adherents of the late Sharqi king. This being done, the Lodi King

retraced his steps to Delhi. Again, troubles arose in Jaunpur, as his troops in that town began to desert on account of famine, and an undue delay in connection with the disbursement of their pay. Hearing this news, Hussain hoped that he might succeed in recovering his lost kingdom and set forth from Bihar with a large following. He encountered Sikandar and his army at a place about thirty miles from Benares, but in his usual unlucky manner he met with a crushing defeat. We may note that since the soldiers of the Jaunpur garrison were emancipated Hussain Shah stood a good chance of regaining his kingdom, had not the Kanauj Raja, Salbahan, come to the rescue of the Lodi King with a well disciplined and strong contingent of troops. Sikandar now resolved to press home his victory and if possible to capture Hussain Shah

At the head of a body of cavalry he pursued the royal fugitive as far as Patna, but when the latter retired further into the interior of the Behar province, he withdrew to Jaunpur. There he collected a formidable army and resumed the chase after the Sharqi king. On receiving the news, Sultan Husain left Malik Khandu in charge of the Behar fortress, and with a few personal attendants took shelter in the stronghold of Khargaon, having thus retired finally from the political scene. During this ensuing period of the retirement of the ex-Sharqi king, Allauddin, the Sultan of Bengal, treated him with much honour down to the time of his death, which occurred in 901 A. H. ( A. D. 1495 ) at the then capital of Bengal.







The son of Hussian Shah, Prince Jalal, brought the corpse of his sire for internment in the Khanqah of Hazrat Sheikh Mohammad Isa bin Taj, adjoining the North gate of Juma Masjid. Thus closes our account of the lives of Jaurpur Kings with the death of one of the most energetic and ambitious but highly unlucky Muslim monarch of India; the events of whose life afford serious lessons to the students of political history. His passionate love for his home, which was so prominently exhibited by his request at his death-bed for the burial of his corpse in Jaunpur, would lead his worst critic to forgive him for many of his rash struggles to regain his capital.

## PART II.

### *Sharqi architecture and coinage*

Our book will be incomplete without making mention of the magnificent mosques, the imposing mausoleums and other triumphs of architectural skill, bequeathed to Jaunpur in particular and India in general by some of the kings of the East. Without claiming to be an authority on matters of archæology, we propose to trace the origin of what is called the Jaunpur style of architecture. In doing so we shall somewhat differ from the views of the author of the 'Sharqi Architecture', Doctor Fuhrer.

All the Sharqi mosques exhibit the same common features, namely, the main room of the mosque situated on the west side of the enclosures, surmounted by a lofty dome and flanked on either side by two long open rooms, each of which being adorned by a much smaller dome. Double-storied cloisters run on the remaining three sides of the enclosures, their lines being broken by three massive gateways, the one on the east being the main entrance to the mosque. Approaching the main gate, one will observe a masonry tank holding the water for necessary ablutions, ( Wazu ).

The main room containing the pulpit has a lofty arch crowned by an imposing and richly decorated facade, sloping inwards and almost concealing the dome.

Fergusson, the well-known writer on Indian architecture, thinks that the Jaunpur buildings suggest reminiscences of Egyptian in design. With this exception, both he and Dr. Fuhrer considered the Jaunpur work to be almost, if not quite original, finding few imitations in other parts of India. This is one of the points where we are constrained to join issue with expert opinion.

These mosques, one and all, were constructed from the materials of old Hindu temples and portions of which temples were probably embodied in the new structures. The workmen employed were also chiefly Hindus as admitted by Dr Fuhrer himself. These two facts have combined to impart, sub-consciously perhaps, the Hindu tone to the Sharqi architecture. Besides, the Muslim engineer who planned these mosques must have found inspiration from the style at Delhi and Badaun. The lovely blue tile work, so much in evidence in all the structures, is closely allied to the similar decorations introduced from the Central Asia by the Tughlaq monarchs. It must have served to remind Ghyasuddin and his successor of the palaces in distant Samarkand and Bokhara, where "Alph, the silent river," ran and whence the Central Asian tribes sallied forth to conquer their weaker neighbours in the east and the south. The domes and arches are clearly a prototype of the Sarcenic style introduced by much earlier Muslim kings, like Shamsuddin Altamash and others. As already noted, the special feature of the work of the Jaunpur architecture is the lofty propylon or main gateway, hiding to a great extent the dome which stands immediately in

its rear. This arrangement, peculiar as it is, has puzzled a good many visitors to the Sharqi mosques. Nor do we find the explanation put forward by Dr. Fuhrer to be a satisfactory solution of the problem. That learned Austrian considered that the dome was the first thought in the mind of the architect ; but finding himself " somewhat cramped in his choice of the height of the building, no great ingenuity would be wanted to make him think of proportionally elevating the central portion of his facade, turning his minarets, if he had planned any, into abutments and filling the intervening arch with a high screen which should hide the dome. This seems the true theory for the idea of dome must surely have come first."

The theory is certainly ingenious, but untenable on more grounds than one. If through an error of judgment the dome was found defective in height in the case of one mosque, such mistake would hardly have been repeated in buildings erected subsequently not only in Jaunpur but in other places, Etawa for example, where the Juma Masjid is an exact replica of the Jaunpur style. Models of all that was beautiful in domes must have been familiar to the Sharqi kings, since at Badaun, situated in their dominions, stood the mosque of Sulan Altamash with its imposing dome swelling with solemn grandeur, and its crown of gold ablaze in the dazzling rays of an Indian Sun. The reason why this facade was made in front of the dome with such unusual width and height is not far to seek. The sculptor, not finding space elsewhere for his purpose, took advantage of the

expense from minaret to minaret and from top of the gateway to the arch, on which to display his workmanship. This fact also accounts for the presence of abutments and the unusual breadth of the propylon. It is thus clear that the dome and the propylon were conceived simultaneously and it is immaterial which of them was erected first. The fantastic designs of foliage, flowers and plants, the delicate yet vigorous manner in which the workman handled his rather primitive tools and the bewildering masses of tracery are of themselves sufficient to make the gateways of these mosques real gems in the Muslim architecture in India. To add to the effect of the carved stone work, the blue-tiling, lovely in its intense azure colouring, must not be forgotten. As we have remarked, tiles of this particular hue are undoubtedly an importation from Central Asia and can be found in most of the mausoleums of the Tughlaq and subsequent reigns. For a detailed account of the architecture of individual mosques we must refer the inquisitive reader to Dr. Fuhrer's *Sharqi architecture* and our own more recent little work entitled "*The Sharqi Monuments*". The mausoleums of the Sharqi reign, such as that of Hazrat Sulaiman Shah and others, also present the same uniform features with four door-ways leading to the tomb in the centre, and crowned by a semi-circular dome with four minarets at each corner. The blue tile work along the walls and over the door-ways is simply exquisite. We must not, however, quit the subject of the monuments of the Sharqi king without alluding to the vexed question of their last resting place. The commonly known mausoleum of theirs lies in front of the north gate of the Jama-i-us-sharq,

inside the khangah of the famous saint Sheikh Muhammad Isa bin Taj. On the occasion of the visit of Lord Curzon to Jaunpur in 1905, the Viceroy was shown certain tombs purporting to be those of the six Sharqi monarchs and the renowned Queen Bibi Raji. Inscriptions in English appear to have been put up just previous to the visit of the Viceroy by the authorities concerned to support the assertion. On the other hand in Mohalla Manik Chouk in close proximity both to the fort and Atala there is a cemetery which goes by the name of the 'Graves of the seven kings'. It bears at its entrance a legend in English that it contains the tombs of certain Sharqi Sultans. This brings about a strange anomaly, as the same individual could hardly have been interned in two different places. Moreover, of the six Sultans in question, the first two of them Khwaja-i-jahan and Mubarak Shah died before the foundations of the Khangah or the Jama-us-sharq were laid. Their burial at a place, two miles from their residence in the fort, and which did not possess any special attraction, appears to us highly improbable. Moreover, another of the kings, Sultan Muhammad, decidedly found his last grave in a garden near Dalmau (Rae Bareilly District), as commemorated by a stone erected at that spot. His predecessor, Sultan Mahmud, died in his camp on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Shamshabad, when engaged in a war with Bahlol Lodi. If his corpse had been brought to Jaunpur for burial the fact would have found mention in the histories of that period, as happened in the case of Sultan Husain. Again, it is interesting to learn, that Queen Raji Bibi died at Etawah, which was the military headquarter of the Sharqi

kings at that time. We are curious to know on what authority was a particular grave assigned to a particular king, as was done in the case of the mausoleum at the Juma Masjid. Personally we are in favour of holding that the first two kings are buried in the so-called graveyard of the seven kings in Manik Chouk and only Husain Shah, and possibly Ibrahim, have their tombs in the Juma Masjid cemetery.

The reign of the Kings of the East was no less remarkable for its coinage than for its architecture. As already noticed, the establishment of a Mint at Jaunpur by Mobarak Shah, second of the Sharqi Sultans, provoked the wrath of the Tughlaq King Mahmud and of his all-powerful Wazir, Iqbal Khan. The first of the Sharqi dynasty, Malik Sarwar, was too busy in consolidating his power to open a Mint, an act universally regarded as the hall-mark of independent sovereignty.

To come to the coins themselves. They bore a strong resemblance to those issued under the Tughlaq Kings with respect to their shape, nomenclature and weight. Like those coins, both the gold and silver Sharqi coins were circular and weighed 145 grains Troy. They bore on the obverse the royal title at full length and on the reverse the proper name of the sovereign. The various coins of gold, silver and copper were known by the name of Deenar, Tanka and Jeetal respectively. We note that during the reign of Mubarak Shah only one set of coins was struck, whereas Sultan Ibrahim changed the issue of both the gold and the silver coins on two occasions. Mahmud changed the gold



twice and the silver no less than five times in his seventeen years' tenure of kingship, and his successor Mohammed Shah, prior to, and during the five months of, his rule, had three several issues of silver coins, having assumed the privileges of a Mint Master, while yet heir to the crown. Husain Shah was rather capricious in respect to the design of his coinage, directing the silver issue to be changed on five occasions in the course of nineteen years. The following account of the different coins may interest lovers of the science of Numismatology.

## **CHAPTER III.**

### **PART I.**



### *The Jaunpur School*

Before relating the individual lives of some of the more celebrated scholars who were at the Court of Jaunpur, it will be necessary to sketch briefly the system of education then in vogue. We may with advantage briefly review the nature and method of teaching, the various schools of thought to which different professors belonged and the exact position held by the latter in the society of their time. The educational system of the Muslims in the Middle ages presented a strong contrast to that now favoured by rulers of India in our own times. The comparison, however, is by no means so entirely in favour of the latter as the present day educationist would like us to believe. The sole remnant of the old system may still be seen in the shape of the indigenous Maktab existing in the towns where considerable Mohammedan influence yet predominates. Any body intimately acquainted with the working of this institution will admit that its product is a sounder scholar than the doubtful outcome of the more pretentious establishments under the management of a District Board. That the official-ridden department of Indian education has at last awakened to a sense of this fact and has begun to free itself from the strangling bonds of red-tape, can be seen from the measures initiated in favour of Maktabas during the last decade. Let us now consider the main features of the educational system during the period under review. That

system did not recognise the necessity of spending money on bricks and mortar for the acquisition of knowledge. Scholars seeking the Bread of Learning were not dependent on the professional skill of the District Engineer. Classes used to be held in the cloisters of mosques, the houses of private individuals, even under the friendly shade of trees and under the broad canopy of an Indian winter sky. No State budget for school buildings existed in those days, no P. W. D. with hungry maw to consume large sums of money. Modern education, we are sorry to confess, has been seriously retarded owing to the inability of the Government to satisfy the insatiable demand of the great Spending department. Numerous pendantic rules about space and ventilation such as would have delighted the soul of Mr. Gradgrind are innovations unnecessarily thrust on the Indian boy accustomed to live in humbler and more natural surroundings. Another noticeable and most pleasing characteristic of the system we are describing was the absence of tuitional fees. It was quite opposed to the ethics of Mohammedan teachers to demand payment, or even to accept a present, in return for tuition given.

▶ The entire cost of maintaining schools was borne by the State or by the individual founder. Not only the education was free in the strict sense of the word, but the students belonging to the poorer classes received free board and lodging, either from the School fund or from the permanent grants made by the State and Umera (rich people).

. A kitchen and a clothing factory for the needy seekers after knowledge were as essential to complete a school as the class room itself, and a remnant of this is still to be found in Deoband and a few other places. Again, the profession of learning was held in such a high esteem that a teacher very often found himself called upon to transfer his attention from the class room to the affairs of the State. The arrangement will appear to be somewhat anomalous to the present day politician, but the aim of the education as then imparted was to make the pupil a man as much as a scholar. The curriculum laid even more stress on the moulding of character and the development of mental faculties as well as the inculcation of broader ideas than the mere specialisation or teaching of books.

Hence, in the account of the lives of famed Ulema we find them moving about in their scholastic career from one part of India to another and acquiring a practical knowledge of men and manners as well as the various political institutions of the age. Military training, as it existed in those days, was considered an essential part of education and archery and horsemanship also formed an important factor in the accomplishment of a scholar. Thus in times of exigency a ruler sought for a general or a statesman, not so much among his courtiers as among the School establishment of his kingdom.. Roughly speaking, tuition was carried on usually by the aid of three separate classes, Primary, Middle and Advanced. Post-Graduate students, (to borrow a modern phrase) who were desirous of specialising in a particular subject, received further instruction by experts. The system of testing knowledge by examina-

tions was unknown. The consensus of all the teaching staff having been taken, the student was required either to write a treatise or to deliver a short lecture, and if he was found to be successful in that task, was awarded a certificate of proficiency and Graduate's turban, Dastari Fazilat. This mark of honour nearly corresponded to the wreath of laurel or olive leaves presented by the ancient Greeks to successful competitors at the Isthmian Games. The examination, and more particularly the competitive, system never existed in India, either during the Hindu or the Mohammedan days. It is an exotic plant of dubious utility introduced by the pioneers of Western civilization and learning

We are sorry to confess that it has unfortunately imbued our young men with an ambition of passing examinations, rather than acquiring sound education. We have no desire to propound this theory out of an envious spirit against the representative of the competitive system and we confess that we ourselves have some pretensions to University distinctions. We are afraid that the modern educational faddist will treat our criticism with derision, nay, horror, but we must call spade a spade, and our experience is that even the best advocates of the present-day education have often to admit that they have hitherto imparted instruction and not education to India. An examination is, no doubt, a test of the merit of a student, but surely it is not the whole test, simply because it does not necessarily follow that a boy who can successfully answer a few casual questions is really a

sound scholar. A distinguished Indian Civil Servant remarked the other day that even the I. C. S. competitive examination was but a game of chance. Who can say that most of our distinguished countrymen like Sir Ali Imam and our own Education Minister the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani and others are the outcome of a competitive examination or can boast of a so-called distinguished University career. We do not wish to insinuate that the Indian Universities have not produced fine specimens of education, but we certainly claim that an examination can not form the criterion of culture. It will not be too much to say that departmentalism and mannerism are a clog-wheel in the educational machinery of our country, and the subject needs the serious attention of those responsible for the Indian Educational policy. Resuming our narrative, we find that at a yearly ceremony, equivalent to an University Convocation, attended sometimes by the reigning monarch and his Ministers and local dignitaries of his Court, liberal rewards, sometimes even a jagir, were bestowed on the more distinguished scholars, and this annual ceremony was a source of great encouragement to the cause of education.

Although the foregoing remarks apply to the whole of Muslim India of that day, the Jaunpur School acquired renown by adopting a curriculum of its own. Its main feature was the importance attached to the study of Arabic grammar before the commencement of the study of literature and sciences. In order to attain this object,



‘The Ulema among my followers resemble the Prophets of the children of Israel.’

This fact explains the great veneration felt by Ibrahim Sharqi for the Malik-ul-Ulema as illustrated by the story about his sickness told in the following chapter. It also explains why even the infuriated and vindictive Sikandar Lodi was constrained to stay his hand and not extend his work of savage demolition to the mosques of Jaunpur. The sage poet of Shiraz pithily defines the position of an Alim compared with that of an Ascetic.

صاحب دلی بمدرسه آمد ز خانقاه  
 بشکست عهد صحبت اهل طریق را  
 گفتم میان عالم و عابد چه فرق بود  
 تا کردی اختصار ازان این فریق را  
 گفت او گلیم خریش بذر مهربد ز موج  
 این جهد میکند که بگیرد فریق را

‘The pious man went to school and left his cell.  
 No longer with the devotees to dwell.  
 I questioned him “ what doth the two divide ”  
 Why, quitting pious fold, you join our side ?  
 He answered “ In a flood saints swim for land, ,  
 While Alims to the drowning give a hand.’

The following story narrated about the death of a great Logician, Maulana Fakhruddin Razi, will bear quotations, showing in what estimation was the acquisition of argumentative powers held by the Muslims of those days.

It is alleged that when the Logician was stretched on his death-bed he saw Satan standing at the side of the couch asking him, in bitter mockery, what grounds he had for believing in the existence of God. The Razi quickly brought forward the numerous arguments he had prepared on this topic, but he found himself non-plussed as the Enemy of Mankind easily confuted one argument after the other. His pious friend, Shahabuddin Suhrawardi, although distant many miles from the scene, became aware (thanks to his occult powers) of the dilemma in which the great Logician was placed. In his excited zeal the sage shattered the earthen vessel he was about to use for his ablution, and as it fell in pieces to the ground, exclaimed in loud tones, "The existence of God demands no argument." His words were conveyed in a miraculous fashion to the Razi, who repeated the sentence uttered by Shahabuddin and had the satisfaction of beholding Satan disappear, thus leaving the Razi to die a peaceful death.

Maulana Jalaladdin Rumi has described this incident in the following couplets —

پائے استدلالیان چربون بود \*  
 پائے چربین سخت ہے تسکین بود \*  
 فخرِ رازی رازِ دارِ دینِ بدے \*  
 فخرِ رازی رازِ دارِ دینِ بدے \*

Those who dispute rely on legs of woods  
 As a support of little genuine good  
 If pleadings vain could bear up Faith alone,  
 To Fakhruddin its secrets would be known.

## Part II. ULEMA ( SCHOLARS ).

### 1. *Kazi Shahabuddin Malik-ul-Ulema.*

1. Qazi Shahabuddin received his elementary education in Delhi, when owing to the invasion of Timur his family like all others left their home, in order to escape the horror that always marked the capture of an Indian town by the Tartar hosts. His ancestor seems to have moved from Ghazni to Daulatabad ( Deccan ) at the time of the exodus of Muslims from Central Asia into India. Shahabuddin spent his early boyhood in Daulatabad and thence he went with his father to Delhi where to his good fortune he had the opportunity of benefitting himself by the teachings of Qazi Syed Abdul Muqtadir and Maulana Khwajagi. The first-named of these formed so high an opinion of the intellectual powers of his pupil that he used to call him as " Knowledge personified." He used to say "His skin is knowledge, his brain is knowledge, his bones are knowledge ". The invasion of Timur led Shahabuddin to fly to Kalpi, which was then claimed by Syed Ibrahim Sharqi to be in his dominions, while Maulana Abdul Muqtadir and several other Ulema proceeded to Jaunpur. Sultan Ibrahim immediately sent for Shahabuddin at the suggestion of the latter's master. Soon after reaching Jaunpur, he found himself raised to the post of the High Chamberlain and secured the title of Malik-ul-Ulema. Having completed his spiritual training at the feet of Hazrat Makhdum Ashraf Jahangir, the renowned saint of Kichaucha in the Fyzabad district, he began both to preach and practise strict

asceticism, and subsequently became Khalifa of Maulana Khwajagi. Later on he acquired fame by engaging in a long discussion with the well-known Khwaja Sadr Jahan Ajmal, the subject discussed being the relative superiority of the mere descendant of the Prophet and a mere man of learning. Not convinced by the reasons brought forward by his opponent he wrote a book on the superiority of the latter class of people. Subsequently, however, he retracted his old opinion when the Prophet appeared to him in a vision and expressed his indignation at the attitude he had assumed in this matter. He at once destroyed his first book and published another on behalf of the Syeds entitled as *Manaqibus-Sadat*. He also engaged himself in argument with the famous Zinda Pir, concerning a sect of Sufis known as Owaisiya, who claimed to receive inspiration direct from Heaven. Shahabuddin at first stubbornly denied the truth of such tenets but had to yield to the superior knowledge and magnetic influence of Hazrat Badee-uddin Shah Madar. In fact, from that time onwards he became a disciple of the Saint.

The writings of this Alim on literature and grammar and his comentary of the Qoran Sharif still continue to be recognised as standard books. Sultan Ibrahim seems to have entertained the highest respect and affection for this sage and very seldom left his company. We have it on the authority of several Persian historians that once when Shahabuddin fell sick, the Sultan was so affected at the sight of the invalid prostrate on a rude couch, that he procured a tumbler full of water, and after waving it three

times over the head of his friend, drank the water and invoked the Most Merciful God to transfer the ailings of the afflicted Alim to his own person. Tradition declares that as a result of this action the Malik-ul-Ulma got recovered and the Sultan died soon after. The former, however, also soon followed him to the next world full of grief and mourning over his deceased patron. Qazi Shahabuddin lies buried close to the Hujra of Shah Madar near the present Town Hall and his tomb is in a neglected condition.

## 2. *Maulvi Shaikh Abdul Malik Adil.*

He was a Faruqi Sherkh by descent and claimed connection with Ibrahim Adham. He was the son of Malik Imad-ul-Mulk, one of the prime ministers of the Jaunpur kings. He was born at Jaunpur and was possessed of a very retentive memory and other natural gifts. He was a pupil of Qazi Shahabuddin, who on perceiving the ability of the youth, paid special care to his instruction in all the branches of study. Before he reached his twentieth year, Malik Adil had attained full knowledge both in Logic and Tradition, and a little later compiled a treatise on *Kafia*, (Shareh Hindi) which he presented to his venerable instructor, the Qazi. On reading this work the Malik-ul-Ulema did not attempt to conceal the pride and pleasure he felt at having so able a pupil, and declared that the waters of learning flowed from the river of the Qazi through the channel of Adil. He was finally appointed as Principal of a school founded by Shahabuddin and was regarded

with favour by the reigning monarch, while his fame as a philosopher spread far and wide. It is said that he had once discussed with Makhdum Rukn-ud-din the erroneous-ness of some of the Sufi doctrines. Rukn-ud-din, however, proved too strong for this man of books and the latter was so convinced by his reasoning that he knelt down and forth-with acknowledged Rukn-ud-din as his spiritual master. He died and got his tomb in his ancestral burial ground in Mohalla Katghar, near the Idgah. No stately monument or massive tomb marks the spot, but merely a bare simple grave denotes the last resting place of this learned and distinguished Alim.

### 3. *Ala-ud-din Ala-ul-Mulk.*

This well-known scholar was the own brother of Abdul Malik Adil and consequently could boast of having as his father the Wazir of the Sharqi kingdom, Nawab Imdad-ul-Mulk. He was a regular student under Qazi Shahabuddin, but when he found difficulties in studying the *Kafia*, the Qazi wrote a commentary called *Sharah Hindi* by the aid of which his pupil was enabled to grasp the contents of the *Kafia* more easily. The first lines of this commentary are in Arabic and curiously enough, may be almost literally translated by quoting the lines of a popular hymn "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow".

Maulvi Alauddin was buried in this family graveyard in an old garden of Mohalla Katgarh, a little to the west of the grave of his brother Maulvi Sheikh Abdul Malik Adil.

#### 4. *Maulana Alah Dad.*

He was an eminent commentator and Doctor of theological law in Jaunpur. He was a disciple of Maulvi Abdul Malik Adil of Jaunpur, and under his careful training became well versed in various branches of learning, having read with him the well-known work on Arabic grammar, *Badi-ul-Mizan*. He was also thoroughly acquainted with Mohammedan theology and law. He wrote several very useful treatises of which *Sharah Kafia*, *Sharah Hidaya*, *Sharah Buzodi* and *Sharah Madarik Tafsir* are perhaps the chief. He established a school which possessed Indian fame and attracted many pupils. It is said to have been situated in Mohalla Rizvi Khan, but no trace of it now remains, nor does any descendant of the family of the celebrated Alim now exist. He is reported to have been on terms of great friendship with Shah Hasan Tahir of Jaunpur, an Alim of no mean fame, and was himself a disciple of Saiyed Razan Hamid Shah Chisthi, a Sufi, who had migrated from Manikpur to Jaunpur.

Maulana Alah Dad scolded his friend for humiliating both his knowledge and himself as a seeker after knowledge by accepting the Sufi theories so readily. Hasan Tahir replied that a question of this kind could better be decided by making an experiment. Both friends agreed to visit the sage Ala-ud-din having meanwhile prepared a series of questions to propound to the latter. When they reached his abode, he received them with a smiling welcome and said, "This is a day for my Test". Without more ado he began to solve certain questions that

Alah Dad had in his mind, but had not yet put to him. Impressed by this display of the occult powers of the sage, Alah Dad bowed to his authority and begged permission to be enrolled as one of his disciples. It should be noted that the books composed by this Maulana were written in excellent style and displayed considerable critical acumen. Authorities differ as to the time and place of his death. According to one account he died in 923 A. H. (1517 A. D). In Jaunpur his tomb can be seen on the north-west side of the Idgah. Others, among whom Sheikh Husain Tahir, author of *Ganja-Arshadi*, states that he left this world in a town of Behar, not far from Laknauti.

5. *Maulvi Shahabuddin Ahmad.*

This learned man was by descent a Siddiqi Sheikh, whose family occupied a good position among the leading residents of Jaunpur. His father, best known under his title of Qazi Nizamuddin Kiklaui, came to India from Kiklan, a small town in Arabia, and settled in Gujerat where the future Qazi was born and educated. His teaching was of the kind usual in those days for Mohammedan boys of good birth, and he displayed special taste for Shara (Islamic Law), Tafseer (commentary on the Koran) as well as Hadees (Traditions of the Prophet), on which subject he came to be one of the greatest authorities of that age. His fame gradually spread over India, and Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi who was fond of attracting to his Court men eminent for learning and ideas invited Shahabuddin as soon as reports of his fame reached his royal ears. On coming to Jaunpur, the Maulvi forthwith found himself



appointed to the high post of the Head Qazi, the duties of which he performed with firmness, impartiality and even-handed justice. Ibrahim was not slow to recognise such excellent traits in one of his officers, so he permitted Shahabuddin to become his confidential advisor.

Like his contemporary Shahbuddin (the Mahk-ul-Ulema whose life we have already sketched) the Qazi gave instruction to a large number of pupils for a period extending over a great many years. In fact, his theological knowledge was held in such a high esteem that the Malik-ul-Ulema himself hesitated to issue a Fatwa or sign a document till the counter-signature of the Qazi had been affixed to the paper in question. Nor did the community of learned folk in general regard a Fatwa of much value unless it bore the imprimature of Qazi Nizamuddin Kiklan. He was the author of several works, chief of which was the book entitled 'Ibrahim Shahi', dealing with Fatwas of the Hanifi sect and bearing the name of the king. This work is generally admitted to be superior in its range and quality to similar books known as the "Fatawai Alamgiri" and the 'Fatwa Qazi Khan.' The opening sentence, with its oriental metaphor is worth quoting. "Thanks to Almighty God who has built so high the pillar of Learning and exalted the tower of Knowledge".

According to the best writers his death took place in A. H. 875 (1470 A. D.) in his house not far from the Juma Masjid, though his tomb lies in Mohalla Sipah.

His descendants can be met with in the Jaunpur of our own time in the quarter bearing his name.

6. *Maulana Abdulla, son of Maulana Allah Dad.*

This personage was the son of the famous commentator just described, and followed in the footsteps of his father along the paths of learning. After completing his education at home he sought abroad for the society of all the eminent men of the period, and subsequently distinguished himself by his high moral character as well as by his great erudition. Later on he instructed pupils with great diligence, and his method of teaching was of a searching and critical nature. The majority of his scholars acquired great proficiency in all the basic principles and details of many subjects. His father often spoke of him as the 'marrow of the bones of Science and a source of honest pride to his sire'. Of the several books written by Maulana Abdulla, that entitled 'Sharah Mizan-ul-Mantiq', is still regarded as a standard work on Logic. He lies buried on the north side of the Idgah, close to the eastern corner, where it is yet possible to detect his grave made of modest bricks.

ہر مزار ما غریبان نے چراغے نے گلے

نے ہر پرواہ سوز نے صدائے ہلے

'To my poor humble grave,

'No lamp or flower belong'.

'No moth will singe its wings,

Nor *bulbul* please with song'.

7. *Qazi Salah-ul-din Khalil.*

As a grandson of the renowned Qazi Nizamuddin Kiklani, he was a person of good educational attainments.

By his specially attractive manners, he endeared himself not only to friends and associates but also to the general public of the Sharqi capital. So deep was his knowledge that many learned professors cheerfully paid homage to his talents and admitted his superiority in many branches of study. His fame went abroad throughout India owing chiefly to his works on Mohammedan theology, namely the *Alqazi* and the *Al-Ishbab*.

These books still continue to be looked on as standard Arabic productions not only in India but throughout the whole world itself. On the death of his grandfather he succeeded him in the post of Qazi, an appointment which he held for twenty years with credit. He died at the age of fifty years, and found his last resting place in Mohalla Katghara. It is a pity that the pristine grandeur of this mausoleum decorated with the lovely blue tiles, peculiar to Sharqi art, is in a precarious condition and requires prompt attention from the Archæological Department and the public.

8. *Maulvi Khwaja Sheikh Usman Saaleh.*

The individual, whose history is here briefly related, resembled in character and accomplishments to the Grecian philosopher of the Porch rather than a learned member of the body of Mohammedan Ulemas. On an invitation from Ibrahim Shah, third of the Sharqi Kings, and t'e most distinguished of that dynasty, the Maulvi came from Delhi to Jaunpur, where he stayed till summoned away by death at the age of a centenarian. Long as his age was, yet one hesitates to endorse the opinion expressed by some

writers, who claimed for him the marvellous age of one hundred and forty years, thus more than rivalling Old Parr and other long-lived European celebrities. He was thoroughly conversant with the spiritual teachings of Islam, and had specially mastered the inner secrets of Sufism. As a Khalifa (successor) of Makhdum Jahanian Jahan Gusht he professed and preached the particular tenets of his spiritual instructor. The principal books he wrote were *Sharah Talkhis*, a treatise on Rhetoric, and *Sharah Manar* or Principles of Logic. A large body of students used to attend his lectures, many of whom subsequently became scholars of good repute in their day. A magnificent stone mausoleum (Maqbara) decorated with blue tiles marks his last abode in Mohalla Sipah, the dome of which overshadows the railway line. He lived in that Mohalla, and his descendants can still be noticed. There he devoted his long life to teaching, and his attainments in this respect were well known in other parts of India. We may also note that the great service he rendered to Sufism still endears his memory to members of that sect.

### 9. Qazi Nasiruddin Gumbadi.

He belonged to a very illustrious family of Delhi Sheikhs, and migrated from that place to Jaunpur in order to escape the massacre and other horrors that accompanied the Tartar invasion. He enjoyed a high reputation for wisdom, his saintly character and his scholarly attainments. Hazrat Qazi Abdul Muqtadir of Delhi who was his instructor conceived great affection for him. So carefully he taught his pupil that the latter was able to

reach a high standard of excellence in various branches of study. When Maulana Shahabuddin Malik-ul-Ulema wrote his book, 'Sharah Kafia' he sent it to this famed scholar for perusal and requested him to review it so as to secure for the work a favourable reception by the public.

The Gumbadi did not approve of the work, but to avoid vain and fruitless discussion, he sent back the volume, merely remarking that the book was undoubtedly the work of an able man, but he had no intention of including it among the text-books in his school. Besides his store of worldly knowledge he had acquired a good insight into the divine Sufism from the different Sufis of that age.

In the time of Khwaja Jahan Malik Sarwar, he stood in high favour at the Sharqi Court, and held the important post of Qazi of Jaunpur. Finally he forsook the cares and pleasures of this world by retiring into a Hujra (monastic cell) from which he did not emerge during the rest of his life. He died on the 3rd of the Month of Safar A. H. 817 (A. D. 1414) amidst the tears and cries of his numberless admirers.

The nature of his place of prayer has given him the soubriquet of 'Gumbadi' or the 'Man of the Dome'. He practised asceticism to such a degree that his pupils would often stand in anxiety, ready to support him in case his strength should fail. His excessive attention to duties of teaching, and later on to religious devotion, probably hindered him from leaving the legacy of any known work.

He lies buried in Mohalla Sipah close to his Hujra, near the railway line. The roofed portion of the Mausoleum and his Hujrah (prayer chamber) have collapsed, but the rest of the tomb remains intact.

10. *Maulvi Mohammad Afzal, Ustad-ul-Mulk.*

This very eminent Doctor of Logic and Mohammedan Law is said to have been a Sheikh by birth. He was a descendant of Hazrat Sheikh Usman Haruni, and had connections with the family of Mahmud, fourth of the Sharqi line of Kings. His father was employed as a Mufti at Rudauli in the adjacent district of Bara Banki, and for a long time was not blessed with any off-spring. His prayers were eventually heard, and on the 16th day of Ramzan, A. H. 977 (1569 A. D.) a son was born to cheer the heart of the pious supplicant. On Mohammad Afzal reaching the age of maturity his father personally instructed him in Aqlia and Naqlia (Philosophy and General Tradition). His thirst for knowledge led him to proceed to Delhi, then famed for the excellence of its schools, and he completed his studies under Maulvi Hasan, a disciple of Maulvi Tahir of Lahore and Hakim Ismail. He received his lessons in the critical study of literature from Maulvi Abu Hanifa, a follower of Makhdum-ul-Mulk Hakim Gilani. It was due to his untiring zeal for acquiring a name in the literary circles that secured for him the Dastar of Fazilat before he was twenty years of age, and he returned to Jaunpur with an established reputation for his vast learning. He owned a house in Mohalla

Sipah, where he started classes for education, and was also fond of lecturing on the doctrines of the Sufi sect.

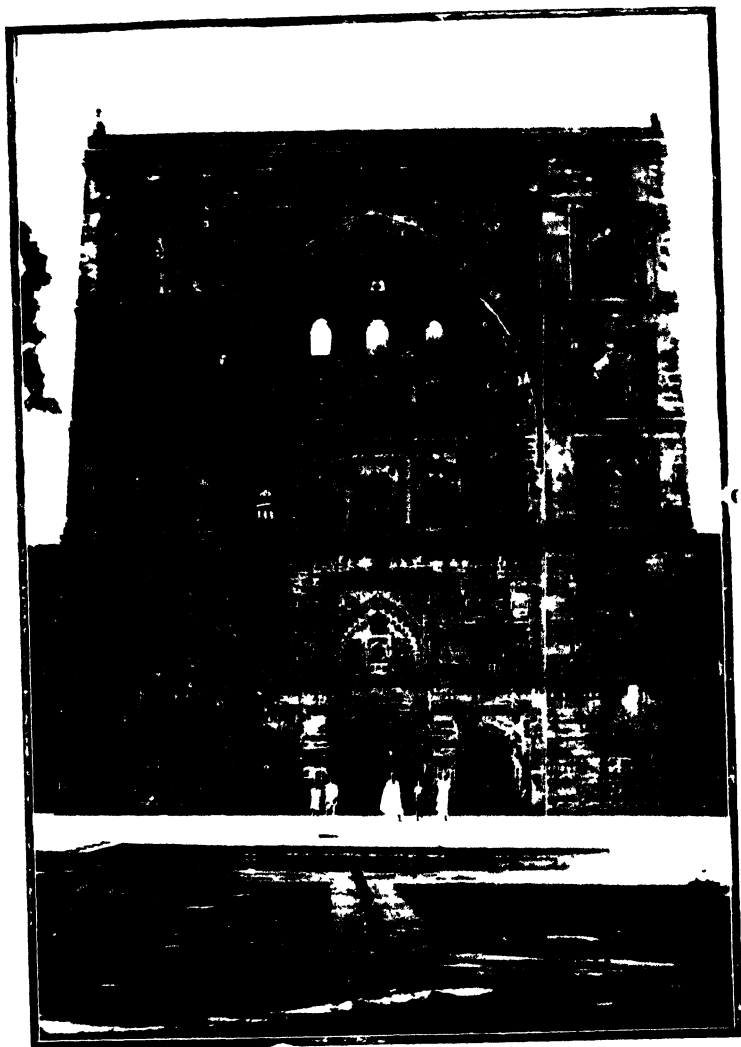
In spiritual, as distinguished from worldly learning, he received his training from the well-known Sufi, Sheikh Abdul Quddus. He never sought assistance from wealthy men save perhaps for the sake of some poor persons or needy students.

A chronicler remarks that on these occasions he was greeted as cordially as the gift of sight would be welcomed by the blind. He had a natural taste for poetry, and the following couplets may serve as the specimen of his skill as a versifier —

بازلف تو تودہ ہائے عجب، چہ کلم  
باخال تو مشکنائے از فرچہ کلم  
تو کافرو زلف کافرو دل کافر  
من نہم مسلمان بہ سے کافر چہ کلم

‘ Having such raven locks, what need of amber dark ?  
Viewing thy sable mole, the musk escapes remark.  
Within thy heart a Devil lurks.  
Each curling tress is but a Devil’s snare,  
Thy heart relentless as the Devil’s own—  
Week wavering Mussulman, beware ! beware !  
Against three Friends, such foes of triple might,  
What is the devil’s use for me to fight ’.

It may be mentioned that the Maulana had, with other pupils, two such Alims of immortal fame as Mulla



JAMA MASJID.





Mahmud, author of *Shams Bazgha* and *Diwan Abdul Rashid*, an author of the work called after him '*Rashidia*'. On the decease of the *Malik-ul-Ulema* in A. H. 962 (1554 A. D) the people of Jaunpur hoisted a flag of mourning, little thinking that he had left behind him ever a worthier successor in the person of Mulla Mahmud and that his own predictions expressed in the following couplet of his would prove to be so true

کسان مبر کہ تو چوں بگزوی جهان بگذشت \*  
مزار شمع بکشتند انجمن باقیست

'Do not in thy thoughts persist,  
That after thee no world exists,  
No longer burn though many a lamp,  
Yet new lights brighten the worldly camp'.

His tomb is still extant in *Mohalla Biluch*, adjoining *Mohalla Sipah* near the house of *Hakim Mujtaba Quli*, fenced by an ordinary wall, but part of the wall of the enclosure has fallen to the ground.



## CHAPTER IV.

### THEOLOGY AND THEOLOGIANS.



## 1. SUFISM.

The account of the lives of certain devotees, we have ear-marked for this chapter, will hardly be intelligible without a brief acquaintance with the tenets of Sufism that played so important a part in the character of these learned and holy men.

What is a Sufi ? We are afraid that a majority of our readers will answer this question by the reply, a 'Freethinker or a Mystic'. Both answers are incorrect, for though a Sufi does not always follow precise dogmas, and prefers the spirit to the letter, he is far from being free from the restraints of religion. The fact that the principles of Sufism have not been reduced to writing in any particular book, nor are they susceptible of being so reduced, serves as an apology for our frequently quoting in this chapter verses from the productions of Sufis of recognised status. An ancient Persian poet very pertinently describes the above idea in the following couplet —

که کرد قطع تعلق کدام شد آزاد •

بریده ز همه با جدا گرفتار است \*

'All wordly fetters broken, yet not free'.

'The love of God still entangles Thee'.

Some of the Sufis become so much absorbed in the spiritual world that they go by the name of *Majzoub* or absorbed men. While it would not be strictly true to

define the *Mayzoon* as an eccentric recluse, he is so exercised in bringing his soul in touch with the Divine Essence as to be practically oblivious of what goes on around him. Hazrat Nasiruddin, Chiragh-i-Delhi (Lamp of Delhi), gives vent to this idea in a most lucid manner in the following couplet of his —

اے زامد ظاہر بہن از قرب چہ می پرسی  
او در سن و من دروے چوں بودہ گلاب اندر  
در سہلہ نصہر الدین حزا عشق نمی گذارد  
این طرفہ نہاشہ بہن دنیا بہ حساب اندر

‘What asketh thou ? Oh man of piety,  
Of my approach to the Almighty,  
Mixed in him and he in me,  
As roses perfume notice we.  
O God saith Nasiruddin thy wonderous love.  
Hath filled my heart between, below, above.  
What miracle must this be e’r seen,  
The Ocean vast contained in bubbles gleam’.

Immersed in the waters of contemplation, one of them, Shams Tabrez, exclaims —

چہ تدبیرے مسلمانان کہ من خود را نمی دانم  
نہ ہلدویم نہ ترسایم نہ گہرم نے مسلمانم

‘O Muslims! In my helplessness I cry  
Oblivious of myself, O what am I,  
No idols worship I nor gleam of fire,  
Nor to Christ’s or Prophet’s creed I aspire’.

Similarly, the famous Mansur was so lost in holy ecstasy as to loudly proclaim his identity with God himself, saying An-al-Haq. Regarded by the Ulemas as gross blasphemy, this declaration led to the death by crucifixion of the *Majnoon*. His presumptuous speech has been justified by one of his admirers in the following couplet.—

شور منصور از کجا و بانگ ملصور از کجا  
خود زدی بانگ انا الحق خود سردار آمدی

‘The cry of Mansoor whence it runs,  
The speech of Mansur whence it comes,  
Thou hast proclaimed “I am God”  
Thou hast gone on cross, My Lord’

In fact, the ecstasy of a Sufi is sometimes so intense that it results in sudden death. The Kutub Sahib of Delhi of world-wide reputation fell into one of these fits on hearing the following couplet sung in a meeting of Sufis by a renowned singer in the early part of the 13th Century.

کشتگان خنجر تسلیم را \* هر زمان از غمب جان دیگر است

‘For the martyrs of the dagger of resignation to the Will of God, there is a new life from the unseen world.’

It has been alleged that the Sufi expired at the recital of the first line of the couplet, but revived when the second line was repeated. The alternate process of death and life continued with the repetition of the two lines till at the bidding of the audience the singer closed the scene



with the recitation of the first line only. The saint thus departed from the world for ever and got his burial amidst the tears and sighs of a large number of the people.

The training of the Sufi inclines him to cultivate intercourse with the world behind the veil, a state of mind recognised by Sir Conan Doyle and other eminent men in Europe and America. We should, however, point out that it is not to be confounded with the vulgar Spiritualism of table turning and pretensions of Messrs. Maskel Yne and Davenant, the famous conjurers.

The guiding principles of the Sufi are self-abnegation and absorption. The first implies withdrawal from the temptations and idle pleasures of this world, the second an earnest endeavour to blend the soul of Man in the unity of God.

The individuals, we read of in the *Acta Sanctorum*, and genuine followers of the Yoga system sought a similar ideal, but by different paths. The Sufi is after all a strict follower of Islam which teaches us the principle 'to live in the world as not of the world', and to face temptation, not to flee from them. So one should not resort to caves and desert places like the hermits and anchorites of early Christianity, nor depart to meditate in dense forests or on lonely Himalyan peaks, like the Hindu ascetics. The sayings of the Prophet **لَا رَهْبَانِيَّةَ فِي الْإِسْلَامِ** (no asceticism in Islam) is binding on all his followers whether a Sufi or an Alim. Literally the word Sufi means 'Coarse Cloth,' and the basic principle of this sect

is derived from a verse in the Koran where it says that man has been created for no other purpose than for worshipping the Creator.

According to the Sufi, worship does not only mean the repetition of prayers, the performance of genuflections and other outward signs of formal obedience to the Almighty, but to actually carry out a mode of life which may be expressed by a verse from the Christian Bible, "In him we live, and move and have our Being"

The expression, 'not of the world,' just used has been thus defined by Maulana Jalaluddin in his couplet —

چوست دنیا از خدا فافل دن \* د. خیال نقره و مرزند وزن

'Pleasures of wealth, of children, and of wife,

These, God forgotten, mean a worldly life'

The intense hatred which a Sufi has for wealth has been so beautifully expressed by the poet of Sheraz that his couplet will bear a repetition —

قرار در گف آزادگان نگردد مال \*  
نه صبر در دل عاشق نه آب در قریال \*

'Money flies freely from the hands

Of those not tied with worldly bands,

No lover's heart can patience long maintain,

Nor save the pouring water can contain'

We find that the holy individuals, whose lives are described in the following pages, were in the habit of

retiring in the seclusion of a praying cell (Hujhra) after completing their secular education and obtaining full experience of the world. At the same time they did not practise total renunciation of the world. They usually married, and even in the seclusion kept themselves in touch with what was going on outside the world. The occupants of a prayer-cell at Jannpur were thus not indifferent to events that might be happening at Delhi or distant Gujerat. They spent their leisure hours in making converts to Islam, instructing their disciples how to purify the heart and preaching Sufi doctrines to all who visited them in their retirement. From what we have said above it is not difficult to understand how Ulemas like Shahab Uddin and others, in spite of their natural disinclination to recognise the mysterious spiritual powers of the Sufis, had to kneel in all humility, on more than one occasion, before the magnetic influence of the sage seated on his lowly mattress of straw.

The great poet-philosopher, Sheikh Sadi, who in his earlier days declared that whoever failed to literally follow the traditions of the Prophet, had little hope of entering paradise, became the disciple of and paid homage to Sheikh Shahabuddin of Suhrward, (Persia). He acknowledges him as his spiritual guide in the following lines —

مرا شیخ دانائے فرخ شهاب  
 دو اندر ز فرمود پر دوے اب  
 یکے آنکے پر خویش خود بین مباح  
 دوم آنکے پر غم پرده بین مباح

My learned Teacher and My Guide,  
Two lessons gave, a stream beside,  
Lover of Self thou must not be,  
Nor always faults in others see.'

Similarly Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi entertained unbounded respect for Sheikh Mohammad Isa bin Taj as would appear from an incident related in the life of that saint. The incident may lead a layman to entertain but little admiration for the manners of Hazrat Sheikh Mohammad in having rudely rejected the presents sent by one of the most prominent kings of the East, but it should be remembered that a genuine Sufi not only claims, but practises complete freedom both of his body and his conscience, and is a sort of socialist with highly developed ideas about the equality of mankind. He fully acts on the radical principle of Islam which makes the proudest and the haughtiest monarch in a silken robe to stand shoulder to shoulder with the meanest labourer or even a sweeper in rags to supplicate before the Fountain of Creation in the mosque. The following Persian couplet speaks out the mind of the Sufi in a most effective manner

نه بر أشعرے سوارم \* نه چو أشتَر زير بادم  
نه خداوند رعيت \* نه غلام شهر بادم

'Nor do I ride a camel like a swell,  
Nor under load like a camel do I yell.  
Nor like lord of subject do I strut,  
Nor like a slave in kingly palace shut.'

Briefly speaking Sufism may fairly be defined as spiritual knowledge of an unwritten sort. The Sufi rather inculcated scholars with his doctrines mostly by the process which might be styled as 'thought transference', not by mere oral teachings.

Accordingly, despite their admitted learning, the Sufis of Jaunpur have left behind them no record of their wisdom in the shape of books or even pamphlets. In this respect they differ widely from the Ulemas, as can be seen from the perusal of the chapter dealing with those individuals. Amongst the very few writers on Sufism the most prominent is Jalaluddin Rumi, usually known as Mualana Rum, who in his *Masnawi* has dealt with the subject in a most exhaustive fashion. We must further defend the Sufis against an erroneous opinion about their doctrines which prevails in certain quarters and which demands refutation.

The following couplet of Maulana Rum has given rise to a false theory that the Sufi is a believer in the doctrine of Transmigration of soul :—

مسیح و سبز بادها، و نهاده ام • سیصد و هشتاد قالب دهنده ام

Like verdure I have often grown

And many a new form have I known.

The couplet simply enunciates the innermost phases of life through which a perfect Sufi passes from simple outward devotion to the blending of his soul with the holy spirit of God, the source of all creation. The

figurative language used by the Maulana should not be taken in the material sense of the changes referred to.

The Maulana in the beginning of his book describes the root principle of this doctrine when he says :—

آئینه ات دانی چرا غماز نهست  
زانکه زنگار از دخی مستعار نهست  
و تو زنگار از دخی او پاک کن  
بعد از آن آن نور را ادراک کن

‘Oh think, the mirror of thy heart,  
(Poor mortal made from dust),  
His image cannot reproduce,  
So dense the veil of rust.  
The surface cleans and polish bright,  
Then shalt thou see the heavenly light,  
Free from all cloud and pure from stain,  
God’s, fullest radiance shalt obtain’

The methods by which such purification of the soul could be attained may be briefly referred to. It was to be acquired only by the aid of certain fixed exercises of the mind and by a training in mental gymnastics.

As the muscles and bodily strength improve and the pupil advances from simple to more difficult movements of physical drill, so the Sufi Professor claims that his disciples, by the regular performance of a strange combination of bodily and spiritual energy, acquire a wider knowledge of the Deity and a firmer grasp over the occult Forces of Nature.

An advanced Sufi, therefore, seeing God everywhere and in everything, looks upon the crude doctrines of Materialism with mingled pity and contempt.

One of them cries out,

حرم و دیور کے جو گھرے نے سے چہلے سے اُٹھ  
تو اگر پردہ اُٹھائے تو تو ہی تو ہو جائے

‘Quarrels over claims of temple and of shrine  
Have hidden Thee from man in clouds of mist.  
Oh ! now reveal Thyself, remove the veil—  
Thou God, and ~~though~~ alone will then exist.’

Our readers may or may not concur with the views of Sufi but must in fairness admit that he is no narrow-minded ascetic, but a man endowed with liberal sympathies towards the rest of mankind and creation in general.

طریقت بہر خدایت خلق دوست  
بہ تصوم و سجادۃ و دلق دوست

‘The upward path is ever surest trod,  
By men who cherish all the works of God.  
No praying carpet, no vain count of beads,  
No robe of piety to Heaven leads.’

This attitude is based on the saying of the Prophet.

خير الناس من يكثر الخصال

‘The most righteous man is he who does most good to mankind.’

## 2. SUFIS UNDER THE SĀRQI RULE.

### 1. *Makhdum Sheikh Sadaruddin Chiragh-i-Hind*

He belonged to the tribe of Qoresh Sheikhs, and was a descendant of Khwaja Hasan of Basra on one side, and of the family of Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya of Multan on the other. His ancestor, Syed Kamal-ud-din Ali Shah, used to reside at Mecca whence he migrated first to Khurasan and then to Multan. The word Makhdum denotes the exact date of his birth according to the *abjad* system of chronology. After completing his worldly education, he turned his attention to spiritual matters and became the disciple of his maternal cousin Sheikh Rukn-uddin of Multan, who possessed a wide reputation for piety in those days. He displayed so great an aptitude for his training in this direction that in a short time he became the Khalifa (deputy) of his guide who conferred on him the grand title of Chiragh-i-Hind (Light of India).

He gradually attained the highest stages of Sufism, and towards the close of his career he used to fall into a kind of trance, insensible to all that went on around him.

He had learnt the Qoran Shareef by heart, and had performed no less than seven pilgrimages to Mecca on foot. He proceeded under the orders from Rukn-ud-din, in the direction of Jannpur, and on his way halted at Delhi, where his saintly character and personal virtues won for him the affection and respect of the reigning Tughlaq monarch, Ghayasuddin. In fact, he stood in so high an estimation of the king that the latter gave him one of



his daughters in marriage, and the Wazir, Malik Baiwa Syed Ibrahim, followed suit a little later by making Makhdum his son-in-law as well.

Proceeding eastwards he began to preach Islam making converts in large numbers, and halted at Machhli-shahr, in Jaunpur, and other places in the adjoining districts of Ghazipur, Azamgarh and Mirzapur. Owing to his fame for piety he gathered to himself many disciples, some of whom subsequently achieved renown as holy men in the annals of those times. Among them, may be mentioned Maulana Sheikh Abdul Bari of Bahraich, Sheikh Saman of Saidpur in the Ghazipur district, Syed Mussa well known in Oudh and Abdul Rahman of Zafarabad.

He then collected a force of four thousand crescent-aders for the purpose of attacking Aseni, the stronghold of Manich, as Zafarabad was then named. His spiritual guide, Syed Rukn-uddin, as we have already seen, had originally sent out Chiragh-i-Hind to relieve the distress of the Mohammedans of Manich and the latter now proceeded to accomplish this task. Accompanied by his trusty colleague, Makhdum Syed Asaduddin, Aftab-i-hind (Sun of India), he encamped with his troops some little distance from where Zafarabad now stands, and finding the task before him more formidable than he had anticipated sent a message to Emperor G<sup>h</sup>yasuddin for reinforcements. His request was granted, and six thousand soldiers under the command of Prince Zafar Khan were despatched from Delhi to the scene of operations.

Overtures were made to the Rajah, but without success—not a matter for surprise, since conversion to Islam was one of the conditions indispensable for peace. Siege was then laid to Fort Asem, built originally by the great Rajah Jai Chand of the Rathor house of Kanauj. One Friday after-noon on the conclusion of the customary prayers a vigorous onslaught was made by the warriors of Islam, and so precarious did the safety of the fort become that Rajah Sakit Singh, in fear and perplexity, sent messengers to the Mohammedan leaders begging for a temporary cessation of hostilities. This was agreed to, while it was decided that a discussion as to the comparative merits of the two religions should be held. The Rajah picked out three disputants, Pandit Bal Datt, Jogi Jaipal and Pal Nath Bir, an athlete. The first to enter the lists was the Pandit, who engaged in discussion with Chiragh-i-Hind, which ended in his embracing Islam. Next came Jogi Jaipal who exhibited his occult powers and magic arts, but had also to acknowledge himself vanquished by the superior skill of Chiragh-i-Hind. Pal Nath Bir was the last of the Hindu champions, and was promptly challenged to pull up from the ground the staff of Chiragh-i-Hind which he had just driven into earth. The man of thews and muscles having failed to accomplish this apparently simple feat, followed the example of his two predecessors. Rajah Sakeet Singh seeing this result again closed the gate of the fort but the attacking forces of Chiragh-i-Hind were not to be denied. The stronghold was stormed and captured after a feeble resistance and finally razed to the ground. This event occurred in

the year 721 A. H. ( A. D. 1322 ) This date, it is interesting to note, is identical with that engraved on the gate of the palace of Chiragh-i-Hind the full text of which inscription has been given in a preceding chapter. Henceforward Prince Zafar became a disciple of Chiragh-i-Hind who as well as Aftab-i-Hind took up their residence permanently in Zafarabad. Makhdum Sadaruddin died in 795 A. H. (1392 A. D.) at the ripe age of slightly over one hundred and two years. Visitors to his palace in Mohalla Sheikhpura of Zafarabad can see the tomb of Chiragh-i-Hind as well as that of Prince Zafar, while their old comrade Sadaruddin Aftab-i-Hind lies buried at a short distance on the bank of the Gomti. One incident in the career of this saintly individual is worth relating. He had gone in pilgrimage to Mecca on foot no less than seven times, no ordinary undertaking when one remembers the facilities or rather want of facilities for travelling in those days. His strength failing him, as he grew old, he felt unable to again proceed to Kaba, and so sought advice from his Pir, Ruknuddin, who explained that it would not be necessary for him to proceed in person to Arabia, but that he must erect a special mosque in the compound of his palace where he would be authorised to offer the Haj prayers at the time they were being uttered on the plains of Arafat. Since the Haj prayers are always performed in the open (Maidani Haj), the mosque in question is a simple building with merely a platform and low compound walls devoid of roof or any adornment. Hundreds of local Mohammedans who cannot proceed to Arabia come to

this mosque on the Haj day to pray on the same spot where once the pious Chiraghi-Hind was wont to worship the Creator. It is specially to be noted that a lineal descendant of Salaruddin attends and leads his co-religionists in prayer, and relics of the saint, in the form of his turban and cloak, are exhibited and fervently kissed by the people on the conclusion of the service. His praying cell (Hujra) is fortunately in a good state of preservation and has an antiquarian interest of its own. No trace of the ancient palace remains except the gateway and the monuments just mentioned.

A great many miracles are ascribed to Chiraghi-Hind, but it will suffice to relate one or two of them. It is stated that, when on his way to Bihār, under instructions from his spiritual guide, he met a Brahman on the road.

The Brahman had no son, and implored the saint to pray for him. Chiraghi-Hind promised him no less than seven boys on the condition that the first born should be handed over to the Sufi to bring up as he thought best. The Brahman joyfully agreed. When Chiraghi-Hind returned homeward, after a decade had passed by, he recollected the meeting and sought out the Brahman to find him the glad parent of seven sons as predicted by him ten years previously. To his astonishment he met with evasive replies from the faithless Pandit. Chiraghi-Hind, however, did not depart for Zafarabad before warning him that the boy would himself follow him there. This actually happened, and the boy subsequent-

ly attained a high position in the community of Sufis under the name of Sheikh Saman.

Another following marvellous incident is recorded in the *Lataif Ashrafi*. Makhdum Jahangir Ashraf of Kachau-cha in the Fyzabad district avowed his intention of visiting his brother saint at Zafarabad, but received a warning from his teacher, Ala-Hazrat Ala-ul-Haq Chishti, against venturing near the 'Black lion of Zafarabad', so-called because Chiragh-i-Hind always wore a black robe. The undaunted Kachauchha sage however came to Zafarabad and staved in the mosque, not merely with his servant but also tied there the horses and camels of his retinue. Chiragh-i-Hind protested against such desecration of the sacred building but in vain. He then resorted to the use of his occult powers, and caused flames of fire to descend on the occupants of the mosque. Meanwhile the Prophet intervened and in a vision warned both of them against this unseemly quarrel. Makhdum Jahangir Ashraf had to quit Zafarabad immediately.

Sultan Firoz Tughlaq seems to have allotted a large Jagir for the support of the students visiting the monastery of Chiragh-i-Hind, whose descendants still continue to hold a very small fraction of this property.

## 2. *Hazrat Isad-ud-din Aflak-i-Hind*

He was a Zaidi Syed, claiming descent from Imam Zainul-Abdin. At the time when Chingiz Khan was running riot over the countries of Central Asia, and his

hordes were proceeding to carry fire and sword further to the west and south, Syed Miran Tajuddin Hussain, father of Asaduddin, left his home at Wasit in Mesopotamia and came to Delhi with all his family on receipt of an invitation from Sultan Nasir Uddin the then reigning monarch. The Sultan soon advanced the Syed to be Nazim of Karrand, and the subject of this memoir was born there on the 29th of the month of Rajjab, A. H. 661 (A. D 1263).

This date has been fixed by the *abjad* system from his title of Khwaja Wali (head of saints). His eldest brother, Syed Zainuddin, rose to be governor of Shamsabad under the Klilji dynasty, and his posterity still lives in that town, in Farrukhabad district. Another brother, Syed Zahiruddin, acquired considerable fame as a learned man (Alim) under the Tughluq Kings.

The education of Asad Uddin was completed in his twentieth year, when he married his cousin, daughter of Syed Najmuddin. He received his first lesson in spiritual matters from Syed Zia Uddin and then proceeded to Multan to be enrolled among the disciples of the celebrated Ruknuddin. The branch of Sufism to which he belonged was the Suhrawardi, initiated by Sheikh Shahabuddin of Suhraward, spiritual instructor of Sheikh Sadi. In a few years he became so renowned for piety and soul-force that Ruknuddin, not only, nominated him as his Khalifa (deputy) but bestowed on him the title of Aftab-i-Hind (Sun of India). On getting instructions from Ruknuddin to conduct a crescentade, he left Multan for Karra.

During his journey he stopped at Delhi at the court of Ghayasuddin Tughlaq, where he met with much kind and honourable reception. He was also fortunate enough to meet at Delhi Nizamuddin Auliya of Budaun, from whom he got further valuable additions to his store of spiritual knowledge.

He conducted no less than four Jehads. The first being against the Gaharwai Rajah of Kantit in Mirzapur, whom, aided by a force of about four thousand zealous warriors, he soon overcame and converted to Islam. The second was against the Rajput ruler of Sathardih in the Allahabad district. At the head of an army, double in strength to that employed in his first expedition, he defeated his Hindu opponent and converted him to Mohammedanism. The descendants of this clan are still known locally by the name of Tur Koman, given to their ancestors by Syed Asaduddin on account of their good fighting qualities. The third Jihad was still further eastward when he received tidings of the merciless manner in which the Rajah of Binawai (Azamgarh) was oppressing the local Mohammedans. Here he met with unusually stubborn resistance, the Rajah taking refuge in a strong fort where he remained besieged for a space of six months. At last the garrison was obliged to surrender owing to, so the story goes, a wondrous exhibition of the power exercised by Aftab-i-Hind over the forces of nature.

Suddenly the inmates of the fort began to experience an unbearable heat which left them no option but to throw

open the gates and acknowledge Aftab-i-Hind as victorious. The fourth and last of these religious forays was against the stronghold of Manich, which has already been described in the life of Chiragh-i-Hind.

One feature in the personal character of Makhdum Asaduddin is specially noticed by the old chroniclers, namely his intimate knowledge of the Qoran Shareef which he is said to have been in the habit of repeating from beginning to end twice daily and that in a voice of singular sweetness and power

His best known work is the Ishqia (Love of God) which still continues to be a popular book among the Sufis.

Asaduddin attained a great age, exceeding a hundred years, but retained his bodily and mental faculties to the end. The circumstances of his death were rather pathetic. While present in a Majlis (meeting) where a Ghazal (Ode) of Sadi was being recited, he nearly became unconscious with religious ecstasy on hearing the following lines, and expired six days later in his cell —

اگر هلاکت سعدی به تیغ فرقت نکست  
لال باشد اوخونی که دوستان ریزند

‘ If Sadi from thy sword his end should meet,  
“ The death blow from a friend is truly sweet ’

3    *Sheikh Jamal-ul-Haq*

He was the son of Hazrat Bandagi Kamal-ul-Haq. He is stated to have been a born saint and lived an austere



life from his boyhood. His prayers met with a ready response and his tongue was a naked sword, as a Persian writer says. His words proved to be very effective when he foretold the elevation of Rana Khan, Salar Khan and Rahim Dad Khan who were respectively made Nazims in the Malwa Province. He lived in the early days of the Sharqi rule, and his tomb is to be noticed in Zafarabad. The various miracles, he performed, and the school of Sufism, he followed, need not be mentioned here.

*1 Shams-ul-Haq Waddan Shah Budhan*

He was the son of Hazrat Maulana Ruknuddin and grandson of Chiragh-i-Hind, and was born in A.H. 774 (1372 A.D.) Just prior to his birth, three days before that event, to be exact, the aged Chiragh-i-Hind shut himself up in his prayer cell (Hujra) and did not emerge from that place of seclusion, even when the glad news of a child having been born was noised abroad. Some of the Saints disciples, feeling nervous lest anything should have befallen their Master, broke into the cell, only to find, to their intense grief, their respected tutor and friend, stretched lifeless on the ground. A piece of newly torn paper was noticed in a niche in the wall, which one of the students more inquisitive than his comrades, took up and read the familiar Persian phrase written on it

چون آمد شمس، رخصت چراغ است.

“When the sun appears, the Lamp ceases to burn.”  
With the advent of a grandson Chiragh-i-Hind felt that

the time had come to quit this world for another and a higher state of existence

From this circumstance the name of Shams-ul-Haq ( Son of God ), was bestowed on the newly born infant. On growing up he passed through all the different stages of sufism, namely Lahut, Jabrut, and Nasut, and acquired full insight into their hidden secrets.

For the benefit of those unacquainted with these terms of Sufism it may be explained that Lahut denotes the part of Heaven reserved for angels and the souls of the elect ; Jabrut is the region where awe of the Almighty reigns supreme and Nasut means the fountain of creation, the Holy of Holies, the Void where infinity exists alone. While still a babe he was nominated as successor to Chiragh-i-Hind, and on attaining adult age was regarded as the source whence learning, and more particularly spiritual knowledge, was conveyed to the multitude.

He was very punctual in offering the Haj prayers in the Zafarabad mosque, as already described in our account of Chiragh-i-Hind. He would have been delighted to hear of a modern miracle told in connection with this particular form of worship at the place where he himself was accustomed to pray. We have it on the authority of Nuruddin that in the opening years of the present century, in 1905, a dispute arose concerning the validity of these prayers of Pilgrimage away from Mecca. One evening when the Faithful were collected for Isha (evening) prayers a hideous sound was heard by all living in the

vicinity of the tomb of Chiragh-i-Hind and the next morning the tomb itself was seen to have been torn as under, as if by some mighty power. The historian (Nuruddin) declares that he personally witnessed this phenomenon, and saw the broken tomb. Shams-ul-Haq was a centenarian.

5. *Maulvi Qiyamuddin Suhrawardi.*

He belonged to the Koreishi tribe of sheikhs. He was a disciple and khalifa (Deputy) of Aftab-i-Hind and also had the advantage of improving his spiritual knowledge from the teachings of Hazrat Nizam Uddin Auliya. Gifted with both worldly and spiritual knowledge, by his austerities and meditation he attained such power as to perform miracles.

He lived at Delhi but accompanied Aftab-i-Hind when the latter left that place for Zafarabad. His death took place on the 13th of the month of Ziqad A. H. 87 (1471 A. D.)

6. *Mahdum Khwaja Sheikh Abul Fatah Soubrees*

He was the son of Syed Yahya and grandson of Maulvi Syed Abdul Muqtadir. He was an eminent scholar and used to impart knowledge as enjoined by his grandfather. He had a great taste for literature, knowing many languages and was in addition a good orator. His Persian and Arabic Kasidas have immortalised his name. He was a contemporary of Qazi Shahabuddin, Malik-ul-Ulema, and on

more than one occasion defeated him in arguments on the comparative merit of religion and science

His birth being delayed beyond the usual period the grandfather became very anxious. In his troubled state of mind the latter saw Ruknuddin of Multan Subrwardi in a dream who reassured him by saying that a child full of promise would be born in his family. The dream proved true and the next morning, 11th of Moharram A. H. 772 (1370 A. D.) the future scholar and saint came into existence at Delhi and received the name of Abdul Fattah. The birth occurred at Delhi. When Makhdum attained the age of twenty he removed to Jaunpur and lived there for a long time in straitened circumstances. A rich merchant, who knew his grandfather, happening to observe the Sufi philosopher, Abdul Fattah, sitting with no better protection from the sun than an old broken down wall, offered to purchase a suitable dwelling for him, but the kind proposal was not accepted. Later on, wealth as the chronicler says, flowed down the prosperous channel of his affairs. He was thus able to live in great pomp, buying the same house once offered to him in charity. His friend, the merchant astonished at his change of fortune, asked him the source of his sudden wealth. Fattah replied that he had a divine treasure at his command safe from fear of robbery and loss, unlike the wealth and property of the merchant. This mention of robbery filled the mind of the merchant with gloomy forebodings which were verified later on, for ere many days had passed thieves actually carried off his treasure. He got the title of

Soubrees ( Man of golden showers ) on account of the following marvellous incident. Once at a meeting, in which pious hymns were being recited, he in a fit of ecstasy supplicated God to reward the reciters and suddenly a shower of gold fell from above

He died in 858 A H ( A. D. 1453 ) and his tomb lies not far from that of Sadar Jahan Ajmal in Mohalla Sipah.

#### 7 *Syed Usman Shirazi*

He was a saint of great purity and also a renowned Alim. His family belonged to Shuaz but emigrated to Delhi during the early days of Tughlaq. Hazrat Usman Shirazi had to leave Delhi on the advent of Timur and his Tartar hosts. Two of the nobles of the court of Sultan Ibrahim who were apparently his brothers, Malik Khalis and Malik Mukhlis, took a strong fancy to him and built a handsome mosque for his special use in Mohalla Dareeba. The mosque goes by the name of Khalis Mukhlis on this account. It is also known as the Char-ungh-masjid owing to the presence in the left column of its outer arch, of a small stone which measures four fingers, irrespective of the age and size of the hand applied to it. His tomb can be seen close by in an enclosure on the north side of this mosque. The present family of Zulfikar Bahadur traces its origin to this saint.

#### 8 *Hazrat Khwaja Sadi Jahan Ajmal*

He was a Syed of very good family and migrated from Delhi to Jaunpur at the coming of Timur, as did so

many other learned and pious men. The name of Ajmal or Shining was bestowed on him because of the brightness of his countenance. He was a person of great erudition and piety, also celebrated for his intense devotion. Lost in contemplation of the Almighty, he would often fall into a trance. He was highly esteemed by Sultan Ibrahim who built a mosque for his special benefit on the ruins of a Hindu temple formerly built by Vijaya Chand, the Rathor ruler of Kanauj. The mosque, though badly damaged by the destructive hand of Sikandar Lodi and also by various floods of the river Gomti, is still standing at Makut Ghat. The front facade remains to show how beautiful this Jhanghri Mosque, as it is called, must have been in its entirety. In the opinion of General Cunningham and other archaeologists, the tracery is rich and the general effect produced by the combined skill of designers and sculptors is perhaps even greater than that of the Atala. Nor far from this Mosque stands the Khangah (monastery) of Sadr Jahan Ajmal, the main rooms of which are still to be seen, though in a tottering condition.

Tradition states that the saint once beheld the Prophet in a vision performing his ablutions (*Hazn*) and the following morning discovered the ground in a moist condition and visible marks of footsteps. On that spot he erected a small dome, one of the several Kadum Rassuls to be found at different spots in Jaunpur.

9. *Sheikh Mohammad bin Isa bin Taj.*

He was of the Chisthi group of Sufis. His father

Sheikh-ul-Mashaikh Isa bin Taj was an inhabitant of Delhi, which place he quitted at the time of the invasion of Timur. Sheikh Mohammad was then about seven years old, but even so early in life he had commenced his spiritual training under Sheikh Abdul-Fatteh Sonbrees described above. Later on he sat at the feet of Sheikh Fattehullah of Oudh. He received his mundane knowledge from Shahabuddin Malik-ul-Ulema and in order to give him a quicker and clearer insight of grammar, the Malik-ul-Ulema wrote his well-known book "Shara Bazoodi". After having attained a ripe age he retired into his Hujra where he is said to have stayed for the remaining forty years of his life in a state of contemplation. The chronicler says that except on Fridays and at the appointed hours of daily prayers he never quitted the seclusion of his cell. In fact, he was so lost to his surroundings that he failed to notice the growth of a tree within the confines of his Hujra, till one day a leaf fell on him and he enquired of his servants whence it came. We are informed that owing to his remaining in a constant posture of meditation his spine had almost protruded through the flesh, while his chin sunk forward on his breast. For a full space of twelve years he never stretched himself on a bed. He was apparently in one of these pious moods when he scornfully rejected the presents sent him by Sultan Ibrahim and sent back the following quatrain in return

من دلق خود به اطلس شاهان نسوادم

من قدر خود به ملک سلیمان نسوادم

را کنج فقر در دل من دج یادتم  
این رنج را به راحت شاهان نهمدم

“My rags I'd not exchange, with robe of state,

“Nor for the realms of Solomon the Great,

“The pangs of want I do not find amiss,

Nor would I give them for all kingly bliss.”

Sultan Ibrahim held him in such high esteem that for his convenience he laid the foundation of the Juma Masjid, which was completed by his successor Sultan Mahmud. This he did in order to save the old Sufi from the trouble of going to the distant Khalis Mukhlis mosque to perform his prayers. He died at the advanced age of eighty-six years in 845 A. H. (1441 A. D.). He lies buried not far from Juma Masjid, and close to his grave is that of his father, Isa, who was in his time a pupil of Sh. Makhdum Jalal Bukhari.

شاهان و کرم بر من درویشی نگر  
بر حال من خستگی و دل دریشی نگر.

در چند نهم لائق بخشاشی نو  
در کرم خویشی نگر







