



A98

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF INDIA

CIVIL APPELLATE JURISDICTION

CIVIL APPEAL NO. 2215 OF 2011



IN THE MATTER OF: -

Misbahuddeen

...Appellant

-Versus-

Mahant Suresh Das & Ors.

...Respondents

AND

OTHER CONNECTED CIVIL APPEALS

WRITTEN SUBMISSIONS

BY

MR. MOHD. NIZAMUDDIN PASHA, ADVOCATE

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(PLEASE SEE INDEX INSIDE)

ADVOCATE-ON-RECORD: EJAZ MAQBOOL

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Written Submissions

1. At the outset, it is submitted that the following submissions are wholly without prejudice to the primary submission of the Muslim parties that no temple was destroyed to construct Babri masjid.
2. The argument that has been made by Mr. P.N. Mishra, Advocate is essentially that Babri Masjid does not satisfy Islamic principles applicable to mosques:
 - (i) that as per Islamic law, a mosque could not have been constructed by destroying a temple, therefore no valid waqf is created, and
 - (ii) that the structure did not meet the essential requirements prescribed in Islam for places of worship, so it is not a mosque.

THAT AS PER ISLAMIC LAW, A MOSQUE COULD NOT HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTED BY DESTROYING A TEMPLE, THEREFORE NO VALID WAQF IS CREATED

3. This argument is flawed on various levels.
4. The court should refrain from examining the theological basis of historic acts as that would lead to absurd results.
 - Nirmohi Akhara's claim to land is contrary to their defining philosophy
 - Bairagis occupation of the chabutra in 1855, if accepted, is theologically problematic
 - In judicial review 500 years after the fact, Babur's rule itself could be deemed to be illegitimate as he came to power contrary to Islamic principles, having raised arms against a Muslim ruler. (See (a) **The Holy Quran, Surah 4:92-93**(b) **Hadees**)
 - Similarly, the sovereignty of several rulers in the medieval period would be found to be illegal as established in violation of Shariah, and consequently the legality of their sovereign actions would be in doubt:
 - Iltumish fought Yildiz and Qabacha to ascend to the throne

- Jalaluddin Khilji came to power after the brutal murder of Sultan Qaiqabad, son of Balban
 - Alauddin Khilji came to power after literally stabbing his uncle and father-in-law Sultan Jalaluddin in the back
 - Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq ascended to the throne after killing his father Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq by an elaborate plot in which he was buried alive under a collapsing pavilion
 - Shahjahan killed all his male relatives including his brother and rival claimant, Shahryar to claim the throne
 - Aurangzeb killed his brother and heir apparent Dara Shikoh to become king
5. The first question the Court must ask is, why is it of relevance to look at Shariah in this context?
 6. If the mosque was originally constructed in violation of Islamic principles 500 years ago, would it affect its status as a mosque today?
 7. Was Babur's ownership over the land he dedicated legal?
 8. This begs the question, what is legal, and as a corollary, what is law?
 - Austin's definition – command of the sovereign backed by sanction.
 - When one of his generals, Ilias Khan, rebelled against him, Babur had him flayed alive. (See "**Baburnama**", translated by **A.S. Beveridge, 1921, p. 576**)
 - When some persons in his court conspired against him, he did the following: "Monday being Court-day, I ordered the grandees and notables, amirs and wazirs to be present and that those two men and two women should be brought and questioned. They there related the particulars of the affair. That taster I had cut in pieces, that cook skinned alive; one of those women I had thrown under an elephant, the other shot

with a match-lock. (See “**Baburnama**”, translated by A.S. Beveridge, 1921, p. 542-43)

- Prof. H.L.A. Hart added the idea of rules of recognition and adjudication.
 - (i) The rule of recognition is the secondary rule against which a primary rule can be tested. The rule of recognition can only be verified by examining how the citizens, particularly the officials behave. If a primary rule violates a secondary rule, is it no longer adhered to?
 - (ii) Rules of adjudication empower an adjudicating authority to make authoritative determinations of the question whether, on a particular occasion, a rule has been broken.
 - (iii) Both of these are inapplicable in the context of that period in India as is demonstrated hereunder.
 - Can we construe Shariah as a rule of recognition that determines the validity of the Mughal Emperor's edicts? Did the citizens and officials refuse to follow any diktat of the Emperor that was unislamic? Did they refuse to recognize a ruler who came to power contrary to Shariah?
 - Was there any forum for adjudication of the violation of a rule by the Emperor? From the times of the Delhi Sultanate to the Mughal period, the Emperor's court was the highest court of appeal. (See “**Courts of India: Past to Present**”, Supreme Court of India, 2016)
 - This is contrary to Shariah where Caliph Umar appeared before the Qazi in answer to a charge and when the Qazi stood up in deference to Caliph Umar/offered him a seat beside himself, Caliph Umar chided him saying this is an act of injustice you commit, you must treat both disputing parties equally (See **Muhammad Ali Sallabee, “The Biography of Umar Ibn Al-Khattaab”, Darussalam, 2017**).
9. It is admitted by the Hindu parties that Babri Masjid was constructed by a sovereign. A sovereign ruler claimed ownership over the land and ordered a mosque to be constructed. Therefore, there is no question of the action of the sovereign being illegal under the law

then applicable. Legality or illegality has to be judged on the touchstone of the law then applicable. (See ***The Mosque Known as Masjid Shahid Ganj v. Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee, Amritsar***, (1940) 67 IA 251, at p. 261)

10. During Mughal times, all land vested in the sovereign:

- (i) "the land throughout the whole empire is considered the property of the sovereign, there can be no earldoms, marquisates or duchies. The royal grant consists only of pensions, either in land or money, which the king gives, augments, retrenches or takes away at pleasure." – **Francois Bernier, "Travels in the Moghal Empire, AD 1656-1668", translated by Archibald Constance, 1891**
- (ii) "It should also be borne in mind, that the Great Mogol constitutes himself heir of all Omrahs, or lords, and likewise of the Mansebdars, or inferior lords, who are in his pay; and what is of the utmost importance, that he is proprietor of every acre of land in the kingdom, excepting perhaps, some houses and gardens which he sometimes permits his subjects to buy, sell, and otherwise dispose of, among themselves." – **Francois Bernier, "Travels in the Moghal Empire, AD 1656-1668", translated by Archibald Constance, 1891**
- (iii) "for here in this country there are no firm estates in land to be purchased, the whole country being the King's and not held by any tenure." – **Sir William Foster, "The English Factories in India (1668-1669)", Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1927**
- (iv) "When a sovereign takes possession of a country by conquest, he naturally appropriates to himself all the benefits, which the ideas of his soldiers permit."

"Throughout the Ottoman dominions, the Sultan claims to himself the sole property in land. The same has undoubtedly been the situation of Persia, both in ancient and modern times."

"To those who contemplate the prevalence of this institution, among nations contiguous to the Hindus, and resembling them in the state of civilization, it cannot appear surprising, that among them, too, the sovereign was the lord of the soil. The fact is, indeed, very forcibly implied, in many of the ancient laws

and institutions. "Of old hoards", says one of the ordinances of Manu, "and precious minerals in the earth, the king is entitled to half by reason of his general protection, and because he is the supreme lord of the soil."

"On this point, it is of material importance to remark, that up to the time, when the interests of the Company's servants led them to raise a controversy about the rights of the Zamindars, every European visitor, without one exception that I have found, agrees in the opinion, that the sovereign was the owner of the soil."

"From these facts only one conclusion can be drawn, that the property of the soil resided in the sovereign".

- James Mill, "The History of British India", Associated Publishing House, New Delhi, 1817

Note: All these and other authorities have been produced before the High Court and are reproduced in **paragraph 3298, pages 1878-1883 of the Impugned Judgement.**

11. Even in today's context, this Hon'ble Court has held in ***Ismail Faruqui v. Union of India*, (1994) 6 SCC 360** that a place of worship, be it a mosque or a temple can be acquired by the State in exercise of its sovereign power. Where then, is the question of denying the right of acquisition to a previous sovereign?
12. In any event, a constitutional court today cannot evaluate the validity of the actions of a sovereign undertaken 500 years ago and hold that his actions were illegal according to principles he should have conformed to or claimed to conform to. That would be stretching the concept of judicial review of executive action beyond breaking point.
 - (i) Without prejudice to the above, the idea that Babur owed allegiance to the Caliph and was bound by the laws of the Caliphate is incorrect, irrelevant and without theological basis.
 - o The Islamic Caliphate was to end 30 years after the Prophet to be replaced by kingship. In theological terms, there was no Caliphate in existence in 1528 AD. (See **Hadees**)

- The fact that Babur (at times) invoked the Quran or Shariah to justify his own actions and galvanise and motivate his men does not imply that his actions can be subject to judicial review on the touchstone of Shariah. Baburnama mentions several actions of Babur that are in flagrant violation of Shariah:
 - Babur came to power by fighting against and killing a Muslim ruler.
 - Saturday, Sunday, Tuesday and Wednesday were drinking days. On all other days, there were parties of *majun* (cannabis). (See "**Baburnama**", translated by A.S. Beveridge, 1921, p. 447)
- (ii) The argument that Babur was the Caliph because he took on the title of Caliph and therefore he was bound to rule in accordance with Shariah is absurd, to say the least.
 - Titles of Idi Amin, Dictator of Uganda: "His Excellency, President for Life, Field Marshal Al Haaji Doctor Idi Amin Dada, Victoria Cross, Distinguished Service Order, Military Cross, Lord of All the Beasts of the Earth and Fishes of the Seas and Conqueror of the British Empire in Africa in General and Uganda in Particular." (Also believed to have taken on the title of King of Scotland.)
 - All rulers took on the title of "Shahanshah". But that itself is contrary to Hadees. (See **Hadees**)
- (iii) The idea that India of that era being Dar-ul-Islam, all actions must pass muster of Shariah is based on a series of self-serving surmises. What is Dar-ul-Islam? It is when a country is governed by Muslim law, not just when the sovereign is Muslim. The Austinian definition cannot be defeated by presuming that India was Dar-ul-Islam, and then saying that the actions of the sovereign were unislamic and are therefore illegal. As demonstrated above, the actions of the sovereign were never subject to Islamic law, as has already been argued above.

13. Even the authorities cited by Mr. P.N. Mishra, Advocate suggest that the lands of people who are conquered by the sword become Muslim property. (See (a) **Impugned Judgment, para 3212, p. 1811**; and (b) **Impugned Judgment, para 3158. P. 1761**; (c) **Impugned Judgment, para 3222, p. 1819**)
14. On a demurrer, assuming all the above questions are answered against the Muslim parties and wholly without prejudice to the above, it is submitted that even if the actions of Babur in occupying the land were to be deemed to be sinful, although the same is not borne out by authorities, in any event, whether or not Babur committed a sin is not the subject matter of jurisdiction of the court.
- (i) This would lead to the absurd result that a waqf would be invalid if the dedication is made by someone who has legally acquired title by adverse possession (this Court has now held that adverse possession can also be used as a sword, not just a shield), by earnings from liquor trade, by earnings of a lottery or by interest obtained from a bank or a borrower. The courts in India would become adjudicators of whether or not an act is sinful. Therefore, title will always have to be adjudicated by applicable law, not by theology.
 - (ii) Mr. P.N. Mishra, Advocate has argued that Babur was not a Muslim (because of the unislamic actions he committed) and so a mosque constructed by him is no mosque at all (see **p. 106 of "Notes of Argument – I" submitted by Mr. P.N. Mishra**). This is contrary to the most basic tenet of Islam that the right to judge in matters of faith belongs to no one other than Allah, who is Al-Hakkam.
 - (iii) The general principle that usurping the land of another person unjustly is a sin has been invoked. But this requires the question to be asked - whose land was taken unjustly? As per Hindu law, debutter land is owned by the deity. And Islamic law does not recognize the deity. So who is the person wronged?
 - (iv) According to the Quran, Muslims are bound to follow the commands of the sovereign. (See **The Holy Quran, Surah 4:92-93**)
15. This could potentially open the floodgates of claims and disrupt India's social fabric and endanger our historic and cultural heritage.

**THAT THE STRUCTURE DID NOT MEET THE ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS
PRESCRIBED IN ISLAM FOR PLACES OF WORSHIP, SO IT IS NOT A MOSQUE**

16. It has been argued that the mosque was not constructed according to Islamic principles. For this, the relevant Ahadees as well as practices will have to be examined to see what are the essential elements of mosque architecture and whether any feature or use would take away the status of the mosque as a mosque.

Mosque Architecture

(i) Is a place for wuzu a sine qua non for a mosque?

- a. Firstly, Babri Masjid had a place earmarked for ablution. (See **Map filed in 1885 Suit** shows a place marked for ablution. ; See **Report of Mr. Basheer Ahmed Khan, Local Commissioner**, dated August 3, 1950, Volume A-54, p. 13)
- b. In any event, Hadees say it is preferable that you must perform ablution at home and then come to the mosque. (See Hadees)
- c. All Hadees cited either say bathing on Friday is a must or indicate how wuzu is to be performed. (See (a)p. 137 of **"Notes of Argument – I"** submitted by Mr. P.N. Mishra, Advocate; (b) **Impugned Judgment**, para 3191 at p. 1776-1780, para 3204 at p. 1789-1791)

(ii) Can pictures exist in mosques?

- a. What exactly has been disapproved? Meaning of the word "tasweer". Indicated in a Hadees they have themselves cited – don't know whether he said picture or image. (See (a)p. 130 of **"Notes of Argument – I"** submitted by Mr. P.N. Mishra, Advocate; (b) **Impugned Judgment**, para 3189, p. 1771, para 3209 at p. 1799)
- b. Pictures of lifeless things are not disapproved - (See(a) **Hadees**; (b) **Impugned Judgment**, internal ref. 2110, p. 1801)

- c. What is the purpose of the injunction? Indicated in another Hadees cited which says they must not distract the attention of worshippers from prayer. (See **(a) Hadees; (b) Impugned Judgment, para 3189, p. 1772**)
 - d. Can a Muslim say this is interfering with my prayer or can an outsider say your prayer is makruh because of pictures so this is not a mosque?
- (iii) Does a mosque have to have minarets?
- a. First mosque of Islam had neither dome nor minarets. (See **Hadees**)
 - b. There are a large number of mosques, including of the same period, that do not have minarets.
- (iv) Can a mosque have pillars/columns? (See **(a) Hadees; (b) Impugned Judgment, internal ref. 229, p. 1803**)
- (v) There cannot be two Qiblas in one land. This is a misinterpretation of a Hadees which means that the State cannot have two religions. (See **Impugned Judgment, internal ref. 633, p. 1803**)
- (vi) There should not be any bells nearby.
- a. It is submitted that in communally sensitive cities in India, temple bells start ringing at the time of azan. Would ringing of bells take away the character of a pre-existing mosque? Further, such an interpretation would imply that a mosque can only be in a place of quiet. Where are such places available in a populated country like ours?
 - b. In support of this, Ibn-Battuta has been cited (See **Impugned Judgment, p. 1776**). However, instead of supporting the case of the Hindu parties, this shows mosques in the vicinity of temples and ringing of bells around mosques was not unusual in India.
 - c. The sufi idea of Islam is more accommodative of other faiths.

(vii) The concept of Makruh.

- a. Means undesirable but not prohibited. It is a purely spiritual idea that relates to what makes worship dearer to Allah. Other examples of Makruh:
 - Offering namaz at sunset, sunrise or midday
 - Smelling food etc. deeply and with relish during a fast
 - Intimate contact during a fast
 - Sleeping before the Isha (night) prayer and waking up for it

Essential requirements of location and use of a mosque

- (i) Namaz must happen at least twice a day
 - Hedaya says the moment a single person offers prayers in the mosque, the right of the founder is extinguished and the property appertains solely to God (see p. 239 of Hedaya)
- (ii) A mosque cannot be built in a public place. This argument, besides being vague, would render practically all mosques in India as invalid.
- (iii) A mosque cannot coexist with another religious structure adjoining it (See **Impugned Judgment**, internal ref. 633, p. 1805)
 - The practice of Islam in India is different from practice of Islam in the Arab world. (See Ibn-Battuta at **Impugned Judgment**, p. 1776)
 - Sufi traditions are more embracing of diversity. Several examples in Delhi of mosques adjoining Gurudwaras.
- (iv) Food cannot be prepared in a mosque. There should not be a kitchen in a mosque. (See **Hadees**)
- (v) There cannot be graves around a mosque.
 - a. The map annexed to the plaint of 1885 shows that there are no graves in front of the western face of the mosque (**Map at p. 2889 of the Impugned Judgment**)

- b. The Hadees cited say you should not offer namaz towards/facing a grave, you should not sit on a grave, you should not build on a grave. (See (a)p. 132 of **"Notes of Argument – I"** submitted by Mr. P.N. Mishra, Advocate; (b) **Impugned Judgment**, para 3190, p. 1773; para 3205 at p. 1792-1795; internal ref. 1050-1054, p. 1805-06)
- c. What is and is not permissible in relation to graves is a subject which is heavily disputed in Islam, with sufis and wahabis being on extreme ends of the spectrum. It is clear from Baburnama that Babur's own inclinations lay with sufism. (See **"Baburnama"**, translated by A.S. Beveridge, 1921, p. 475) (See Amir Hasan Sijdi, **"Nizam-ad-din Awliya: Morals of the Heart"**, 1309-1322 AD)

MISTRANSLATIONS AND MISREADINGS

1. Readings of the inscriptions found on Babri Masjid

- Fuhrer(See **Impugned Order**, para 1436, p. 984)
- Beveridge(See **Impugned Order**, para 1441, p. 987)
- Ashraf Hussain and Z.A. Desai(See **Impugned Order**, para 1445, p. 989)
- Suit of 1945 between Shia Waqf Board and Sunni Waqf Board(See **Impugned Order**, para 1478, p.1009)

2. Confusion regarding Mir Baqi

(i) His titles/suffixes in Babarnama:

- a. Baqi Sharghwal – "high official of Central Asian sovereigns, who is supreme over all qazis and mullah". (See **"Baburnama"**, translated by A.S. Beveridge, 1921, p. 463)
- b. Baqi Mingbashi – Commander of a thousand men: (See **"Baburnama"**, translated by A.S. Beveridge, 1921, p. 590)

- c. Baqi Tashkinti – Hailing of Tashkent (See “**Baburnama**”, translated by **A.S. Beveridge, 1921, p. 601, 684**)
- (ii) Mir Baqi Asif Sani – Inscription above the door of Babri Masjid. (See **Impugned Order, para 1451, p.993**) This the Ld. District Judge, Faizabad misread as “Isfahani” in his order dated 1946 in the suit between the Shia Waqf Board and Sunni Waqf Board.
3. Misreading of complaint dated November 30, 1858 submitted by Syed Mohd. Khateeb, Muazzin, Masjid Babri (See **Impugned Judgment, para 2317, p. 1363**)

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13

The Meanings of the
NOBLE QUR'ĀN

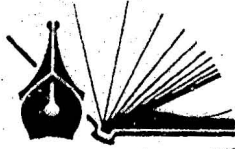
with explanatory notes

Volume 1

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by

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يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِيَ الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَزَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ
فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ
تَأْوِيلًا ﴿٥٩﴾ أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ يَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّهُمْ ءَامَنُوا بِمَا نُزِّلَ إِلَيْكَ وَمَا أُنزِلَ
مِنْ قَبْلِكَ يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَتَحَاكَمُوا إِلَى الطَّاغُوتِ وَقَدْ أُمِرُوا أَنْ يَكْفُرُوا بِهِ
وَيُرِيدُ الشَّيْطَانُ أَنْ يُضِلَّهُمْ ضَلَالًا بَعِيدًا ﴿٦٠﴾ وَإِذَا قِيلَ لَهُمْ تَعَالَوْا إِلَى مَا
أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ وَإِلَى الرَّسُولِ رَأَيْتَ الْمُتَفَقِفِينَ يُصَدُّونَ عَنْكَ صُدُودًا ﴿٦١﴾

O you who believe, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. Then, if you quarrel about something, revert it back to Allah and the Messenger, ³⁰ if you believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is good, and the best at the end. [59] Have you not seen those who claim that they have believed in what was revealed to you and what was revealed before you? They want to take their disputes to the *Tāghūt*, ³¹ while they were ordered to reject it. Satan wants to mislead them to a remote wrong way. [60]

When it is said to them, "Come to what Allah has revealed and to the Messenger," you will see the hypocrites turning away from you in aversion. [61]

30) That is, 'Take the Qur'ān and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet ﷺ as the final authority in your disputes.'

31) Verse 60 to 70 were revealed in the context of some incidents in which certain hypocrites suggested that their disputes should be brought to the Jews or to some soothsayers, instead of the Holy Prophet ﷺ, because they knew he would judge objectively, and thus his decision would very likely go against them. *Tāghūt*, as explained in verse 52 (note 26), refers to Satan or any false entity. Here it alludes to the person they wanted to judge between them, either a Jew or a soothsayer. When the hypocrites were criticized that, despite their claim to be Muslims, they agreed to submit to the decision of someone other than the Holy Prophet ﷺ, they gave the excuse that they went to the Jews, or soothsayers, only as a matter of compromise, and not for formal litigation. This is the import of their statement quoted in Verse 62, "We meant nothing but to promote good and bring about harmony."

سَتَجِدُونَ ءَاخِرِينَ يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَأْمَنُوكُمْ وَيَأْمَنُوا قَوْمَهُمْ كُلٌّ مَا رُدُّوا إِلَى الْفِتْنَةِ أُرْكِسُوا فِيهَا فَإِنْ لَمْ يَعْزِلُوكُمْ وَيُلْقُوا إِلَيْكُمْ السَّلَامَ وَيَكْفُوا أَيْدِيَهُمْ فُحِّدُوهُمْ وَأَقْتُلُوهُمْ حَيْثُ ثَقِفْتُمُوهُمْ وَأُولَئِكَ جَعَلْنَا لَكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ سُلْطَانًا مُبِينًا ﴿٩١﴾ وَمَا كَانَ لِلْمُؤْمِنِ أَنْ يَقْتُلَ مُؤْمِنًا إِلَّا خَطَاً وَمَنْ قَتَلَ مُؤْمِنًا خَطَاً فَتَحْرِيرُ رَقَبَةٍ مُؤْمِنَةٍ وَدِيَةٌ مُسَلَّمَةٌ إِلَى أَهْلِهِ إِلَّا أَنْ يَصَدَّقُوا

You will find others who want to be secure from you, and secure from their own people. (But) whenever they are called back to the mischief, they are plunged into it. ⁴² So, if they do not stay away from you, and do not offer peace to you, and do not restrain their hands, then seize them, and kill them wherever you find them, and, We have given you an open authority against them. [91]

It is not for a believer (Muslim) to kill any believer, except by mistake. Whoever kills a believer by mistake, then, a believing slave has to be freed, and the blood money must be paid to his family, unless they forgo it. ⁴³

the Muslims are directed that they should test such people, and if it is proved through their behavior that they really dislike fighting, and want to remain peaceful in real terms, then Allah has not allowed to seize them or to fight them.

42) This verse refers to a third category of people who, like the ones mentioned in verse 90, would approach the Muslims to seek peace, and pretend that they do not like fighting anyone, neither the Muslims, nor their own people, but they were not honest in their claim. Therefore, if they were invited by the opponents of the Muslims to join them against the Muslims, they violated their pledge with the Muslims. The verse orders that such people should also be killed like the first group mentioned in verse 89 above. Several reports state that some people from the tribes of Asad, Ghatafān and 'Abd-ud-Dār belonged to this category of infidels.

43) Killing by mistake means that the killer did not intend to kill the victim, but he was killed by his unintentional act; for example, he wanted to shoot an animal, but he missed the target and shot a human being. If both the killer and the victim are Muslims in such cases, the killer has two obligations. Firstly, he must offer *kaffārah* (expiation) by freeing a Muslim slave. If no slave is found,

فَإِنْ كَانَتْ مِنْ قَوْمٍ عَدُوٍّ لَكُمْ وَهُوَ مُؤْمِنٌ فَتَحْرِيرُ رَقَبَةٍ مُؤْمِنَةٍ وَإِنْ
كَانَ مِنْ قَوْمٍ بَيْنَكُمْ وَبَيْنَهُمْ مِيثَاقٌ فَدِيَةٌ مُسَلَّمَةٌ إِلَى أَهْلِهِ
وَتَحْرِيرُ رَقَبَةٍ مُؤْمِنَةٍ فَمَنْ لَمْ يَجِدْ فَصِيَامُ شَهْرَيْنِ مُتَتَابِعَيْنِ تَوْبَةً
مِنَ اللَّهِ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلِيمًا حَكِيمًا ﴿٩٣﴾ وَمَنْ يَقْتُلْ مُؤْمِنًا
مُتَعَمِّدًا فَجَزَاؤُهُ جَهَنَّمُ خَالِدًا فِيهَا وَغَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَلَعَنَهُ
وَأَعَدَّ لَهُ عَذَابًا عَظِيمًا ﴿٩٤﴾

If he (the victim) belongs to a people hostile to you and is a believer, then, a believing slave has to be freed. ⁴⁴ If he (the victim) belongs to a people between whom and you there is treaty, then, blood money is to be paid to his family, ⁴⁵ and a believing slave to be freed. Whoever does not find one has to fast for two consecutive months. This is repentance prescribed from Allah's side. Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise. [92] Whoever kills a believer deliberately, his reward is *Jahannam* (Hell) where he shall remain forever, and Allah shall be angry with him and shall cast curse upon him, and He has prepared for him a mighty punishment. [93]

(as in our days, there is no slave) he has to fast for two consecutive months. Secondly, he has to pay blood money (*Diyah*) to the heirs of the victim (which will be distributed between them according to their shares in inheritance). If the killer is a Non-Muslim, living in a Muslim country, he has to pay blood money only, as no *kaffārah* is obligated on him.

44) If a Muslim lives in a Non-Muslim country, hostile to the Muslims in the sense that Muslims have no treaty with it, and he is killed by a Muslim, blood money is not payable, because he was not under the protection of an Islamic state which has no authority over the hostile country.

45) When the victim of 'killing by mistake' is a *Dhimmi* (a Non-Muslim living legally in an Islamic state) or *Musta'min*, (a Non-Muslim who is visiting an Islamic state with permission), in both cases he is protected by the treaty or the covenant he has with the Islamic state. Therefore, blood money is to be paid by the killer to his family, and if the killer is a Muslim, he has to offer *Kaffārah* (expiation) as well.

Wuzu

(9) The Book of Virtues

Abu Hurairah (May Allah be pleased with him) reported:

The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "He who purifies (performs Wudu') himself in his house and then walks to one of the houses of Allah (mosque) for performing an obligatory Salat, one step of his will wipe out his sins and another step will elevate his rank (in Jannah)."

[Muslim].

وعنه أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: "من تطهر في بيته، ثم مضى إلى بيت من بيوت الله، ليقضي فريضة من فرائض الله كانت خطواته، إحداها تحط خطيئة، والأخرى ترفع درجة" (رواه مسلم).

Sunnah.com reference: Book 9, Hadith 64

Arabic/English book reference: Book 9, Hadith 1054

Chapter: To offer As-Salat (the prayers) in a mosque situated in a market (87)

باب الصَّلَاةِ فِي مَسْجِدِ الشُّوْقِ
وَصَلَّى ابْنُ عَوْنٍ فِي مَسْجِدٍ فِي دَارٍ يُغْلَقُ عَلَيْهِمُ الْبَابُ.

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "The prayer offered in congregation is twenty five times more superior (in reward) to the prayer offered alone in one's house or in a business center, because if one performs ablution and does it perfectly, and then proceeds to the mosque with the sole intention of praying, then for each step which he takes towards the mosque, Allah upgrades him a degree in reward and (forgives) crosses out one sin till he enters the mosque. When he enters the mosque he is considered in prayer as long as he is waiting for the prayer and the angels keep on asking for Allah's forgiveness for him and they keep on saying: 'O Allah! Be Merciful to him, O Allah! Forgive him, as long as he keeps on sitting at his praying place and does not pass wind. (See Hadith No. 620).

حدثنا مسدد، قال حدثنا أبو عمار، عن أبي بصير، عن أبي هريرة، عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال: "صَلَاةُ الْجَمِيعِ تَزِيدُ عَلَى صَلَاتِهِ فِي بَيْتِهِ، وَصَلَاتِهِ فِي سُوقِهِ خَمْسًا وَعِشْرِينَ دَرَجَةً، فَإِنْ أَحَدَكُمْ إِذَا تَوَضَّأَ فَأَحْسَنَ وَأَتَى الْمَسْجِدَ، لَا يُرِيدُ إِلَّا الصَّلَاةَ، لَمْ يَخُطْ خُطْوَةً إِلَّا رَفَعَهُ اللَّهُ بِهَا دَرَجَةً، وَحَطَّ عَنْهُ خَطِيئَةٌ، حَتَّى يَدْخُلَ الْمَسْجِدَ، وَإِذَا دَخَلَ الْمَسْجِدَ كَانَ فِي صَلَاةٍ مَا كَانَتْ تَحْبِسُهُ، وَتُصَلِّي - يَغْنِي عَلَيْهِ - الْمَلَائِكَةُ مَا دَامَ فِي مَجْلِسِهِ الَّذِي يُصَلِّي فِيهِ اللَّهُمَّ اغْفِرْ لَهُ، اللَّهُمَّ ارْحَمْهُ، مَا لَمْ يُحْدِثْ فِيهِ "

Reference: Sahih al-Bukhari 477

In-book reference: Book 8, Hadith 125

USC-MSA web (English) reference: Vol. 1, Book 8, Hadith 466

Pictures

Chapter: The selling of the pictures

(104)

باب بَيْعِ التَّصَاوِيرِ الَّتِي لَيْسَ فِيهَا رُوحٌ وَمَا يُكْرَهُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ

Narrated Sa'id bin Abu Al-Hasan:

While I was with Ibn 'Abbas a man came and said, "O father of 'Abbas! My sustenance is from my manual profession and I make these pictures." Ibn 'Abbas said, "I will tell you only what I heard from Allah's Messenger (ﷺ). I heard him saying, 'Whoever makes a picture will be punished by Allah till he puts life in it, and he will never be able to put life in it.' " Hearing this, that man heaved a sigh and his face turned pale. Ibn 'Abbas said to him, "What a pity! If you insist on making pictures I advise you to make pictures of trees and any other unanimated objects."

حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْوَهَّابِ، حَدَّثَنَا يَزِيدُ بْنُ زُرَيْعٍ، أَخْبَرَنَا عَوْفٌ، عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ أَبِي الْحَكِيمِ، قَالَ كُنْتُ عِنْدَ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ - رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا - إِذْ أَتَاهُ رَجُلٌ فَقَالَ يَا أَبَا عَبَّاسٍ إِنِّي إِنْسَانٌ - إِنَّمَا سَعَيْتُنِي مِنْ صَنْعَةِ يَدِي، وَإِنِّي أَصْنَعُ هَذِهِ التَّصَاوِيرَ. فَقَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ لَا أَحْفَظُكَ إِلَّا مَا سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ سَمِعْتُ يَقُولُ " مَنْ صَوَّرَ صُورَةً، فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ مُعَذِّبُهُ، حَتَّى يَنْفُخَ فِيهَا الرُّوحَ، وَلَيْسَ بِنَافِخٍ فِيهَا أَبَدًا " فَرَأَى الرَّجُلُ رُبُوبَ اللَّهِ وَرَأَى صُورَةَ رَجُلٍ فَقَالَ وَيْلَكَ إِنَّ أَيْتَ إِلَّا أَنْ تُصْنَعَ فُطُوكَ بِهَذَا الشَّجَرِ، كُلُّ شَيْءٍ لَيْسَ فِيهِ رُوحٌ. قَالَ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ سَمِعْتُ سَعِيدَ بْنَ أَبِي عَرُوبَةَ مِنَ النَّضَرِ بْنِ أَنَسٍ هَذَا الْوَاحِدَ.

Reference: Sahih al-Bukhari 2225

In-book reference: Book 34, Hadith 172

USC-MSA web (English) reference: Vol. 3, Book 34, Hadith 428

Narrated Abu Talha:

I heard Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) saying; "Angels (of Mercy) do not enter a house wherein there is a dog or a picture of a living creature (a human being or an animal)."

حَدَّثَنَا ابْنُ مِقْلَابٍ، أَخْبَرَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ، أَخْبَرَنَا مَعْمَرٌ، عَنْ الزُّهْرِيِّ، عَنْ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ ابْنَ عَبَّاسٍ - رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا - يَقُولُ سَمِعْتُ أَبَا طَالْحَةَ، يَقُولُ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ " لَا تَدْخُلُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ بَيْتًا فِيهِ كَلْبٌ وَلَا صُورَةٌ تَمَاتِيلٌ "

Reference: Sahih al-Bukhari 3225

In-book reference: Book 59, Hadith 36

USC-MSA web (English) reference: Vol. 4, Book 54, Hadith 448

Chapter: It is disliked to offer Salat wearing clothes with pictures

(93)

باب كَرَاهِيَةِ الصَّلَاةِ فِي التَّصَاوِيرِ

Narrated Anas:

Aisha had a thick curtain (having pictures on it) and she screened the side of her house with it. The Prophet (ﷺ) said to her, "Remove it from my sight, for its pictures are still coming to my mind in my prayers."

حَدَّثَنَا عُمَرَانُ بْنُ مَيْسَرَةَ، حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الْوَهَّابِ، حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الْعَزِيزِ بْنُ صُؤَيْبٍ، عَنْ أَنَسٍ - رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ - قَالَ كَانَ قَرَامٌ يُعَاسِدُهُ بَشَرَتْ بِهَا جَانِبَ بَيْتِهَا، فَقَالَ لَهَا النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ " أَمِيطِي عَنِّي، فَإِنَّهُ لَا تَزَالُ تَصَاوِيرُهُ تُعْرِضُ لِي فِي صَلَاتِي "

Reference: Sahih al-Bukhari 5959

In-book reference: Book 77, Hadith 175

USC-MSA web (English) reference: Vol. 7, Book 72, Hadith 842

Chapter: If someone offers Salat (prayer) in a garment bearing marks of a cross or picture, will he Salat be annulled? And what is forbidden thereof (15)

بَابُ إِنْ صَلَّى فِي ثَوْبٍ مُصَلَّبٍ أَوْ تَصَاوِيرٍ هَلْ تَقْسُدُ صَلَاتُهُ وَمَا يُنْهَى عَنْ ذَلِكَ

Narrated Anas:

'Aisha had a Qiram (a thin marked woolen curtain) with which she had screened one side of her home. The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "Take away this Qiram of yours, as its pictures are still displayed in front of me during my prayer (i.e. they divert my attention from the prayer).

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو مَعْمَرٍ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الْوَارِثِ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الْعَزِيزِ بْنُ صُهَيْبٍ، عَنْ أَنَسٍ،

كَانَ قِرَامٌ لِعَائِشَةَ يَهْرُبُ بِهِ جَانِبَ بَيْتِهَا فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ " أَمِيطِي عَنَّا قِرَامَكَ هَذَا، فَإِنَّهُ لَا تَرَالُ تَصَاوِيرُهُ تُعْرِضُ فِي صَلَاتِي "

Reference: Sahih al-Bukhari 374

In-book reference: Book 8, Hadith 26

USC-MSA web (English) reference: Vol. 1, Book 8, Hadith 371

Namaz between two Columns

It was narrated that Ibn Umar said:

"The Messenger of Allah entered the House, accompanied by Al-Fadl bin abbas, Usamah bin Zaid, Uthman bin Talhah and Bilal. They shut the door, and he stayed there for as long as Allah willed, then he came out." Ibn Umar said: "The first one whom I met was Bilal, and I said: "Where did the Prophet pray?" He said: "Between the two columns."

أَخْبَرَنَا يَعْقُوبُ بْنُ إِسْرَاهِيمَ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا هُشَيْمٌ، قَالَ أُنْبِئَانَا ابْنُ عَوْنٍ، عَنْ نَافِعٍ، عَنْ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، قَالَ دَخَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ النَّبِيتَ وَمَعَهُ الْفَضْلُ بْنُ عَبَّاسٍ وَأَسَامَةُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ وَعُثْمَانُ بْنُ طَلْحَةَ وَبِلَالٌ فَأَجَافُوا عَلَيْهِمُ الْبَابَ فَمَكَثَ فِيهِ مَا شَاءَ اللَّهُ ثُمَّ خَرَجَ . قَالَ ابْنُ عُمَرَ كَانَ أَوَّلَ مَنْ أَقْبَيْتُ بِلَالًا قُلْتُ أَيْنَ صَلَّى النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ مَا بَيْنَ الْأُسْطُوَانَتَيْنِ .

Grade: Sahih (Darussalam)

Reference: Sunan an-Nasa'i 2906

In-book reference: Book 24, Hadith 0

English translation: Vol. 3, Book 24, Hadith 2909

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صحيح البخاري

The Translation of the Meanings of
Sahîh Al-Bukhârî

Arabic-English

Volume 1

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500. Narrated Anas bin Mālik رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ: Whenever the Prophet ﷺ went for answering the call of nature, I and another boy used to go after him with a staff, a stick or an 'Anaza and a tumbler of water and when he finished from answering the call of nature, we would hand over that tumbler of water to him.

٥٠٠ - حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ حَاتِمٍ بْنُ بَرِيعٍ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا شَادَانُ، عَنْ شُعْبَةَ، عَنْ عَطَاءِ بْنِ أَبِي مَيْمُونَةَ قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَنَسَ بْنَ مَالِكٍ قَالَ: كَانَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ إِذَا خَرَجَ لِحَاجَتِهِ تَبِعْتُهُ أَنَا وَغُلَامٌ، وَمَعَنَا عُكَّازَةٌ أَوْ عَصَا أَوْ عَنَزَةٌ وَمَعَنَا إِدَاوَةٌ، فَإِذَا فَرَغَ مِنْ حَاجَتِهِ نَاوَلْنَاهُ الْإِدَاوَةَ. [راجع: ١٥٠]

(94) CHAPTER. *Sutra* (for the prayer) in Makkah and elsewhere.

(٩٤) بَابُ السُّتْرَةِ بِمَكَّةَ وَغَيْرِهَا

501. Narrated Abū Juhaifa رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ: Allāh's Messenger ﷺ came out at mid-day and offered a two-Rak'ā Zuhr and 'Aṣr prayers at Al-Baṭhā' and an 'Anaza was planted in front of him (as a *Sutra*). He performed ablution and the people took the remaining water left after his ablution and rubbed their bodies with it.

٥٠١ - حَدَّثَنَا سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ حَرْبٍ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ، عَنْ الْحَكَمِ، عَنْ أَبِي جُحَيْفَةَ قَالَ: خَرَجَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ بِالْهَاجِرَةِ فَصَلَّى بِالْبَطْحَاءِ الظُّهَرَ وَالْعِشَاءَ وَنَضَبَ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ عَنَزَةً وَتَوَضَّأَ، فَجَعَلَ النَّاسُ يَتَمَسَّحُونَ بِوَضُوئِهِ. [راجع: ١٨٧]

(95) CHAPTER. To offer Aş-Şalāt (the prayer) facing a pillar.

(٩٥) بَابُ الصَّلَاةِ إِلَى الْأُسْطُوَانَةِ،

'Umar said, "The people offering Aş-Şalāt (the prayer) have got more right to pray behind the pillars of the mosque than those who are talking." When 'Umar saw a person Ṣalāt (prayer) between two pillars, he brought him close to a pillar and told him to pray behind it.

وَقَالَ عُمَرُ: الْمُصَلُّونَ أَحَقُّ بِالسَّوَارِي مِنَ الْمُتَحَدِّثِينَ إِلَيْهَا، وَرَأَى عُمَرُ رَجُلًا يُصَلِّي بَيْنَ أُسْطُوَانَتَيْنِ فَأَذْنَاهُ إِلَى سَارِيَةٍ، فَقَالَ: صَلِّ إِلَيْهَا.

502: Narrated Yazīd bin Abī 'Ubaid: I used to accompany Salama bin Al-Akwa رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ and he used to offer the Ṣalāt (prayer) behind the pillar which was near the place where the Qur'āns were kept. I said, "O Abū Muslim! I see you always seeking to offer Aş-Şalāt (the prayers) behind this pillar." He replied, "I saw Allāh's Messenger ﷺ always

٥٠٢ - حَدَّثَنَا الْمَكِّيُّ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا يَزِيدُ بْنُ أَبِي عُبَيْدٍ قَالَ: كُنْتُ أَتِي مَعَ سَلَمَةَ بْنِ الْأَكْوَعِ فَيُصَلِّي عِنْدَ الْأُسْطُوَانَةِ الَّتِي عِنْدَ الْمُضْحَفِ، فَقُلْتُ: يَا أَبَا مُسْلِمٍ! أَرَأَيْكَ تَتَحَرَّى الصَّلَاةَ عِنْدَ هَذِهِ

seeking to offer *Aş-Şalat* (the prayers) near that pillar."

503. Narrated Anas رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُ: I saw the most famous people amongst the Companions of the Prophet ﷺ hurrying towards the pillars at the *Maghrib* prayer before the Prophet ﷺ came for the prayer.

(96) CHAPTER. To offer non-congregational *Aş-Şalāt* (the prayers) between the pillars.

504. Narrated Ibn 'Umar رَضِيَ اللهُ عَنْهُمَا: The Prophet ﷺ entered the Ka'bah along with Usāma bin Zaid, 'Uthmān bin Ṭalḥa and Bilāl, and remained there for a long time. When they came out, I was the first man to enter the Ka'bah. I asked Bilāl, "Where did the Prophet ﷺ offered prayers?" Bilāl replied, "Between the two front pillars."

505. Narrated Nāfi' : 'Abdullāh bin 'Umar said, "Allāh's Messenger entered the Ka'bah along with Usāma bin Zaid, Bilāl and 'Uthmān bin Ṭalḥa Al-Ḥajabī (i.e., the one who keeps the key of the gate of the Ka'bah and is considered as a servant of the Ka'bah), and closed the door and stayed there for some time. I asked Bilāl when he came out, 'What did the Prophet ﷺ do?' He replied, 'He offered *Ṣalāt* (prayer) with one pillar to his left and one to his right and three behind.' In those days the Ka'bah was supported by six pillars."

Mālik said : "There were two pillars on his

الْأُسْطُوَانَةِ؟ قَالَ: فَإِنِّي رَأَيْتُ النَّبِيَّ ﷺ يَتَحَرَّى الصَّلَاةَ عِنْدَهَا.

٥٠٣ - حَدَّثَنَا قَبِيصَةُ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا سُفْيَانُ، عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ عَامِرٍ، عَنْ أَنَسٍ قَالَ: لَقَدْ رَأَيْتُ كِبَارَ أَصْحَابِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ يَتَنَدَّرُونَ السَّوَارِيَ عِنْدَ الْمَغْرِبِ: وَزَادَ شُعْبَةُ، عَنْ عَمْرِو، عَنْ أَنَسٍ: حَتَّى يَخْرُجَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ. [انظر: ٦٢٥]

(٩٦) بَابُ الصَّلَاةِ بَيْنَ السَّوَارِي فِي غَيْرِ جَمَاعَةٍ

٥٠٤ - حَدَّثَنَا مُوسَى بْنُ إِسْمَاعِيلَ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا جُوَيْرِيَةُ، عَنْ نَافِعٍ، عَنْ ابْنِ عُمَرَ قَالَ: دَخَلَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ الْبَيْتَ وَأَسَامَةُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ، وَعُثْمَانُ بْنُ طَلْحَةَ، وَبِلَالٌ فَأَطَالَ ثُمَّ خَرَجَ، كُنْتُ أَوَّلَ النَّاسِ دَخَلَ عَلَى أَثَرِهِ، فَسَأَلْتُ بِلَالَ: أَيْنَ صَلَّى؟ قَالَ: بَيْنَ الْعَمُودَيْنِ الْمُقَدَّمَيْنِ. [راجع: ٣٩٧]

٥٠٥ - حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ يُوسُفَ قَالَ: أَخْبَرَنَا مَالِكٌ، عَنْ نَافِعٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ: أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ﷺ دَخَلَ الْكَعْبَةَ وَأَسَامَةُ بْنُ زَيْدٍ وَبِلَالٌ وَعُثْمَانُ بْنُ طَلْحَةَ الْحَجَبِيُّ فَأَغْلَقَهَا عَلَيْهِ، وَمَكَثَ فِيهَا، فَسَأَلْتُ بِلَالَ: حِينَ خَرَجَ: مَا صَنَعَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ؟ قَالَ: جَعَلَ عَمُودًا عَنْ يَسَارِهِ، وَعَمُودًا عَنْ يَمِينِهِ، وَثَلَاثَةَ أَعْمِدَةٍ

Preparation of Food/Kitchen/Sleeping in Mosque

Chapter: Sleeping In The Mosque (6)

باب النوم في المسجد

Ya'ish bin Qais bin Tikhfah narrated that his father, who was one of the people of Suffah, said:

"The Messenger of Allah said to us: 'Come with me.' So we went to the house of 'Aishah, where we ate and drank. Then the Messenger of Allah said to us: 'If you want, you can sleep here, or if you want you can go out to the mosque.' We said: 'We will go out to the mosque.'"

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ، حَدَّثَنَا الْحَسَنُ بْنُ مُوسَى، حَدَّثَنَا شَيْبَانُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ، عَنْ يَحْيَى بْنِ أَبِي كَثِيرٍ، عَنْ أَبِي سَلَمَةَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ، أَنَّ يَعِيشَ بْنَ قَيْسٍ بْنِ طَخْفَةَ، حَدَّثَهُ عَنْ أَبِيهِ، وَكَانَ، مِنْ أَصْحَابِ الصُّفَّةِ قَالَ قَالَ لَنَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - "انْطَلِقُوا". فَأَنْطَلَقْنَا إِلَى بَيْتِ عَائِشَةَ وَأَكَلْنَا وَشَرَبْنَا فَقَالَ لَنَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - "إِنْ شِئْتُمْ نَمْتُمْ هَاهُنَا وَإِنْ شِئْتُمْ انْطَلَقْتُمْ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ". قَالَ فَقُلْنَا بَلْ نَنْطَلِقُ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ

Grade: Sahih (Darussalam)

Reference: Sunan Ibn Majah 752

In-book reference: Book 4, Hadith 18

English translation: Vol. 1, Book 4, Hadith 752

Chapter: Sleeping of men in the mosque (58)

باب نوم الرجال في المسجد

وَقَالَ أَبُو قِلَابَةَ عَنْ أَنَسٍ قَدِمَ رَهْطٌ مِنْ عُكْلٍ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَكَانُوا فِي الصُّفَّةِ. وَقَالَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ كَانَ أَصْحَابُ الصُّفَّةِ الْفُقَرَاءُ.

Narrated Nail:

'Abdullah bin 'Umar said: I used to sleep in the mosque of the Prophet (ﷺ) while I was young and unmarried.

حَدَّثَنَا مُسَدَّدٌ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى، عَنْ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي نَافِعٌ، قَالَ أَخْبَرَنِي عَبْدُ اللَّهِ، أَنَّهُ كَانَ يَنَامُ وَهُوَ شَابًا أَعْرَبُ لَا أَهْلَ لَهُ فِي مَسْجِدِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ.

Reference: Sahih al-Bukhari 440

In-book reference: Book 8, Hadith 89

USC-MSA web (English) reference: Vol. 1, Book 8, Hadith 431

Chapter: What Has Been Related About Sleeping In The Masjid (122)

باب ما جاء في النوم في المسجد

Ibn Umar narrated:

"We would sleep in the Masjid during the time of Allah's Messenger and we were young men."

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ غِيْلَانَ، حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ، أَخْبَرَنَا مَعْمَرٌ، عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ، عَنْ سَالِمٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، قَالَ كُنَّا نَنَامُ عَلَى عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ وَلَحْنُ شَبَابٍ. قَالَ أَبُو عِيسَى حَدِيثُ ابْنِ

عُمَرَ حَدِيثٌ حَسَنٌ صَحِيحٌ . وَقَدْ رَخَّصَ قَوْمٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْعِلْمِ فِي النَّوْمِ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ . قَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ لَا يَتَّخِذُهُ مَبِيتًا وَلَا مَقِيلًا . وَقَوْمٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْعِلْمِ ذَهَبُوا إِلَى قَوْلِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ .

Grade: Sahih (Darussalam)

Reference: Jami' at-Tirmidhi 321

In-book reference: Book 2, Hadith 173

English translation: Vol. 1, Book 2, Hadith 321

Sunan Ibn Majah » The Chapters on Food from Sunan Ibn Majah

It was narrated that 'Abdullah bin Harith bin Jaz' Az-Zubaidi said:

"At the time of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) we used to eat bread and meat in the mosque."

حَدَّثَنَا يَعْقُوبُ بْنُ حَمِيدٍ بْنُ كَاسِبٍ، وَحَرَمَلَةُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، قَالََا حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ وَهْبٍ، أَخْبَرَنِي عَمْرُو بْنُ الْحَارِثِ، حَدَّثَنِي سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ زِيَادٍ الْحَضْرَمِيُّ، أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ الْحَارِثِ بْنِ جَزْءِ الزُّبَيْدِيِّ، يَقُولُ كُنَّا نَأْكُلُ عَلَى عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - فِي الْمَسْجِدِ الْخُبْزَ وَاللَّحْمَ .

Grade: Sahih (Darussalam)

English reference: Vol. 4, Book 29, Hadith 3300

Arabic reference: Book 29, Hadith 3425

Shama'il Muhammadiyah

Abdullah bin Haarith Radiyallahu'Anhu says... "We ate roasted meat with Rasulullah Sallallahu 'Alayhi Wasallam in the masjid".

حَدَّثَنَا قُتَيْبَةُ، قَالَ . حَدَّثَنَا ابْنُ لَهْيَعَةَ، عَنْ سُلَيْمَانَ بْنِ زِيَادٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ، قَالَ: أَكَلْنَا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ شِوَاءً فِي الْمَسْجِدِ .

English reference: Book 25, Hadith 156

Arabic reference: Book 26, Hadith 165

(26)

ilāha illallāh wa anna Muḥammad-ar-Rasūl-ullāh" [none has the right to be worshipped but Allāh and Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh] (i.e., he embraced Islām)."

مِنْ سَوَارِي الْمَسْجِدِ، فَخَرَجَ إِلَيْهِ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ فَقَالَ: «أُظْلِقُوا ثُمَامَةَ» فَاَنْطَلَقَ إِلَى نَخْلٍ قَرِيبٍ مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ فَاغْتَسَلَ، ثُمَّ دَخَلَ الْمَسْجِدَ فَقَالَ: أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ. [انظر: ٤٦٩، ٢٤٢٢، ٢٤٢٣، ٤٣٧٢]

(77) CHAPTER. To pitch a tent in the mosque for patients, etc.

(٧٧) بَابُ الْخِيْمَةِ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ لِلْمَرْضَى وَغَيْرِهِمْ

463. Narrated 'Aishah رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا: On the day of *Al-Khandaq* (battle of the Trench), the medial arm artery or vein of Sa'd (bin Mu'adh) was injured and the Prophet ﷺ pitched a tent in the mosque to look after him. There was another tent for Banī Ghifār in the mosque and the blood started flowing from Sa'd's tent to the tent of Banī Ghifār. They shouted, "O occupants of the tent! What is coming from you to us?" They found that Sa'd's wound was bleeding profusely and Sa'd died in his tent.

٤٦٣ - حَدَّثَنَا زَكَرِيَّا بْنُ يَحْيَى قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ نُمَيْرٍ قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا هِشَامٌ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ عَائِشَةَ قَالَتْ: أَصِيبَ سَعْدٌ يَوْمَ الْخَنْدَقِ فِي الْأَكْحَلِ، فَضَرَبَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ خِيْمَةً فِي الْمَسْجِدِ لِيَعُودَهُ مِنْ قَرِيبٍ، فَلَمْ يَرْغَهُمْ - وَفِي الْمَسْجِدِ خِيْمَةٌ مِنْ بَنِي غِفَارٍ - إِلَّا الدَّمُ يَسِيلُ إِلَيْهِمْ، فَقَالُوا: يَا أَهْلَ الْخِيْمَةِ! مَا هَذَا الَّذِي يَأْتِينَا مِنْ قِبَلِكُمْ؟ فَإِذَا سَعْدٌ يَغْدُو جُرْحُهُ دَمًا، فَمَاتَ فِيهَا. [انظر: ٢٨١٣، ٣٩٠١، ٤١١٧، ٤١٢٢]

(78) CHAPTER. To take the camel inside the mosque if necessary.

(٧٨) بَابُ إِدْخَالِ الْبَعِيرِ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ لِلْعِلَّةِ.

And Ibn 'Abbās said: The Prophet ﷺ performed the *Tawāf* while riding a camel.

وَقَالَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ: طَافَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ عَلَى بَعِيرٍ.

464. Narrated Umm Salama: I complained to Allāh's Messenger ﷺ that I was sick. He told me to perform the *Tawāf* behind the people while riding. So, I did so and Allāh's Messenger ﷺ was offering *Ṣalāt*

٤٦٤ - حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ يُوسُفَ قَالَ: أَخْبَرَنَا مَالِكٌ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ ابْنِ نَوْفَلٍ، عَنْ عُرْوَةَ،

Caliphate

Chapter: What Has Been Related About Al-Khilafah
(48)

باب مَا جَاءَ فِي الْخِلَافَةِ

Sa'eed bin Juman narrated:

"Safinah narrated to me, he said: 'The Messenger of Allah(s.a.w) said: "Al-Khilafah will be in my Ummah for thirty years, then there will be monarchy after that.'" Then Safinah said to me: 'Count the Khilafah of Abu Bakr,' then he said: 'Count the Khilafah of 'Umar and the Khilafah of 'Uthman.' Then he said to me: 'Count the Khilafah of 'Ali.'" He said: "So we found that they add up to thirty years." Sa'eed said: "I said to him: 'Banu Umaiyyah claim that the Khilafah is among them.' He said: 'Banu Az-Zarqa' lie, rather they are a monarchy, among the worst of monarchies.'"

حَدَّثَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ سَلِيمٍ، حَدَّثَنَا سُرَيْجُ بْنُ النَّمْعِ، حَدَّثَنَا حُشْرُ بْنُ نُبَاتَةَ، عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ جُمَانَ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي سَفِينَةُ، قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ " الْخِلَافَةُ فِي أُمَّتِي ثَلَاثُونَ سَنَةً ثُمَّ مَلَكٌ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ " . ثُمَّ قَالَ لِي سَفِينَةُ أَمْسَكَ خِلَافَةَ أَبِي بَكْرٍ وَخِلَافَةَ عُمَرَ وَخِلَافَةَ عُثْمَانَ . ثُمَّ قَالَ لِي أَمْسَكَ خِلَافَةَ عَلِيٍّ . قَالَ فَوَجَدْنَاهَا ثَلَاثِينَ سَنَةً . قَالَ سَعِيدٌ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ إِنَّ بَنِي أُمَيَّةَ يَزْعُمُونَ أَنَّ الْخِلَافَةَ فِيهِمْ . قَالَ كَذَبُوا بَنُو الزَّرْقَاءِ بَلْ هُمْ مَمْلُوكٌ مِنْ شَرِّ الْمَمْلُوكِ . قَالَ أَبُو عِيسَى وَفِي الْبَابِ عَنْ عُمَرَ وَعَلِيٍّ قَالَ لَمْ يَخْرُجِ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي الْخِلَافَةِ شَيْئًا . وَهَذَا حَدِيثٌ حَسَنٌ قَدْ رَوَاهُ غَيْرُ وَاحِدٍ عَنْ سَعِيدِ بْنِ جُمَانَ وَلَا نَعْرِفُهُ إِلَّا مِنْ حَدِيثِ سَعِيدِ بْنِ جُمَانَ .

Grade: Hasan (Darussalam)

Reference: Jami at-Tirmidhi 2226

In-book reference: Book 33, Hadith 69

English translation: Vol. 4, Book 7, Hadith 2226

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Where Namaz can be offered

Chapter:

(1)

باب

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah:

The Prophet (ﷺ) said, "I have been given five things which were not given to any one else before me. -1. Allah made me victorious by awe, (by His frightening my enemies) for a distance of one month's journey. -2. The earth has been made for me (and for my followers) a place for praying and a thing to perform Tayammum, therefore anyone of my followers can pray wherever the time of a prayer is due. -3. The booty has been made Halal (lawful) for me yet it was not lawful for anyone else before me. -4. I have been given the right of intercession (on the Day of Resurrection). -5. Every Prophet used to be sent to his nation only but I have been sent to all mankind.

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سِنَانٍ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا هُشَيْمٌ، عَنْ قَالَ وَحَدَّثَنِي سَعِيدُ بْنُ النَّضْرِ، قَالَ أَخْبَرَنَا هُشَيْمٌ، قَالَ أَخْبَرَنَا سَيَّارٌ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا بَرِيدٌ - هُوَ ابْنُ سُوَيْبٍ الْفُقَيْرُ - قَالَ أَخْبَرَنَا جَابِرُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: "أُعْطِيتُ خَمْسًا لَمْ يُعْطَهُنَّ أَحَدٌ قَبْلِي نُصِرْتُ بِالرُّعْبِ مَسِيرَةَ شَهْرٍ، وَجُعِلَتْ لِي الْأَرْضُ مَسْجِدًا وَطَهُورًا، فَلَيْسَ مِنْ أُمَّتِي أَدْرَكْنَاهُ الصَّلَاةَ فَلْيُصَلِّ، وَأُجِلَّتْ لِي الْمَعَانِمُ وَلَمْ تَجُلْ لَأَحَدٍ قَبْلِي، وَأُعْطِيتُ الشَّفَاعَةَ، وَكَانَ النَّبِيُّ يُبْعَثُ إِلَى قَوْمِهِ خَاصَّةً، وَبُعِثْتُ إِلَى النَّاسِ عَامَّةً "

Reference: Sahih al-Bukhari 335

In-book reference: Book 7, Hadith 2

USC-MSA web (English) reference: Vol. 1, Book 7, Hadith 331

صحيح البخاري

The Translation of the Meanings of
Sahîh Al-Bukhârî

Arabic-English

Volume 3

Translated by:

الدكتور محمد محسن خان

Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan
Formerly Director, University Hospital
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دار السلام

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said, "Shall we throw away their contents and wash the pots (rather than break them)?" He said, "Wash them."

2478. Narrated 'Abdullāh bin Mas'ūd رضي الله عنه: The Prophet ﷺ entered Makkah and (at that time) there were three hundred and sixty idols around the Ka'bah. He started stabbing the idols with a stick he had in his hand and reciting:

"And say Truth (i.e., Islamic Monotheism or this Qur'ān or Jihād against polytheists) has come and Bātil (falsehood, i.e., Satan or polytheism) has vanished." (V.17:81)

2479. Narrated Al-Qāsim: 'Āishah رضي الله عنها said that she hung a curtain decorated with pictures on a cupboard. The Prophet ﷺ tore that curtain and she turned it into two cushions which remained in the house for the Prophet ﷺ to sit on.

(33) CHAPTER. (What is said about) one who fights to protect his property?

2480. Narrated 'Abdullāh bin 'Amr رضي الله عنه: I heard the Prophet ﷺ saying,

النيران؟ قالوا: على الحُمُرِ الإنسية، قال: «أكسروها وهريقوها»، قالوا: ألا نهريقها ونغسلها؟ قال: «اغسلوها». قال أبو عبد الله: كان ابن أبي أونس يقول: الحمر الأنسية. [انظر: ٤١٩٦، ٥٤٩٧،

[٦٨٩١، ٦٣٣١، ٦١٤٨]

٢٤٧٨ - حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ: حَدَّثَنَا سُفْيَانُ: حَدَّثَنَا ابْنُ أَبِي نَجِيحٍ، عَنْ مُجَاهِدٍ، عَنْ أَبِي مَعْمَرٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مَسْعُودٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ: دَخَلَ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ مَكَّةَ وَحَوْلَ الْبَيْتِ ثَلَاثُمِائَةٍ وَسِتُّونَ نَصْبًا، فَجَعَلَ يَطْعَنُهَا بِعُودٍ فِي يَدِهِ، وَجَعَلَ يَقُولُ: ﴿جَاءَ الْحَقُّ وَزَهَقَ الْبَاطِلُ﴾ الْآيَةَ

[الإسراء: ٨١]. [انظر: ٤٢٨٧، ٤٧٢٠]

٢٤٧٩ - حَدَّثَنِي إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ الْمُنْذِرِ: حَدَّثَنَا أَنَسُ بْنُ عِيَاضٍ، عَنْ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ الْقَاسِمِ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ الْقَاسِمِ، عَنْ عَائِشَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا: أَنَّهَا كَانَتْ اتَّخَذَتْ عَلَى سَهْوَةٍ لَهَا سِتْرًا فِيهِ تَمَاثِيلُ فَهَتَكَهُ النَّبِيُّ ﷺ فَاتَّخَذَتْ مِنْهُ ثَمْرَ قَتَيْنِ فَكَانَتَا فِي الْبَيْتِ يَجْلِسُ عَلَيْهِمَا. [انظر: ٥٩٥٤، ٥٩٥٥، ٦١٠٩]

(٣٣) بَابُ مَنْ قَاتَلَ دُونَ مَالِهِ

٢٤٨٠ - حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ

Waging War Against Muslims

Chapter: The Gravity of the Sin of Shedding Blood (2)

باب تعظيم الدَّم

It was narrated that 'Abdullah bin 'Amr said:

"Killing a believer is more grievous before Allah than the extinction of the whole world."

أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَشَّارٍ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدٌ، عَنْ شُعْبَةَ، عَنْ يَعْلَى، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو، قَالَ قَتَلَ الْمُؤْمِنِ أَكْظَمُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ زَوَالِ الدُّنْيَا.

Grade: Hasan (Darussalam)

Reference: Sunan an-Nasa'i 3988

In-book reference: Book 37, Hadith 23

English translation: Vol. 5, Book 37, Hadith 3993

باب مَا يُنْهَى مِنَ السَّبَابِ وَاللَّعْنِ

Narrated 'Abdullah:

Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) said, "Abusing a Muslim is Fusuq (i.e., an evil-doing), and killing him is Kufr (disbelief).

حَدَّثَنَا سَلِيمَانُ بْنُ جَرِيرٍ، حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ، عَنْ مَنْصُورٍ، قَالَ سَمِعْتُ أَبَا وَائِلٍ، يُحَدِّثُ عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ " سَبَابُ الْمُسْلِمِ فُسُوقٌ، وَقَتْلُهُ كُفْرٌ " تَابِعَهُ عَلَدَرُ عَنْ شُعْبَةَ

Reference: Sahih al-Bukhari 6044

In-book reference: Book 78, Hadith 74

USC-MSA web (English) reference: V

Chapter: What Has Been Related About The Gravity Of Killing A Believer (7)

باب مَا جَاءَ فِي تَشْدِيدِ قَتْلِ الْمُؤْمِنِ

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Amr:

that the Prophet (ﷺ) said: "The world ceases to exist is less significant to Allah than killing a Muslim man."

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو سَلَمَةَ، يَحْيَى بْنُ خَلْفٍ وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ بَرْبَعٍ حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو أَبِي عَدِيٍّ، عَنْ شُعْبَةَ، عَنْ يَعْلَى بْنِ عَطَاءٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ " لَزَوَالِ الدُّنْيَا أَهْوَنُ عَلَى اللَّهِ مِنْ قَتْلِ رَجُلٍ مُسْلِمٍ "

Grade: Hasan (Darussalam)

Reference: Jami' at-Tirmidhi 1395

In-book reference: Book 16, Hadith 10

English translation: Vol. 3, Book 14, Hadith 1395

The Title of Shahanshah

Chapter: The name which is most disliked by Allah.
(114)

باب أَبْغَضُ الْأَسْمَاءِ إِلَى اللَّهِ

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Messenger (ﷺ) said, "The most awful name in Allah's sight on the Day of Resurrection, will be (that of) a man calling himself Malik Al-Amlak (the king of kings).

صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ " أَخْبَى الْأَسْمَاءِ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ رَجُلٌ تَسَمَّى مَلِكَ الْأَمْلَاقِ "

Reference: Sahih al-Bukhari 6205

In-book reference: Book 78, Hādīth 229

USC-MSA web (English) reference: Vol. 8, Book 73, Hadith 224

Building a Mosque

Chapter: On (The Reward) Of Building Masajid
(12)

باب في بناء المساجد

Ibn 'Umar reported:

The pillars of the mosque of the Prophet (ﷺ) during the life time of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) were made of the trunks of the palm-tree; they covered from the above by twigs of the palm-tree; they decayed during the caliphate of Abu Bakr. He built it afresh with trunks and twigs of the palm-tree. But they again decayed during the caliphate of 'Uthman. He, therefore, built it with bricks. That survives until today.

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ حَاتِمٍ، حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مُوسَى، عَنْ شَيْبَانَ، عَنْ فِرَاسٍ، عَنْ عَطِيَّةَ، عَنْ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، أَنَّ مَسْجِدَ النَّبِيِّ، صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ كَانَتْ سَوَارِيهِ عَلَى عَهْدِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ جُدُوعِ النَّخْلِ أَعْلَاهُ مُظَلَّلٌ بِجَرِيدِ النَّخْلِ ثُمَّ إِنَّهَا نَخِرَتْ فِي خِلَافَةِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ فَبَنَاهَا بِجُدُوعِ النَّخْلِ وَبَجَرِيدِ النَّخْلِ ثُمَّ إِنَّهَا نَخِرَتْ فِي خِلَافَةِ عُثْمَانَ فَبَنَاهَا بِالْأَجْرِ فَلَمْ تَزَلْ ثَابِتَةً حَتَّى الْآنَ .

Grade: Da'if (Al-Albani)

Reference: Sunan Abi Dawud 452

In-book reference: Book 2, Hadith 62

English translation: Book 2, Hadith 452

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Where Building a Mosque is Permissible

Chapter: On (The Reward) Of Building Masajid
(12)

باب في بناء المساجد

Narrated Uthman ibn Abul'As:

The Prophet (may peace be upon him) commanded him to build a mosque at Ta'if where the idols were placed.

حَدَّثَنَا رَجَاءُ بْنُ الْمَرْجَى، حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو هَمَّامٍ الدَّلَالُ، مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ مُحَبِّبٍ حَدَّثَنَا سَعِيدُ بْنُ السَّائِبِ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عِيَّاضٍ، عَنْ عُثْمَانَ بْنِ أَبِي الْعَاصِ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمَرَهُ أَنْ يَجْعَلَ مَسْجِدَ الطَّائِفِ حَيْثُ كَانَ طَوَّاعِيَهُمْ.

Grade: Da'if (Al-Albani)

Reference: Sunan Abi Dawud 450

In-book reference: Book 2, Hadith 60

English translation: Book 2, Hadith 450

Chapter: Where It Is Permissible To Build Mosque
(3)

باب أين يجوز بناء المساجد

It was narrated from 'Uthman bin Abul-'As that:

The Messenger of Allah commanded him to build the mosque of Ta'if in the place where the Taghuts used to be.

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى، حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو هَمَّامٍ الدَّلَالُ، حَدَّثَنَا سَعِيدُ بْنُ السَّائِبِ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عِيَّاضٍ، عَنْ عُثْمَانَ بْنِ أَبِي الْعَاصِ، أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ - أَمَرَهُ أَنْ يَجْعَلَ مَسْجِدَ الطَّائِفِ حَيْثُ كَانَ طَاغِيَتُهُمْ.

Grade: Da'if (Darussalam)

Reference: Sunan Ibn Majah 743

In-book reference: Book 4, Hadith 9

English translation: Vol. 1, Book 4, Hadith 743

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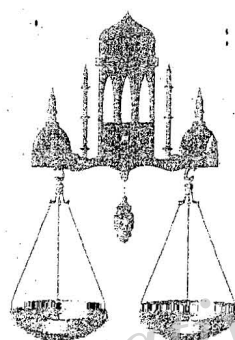
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The Biography of 'UMAR

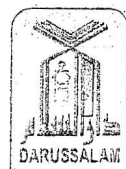
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The Judicial Branch of Government

Treating Disputants Equally: 'Umar ؓ wrote the following to Abu Moosa Al-Ash'aree ؓ:

"In the way you address people, in the way you sit, and in the way you mete out justice, treat people equally, so that a person of high ranking will not hope that you unfairly take his side, and so that a weak person will not despair of your justice." And 'Umar ؓ wrote in another letter, "In regard to the truth, treat people equally, both those that are near to you and those that are not near to you."

Once, when Ubai ibn Ka'ab ؓ made a claim against 'Umar ؓ regarding a garden that 'Umar ؓ knew nothing about, the two of them agreed that Zaid ibn Thaabit ؓ should judge their case. They went to him in his home, and when they entered upon him, 'Umar ؓ said to him, "We came to you so that you can judge between us, and a judge should not have to go out to others, but instead others should go to him in his home." Zaid indicated that 'Umar ؓ should sit in the best seat of his house, and according to one narration, he took out a pillow and handed it to 'Umar ؓ, saying, "Here you go, O Leader of the Believers." 'Umar ؓ said, "O Zaid, you have, from the very outset of these legal proceedings, been unjust. Instead, make me sit alongside my opponent." The two of them then sat before Zaid ؓ in an equal manner.⁽¹⁾

Encouraging the weak: A judge should make a weak person feel relaxed and at ease so that his fear will go away, and so that he will have the courage to speak. 'Umar ؓ wrote the following to Mu'aawiyah ؓ: "When dealing with a weak person, be kind and reassuring, so that he will have the courage to speak his mind."⁽²⁾

Quickly resolving a case that involves a litigant who is away from his family, or at least taking care of him by providing him with sufficient spending money for his needs: 'Umar ؓ wrote the

(1) *Saheeh At-Tawtheeq Fee Seerah WaHayaat Al-Faarooq*, pg. 259.

(2) *Majmoo'ah Al-Wathaa'iq As-Siyaasiyyah* (438).

ISLAMIC HISTORY SERIES PART II
THE RIGHTLY GUIDED CALIPHS 5

AL-HASAN

IBN 'ALI IBN ABI TÂLIB

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب
شخصيته وعصره

Dr. Ali M. Sallabi

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Nasiruddin al-Khattab

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Huda Khattab

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I have devoted an entire section to the life of al-Hasan during the time of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs. I have also described how al-Hasan fully understood the way of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs in terms of running the affairs of state, and the warm relationship that he had with them. I have detailed the Battles of the Camel and Şiffeen, and al-Hasan's stance in both of them.

I have discussed the martyrdom of Commander of the Faithful 'Ali (عليه السلام) and his final instructions to al-Hasan and al-Husayn, which forbade mutilating his killer. I have mentioned the speech given by al-Hasan following the martyrdom of his father. Also discussed is the way Mu'âwiyah received the news of 'Ali's murder, along with the oath of allegiance given to al-Hasan and the conditions that he stipulated therein. I have also mentioned the length of the caliphate of Commander of the Faithful al-Hasan and what *ahl as-Sunnah wal-jamâ'ah* (the people of the Sunnah and the community) believe concerning it.

I have proven that his caliphate was indeed Rightly-Guided, because the period of his rule completed the period of the Rightly-Guided Caliphate that the Prophet (ﷺ) had said would last for thirty years, after which it would become a dynastic monarchy. Imam at-Tirmidhi narrated with a chain going back to the freed slave of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ) that he said:

«The caliphate in my *Ummah* (the nation of Muslims) will last for thirty years; thereafter, it will become a kingship.»
(Recorded by at-Tirmidhi with a sound chain of narrators)

Ibn Katheer (may Allah have mercy on him) commented on the previous hadith:

The thirty-year period was only completed with the caliphate of al-Hasan ibn 'Ali (عليه السلام). He gave up the caliphate to Mu'âwiyah in Rabee' I, 41 AH, and that was the completion of thirty years after the death of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ),

for he had died in Rabee' I, 11 AH. This is one of the signs of his prophethood, may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him.²

Thus, al-Hasan was the fifth Rightly-Guided Caliph.³ This was also narrated in the hadith of Safeenah:

«The caliphate will last for thirty years; after that, it will become a kingship.» (Recorded by Ahmad with a sound chain of narrators)

«The caliphate in the footsteps of prophethood will be thirty years; then Allah will give (His) power and authority to whomever He wills.» (Abu Dawood)

During the thirty years after the Prophet's death, there were no rulers other than the four caliphs and then al-Hasan for a brief period. A number of scholars commented on the Prophet's words «The caliphate in my Ummah will last for thirty years» that the few months during which al-Hasan ruled, following the death of his father, are included in 'the caliphate in the footsteps of prophethood'.

Al-Qâdi 'Iyâd (may Allah have mercy on him) said:

During the thirty years, there were no rulers other than the four Rightly-Guided Caliphs and the few months during which allegiance was sworn to al-Hasan ibn 'Ali (عليه السلام). The hadith about the caliphate lasting for thirty years refers to the caliphate in the footsteps of prophethood, as stated in some reports:

«The caliphate in the footsteps of prophethood after me will be thirty years, then it will become a kingship.» (Muslim)

Ibn Abil-'Izz al-Hanafi wrote:

The caliphate of Abu Bakr lasted for two years and three months, the caliphate of 'Umar lasted for ten and a half years, the caliphate of 'Uthmân lasted for twelve years, the caliphate

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of 'Ali lasted for four years and nine months, and the caliphate of al-Hasan lasted for six months.⁴

Ibn Katheer said:

The evidence that he was one of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs is the hadith that we narrated in *Dalâ'il an-Nubuwwah*⁵ via Sa-feenah, the freed slave of the Messenger of Allah (ﷺ), according to which he said: «The caliphate after me will be for thirty years.» The thirty years were only completed by the caliphate of al-Hasan ibn 'Ali. (Recorded by Ibn Katheer with a sound chain of narrators)

Ibn Hajar al-Haythami (may Allah have mercy on him) said:

He is the last of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs according to the statement of his grandfather (ﷺ). He became the caliph after the murder of his father, with the oath of allegiance of the people of Kufa. He remained the caliph for six months and several days. He was a legitimate caliph and a just ruler who truly fulfilled what his grandfather, the truthful one (ﷺ), had said: «The caliphate after me will be for thirty years.» (Recorded by al-Haythami with a sound chain of narrators) Those six months completed the thirty years.⁶

The aforementioned were some of the comments of the scholars confirming that al-Hasan (ﷺ) was one of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs. Ahl as-Sunnah believe that the caliphate of al-Hasan was legitimate and that it was the final part of the caliphate of prophethood that the Prophet (ﷺ) had foretold would last for thirty years.⁷

Following that, I have gone on to explain that many speeches attributed to al-Hasan are not sound. I have quoted the comments of certain scholars regarding such books as *al-Aghâni* by Abul-Faraj al-Isfahâni, which is considered to be one of the books that have distorted the history of early Islam. This book is simply a lit-

Nizam Ad-Din Awliya

MORALS FOR THE HEART

Conversations of Shaykh Nizam ad-din Awliya
recorded by Amir Hasan Sijzi

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY
BRUCE B. LAWRENCE

INTRODUCTION BY
KHALIQ AHMAD NIZAMI

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MORALS FOR THE HEART

al-Islam Farid ad-din—may God sanctify his lofty secret—renewed his allegiance to Shaykh Qutb ad-din many times in this fashion, and I have followed his example.”

Then he began to discuss THE BEAUTY OF RELIANCE (ON ONE'S SHAYKH). “Shaykh Rafi' ad-din, who was the Shaykh al-Islam of Awadh, told me that he had a close relative who had been a disciple of Khwaja Ajall Shirazi—may God have mercy on him. Once that disciple was accused of serious offenses and, having been convicted, was led to the place of execution. The executioner wanted to situate him so that he was facing toward the qibla (the direction of the Ka'ba in Mecca). The disciple also wanted to face Mecca but that was the opposite direction from the tomb of his master, so he would have had to die with his back to his pir. He at once turned around and stood facing the tomb of his master. ‘Here,’ insisted the executioner, ‘everyone dies facing Mecca. Why do you want to be different?’ ‘Look,’ replied the condemned disciple, ‘It is up to me to choose the direction that I want to face at death; you just get on with your job.’”

In this connection he told another story. “I was once on a trip. One day, after having traveled a long distance, I began to feel ill. Even though I had been riding, I felt thirsty. I rode to the edge of a pond and dismounted from my horse. I wanted to scoop up some water and drink it. My heart became faint; I began to experience stomach cramps. And then, as I was on the verge of losing consciousness, these words came on my tongue: ‘O Shaykh! O Shaykh!’ After awhile I regained consciousness and found myself overwhelmed with confidence, confidence about the meaning of my life's work. I nurtured the hope that at the end of my life I would surrender myself into the hands of my Shaykh, just as I had imagined that I was about to do earlier—if God Almighty wills.”

II. Assembly 17

Sunday, 23rd of the blessed month of Ramadan,
A.H. 710 (13 February 1311)

I obtained the good fortune of kissing his feet. Conversation turned to VISITING GRAVES. “When my mother—may she be blessed—fell ill, she asked me several times to visit the tomb of a certain martyr or a certain saint,” he recalled. “I would obey her command, and when I returned home, she would say; ‘My illness is better, my affliction has eased.’” In the same vein he told another anecdote about the time that Shaykh al-Islam Farid ad-din—may God sanctify his lofty secret—fell

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The Bābur-nāma in English

(Memoirs of Bābur)

Translated from the original Turki Text

OF

Zahiru'd-dīn Muhammad Bābur Pādshāh Ghāzī

BY

ANNETTE SUSANNAH BEVERIDGE

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932 AH.—OCT. 18TH 1525 TO OCT. 8TH 1526 AD. 447

(Nov. 25th) On Saturday we dismounted in the Bāgh-i-wafā. We delayed there a few days, waiting for Humāyūn and the army from that side.¹ More than once in this history the bounds and extent, charm and delight of that garden have been described; it is most beautifully placed; who sees it with the buyer's eye will know the sort of place it is. During the short time we were there, most people drank on drinking-days² and took their morning; on non-drinking days there were parties for *ma'jūn*.

I wrote harsh letters to Humāyūn, lecturing him severely because of his long delay beyond the time fixed for him to join me.³

(Dec. 3rd) On Sunday the 17th of Šafar, after the morning had been taken, Humāyūn arrived. I spoke very severely to him at once. Khwāja Kalān also arrived to-day, coming up from Ghaznī. We marched in the evening of that same Sunday, and dismounted in a new garden between Sultānpur and Khwāja Rustam.

(Dec. 6th) Marching on Wednesday (Šafar 20th), we got on a raft, and, drinking as we went reached Qūsh-gumbaz,⁴ there landed and joined the camp.

reading of the word, quotes Burnes' account of an affection common in the Panj-āb and there called *nuzla*, which is a running at the nostrils, that wastes the brain and stamina of the body and ends fatally (*Travels in Bukhara* ed. 1839, ii, 41).

¹ Tramontana, north of Hindū-kush.

² Shaikh Zain says that the drinking days were Saturday, Sunday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

³ The Elph. Codex (f. 208b) contains the following note of Humāyūn's about his delay; it has been expunged from the text but is still fairly legible:—"The time fixed was after 'Āshūrā (10th Muḥarram, a voluntary fast); although we arrived after the next-following 10th ('āshūr, i.e. of Šafar), the delay had been necessary. The purpose of the letters (Bābur's) was to get information; (in reply) it was represented that the equipment of the army of Badakhshān caused delay. If this slave (Humāyūn), trusting to his [father's] kindness, caused further delay, he has been sorry."

Bābur's march from the Bāgh-i-wafā was delayed about a month; Humāyūn started late from Badakhshān; his force may have needed some stay in Kābul for completion of equipment; his personal share of blame for which he counted on his father's forgiveness, is likely to have been connected with his mother's presence in Kābul.

Humāyūn's note is quoted in Turkī by one MS. of the Persian text (B.M. W.-i-B. 16,623 f. 128); and from certain indications in Muḥammad Shīrāzī's lithograph (p. 163), appears to be in his archetype the Udaipūr Codex; but it is not with all MSS. of the Persian text e.g. not with I.O. 217 and 218. A portion of it is in Kehr's MS. (p. 1086).

⁴ Bird's-dome [f. 145b, n.] or The pair (*qūsh*) of domes.

It was the Afternoon Prayer when Khalifa's younger brother-in-law Tāhir Tibrī¹ who had found Ibrāhīm's body in a heap of dead, brought in his head.

(x. *Detachments sent to occupy Dihlī and Āgra.*)

On that very same day we appointed Humāyūn Mīrzā² to ride fast and light to Āgra with Khwāja Kalān, Muḥammadi, Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās*, Yūnas-i-'alī, 'Abdu'l-lah and Treasurer Walī, to get the place into their hands and to mount guard over the treasure. We fixed on Mahdī Khwāja, with Muḥammad Sl. Mīrza, 'Ādil Sultān, Sl. Junaid *Barlās* and Qūtlūq-qadam to leave their baggage, make sudden incursion on Dihlī, and keep watch on the treasuries.³

(*April 21st*) We marched on next day and when we had gone 2 miles, dismounted, for the sake of the horses, on the bank of the Jūn (Jumna).

(*April 24th*) On Tuesday (Rajab 12th), after we had halted on two nights and had made the circuit of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn *Auliya's* tomb⁴ we dismounted on the bank of the Jūn over against Dihlī.⁵ That same night, being Wednesday-eve, we made an excursion into the fort of Dihlī and there spent the night.

(*April 25th*) Next day (Wednesday Rajab 13th) I made the circuit of Khwāja Quṭbu'd-dīn's⁶ tomb and visited the tombs and residences of Sl. Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn *Balban*⁷ and Sl. 'Alāu'u'd-dīn

¹ He was a brother of Muḥibb-i-'alī's mother.

² To give Humāyūn the title Mīrzā may be a scribe's lapse, but might also be a nuance of Bābur's, made to shew, with other *minutiae*, that Humāyūn was in chief command. The other minute matters are that instead of Humāyūn's name being the first of a simple series of commanders' names with the enclitic accusative appended to the last one (here Walī), as is usual, Humāyūn's name has its own enclitic *nā*; and, again, the phrase is "*Humāyūn with*" such and such begs, a turn of expression differentiating him from the rest. The same unusual variations occur again, just below, perhaps with the same intention of shewing chief command, there of Mahdī Khwāja.

³ A small matter of wording attracts attention in the preceding two sentences. Bābur, who does not always avoid verbal repetition, here constructs two sentences which, except for the place-names Dihlī and Āgra, convey information of precisely the same action in entirely different words.

⁴ d. 1325 AD. The places Bābur visited near Dihlī are described in the *Reports of the Indian Archaeological Survey*, in Sayyid Ahmad's *Aṣār Sanādīd* pp. 74-85, in Keene's *Hand-book to Dihlī* and Murray's *Hand-book to Bengal etc.* The last two quote much from the writings of Cunningham and Fergusson.

⁵ and on the same side of the river.

⁶ d. 1235 AD. He was a native of Aūsh [Ush] in Farghāna.

⁷ d. 1286 AD. He was a Slave ruler of Dihlī.

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Fol. 268. *Khiljī*,¹ his Minār, and the Hauz-shamsī, Hauz-i-khaṣ and the tombs and gardens of Sl. Buhlūl and Sl. Sikandar (*Lūdī*). Having done this, we dismounted at the camp, went on a boat, and there 'araq was drunk.

We bestowed the Military Collectorate (*shiqdārlīghī*) of Dihlī on Red Walī, made Dost Dīwān in the Dihlī district, sealed the treasuries, and made them over to their charge.

(April 26th) On Thursday we dismounted on the bank of the Jūn, over against Tūghlūqābād.²

(y. The *khutba* read for Bābur in Dihlī.)

(April 27th) On Friday (Rajab 15th) while we remained on the same ground, Maulānā Maḥmūd and Shaikh Zain went with a few others into Dihlī for the Congregational Prayer, read the *khutba* in my name, distributed a portion of money to the poor and needy,³ and returned to camp.

(April 28th) Leaving that ground on Saturday (Rajab 16th), we advanced march by march for Āgra. I made an excursion to Tūghlūqābād and rejoined the camp.

(May 4th) On Friday (Rajab 22nd), we dismounted at the mansion (*manzil*) of Sulaimān *Farmulī* in a suburb of Āgra, but as the place was far from the fort, moved on the following day to Jalāl Khān *Jig:ha's* house.

On Humāyūn's arrival at Āgra, ahead of us, the garrison had made excuses and false pretexts (about surrender). He and his noticing the want of discipline there was, said, "The long hand may be laid on the Treasury"! and so sat down to watch the roads out of Āgra till we should come.

¹ 'Alāu'u'd-dīn Muḥ. Shāh *Khiljī Turk* d. 1316 AD. It is curious that Bābur should specify visiting his Minār (*minārī*, Pers. trs. I.O. 217 f. 185b, *minār-i-au*) and not mention the Qutb Minār. Possibly he confused the two. The 'Alāi Minār remains unfinished; the Qutb is judged by Cunningham to have been founded by Qutbu'd-dīn Albak *Turk*, circa 1200 AD. and to have been completed by Sl. Shamsu'd-dīn Altamsh (Altimish?) *Turk*, circa 1220 AD. Of the two tanks Bābur visited, the Royal-tank (*haus-i-khāṣ*) was made by 'Alāu'u'd-dīn in 1293 AD.

² The familiar Turki word Tūghlūq would reinforce much else met with in Dihlī to strengthen Bābur's opinion that, as a Turk, he had a right to rule there. Many, if not all, of the Slave dynasty were Turks; these were followed by the Khiljī Turks, these again by the Tūghlūqs. Moreover the Panj-āb he had himself taken, and lands on both sides of the Indus further south had been ruled by Ghaznawid Turks. His latest conquests were "where the Turk had ruled" (f. 226b) long, wide, and with interludes only of non-Turki sway.

³ Perhaps this charity was the *Khams* (Fifth) due from a victor.

Fol. 306. fritters were laid. It would have been bad if the poison had been strewn on the fritters or thrown into the pot. In his confusion, the man threw the larger half into the fire-place."

"On Friday, late after the Afternoon Prayer, when the cooked meats were set out, I ate a good deal of a dish of hare and also much fried carrot, took a few mouthfuls of the poisoned Hindūstānī food without noticing any unpleasant flavour, took also a mouthful or two of dried-meat (*qāq*). Then I felt sick. As some dried meat eaten on the previous day had had an unpleasant taste, I thought my nausea due to the dried-meat. Again and again my heart rose; after retching two or three times I was near vomiting on the table-cloth. At last I saw it would not do, got up, went retching every moment of the way to the water-closet (*āb-khāna*) and on reaching it vomited much. Never had I vomited after food, used not to do so indeed while drinking. I became suspicious; I had the cooks put in ward and ordered some of the vomit given to a dog and the dog to be watched. It was somewhat out-of-sorts near the first watch of the next day; its belly was swollen and however much people threw stones at it and turned it over, it did not get up. In that state it remained till mid-day; it then got up; it did not die.

Fol. 306b. One or two of the braves who also had eaten of that dish, vomited a good deal next day; one was in a very bad state. In the end all escaped. (*Persian*) 'An evil arrived but happily passed on!' God gave me new-birth! I am coming from that other world; I am born today of my mother; I was sick; I live; through God, I know today the worth of life!"¹

"I ordered Pay-master Sl. Muḥammad to watch the cook; when he was taken for torture (*qīn*), he related the above particulars one after another."

"Monday being Court-day, I ordered the grandees and notables, amīrs and wazīrs to be present and that those two men and two women should be brought and questioned. They there related the particulars of the affair. That taster I had cut in pieces, that cook skinned alive; one of those women I had thrown

¹ The Turki sentences which here follow the well-known Persian proverb, *Rasīda būd balāi wālī ba khair guzāsh*, are entered as verse in some MSS. ; they may be a prose quotation.

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under an elephant, the other shot with a match-lock. The old woman (*būā*) I had kept under guard; she will meet her doom, the captive of her own act." ¹

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"On Saturday I drank a bowl of milk, on Sunday 'arag in which stamped-clay was dissolved.² On Monday I drank milk in which were dissolved stamped-clay and the best theriac,³ a strong purge. As on the first day, Saturday, something very dark like parched bile was voided."

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"Thanks be to God! no harm has been done. Till now I had not known so well how sweet a thing life can seem! As the line has it, 'He who has been near to death knows the worth of life.' Spite of myself, I am all upset whenever the dreadful occurrence comes back to my mind. It must have been God's favour gave me life anew; with what words can I thank him?" Fol. 307.

"Although the terror of the occurrence was too great for words, I have written all that happened, with detail and circumstance, because I said to myself, 'Don't let their hearts be kept in anxiety!' Thanks be to God! there may be other days yet to see! All has passed off well and for good; have no fear or anxiety in your minds."

"This was written on Tuesday the 20th of the first Rabi I being then in the Chār-bāgh."

When we were free from the anxiety of these occurrences, the above letter was written and sent to Kābul.

(g. Dealings with Ibrāhīm's family.)

As this great crime had raised its head through that ill-omened old woman (*būā-i-bad-bakht*), she was given over to Yūnas-i-'alī and Khwājagī Asad who after taking her money and goods, slaves and slave-women (*dādūk*), made her over for careful watch to 'Abdu'r-raḥīm *shaghāwal*.⁴ Her grandson, Ibrāhīm's son had been cared for with much respect and delicacy, but as the attempt on my life had been made, clearly, by that family, it

¹ She, after being put under contribution by two of Bābur's officers (f. 307b) was started off for Kābul, but, perhaps dreading her reception there, threw herself into the Indus in crossing and was drowned. (Cf. A.N. trs. H. Beveridge *Errata* and *addenda* p. xi for the authorities.)

² *gil makhtūm*, Lemnian earth, *terra sigillata*, each piece of which was impressed, when taken from the quarry, with a guarantee-stamp (Cf. Ency. Br. s.n. Lemnos).

³ *tirīd-q-i-fārūq*, an antidote.

⁴ Index s.n.

from our camp (*aūrdū*); when we reached his camp (*aūrdū*), we sent Muḥammadi, 'Abdu'l-'azīz, 'Alī Khān and some others in pursuit of him. There was a little slackness;¹ I ought to have gone myself, and not have left the matter to what I expected from other people: When I had gone as much as a *kuroh* (2 m.) beyond the Pagan's camp, I turned back because it was late in the day; I came to our camp at the Bed-time Prayer.

Fol. 325b. With what ill-omened words Muḥammad Sharīf the astrologer had fretted me! Yet he came at once to congratulate me! I emptied my inwards² in abuse of him, but, spite of his being heathenish, ill-omened of speech, extremely self-satisfied, and a most disagreeable person, I bestowed a *lak* upon him because there had been deserving service from him in former times, and, after saying he was not to stay in my dominions, I gave him leave to go.

(b. *Suppression of a rebellion.*)

(*March 17th*) We remained next day (*Jumāda II. 14th*) on that same ground. Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* and Shaikh Gūran and 'Abdu'l-malik³ the armourer were sent off with a dense (*qālīn*) army against Iliās Khān who, having rebelled in Between-the-two-waters (Ganges and Jumna), had taken Kūl (Koel) and made Kīchik 'Alī prisoner.⁴ He could not fight when they came up; his force scattered in all directions; he himself was taken a few days later and brought into Āgra where, I had him flayed alive.

(c. *A trophy of victory.*)

An order was given to set up a pillar of pagan heads on the infant-hill (*koh-bacha*) between which and our camp the battle had been fought.

¹ Hence the Rānā escaped. He died in this year, not without suspicion of poison.

² *aichimni khālī qildām*, a seeming equivalent for English, "I poured out my spleen."

³ var. *malūk* as e.g. in I.O. 217 f. 225b, and also elsewhere in the *Bābur-nāma*.

⁴ On f. 315 the acts attributed to Iliās Khān are said to have been done by a "mannikin called Rustam Khān". Neither name appears elsewhere in the B.N.; the hero's name seems a sarcasm on the small man.

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934 AH.—SEP. 27TH 1527 TO SEP. 15TH 1528 AD.

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the army cross. The enemy did not come to fight on Saturday, but stood arrayed a long way off.

(*Sunday March 15th—Jumāda II. 23rd*) On this day the carts were taken over, and at this same dawn the army was ordered to cross. At beat of drum news came from our scouts that the enemy had fled. Chīn-tīmūr Sl. was ordered to lead his army in pursuit and the following leaders also were made pursuers who should move with the Sultān and not go beyond his word :—Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, Husamu'd-dīn 'Alī (son) of Khalīfa, Muḥibb-i-'alī (son) of Khalīfa, Kūkī (son) of Bābā Qashqa, Dost-i-muḥammad (son) of Bābā Qashqa, Bāqī of Tāshkīnt, and Red Walī. I crossed at the Sunnat Prayer. The camels were ordered to be taken over at a passage seen lower down. That Sunday we dismounted on the bank of standing-water within a *kuroh* of Bangarmāwū.¹ Those appointed to pursue the Afghāns were not doing it well; they had dismounted in Bangarmāwū and were scurrying off at the Mid-day Prayer of this same Sunday. Fol. 338.

(*March 16th—Jumāda II. 24th*) At dawn we dismounted on the bank of a lake belonging to Bangarmāwū.

(*q. Arrival of a Chaghatāi cousin.*)

On this same day (*March 16th*) Tūkhtā-būghā Sl. a son of my mother's brother (*dādā*) the Younger Khān (*Aḥmad Chaghatāi*) came and waited on me.

(*March 21st*) On Saturday the 29th of the latter Jumāda I visited Laknau, crossed the Gūi-water² and dismounted. This day I bathed in the Gūi-water. Whether it was from water getting into my ear, or whether it was from the effect of the climate, is not known, but my right ear was obstructed and for a few days there was much pain.³

(*r. The campaign continued.*)

One or two marches from Aūd (Oudh) some-one came from Chīn-tīmūr Sl. to say, "The enemy is seated on the far side of

¹ so-spelled in the Hai. MS.; by de Courteille Banguermādū; the two forms may represent the same one of the Arabic script.

² or Gūl, from the context clearly the Gumti. Jarrett gives Godi as a name of the Gumti; Gūl and Godi may be the same word in the Arabic script.

³ Some MSS. read that there was not much pain.

the river Sird[a ?] ;¹ let His Majesty send help." We detached a reinforcement of 1000 braves under Qarācha.

Fol. 338b. (March 28th) On Saturday the 7th of Rajab we dismounted 2 or 3 *kurohs* from Aūd above the junction of the Gagar (Gogra) and Sird[a]. Till today Shaikh Bāyazīd will have been on the other side of the Sird[a] opposite Aūd, sending letters to the Sultān and discussing with him, but the Sultān getting to know his deceitfulness, sent word to Qarācha at the Mid-day Prayer and made ready to cross the river. On Qarācha's joining him, they crossed at once to where were some 50 horsemen with 3 or 4 elephants. These men could make no stand ; they fled ; a few having been dismounted, the heads cut off were sent in.

Following the Sultān there crossed over Bī-khūb (var. Nī-khūb) Sl. and Tardī Beg (the brother) of Qūj Beg, and Bābā Chuhra (the Brave), and Bāqī *shaghāwal*. Those who had crossed first and gone on, pursued Shaikh Bāyazīd till the Evening Prayer, but he flung himself into the jungle and escaped. Chīn-tīmūr dismounted late on the bank of standing-water, rode on at midnight after the rebel, went as much as 40 *kurohs* (80 m.), and came to where Shaikh Bāyazīd's family and relations (*nisba*?) had been ; they however must have fled. He sent gallopers off in all directions from that place ; Bāqī *shaghāwal* and a few braves drove the enemy like sheep before them, overtook the family and brought in some Afghān prisoners.

We stayed a few days on that ground (near Aūd) in order to settle the affairs of Aūd. People praised the land lying along the Sird[a] 7 or 8 *kurohs* (14-16 m.) above Aūd, saying it was hunting-ground. Mīr Muḥammad the raftsman was sent out and returned after looking at the crossings over the Gagar-water (Gogra) and the Sird[a]-water (Chauka?).

Fol. 339. (April 2nd) On Thursday the 12th of the month I rode out intending to hunt.²

¹ I take this to be the Kali-Sarda-Chauka affluent of the Gogra and not its Sarju or Saruone. To so take it seems warranted by the context ; there could be no need for the fords on the Sarju to be examined, and its position is not suitable.

² Unfortunately no record of the hunting-expedition survives.

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Prayer of Sunday the 5th of the month, went into the fort of Āgra to bid farewell to Fakhr-i-jahān Begīm and Khadija-sultān Begīm who were to start for Kābul in a few days, and got to horse. Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā asked for leave and stayed behind in Āgra. That night we did 3 or 4 *kurohs* (6–8 m.) of the road, dismounted near a large lake (*kūl*) and there slept.

(*Sep. 21st*) We got through the Prayer somewhat before time (*Muh. 6th*) and rode on, nooned¹ on the bank of the Gamb[h]ir-water², and went on shortly after the Mid-day Prayer. On the way we ate³ powders mixed with the flour of parched grain,⁴ Mullā Rafī having prepared them for raising the spirits. They were found very distasteful and unsavoury. Near the Other Prayer we dismounted a *kuroh* (2 m.) west of Dūlpūr, at a place where a garden and house had been ordered made.⁵

(*c. Work in Dūlpūr (Dhūlpūr).*)

That place is at the end of a beaked hill,⁶ its beak being of solid red building-stone (*imārat-tāsh*). I had ordered the (beak of the) hill cut down (dressed down?) to the ground-level and that if there remained a sufficient height, a house was to be cut out in it, if not, it was to be levelled and a tank (*ḥauz*) cut out in its top. As it was not found high enough for a house, Ūstād Shāh Muḥammad the stone-cutter was ordered to level it and cut out an octagonal, roofed tank. North of this tank the ground is thick with trees, mangoes, *jāman* (*Eugenia jambolana*), all sorts of trees; amongst them I had ordered a well made, 10 by 10; it was almost ready; its water goes to the afore-named tank. To the north of this tank Sl. Sikandar's dam is flung across (the valley); on it houses have been built, and above it the waters of the Rains gather into a great lake. On the east of this lake is a garden; I ordered a seat and four-pillared platform (*tālār*)

¹ *tūshlānīb*, i.e. they took rest and food together at mid-day.

² This seems to be the conjoined Gambhīr and Bāngānga which is crossed by the Āgra-Dhūlpūr road (*G. of I. Atlas*, Sheet 34).

³ *aichtūg*, the plural of which shews that more than one partook of the powders (*safūf*).

⁴ *T. tālqān*, Hindi *sattu* (Shaw). M. de Courteille's variant translation may be due to his reading for *tālqān*, *tālghāq*, *flot*, *agitation* (his *Dict. s.n.*) and *yīl*, wind, for *bīla*, with.

⁵ in 933 A.H. f. 330b.

⁶ "Each beaked promontory" (Lycidas). Our name "Selsey-bill" is an English instance of Bābur's (not infrequent) *tūmshūq*, beak, bill of a bird.

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built on the western one.

(Sept. 22nd and 23rd—Muh. 7th and 8th) On account of these various works, we stayed in Dūlpūr on Tuesday and Wednesday.

(d. Journey to Gūālīār resumed.)

(Sep. 24th) On Thursday we rode on, crossed the Chambal-river and made the Mid-day Prayer on its bank, between the two Prayers (the Mid-day and the Afternoon) bestirred ourselves to leave that place, passed the Kawārī and dismounted. The Kawārī-water being high through rain, we crossed it by boat, making the horses swim over.

(Sep. 25th) Next day, Friday which was 'Āshūr (Muh. 10th), we rode on, took our nooning at a village on the road, and at the Bed-time Prayer dismounted a *kuroh* north of Gūālīār, in a Chār-bāgh ordered made last year.¹

(Sep. 26th) Riding on next day after the Mid-day Prayer, we visited the low hills to the north of Gūālīār, and the Praying-place, went into the fort² through the Gate called Hāti-pūl which joins Mān-sing's buildings ('imārāt³), and dismounted, close to the Other Prayer, at those ('imāratlār)⁴ of Rāja Bikramājī in which Rahīm-dād⁵ had settled himself.

¹ No order about this Chār-bāgh is in existing annals of 934 AH. Such order is likely to have been given after Bābur's return from his operations against the Afghāns, in his account of which the annals of 934 AH. break off.

² The fort-hill at the northern end is 300 ft. high, at the southern end, 274 ft.; its length from north to south is 1½ m.; its breadth varies from 600 ft. opposite the main entrance (Hāti-pūl) to 2,800 ft. in the middle opposite the great temple (Sās-bhao). Cf. Cunningham p. 330 and Appendix R, *in loco*, for his Plan of Gūālīār.

³ This Arabic plural may have been prompted by the greatness and distinction of Mān-sing's constructions. Cf. Index s. nn. *begār* and *bāghāt*.

⁴ A translation point concerning the (Arabic) word '*imarat*' is that the words "palace", "*palais*", and "residence" used for it respectively by Erskine, de Courteille, and, previous to the Hindūstān Section, by myself, are too limited in meaning to serve for Bābur's uses of it in Hindūstān; and this (1) because he uses it throughout his writings for buildings under palatial rank (*e.g.* those of high and low in Chandīrī); (2) because he uses it in Hindūstān for non-residential buildings (*e.g.* for the Bādalgārh outwork, f. 341b, and a Hindū temple *ib.*); and (3) because he uses it for the word "building" in the term building-stone, f. 335b and f. 339b. *Building* is the comprehensive word under which all his uses of it group. For labouring this point a truism pleads my excuse, namely, that a man's vocabulary being characteristic of himself, for a translator to increase or diminish it is to intrude on his personality, and this, the more when an autobiography is concerned. Hence my search here (as elsewhere) for an English grouping word is part of an endeavour to restrict the vocabulary of my translation to the limits of my author's.

⁵ Jalāl *Hisārī* describes "Khawāja Rahīm-dād" as a paternal-nephew of Mahdī Khawāja. Neither man has been introduced by Bābur, as it is his rule to introduce

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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THE SHARQI ARCHITECTURE

OF

JAUNPUR;

WITH NOTES ON ZAFARABAD, SAHET-MAHET AND OTHER PLACES
IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

By A. FÜHRER, PH.D.,
OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

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WITH DRAWINGS AND ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTIONS,

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CHAPTER X.

AYODHYA, BHUILA TAL, AND SAHET MAHET.

AYODHYA.

Bābar's-Masjid at Ayodhyā was built in A. H. 930, or A. D. 1523, by Mīr Khān, on the very spot where the old temple Janmāsthānam of Rāmachandra was standing. The following inscriptions are of interest:

Inscription No. XL is written in Arabic characters over the central *mīhrāb* of the masjid; it gives twice the Kalimah:—

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

“There is no God but 'Allāh, Muhammad is His Prophet.” [Qurān, Sūrah II.]

Inscription No. XLI is written in Persian poetry, the metre being Ramai, in six lines on the *mimbār*, right-hand side of the masjid.

بمنشای بابر خدیو جهان
بشائیکه با کاخ گردون عنان
بنا کرده این خانه پائندار
امیر سعادت نشان میر خان
بماند همیشه چنا بانیش
چنان شهریار زمین و زمان

1. By order of Bābar, the king of the world,
2. This firmament-like, lofty,
3. Strong building was erected
4. By the auspicious noble Mīr Khān.
5. May ever remain such a foundation,
6. And such a king of the world.

The letters of this inscription have been mixed together by the copyist, and are therefore very indistinct.

Inscription No. XLII is written in Persian poetry, the metre being Ramal, in ten lines, above the entrance door of the masjid. A few characters of the second and the whole third lines are completely defaced.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
بنام آنکه × × × × × × × ×
کند خالق بتلم جاردانی × × × × × × × ×
چنان شاهنشاه مشهور اقلیم × × × × × × × ×
دران حضرت یکی میدری معظم
بنای عهد دین تاریخ میمن
زمین را چون مثال شادمانی
که خاقان دولت و فغفور ثانی
که نهصد سی برد هجرت بدانی

خدایا در جهان باشاه بادا بچتر و نخت بخت زندگانی
 فشانده در جهان بابر گل خیر کند در دور گیتی کامرانی
 مشیر سلطنت تدبیر ملکش کزین مسجد حصاری هست بانی
 هذالقطعه التاریخ و صفت مسجد بخط نحیف عبد ضعیف فتح الله غوری محرر

- 1 In the name of God, the merciful, the clement.
- 2 In the name of him who... .; may God perpetually keep him in the world.
- 3
- 4 Such a sovereign who is famous in the world, and in person of delight for the world.
- 5 In his presence one of the grandees who is another king of Turkey and China,
- 6 Laid this religious foundation in the auspicious Hijra 930.¹
- 7 O God! may always remain the crown, throne and life with the king.
- 8 May Bâbar always pour the flowers of happiness; may remain successful
- 9 His counsellor and minister who is the founder of this fort masjid.
- 10 This poetry, giving the date and eulogy, was written by the lazy writer and poor servant Fath-allâh-Ghorî, composer.

The old temple of Râmachandra at Janmâsthânam must have been a very fine one, for many of its columns have been used by the Musalmâns in the construction of Bâbar's masjid. These are of strong, close-grained, dark-coloured or black stone, called by the natives *kasauti*, "touch-stone slate," and carved with different devices. They are from seven to eight feet long, square at the base, centre and capital, and round or octagonal intermediately.

Inscription No. XLIII is written in Tughrâ characters on a fragment of red sandstone, brought from the ruined Masjid of Aurangzîb, built on the site of an old temple, called Svargadvâramandiram. The original stone is at present in the Faizâbâd Local Museum.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُولُ اللَّهِ بَارِكْ وَسَلِّمْ وَصَلَّى

"There is no God but Allâh, and Muhammad is His Prophet. May peace, benediction and blessings be upon him!" [*Qurân.*]

Inscription No. XLIV is written in twenty incomplete lines on a white sandstone, broken off at either end, and split in two parts in the middle. It is dated Samvat 1241, or A. D. 1184, in the time of Jayachchandra of Kanauj, whose praises it records for erecting a Vaishṇava temple, from whence this stone was originally brought and appropriated by Aurangzîb in building his masjid known as Tretâ-kî-Thakur. The original slab was discovered in the ruins of this Masjid, and is now in the Faizâbâd Local Museum.

BHUÎLA TÂL.

This place lies 18 miles north-west from Bastî and 25 miles north-east from Ayodhyâ and has been identified by Mr. Carlleyle² with Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Śâkyamuni, which identification General Cunningham approves of. After

¹ The *Oudh Gazetteer*, Vol. I, page 6, gives the date of the completion of this Masjid as A. H. 935, or A. D. 1528; the word *hijra* in the inscription having probably been read *panj*. But this is incorrect, as the metre shows.

² Cunningham, *Archæological Reports*, Vol. XII, page 112 seqq.

Dr Führer's Wanderjahre: The Early Career of a Victorian Archaeologist

ANDREW HUXLEY

Abstract

The Rev. Dr A.A. Führer lived to the age of seventy-seven. Herein is examined his first forty years. Trained as an Oriental Linguist, Führer eventually found employment as a field archaeologist. Three years after his appointment, the Archaeological Survey of India entered the worst crisis of its existence. Führer reacted in ways incompatible with scholarly integrity. It remains to be seen whether he committed further transgressions and/or forgeries during his final thirty-seven years.

From 11 October 1894 to 6 January 1899 the Earl of Elgin served as Viceroy of India. Between these dates Rev. Dr A.A. Führer, the Government Archaeologist of North-Western Provinces & Oudh (NWPO), achieved fame and notoriety through his research in the Butwal Terai (the stretch of Nepali lowland lying north of Patna and Varanasi). Upinder Singh describes Führer's campaign in the Terai as "one of the most audacious frauds perpetrated in the history of nineteenth-century Indian archaeology".¹ Janice Leoshko labels the official reports of his discoveries as 'false' and 'fraudulent'.² To Charles Allen, Führer's excavations in Nepal were 'badly botched' and his claims 'bogus'.³ Between 1894 and 1899 Führer displayed the hubris, and suffered the nemesis, of a Sophoclean protagonist. Führer was forty-one years old when his investigations into the Butwal Terai began. I examine Führer's *Bildung* during his first forty years – the *Wanderjahre* that took him across continents, vocations, and confessions.

1853–1885: Youth and Early Manhood

Alois Anton Führer (1853–1930) studied Roman Catholic theology and Oriental studies at the University of Würzburg. He received his Doctorate in 1876 and was ordained in 1877. His first posting, as Sanskrit teacher in the Jesuit College in Bombay, was probably secured through Julius Jolly, (a junior member of the Bombay School, who had taught Führer at Würzburg). Bombay in the 1870s was a leading spot for Indological studies,⁴ boasting Georg

¹ Upinder Singh, *The Discovery of Ancient India: Early Archaeologists and the Beginnings of Archaeology* (Delhi, 2004), p. 321.

² Janice Leoshko, *Sacred Traces: British explorations of Buddhism in South Asia* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 57.

³ Charles Allen, *The Buddha and the Sahibs* (London, 2002), p. 277.

⁴ E.J. Rapson, 'Obituary of Peter Peterson', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1899), pp. 917–919.

Bühler, Peter Peterson and James Burgess as residents. It was Bühler who was to play the leading role in Führer's career.⁵ They first bonded when Bühler (who researched Hindu Law on the Government's behalf) recruited Führer to edit a *Dharmasastra* for the *Bombay Sanskrit Series*.⁶ Bühler then helped Führer to travel to London in order to copy out a Burmese-Pali law text held by the India Office, which Bühler knew of through an article by Reinhold Rost, the India Office Librarian.⁷ In London Rost guided Führer through the palm-leaf itself and through the secondary literature on Southeast Asian law. Führer agreed to give two lectures to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on his research. These two lectures were printed in successive issues of the Society's Journal (*JBRAS*).⁸ They are plagiarised to a startling degree.

Führer's own words make up only a tenth of what he allowed to be printed under his name.⁹ Most of the first lecture transcribed a Preface to a Burmese Law work published four years earlier in British Burma by Colonel Horace Browne. Führer's first three pages are also Browne's first three pages, save for differences in spelling. Then, where Browne describes his researches in Burma, Führer replaces it with his own visit to London. The next two pages are lifted from Browne's second Preface, from Rost's article, and from Sangermano's 1833 monograph.¹⁰ For instance Rost's 'Von dem Dhammasat wurde nachmals von Indra dem King Byumandhi (Vyomandhi für Vyomadhi?)' became 'The work is said to have been revised in the time of King Byumandhi – perhaps Vyomandhi instead of Vyomadhi (?)'. Führer ends with two pages of original work that give a précis of the Burmese law text, chapter by chapter. His second lecture offered a generalised description of the rules and institutions of Burmese Law, as reflected in the Burmese law text. In fact he had taken these eight pages from an article on Siam.¹¹ During the 1820s Major James Low of Penang had been the East India Company's expert on Siam. His studies of Siamese law were published twenty years later. Führer had to alter Low's text to hide its provenance. Wherever Low wrote 'Siamese', Führer substituted 'Burmese Buddhist', and wherever he used Thai words and

⁵ Georg Bühler (1837–1898) studied at Göttingen University, then carried out freelance research in London with the hope of landing a job in British India. In 1863 he obtained a position teaching at Elphinstone College Bombay. He had great success collecting Sanskrit manuscripts for the Government. After seven years he switched from teaching to a full-time post as Inspector of Education. He died suddenly in an alpine lake.

⁶ A. A. Führer, *Vasishtha dharmasastra* (Bombay, 1883).

⁷ Reinhold Rost (1822–1896) studied at Jena. He moved to London to carry out research, supporting himself as Oriental Teacher at St Augustine's College, Canterbury. In 1863 he combined his Canterbury job with being Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, switching in 1869 to become India Office Librarian. He specialised in Southeast Asia, though he was too fastidious to publish much of what he knew. He detested anyone who popularised Indological research.

⁸ A. A. Führer, 'Manusara dhammathat, the only one existing Buddhist Law Book, compared with the Brahminical *Manu dharmasastra*', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 15 (1882), pp. 329–338 and pp. 371–382.

⁹ These five sources were Vincenzo Sangermano, *The Burmese Empire*, (Vatican City, 1833); James Low, 'On the Laws of the Mu'ung Thai' *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* 1 (1847), pp. 321–429; Reinhold Rost, 'Über den *Manusara*' *Indische Studien* 1 (1850), pp. 315–320; Horace Browne, Preface to *Manuvarman dhammathat* (Rangoon, 1878); Horace Browne, Preface to *Manusara Shwe Myin dhammathat* (Rangoon, 1879).

¹⁰ Führer 1882, pp. 333–335; = Browne 1879, pp. 2–3; Rost 1850, p. 316 and Sangermano 1833, pp. 223–224.

¹¹ On land, Führer 1882, p. 372; = Low 1847, pp. 336–337. On inheritance, Führer 1882, pp. 372–373 = Low 1847, pp. 344–345. On marriage, Führer 1882, pp. 373–374 = Low 1847, pp. 346–349. On inheritance by monks and ministers, Führer 1882, pp. 375–376 = Low 1847, pp. 351–352, 354–355. On contract, Führer 1882, pp. 377–378 = Low 1847, p. 393. On elopement, Führer 1882, p. 378 = Low 1847, p. 424. On rape, Führer 1882, p. 378 = Low 1847, p. 425. On slavery, Führer 1882, p. 377 = Low 1847, p. 386. On pledge, Führer 1882, p. 378 = Low 1847, p. 391.

phrases, Führer cut them. However Führer gave the game away by retaining a passage about Siamese *sakdi-na*: Burma never subscribed to this system of ranking princes and officials.¹² He ended the second lecture with two pages of his own material, illustrating Burma's debt to the Sanskrit *Manusmṛiti* literature. I have analysed what Führer added to this debate elsewhere.¹³ Führer's first academic article was worse than plagiarised – it was actively misleading. Siam is not Burma. Siamese law is not Burmese law.

Führer's contemporaries in the field – John Jardine, Em Forchhammer, Julius Jolly, and Rhys Davids – spoke as if his work were a serious contribution to scholarship.¹⁴ Rost became aware of Führer's borrowings by way of the India Office Library's subscription to *JBRAS*. Führer must have anticipated this outcome. Did he act heedless of the consequences, or did he calculate the risks in advance? If the latter, he must have been very confident of his relationship with Bühler. Usually in academia two patrons are better than one. Perhaps Führer found himself under pressure to choose between Rost and Bühler (the two leading Anglophone Indologists of the day) as his sole patron. Shortly after Führer's London trip, ill health forced Bühler to retire from his front-line duties in India to a Chair in Vienna. Führer compounded his offence by claiming credit for a piece of research that Rost had himself carried out. Browne had raised the possibility of finding *dhammathats* in Sri Lankan book chests. However, "inquiries which have been made through the Ceylon branch of the Royal Asiatic Society . . . have failed to elicit any information on the subject". Führer altered this passage, to read "inquiries which I have made through the Buddhist high-priest, Mr Subhuti, in Colombo . . . have failed to elicit any information on the subject".¹⁵ As it happens, the correspondence that Ven. Waskaduwe Pavara Neruttakariya Mahāvibhavi Subhuti Nayaka (1825–1905) conducted with foreign scholars has been preserved and published. There is no letter in Ven. Subhuti's files from either Führer or Browne. There are, however, four letters from Rost enquiring about Sinhalese and Siamese equivalents of the Burmese *dhammathats*.¹⁶

Post-doctoral researchers gave lectures to bodies such as the Royal Asiatic Society in order to advertise their presence in the job-market. But Führer, as a Catholic priest, could not enter the job market. At sometime in the early 1880s he lost his vocation, renounced his bishop's authority, and thereby lost his job at St Xavier's College, Bombay. He probably spent the year of 1884–85 in Germany and may have spent the two preceding years as well.¹⁷ Early in 1885 Sir Alfred Lyall, NWPO's Lieutenant-Governor, appointed Führer as Curator of Lucknow

¹²Führer 1882, p. 376 = Low 1847, p. 351.

¹³Andrew Huxley, 'Legal transplants as historical data – *Exemplum Birmanicum*', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (2009), pp. 167–182.

¹⁴John Jardine, *Notes on Buddhist Law* Part VIII, Preface (Rangoon, 1883), pp. 2–3; Em Forchhammer, *The Jardine Prize: An Essay* (Rangoon, 1885), pp. 2–3; Julius Jolly, *Tagore Law Lectures of 1883* (Calcutta, 1885), pp. 44, 46, 292; Rhys Davids, 'Two books on Buddhist Law', *The Academy* No. 671 (1885), p. 190. Though Jardine and Forchhammer knew Browne's Prefaces very well, they made no public reference to the plagiarisms.

¹⁵Browne 1878, p. 2 = Führer 1882, p. 330.

¹⁶Letters from Rost to Subhuti, 16 August 1877; 26 April 1878, 29 April 1881 and 14 March 1884 in Ananda W.P. Guruge, *From the Living Fountains of Buddhism: Sri Lankan Support to Pioneering Western Orientalists* (Colombo, 1984), pp. 47, 49, 58, 72.

¹⁷In *Thacker's Indian Directory* (Calcutta, 1895) he appears as "A.A. Führer, M.D., Ph.D., Curator of Lucknow Museum . . ." If he did graduate in medicine as well as in theology and orientalism, it can only have been between 1882 and 1885. However, he did not mention any medical studies when applying in 1885 to be Curator of Lucknow Museum. (Minutes of Managing Committee of NWPO Museum, I: Minute of 18 May 1885.). Unless a typesetter or intermediary informant made a mistake, the likelihood is that Führer's medical qualification was self-awarded.

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Provincial Museum on a salary of Rs.250 per month. Führer started work in March, and by September had transformed the hitherto 'gloomy' Museum into an 'attractive and most instructive' space. He opened out the ground floor to create a light well down to the lower gallery, and filled it with Buddhist sculptures. Lyall, the Chair of the Museum's Management Committee, greatly approved, and wrote to Calcutta asking whether a part-time job for Führer could be found with the *Archaeological Survey of India (ASI)*. Führer was "a person of considerable zeal and energy" as well as a "good Sanskrit scholar and epigraphist".¹⁸ Thus, late in 1885, Führer's career as a Government Archaeologist began.

1885–1891: Beginner's Luck

The *ASI*, when Führer joined it, was in a period of expansion. Having started in 1861 as the fiefdom of a single person, it now employed eleven staff. The expansion posed awkward questions about professional training and specialisation. In its early years the *ASI*'s sole function had been to list northern India's antiquities. Major Alexander Cunningham spent his cold seasons conducting survey tours. Later his assistants carried them out for him. Between 1861 and 1885 Cunningham and his assistants filled twenty-three volumes with their reports. The 'survey tour' was a systematic campaign of description, transcription, and listing, supplemented by occasional excavations. Because the survey tourists rarely spent more than three nights in one place, they had little opportunity for significant discovery. Excavation, if it took place at all, was a hit-and-run affair. By the early 1880s specialist functions were being assigned to people with relevant training. Major H.H. Cole was appointed Curator of Ancient Monuments: mapping, drawing, photographing, and preserving India's monuments needed staff qualified as architects, engineers, or art teachers. J.F. Fleet (an ICS man who had learnt Sanskrit under Theodor Goldstücker) was appointed to head the Epigraphical Survey in 1882: a degree in oriental languages was preferred for those editing and publishing inscriptions. Despite its increased specialisation, in 1885 the *ASI* still bore Cunningham's stamp. He had developed a prose style – aspiring to the sublime – which influenced most of his staff; jungles were always 'dense', ruins 'vast', and sites 'deserted' and in his monograph on the *Bhilsa Topes* he had even sunk to quoting his own verses. At the head of his archaeological agenda Cunningham put three aims. Most important was to identify the sites within the Buddhist Holy Land mentioned in the Buddhist Canon and by the Chinese pilgrims Faxian and Xuanzang. Next in importance was to find more Ashokan epigraphy. James Prinsep's unravelling of the Brahmi alphabet used by Ashoka remains the greatest achievement of British archaeology in India, and Cunningham was keen to build on Prinsep's foundations. Finally, he aimed to discover examples of Hellenistic influence on early India, so as to argue that what was best in Indian art had come from Greece. The post-Cunningham *ASI* followed his agenda until at least the start of the twentieth century.

On joining the *ASI* Führer was instructed to continue surveying NWPO. His first tour, undertaken early in 1886, took him northwest from Jaunpur, along the Gogra River and up to the Rapti River. On the way he collected forty-six inscriptions in Arabic, Persian and

¹⁸ Letter from Chief Secretary, North-West Provinces & Oudh, to Secretary for Archaeology and Epigraphy, Calcutta, 20 July 1885. In Arch. & Epig Pros 4–18, file number 6 of 1898, October 1898. All archival references are to the India Office Library collection in the British Library, London.

Sanskrit. One of the latter could, he said, help settle "the question of the time of the first appropriation of the ancient Buddhist and Hindu temples by the Musalmans". Inscription XLIV records "a Hindu king erecting a Vaisnava temple" in 1184 CE. Führer discovered it not on the Hindu temple itself but as part of the rubble "re-used by Aurangzib in building his masjid".¹⁹ Since the demolition of Ayodhya's Babri Mosque in 1992, Inscription XLIV has become newsworthy, not so much for its text as for its find-spot.²⁰ Führer visited the Buddha's birthplace (as identified by Cunningham) and the Buddha's favourite monastery at Savatthi (as identified by William Hoey in 1885). He rejected Cunningham's identification, but accepted Hoey's. Late in 1886 Führer joined the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and submitted two short epigraphic papers to it.²¹ His second Survey Tour (1886–87) started in the Allahabad region, then moved northwest along the right bank of the Jumna River to Hamirpur. On the way he copied ten inscriptions in Arabic, twenty-four in Persian and two hundred and fifty in Sanskrit. The season's most successful event had been:

the entering of the almost inaccessible cave of Gopala, high up in the face of the hill of Prabhasa, by means of a wooden crib let down from the overhanging rocks of the hill.²²

Within it he found an Indo-Scythian inscription from 47 BCE. With the third tour (1887–88) Führer concentrated once more on the Buddhist Holy Land. He was, he said, "in search of ancient sites visited by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims".²³ Starting at Partabgarh, fifty miles north of Allahabad, he followed the Sal River northwest past Shahjahanpur to the promising sites of Mati and Ramnagar. In all he claimed seven positive identifications of places mentioned by Faxian and Xuanzang. Führer's three Survey Tour Reports were not published, though Burgess from time to time printed highlights in the *Academy*.²⁴ Führer's first book on archaeology was a gazetteer of NWPO monumental antiquities. Following Cunningham's retirement, there was a belief that his printed legacy needed better organisation. Führer was deputed to mould the contents of the twenty-three volumes, along with his own discoveries, into a single volume. At the same time Vincent Smith, the amateur NWPO antiquarian, compiled a full index to the volumes.²⁵

Under Burgess' leadership, the ASI became much concerned with relations between its professional staff and the amateurs employed by the Indian Civil Service (ICS) and Indian Army. The amateurs, men like Hoey and Smith, far outranked the ASI staff in monthly salary and reputation. No professional had yet achieved anything as important as Hoey's discovery of Savatthi. Burgess sought to enhance the ASI's status by restricting the competition.

¹⁹ A. Führer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur* (Calcutta, 1889), p. 68.

²⁰ 'Mystery of the "missing" inscription', accessed 16 April 2010, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/18499.cms>. *The Times of India*, 12 June 2003.

²¹ A. Führer, 'On three grants of Govinda Chandra Deva of Kanauj in the 12th century', *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1887, p. 159; A. Führer, 'The Kudarkhot inscriptions of Takhsadatta', *ibid* p. 251. He joined the Philological Committee, and the History and Archaeological Committee, *ibid*, pp. 93–94.

²² Anon [probably James Burgess], *Academy* 3 March 1888, reprinted in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 4 (1888), p. 78.

²³ The President, 'Annual Report', *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1889), p. 74.

²⁴ For details of the First Tour see A. Führer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur* (Calcutta, 1889). For the Second and Third Tours see the references *infra* to *Academy* and *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

²⁵ A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities of the North-western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891); V.A. Smith, *General Index to the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* (Calcutta, 1887).

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Without the ASI's prior consent, Calcutta ruled, no 'person or agency' (that is, no amateur archaeologist, and no provincial government) could excavate anywhere in India. This was an ill-judged move. Some amateurs retaliated by refusing all cooperation with the ASI. J. Cockburn of the Opium Department, having discovered the location of the Dragon Cave described by Xuanzang, "distinctly refused to let the cave's whereabouts be known to any officer of the ASI". When Führer claimed the discovery as his own, Cockburn challenged him in an Indian newspaper, and the row spread to the London press. Cockburn had the Editor of *Academy* print a retraction of Führer's claims.²⁶ Burgess defended his assistant: Dr Führer had made the discovery quite independently "by descending the rock during the night to avoid the wild bees that infest it".²⁷ After 1891 the amateurs won back their ability to put on successful digs. Lawrence Waddell, an Indian Army Surgeon, excavated Ashoka's capital Pataliputta in 1892, and in 1896 Vincent Smith excavated Kasia, which he thought to be the site of the Buddha's final nirvana. But by then the professionals were able to boast their own successes.

In 1887 Führer's superior in the NWPO office retired. Thenceforth Führer worked without a professional supervisor. He felt that he had proved his competence as an archaeologist, and had earned the chance to spend a whole season at a single site. In print his lobbying was limited to describing the candidates for such a dig.²⁸ He spoke of a return to Savatthi, "especially as the Maharana of Balrampur is willing to grant a large subvention for this purpose". And he spoke, with particular enthusiasm, of Mati, where the surface of the ruins was "covered with large bricks" and walls "still rising up to 10 feet above the ground".²⁹ From his Chair in Vienna Georg Bühler approved of Mati in particular and of three month excavations in general:

Should the excavations of the ancient sites be ever undertaken in real earnest, they would no doubt yield full information regarding the ancient history and political geography of the country, besides a mass of curiosities which might fill all the Museums of India and Europe and leave a great deal to spare.³⁰

In his private discussions with Burgess, Bühler put the case for re-digging Mathura to look for early Jain material. Burgess agreed, and dug there himself in the 1887-88 season.³¹ Führer apparently visited for a few days to handle the epigraphical finds – the only hands-on lesson in archaeological methodology that Führer was ever given. Burgess retired from India before the start of the 1888-89 season. Funding to continue at Mathura was still available, so Führer stepped into the breach. Such was Führer's success that he was allotted Rs.1,250 and four

²⁶ James Burgess, *Academy*, 9 April 1887, p. 97.

²⁷ James Burgess, 'Letter to the Editor', *Academy*, 4 June 1887, p. 131.

²⁸ Führer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, p. 71. Such a dig, Führer added, 'ought to be gone about in a scientific method.' Given that he was a trained linguist who had evolved his own archaeological methodology, 'scientific' probably connoted an excavation lasting longer than a week.

²⁹ Anon [probably James Burgess], 'Archaeological Survey Reports', *Athenaeum*, 23 June 1888, reprinted in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 4 (1888), p. 475.

³⁰ G. Bühler, 'Dr. A. Führer's Abstract Report from 1st October 1887 to Jan. 31 1888', *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 2 (1888), p. 270.

³¹ Kendall W. Folkert, 'Jain Religious Life at Ancient Mathura: The Heritage of Late Victorian Interpretation', in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan (New Delhi, 1989), p. 106.

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months to dig again at Mathura in 1889–90. These two campaigns made his reputation as the most successful of the professional excavators.

Within the Kankali mound at Mathura Führer found hundreds of Jain sculptures and epigraphs. None praised these discoveries more than Bühler, who had “for many years guided Führer in his explorations, interpreted his results, and published the more important results”.³² Kankali, Bühler announced, “has by no means yielded up all its treasures”. “Next season Führer should be sent back to examine ‘the oldest Jaina temples’”. Bühler’s lobbying can read disconcertingly like prediction. Next year’s finds would “without a doubt completely free their creed from the suspicion of being a modern offshoot of Buddhism”.³³ In 1890, advocating a third season devoted to Chaubara mound he said it “undoubtedly hides the ruins of an ancient Vaishnava temple”.³⁴ There is, however, little hyperbole in Bühler’s praise of Führer. The digs at Mathura really did yield enough sculpture to stock a new Museum at Mathura, and to overfill the existing Lucknow Museum. They really did produce enough inscriptions for Bühler to write twenty articles in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, *Academy*, and *Epigraphia Indica*. Führer’s finds really were “important additions to our knowledge of Indian history and art”. Money really had been “spent to good purpose and in the interest of Indian history”.³⁵

Bühler attributed Führer’s success to his “energy and perseverance”.³⁶ Luck may also have been a factor. Führer lacked the perseverance to write up his Mathura campaigns as a scholarly monograph, and lacked the energy to make a proper catalogue of the artefacts he dug up. His entries in the published acquisition lists tantalise as much as they reveal. It is little help to be told, without further detail, of “74 statues of Jinās, inscribed between BC 200 to AD 150” or of “10 pieces of old pottery filled with the ashes of some Jaina monks”.³⁷ Nor, apparently, was Führer energetic enough to write his own *Progress Reports*, which borrow extensively from Bühler’s previous publications. Four-fifths of the 1890–91 *Report* consists of words previously published by Bühler. Two pages of Bühler’s discussion of Jain nuns in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* became one page of Führer’s *Report*. Two pages of Bühler’s account in *Academy* was edited down into a page of his own. He ended with a borrowed paragraph from Bühler’s most recent article in *Vienna Oriental Journal*.³⁸ This is not, however, a true case of plagiarism. Führer’s letters to Bühler from Mathura (which unfortunately no longer exist) must have contained phrases and sentences that Bühler incorporated into his own text. They must have understood themselves as co-authors, free to publish the shared material under either’s name. Führer and Bühler made an unwritten, and probably tacit, contract

³² A. Barth, ‘Découvertes Récentes de M. le Dr. Führer au Népal’, *Journal des Savants* (1897), p. 68, translating “depuis plusieurs années le guidait dans ses explorations et en avait régulièrement interprété et publié les principaux résultats”.

³³ G. Bühler, *Academy*, 1 June 1889, reprinted, *American Journal of Archaeology* 5 (1889), p. 482.

³⁴ G. Bühler, *Academy*, 19 April 1890, reprinted, *American Journal of Archaeology* 6 (1890), p. 176.

³⁵ G. Bühler, *Academy*, 7 February 1891, reprinted, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 7 (1891), p. 114.

³⁶ G. Bühler, *Academy*, 18 April 1891, reprinted, *American Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1891), p. 117.

³⁷ Accessions to the Lucknow Museum for March 1890 and March 1891. In Minutes of NWPO Provincial Museum Management Committee.

³⁸ G. Bühler 1890, pp. 321–322 = Führer, 1890–91, pp. 1–2; *Progress Report*; Bühler 1891, *Academy*, pp. 117–119, = Führer 1890–91, *Academy*, p. 17; *Progress Report*, Bühler 1891, pp. 176–177, *Kleine Mittheilungen*, = Führer 1890–91, *Progress Report* 17. See also: Bühler 1890, pp. 327–328 = (edited down) Führer, 1890–91, *Progress Report* 15; Bühler 1890, pp. 328–329 = Führer 1890–91, *Progress Report*, 16; *Progress Report*, Bühler 1890, pp. 330–331 = Führer 1890–91, *Progress Report* 16–17.

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of partnership, the terms of which are implicit in their interaction. Scholars today should be able to reconstruct these terms from the public record. However they disagree widely. One body of opinion regards Führer and Bühler as compliant with best scholarly practice. The middling view construes them as business partners, with Führer handling acquisitions in India, and Bühler in charge of European marketing. At the other extreme, they are seen as partners in crime.

James Burgess, Director-General of the ASI, expressed his satisfaction with Führer's "trained and varied scholarship" which "sufficiently guarantee the accuracy" of his work on Jaunpur.³⁹ In any well-run institution, such praise would have brought Führer commendation and promotion. Instead he was threatened with the sack. Viceroy Dufferin's expansion of the ASI had attracted powerful opposition, which clamoured incessantly for cuts to the ASI budget.⁴⁰ None in Calcutta was more clamorous than Edward Buck.⁴¹ Buck was committed to implementing Viceroy Lord Ripon's Liberal policies. To bolster the Arts and Manufactures of India he planned to build Museums in each of "the great Indian centres". These would be "sample rooms where the best examples of Indian craftsmanship might be seen". To this end he sought Revenue and Agriculture Department funding for a new *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*. In 1884 these expensive plans were cancelled by the incoming Conservative Secretariat under Lord Dufferin, and the funds diverted from Arts and Crafts to Archaeology. Buck bounced back in 1888 under Viceroy Lord Lansdowne. Buck drove Burgess to resign, then froze any appointment of a successor, then transferred the ASI wage bill from the central to the provincial budget. A correspondent in the *Pioneer* summarised Buck's arguments. In the good old days amateur archaeologists investigated India "as a labour of love in their leisure hours". But during the 1880s Government came to:

entertain at very high salaries learned antiquarians and a large and most expensive staff of officers to pervade the past and patrol the night of time in a vague and general way – and with vague and general results.⁴²

The 'Buck crisis' lasted for more than a decade, and moved through three phases.⁴³

The first phase (from 1888 to 1891) hit all the ASI staff, but Führer, two years married and recently become a father, was hit particularly hard. The threat of dismissal felt like poor

³⁹ James Burgess, 'Introduction', in A. Führer and Ed. Smith, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, (Calcutta, 1889), p. iv. Cf James Burgess, 'Sketch of Archaeological Research in India during Half a Century', *Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905) Centenary Memorial Volume, p. 146. By 1905 Burgess knew a great deal that was damaging to Führer's reputation. With considerable restraint he merely wrote that Führer was an "educated officer". He may have meant this as a statement of the process Führer had undergone, rather than as an evaluation of its result.

⁴⁰ Singh, *The Discovery of Ancient India*, 2004, p. xvii.

⁴¹ Edward Charles Buck (1838–1916) was educated at Oakham school and Clare College Cambridge. He joined the ICS in 1862. As Secretary for Revenue and Agriculture in 1882 he experimented with crop improvements, built embankments, and cut out a layer of bureaucracy from the Land Revenue system. His opponents ("bullet-headed metallic-souled bureaucrats of the type so well-known in India") thought his schemes impractical. A romantic of the old school, Buck's favourite occupation was "to plunge with a native hunter into a Himalayan forest, which he would penetrate before the dawn of day". H.E.M.J., 'The late Sir Edward Charles Buck', *Journal of Indian Art*, 17 (1916), p. 74.

⁴² Anonymous, 'Review of Jeypore Architecture', *Pioneer*, 12 March 1891, p. 342.

⁴³ On the Buck crisis see: W.G. Wood, *A Short History of the Archaeological Department in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, (Calcutta, 1900); J.H. Marshall, 'Introduction' in *ASI Annual Report Number One, for 1902–3*, ed. Marshall (Calcutta, 1904), pp. 1–13.

recompense for his successes at Mathura. If honest toil went unrewarded, why not pursue international acclaim by other means? If the Government maltreated him, why not play it for a fool? A motive for misbehaviour was emerging, and so too were opportunities. Starting in 1891 Führer's *Progress Reports* were distributed to select learned institutions in Europe and India without any external vetting.⁴⁴ The shift to Provincial funding in 1891 meant that, though theoretically Führer answered to the Lieutenant-Governor of NWPO and to the Revenue & Agriculture Secretary in Calcutta, in practice he worked without any supervision.

1891–1894: The Plot Thickens

Führer chose to spend the 1891–92 season (and Rs.1,373) excavating at Ramnagar. Cunningham's enthusiastic report of 1861 had identified present-day Ramnagar with the city known to the Chinese pilgrims as Adhikshetra. Führer opened a couple of stupas, but all he found in them was one reliquary, two Buddha images, some terracotta scenes of the Buddha's life, and a thousand bricks.⁴⁵ Though he described them as "beautifully carved bricks of various shapes and designs", he was aware that to the newspaper-reading public a thousand bricks appealed less than a single Jain statue. Rather than admit that Ramnagar had been a failure compared to the rich pickings from Mathura, Führer told a series of lies in his *Progress Report*. First, he invented a geographical pointer confirming that Ramnagar was Adhikshetra. The identification was proved by "inscriptions of the second and first centuries BC" discovered on the spot. No such objects exist in the Lucknow Provincial Museum.⁴⁶ Second, he proved that the ruins were second century BCE or earlier by finding, buried beneath the foundations, a cache of sixteen coins bearing names from the Mitra dynasty. Perhaps he did find them. But two years previously he had written that "ancient copper coins of the Mitra dynasty" are frequently ploughed up hereabouts and "may be obtained in some quantity from the people of the neighbourhood".⁴⁷ Thirdly, and so as to provide his two opened mounds with distinctive identities, Führer invented two inscriptions. In the first mound, written on the base of a sitting Jain image, was the text 'the divine Nemminatha'. This, Führer said, must be the Jain deity to whom the temple was dedicated. In the second mound, on the base of a terracotta Buddha-image, was inscribed a reference to the Mihara monastery of the Sarvastivadin monks at Mathura. Heinrich Lüders deconstructed these Nemminatha and Mihara inscriptions. He showed by source analysis that Führer had compiled them from real inscriptions found in Mathura 'or rather of Bühler's translations' thereof.⁴⁸ Fourthly, Führer invented a large trove of donative inscriptions taken from 'carved bricks and terracottas'. He did not count or list them. Rather he gave a long analysis of the *setz-im-leben* of the Ramnagar donors, which he took wholesale from Bühler's work on the Sanchi

⁴⁴ These annual Progress Reports of the Epigraphical Section of the Archaeological Survey, N.-W.P. and Oudh Circle are the primary source for Führer's career between 1891 and 1898. Cited as 'Führer's 1892–93:20 Progress Report'.

⁴⁵ Lucknow Museum Accessions list, March 1892, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Führer 1892–93:28, Progress Report. On the unprovenanced inscription see: Heinrich Lüders, 'On some Brahmi Inscriptions in the Lucknow Provincial Museum', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1912), p. 167.

⁴⁷ Führer 1892–93:2, Progress Report, cf with Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, 1891, p. 27.

⁴⁸ Führer 1891–92:3, Progress Report; Lüders, 'on some Brahmi Inscriptions', 1912, pp. 162–163.

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corpus of dedications.⁴⁹ In a limited sense we can regard Bühler and Führer as co-owners of their text. Führer's unpublished letters of 1889 were doubtless incorporated into Bühler's publication on Sanchi. But what had been true of the Sanchi trove discovered in 1889 was not true of the Ramnagar trove supposedly found in 1892. Lüders gave an overall verdict on the 1891–92 season: "As all statements about epigraphical finds that admit of verification have proved to be false, it is very probable that no inscriptions at all have turned up".⁵⁰

Just as Führer began to write his report on the Ramnagar dig, he received unwelcome news. Edward Buck, having just been put in charge of the Government of India's budget, issued letters of dismissal for the entire ASI. It was to cease its operations on 31 September 1895. That Führer had just received his notice supplies a motive for him lying so recklessly. He would have been exposed had anyone asked to examine the Ramnagar inscriptions. Likewise, had anyone noticed that the Mathura and Ramnagar donative inscriptions had been described in exactly the same words. But exposure of his dishonesty could not lead to a fate any worse than that of his four honest colleagues. The situation was not yet hopeless. Perhaps archaeology's supporters would be able to out-lobby Buck. Perhaps the ASI staff would discover something so important that public opinion would demand a reprieve. Alexander Rae had come near to doing so at Bhattiprola in 1892, but he was not a natural self-publicist. Führer had three seasons left in which to strike gold. Or so he thought. Then the Government of India ordered him to return to the grind of Survey Tours. During the 1892–93 cold weather he was to visit the Monumental Antiquities of Rajputana and Central India. He was to be sent to Burma in 1893–94, and to the Punjab the following year. From now until the end of his contract, Führer would only have time for hit-and-run digs. How, then, was he to make a splash? In 1893–94 he answered this question spectacularly. The 1892–93 season saw a break in his career of forgery: for 1892–93 the watchword was 'spin', rather than lies.

The Survey Tour of 1891–92 was an unwelcome distraction for Führer. However Bühler managed to send one pleasant task in his direction. Could he please, while passing Sanchi on the way to Rajputana, take impressions of all the votive inscriptions on the two great stupas and estimate whether "excavation on the ground around the stupas would yield any more novelties"?⁵¹ During the few days Führer spent at Sanchi, he discovered thirty or forty genuine unpublished donative inscriptions. But these were about as newsworthy as a thousand bricks. Buddhist donative inscriptions are boring. All they communicate is the fact that some layman has donated some artefact for the greater glory of Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. What the public wanted was more news about King Ashoka. Bühler had asked Führer to take a new impression of Ashoka's Sanchi Schism edict. Nothing newsworthy there, either: the edict had been published first in 1838, then again in 1854.⁵² But Führer had presentational skills, and knew how to spin dross into silk. He convinced the Lieutenant-Governor of NWPO that he had rediscovered a missing fragment of the pillar. In reality no

⁴⁹Bühler 1892:II, pt x, p 91, *Epigraphia Indica* = Führer 1892, pp. 3–5, Progress Report. Lüders 1912, p. 167 explains how this plagiarism was committed.

⁵⁰Lüders, 'on some Brahmi Inscriptions', 1912, p. 167.

⁵¹Führer 1892–93:28, Progress Report.

⁵²T.S. Burt and J. Prinsep, 'More donations from the Sanchi tope near Bhilsa, taken in impression by Capt. T.S. Burt, Engineers. Translated by Jas. Prinsep', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1838), pp.562–566; Alexander Cunningham, *Bhilsa Tope*, (London, 1854), Plate XIX.

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piece of the epigraph had ever gone missing. Führer had, however, reported it missing on his previous visit.⁵³ Since the pillar fragment was too heavy to move by hand, it was no surprise that it reappeared exactly where it had last been seen in 1854. Bühler's general comment on Führer's new impression sounded uncharacteristically downbeat. It did "not quite fulfil the expectations which I thought might be reasonably entertained".⁵⁴ Führer spun harder. He claimed to have deciphered a new sentence at the start of the inscription:

It appears that the piece is the lower end of a longer inscription, and that the first words are not *devanam piye*, as they have been read formerly. The end of the first line extant and the second line contain the valuable statement that 'a road or path was made for the Sangha, both for monks and nuns'.⁵⁵

This reading was first printed by Bühler, but first suggested, I surmise, in a letter from Führer. Whoever of them had devised this new reading, it was wrong. They had not foreseen that Ashoka's Vinaya proclamation would contain specialist Vinaya vocabulary.⁵⁶ The Lieutenant-Governor endorsed and amplified Bühler's misreading:

the large Buddhist stupa on top of the hill, known as No. 1, existed before the time of Ashoka, who only made new approach roads to it . . . It may not improbably be the oldest extant Buddhist monument in the world.⁵⁷

Führer served for this rally in 1889 when he announced the inscription missing. He put spin on the return shot in 1892 when he announced its rediscovery. He won the point when he elicited the superlative 'oldest' from his employer. With the deadline of October 1895 fast approaching, Führer had to find the 'oldest' this, the 'biggest' that, and the 'most sacred' other.

The 1893–94 season found Führer on Survey Tour in Burma. British Burma's first Government Archaeologist had died in 1890, and had not been replaced. Richard Temple, the editor of *Indian Antiquary* and President of Rangoon Municipality, helped other amateur archaeologists to carry out small epigraphical and survey operations. Frederick Oertel, an architectural engineer keenly interested in photography and archaeology, visited Burma from NWPO in 1892, and Temple joined him for a four day tour of the Amherst Caves. This paved the way for an official delegation. Oertel was to return the following year, accompanied by Führer and by two support staff from the Lucknow office of the ASI. The party took steam paddleboats up the Irrawaddy, and inspected Prome, Pagan, Sagaing, Ava, Mandalay, Tagaung, Katha, and Bhamo. Returning to Rangoon, they took a side trip to Pegu and Toungoo. Their mission was to prepare a survey of the Burmese sites to help the Rangoon Government prioritise its archaeological programme. The expectation was that Rangoon's

⁵³ "The most serious loss is that of Sir A. Cunningham's No. 177 which . . . contains a second version of Ashoka's so-called Kosambi edict," G. Bühler, 'Votive inscriptions from the Sanchi Stupas', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II (1894), p. 87. James Burgess, the Editor, added a footnote suggesting that it might "possibly have been overlooked by Dr Führer in his hurried visit".

⁵⁴ G. Bühler, 'Further Inscriptions from Sanchi', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II (1894), p. 366.

⁵⁵ Führer 1892–93:29, *Progress Report*.

⁵⁶ The contentious word is not *niage* / *niagga* ('road'), but *samagga* / *samagga* ('being united'). *Samagga* is a Vinaya technicality meaning a non-schismatic community that lives together within agreed monastic boundaries. See V i 104.

⁵⁷ Lieutenant-Governor's Resolution on the NWPO Progress Reports for 1892–93, 11 August 1893.

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Government Press would publish a lengthy survey report, illustrated with photographs. But all Führer ever produced was twenty-one pages, unillustrated and printed in NWPO as that year's *Progress Report*. His text is "really a compilation from Yule's *Mission to Ava* and the notes left by the late Professor Forchhammer".⁵⁸ To be more specific, it contains several short extracts from Forchhammer's *List* (1884), a short passage from his *Jardine Prize Essay* (1885), and seven whole pages (making up a third of the *Progress Report*) from his *Kyaukkū Temple* (1891).⁵⁹ In *Kyaukkū* Forchhammer had used architectural style to prove that Hindu colonists retained political control of Burma up until the 1100s CE. He identified the lowest platform of the pagoda as characteristic of the Colonial Style:

The oldest and most interesting temple of all the many ancient historical buildings at Pagan is the Kyaukkū Ohnmin; it is the original type of the edifices in Pagan called *kala kyaung*, the monasteries or schools of Western Foreigners, Buddhist Indians apparently.

This style can be recognised by "huge square top-heavy buildings", "condensed details of ornamentation" and absence of interior staircases on the lowest platform, which latter is "almost conclusive of the upper stories being later additions". Forchhammer compared it to an Arakanese example of the same style:

Many facts that can be adduced point to the conclusion that Pagan was built almost exclusively by Indian architects. The Kyaukkū temple, like the famous Mahamuni shrine . . . in Arakan, is undoubtedly a remnant of North-Indian Buddhism.⁶⁰

Führer reproduces this stylistic argument word-for-word, adding his own gloss:

Many facts that can be adduced point to the conclusion that Pagan like her elder sister city Hastinapura on the Erawati, or the modern Tagaung in the upper valley of the Irrawaddy, was built almost exclusively by Indian architects. The Kyaukkū temple, like the famous Mahamuni shrine . . . in Arakan, is undoubtedly a remnant of North-Indian Buddhism.⁶¹

Führer's gloss on Tagaung points the way to his boldest forgeries yet.

Though the party only spent two or three days at each site, Führer succeeded in making three extraordinary discoveries. In May 1894 he wrote to Temple, announcing that he had found near the Kuzeit pagoda in Pagan "by far – by very far – the two oldest inscriptions yet unearthed". In August he described a third inscription, even older, from Tagaung. Collectively they added six centuries to Burma's existing epigraphic records – an achievement comparable to James Prinsep's in the 1830s. The later of the two Pagan inscription was Gupta script of the seventh or eighth century "filled with Sanskrit words and expressions mixed with those in another language not yet determined". The earlier was dated 481 CE, and written in pure Sanskrit.⁶² The Tagaung inscription was written sixty years before that in Gupta script and Sanskrit language. Together they illustrated three stages in the history of the Indian

⁵⁸ George Scott, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Rangoon, 1900), Part I, Vol. II, p. 176.

⁵⁹ Anon [Forchhammer], *List of Objects of Antiquarian and Archaeological Interest in British Burma* (Rangoon, 1884); E. Forchhammer, *The Jardine Prize Essay* (Rangoon, 1885); E. Forchhammer, *Pagan I. The Kyaukkū Temple*, (Rangoon, 1891).

⁶⁰ Forchhammer 1891:11–15.

⁶¹ Führer, *Pagan I, The Kyaukkū Temple*, pp. 11.

⁶² Richard Temple, Editorial footnote to: B. Houghton, 'A Rejoinder', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 23 (1894), p. 167.

colonists who had brought civilisation to Burma. In 416 CE King Jayapala of Hastinapura-on-the-Irrawaddy lists the four Indian kings who ruled in Tagaung since the dynasty's founder, King Gopala, left Hastinapura-on-the-Ganges, and "after various successful wars with the *mlechchhas*, founded new Hastinapura".⁶³ King Rudrasena's inscription of 481 CE shows that the dynasty had now conquered Pagan, still speaking its immaculate Sanskrit. By 610 CE, when King Adiyasena ruled Pagan, the colonists had settled down, inter-married, and were now composing mixed vernacular-Sanskrit inscriptions. Führer welcomed this corroboration that "successive waves of emigration from Gangetic India" had civilised Burma. Had the delegates been able to excavate the "vast ruins" of Tagaung, they would no doubt have revealed "the remains of buildings raised by Indian architects and embellished by Indian sculptors".

In 1921 Charles Duroiselle and Louis Finot, two of the French scholars attached to the *École Française d'Extrême Orient*, revealed that all three Gupta inscriptions from Burma were bogus. They had "never existed". Because "whole theories" had been built upon them "it is time the truth about it should be known".⁶⁴ They had been "invented *in toto* by Dr. Führer during a tour he made in Burma". The best construction that has been put on "these doings of Führer is that his mind was weakening".⁶⁵ Finot confirmed that the "author of the imposture" was "the all-too-famous Dr Führer". Führer's tour of Burma in 1893-94 had, he said, marked the beginning "of that scandalous career of forgery which would, some years later, come to an end in Kapilavastu".⁶⁶ Source analysis shows that Führer constructed the Tagaung inscription from two obscure publications: an article published in 1836, and a list of kings from the *Hatthipala Jataka*.⁶⁷ With hindsight, it did seem odd that Führer, though accompanied by a cameraman and draftsman, had taken neither photograph nor eye-copy of the Gupta inscriptions.

Just as *Indian Antiquary* was reprinting Führer's Gupta claims, Phase Two of the Buck crisis came to its resolution. In June 1895, lobbying by Lord Elgin in Calcutta and by Lord Reay in London won a reprieve for the five remaining ASI staff. They were to continue to work on an annual basis pending consultations between Calcutta and the local governments. Lord Reay, Under-Secretary of State for India and President of the Royal Asiatic Society, asked Bühler to formulate detailed proposals for "the continuation of the archaeological and epigraphic work in India". Bühler put forward a three-point plan: to save the jobs of the ASI staff currently employed, to make use of European experts as consultants, and to do one important dig a year in each province – he mentions Taxila, Mathura and Patna as suitable sites. What the scholars of Europe need, he says, is "new authentic documents"

⁶³Führer 1893-94:20, Progress Report.

⁶⁴Charles Duroiselle, *Report of the Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1921* (Rangoon, 1921), p. 21.

⁶⁵Charles Duroiselle, *A list of inscriptions found in Burma. Part I* (Rangoon, 1921), p. ii.

⁶⁶Louis Finot, 'Chronique', *Bulletin d'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, Vol. 22 (1922), pp. 208-209, translating "C'est la trop fameux Dr. Führer ..." and "... dans cette scandaleuse carrière de fausseté qui devait, quelques années plus tard, trouver son terme à Kapilavastu".

⁶⁷H. Burney, 'Discovery of Buddhist Images with Deva-nagari Inscriptions at Tagaung, the ancient capital of the Burmese Empire', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1836), pp. 157-164; *Hatthipala Jataka* (#509 of the Pali Collection). The *samodhana* to this birth-story states that the father of the four children Hatthipala, Gopala, Assapala and Ajapala, was reborn in the Buddha's lifetime as Mahakassapa, his chief disciple. Perhaps it was this that prompted Führer to equip Tagaung with a monastery named after Mahakassapa.

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from the pre-Ashoka period. They will "only be found underground" at a considerable depth. The "expectation" that they will turn up is "by no means unfounded".⁶⁸ Bühler had written a private letter to Calcutta in November 1894 making a similar point:

The way to obtain what is wanted – inscriptions older than the 3rd century – is to dig deep [at] Patna, Kosambi ... Ojjayani, Ramnagar ... To excavate deep and thoroughly is the point.⁶⁹

For the moment, the ASI had been reprieved. Now the search for pre-Ashokan epigraphs could get underway.

Conclusions

Only the first half of Führer's life-story has been told. Conclusions at this point would be premature. Only when scholars from different disciplines have re-examined the Butwal Terai discoveries will it be appropriate to discuss issues of culpability, motivation, and accessory liability.

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⁶⁸ G. Bühler, 'Some Notes on Past and Future Archaeological Explorations in India', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1895), pp. 660, 656.

⁶⁹ G. Bühler to G.A. Grierson of the Philological Section, 9 November 1894. Grierson forwarded it to Calcutta; Revenue and Agriculture Pros. No. 1-5, File 6 of July 1895.

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Dhār, Bhoja and Sarasvatī: from Indology to Political Mythology and Back

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Dhār, Bhoja and Sarasvatī: from Indology to Political Mythology and Back*

MICHAEL WILLIS

The Bhojśālā or 'Hall of Bhoja' is a term used to describe the centre for Sanskrit studies associated with King Bhoja, the most celebrated ruler of the Paramāra dynasty. The Bhojśālā is also linked to Sarasvatī – the goddess of learning – whose shrine is said to have stood in the hall's precinct. Since the early years of the twentieth century, the mosque adjacent to the tomb of Kamāl al-Dīn Chishtī in the town of Dhār has been identified as the Bhojśālā. This has turned the building into a focal point of religious, social and political tension. Access to the site, currently under the protection of the Archaeological Survey of India, has been marked by communal friction and disputes in the press and in the courts.¹ My aim in this paper is not to chart this sorry tale of events; I only need note that the legal and political wrangles, not to mention a steady flow of inflammatory assertions, have formed a toxic backdrop to the scholarly publications cited in the pages that follow. A second issue beyond the scope of this paper is how the medieval history of Dhār has played its part in the wider 'invention of tradition' and formation of modern Hindu identity. Stepping back from these concerns, my ambition here is rather modest: I seek only to explore how the mosque at Dhār has come to be described as the Bhojśālā and, on this basis, to undertake an assessment of that identification. Along the way, I will touch on a number of problems concerning the history, architecture and literary culture of central India.

The starting point and centre-piece of the problem is King Bhoja, the ruler after whom the śālā has been named. He reigned between *circa* 1000 and 1055 and is generally represented as the greatest king of the Paramāra dynasty.² Bhoja seems to have been an exceptional ruler by medieval standards and, unlike most rulers of the time, enjoyed a significant posthumous

*This article was prepared over a long period and I am grateful to many colleagues who helped in various ways. Hans T. Bakker, Paul Dundas, Whitney Cox and Dominik Wujastyk all took time to comment on the British Museum image inscription published below. I am especially grateful to Daniél Balogh for procuring a digital copy of S. K. Dikshit's edition of the *Pārijātamāñjarī* (cited below) without which it would have been impossible to complete this article. Thanks are also due to Dr O. P. Mishra who accompanied me on my first trip to Dhār in 2007 and offered many valuable insights as discoveries were being made. In London, I am grateful to Andrew Huxley and T. Phelps for comments on my text and for bibliographic information.

¹"Bid to Enter the Bhojshala", *The Hindu* (19 February 2003); "Centre steps in to solve Bhojshala imbroglio", *Times of India* (1 April 2003); both retrieved online in January, 2011.

²H. V. Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras, Chandellas and Kachchapaghātas and two Minor Dynasties*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, volume 7, 3 parts (New Delhi, 1979–91) 1: 20 takes up the dates. Although his suggestion that Bhoja ascended the throne in *circa* 1000 has been generally accepted, the fact remains that the first dated inscription of Bhoja belongs to 1011, *ibid.*, 2: 29. The desire to have Bhoja's reign lasting 55 years is based on a wish to preserve the veracity of Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (on which more below). The historiography of the problem is given in Mahesh Singh, *Bhoja Paramāra and His Times* (Delhi, 1984), pp. 30–31.

reputation. Tradition, beginning in about the twelfth century, has ascribed a large number of works on grammar, astronomy, yoga, architecture and other subjects to Bhoja, the most extensive in the field of poetics being the *Śṛṅgaraprakāśa*.³ Whether Bhoja actually composed the works attributed to him is a theme taken up by several authors in this issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Here I only need add that the attribution of 84 texts to Bhoja is based solely on the assertion of Ājaḍa, a western Indian author, in his opening remarks in the still-unpublished *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇavṛtti* titled *Padakaprakāśa*.⁴ Ājaḍa quotes Hemacandra (b. 1089) so he is coeval or after him in time. In addition to his literary interests, Bhoja began the temple at Bhojpur, a building with one of the largest Śiva *lingas* in India. If completed, the temple would have been about twice the size of those at Khajurāho. There is no inscription at the temple itself, as we would expect in an unfinished structure, but there is a record in a neighbouring Jain temple that names Bhoja.⁵ Hitherto unnoticed in this regard is Merutuṅga's report that Bhoja bestowed on the poet Māgha "all the merit of the new Bhojasvāmin temple that he was about to build himself", and then "set out for the country of Mālava".⁶ This evidence, combined with the early eleventh-century style of the sculpture and architecture, leaves little doubt that Bhoja was indeed the king who founded the temple.

Bhoja's rising reputation after his death seems to have begun with his successor Arjunavarman (reg. circa 1210–15) who stated that he was an actual reincarnation of Bhoja.⁷ Arjunavarman's claim coincides with the formalisation of Tibetan bLamas reincarnating in the Karma bka' brgud lineage, indicating the control of reincarnation was shared across several traditions. It was, of course, a useful mechanism for controlling religious endowments and political power. The practice originated in the eleventh century with standardised royal pedigrees that were seen to have a divine fountainhead.⁸ The idea of Bhoja reincarnating figuratively at least, was perpetuated in Śvetāmbara Jain *prabandhas*, the oldest of which date to the first part of the thirteenth century. For example, the *Prabandhakosa* of Rājaśekhara, completed in 1349, tells us that the poet Harihara made his way to Gujārāt and entered the court of Viradhavala, the Vaghela ruler.⁹ Coming before the king's famous minister Vastupāla

³Venkatarama Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgaraprakāśa*, 3rd rev. ed. (Madras, 1940). The text is taken up by Whitney Cox in this *JRAS* issue.

⁴See C. Kunhan Raja, V. Raghavan et al, *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, 14 vols. (Chennai, 1949–2000) 2, p. 240 (hereinafter *NCC*) and L. B. Gandhi, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Patan*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, no. 76 (Baroda, 1937), pp. 37–39 and introduction, p. 48; Sanskrit introduction, p. 12.

⁵See D. C. Sircar, "Three Paramara Inscriptions", *Epigraphica Indica* 35 (1963–64), p. 186; Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras*, 2, pp. 60–61.

⁶See C. H. Tawney, *The Prabandhacintāmaṇi or Wishing-stone of Narratives* (Calcutta, 1901), pp. 48–49. Māgha was earlier than Bhoja but placing poets of different periods in Bhoja's court is a feature of the *prabandha* genre.

⁷See S. K. Dikshit, (ed.), *Pārijātamañjarī alias Vijayaśrī by Rāja-Guru Madana alias Bāla-Sarasvatī* (Bhopal, 1968), Introduction, p. x. The framework of poetic biographies and the title Bālasarasvatī is explored in Phyllis Granoff, "Sarasvatī's Sons: Biographies of Poets in Medieval India," *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* 49.2 (1995), pp. 351–376. Further examples can be noted: one Bālasarasvatī was named Kṛṣṇa and was the grandson of the author of the *Kuvalayāśvacārīta*, see A. S. Gadre, G. Yazdani and R. G. Gyani (eds), *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, 2 vols. (Baroda, 1943–44), 1, p. 84 (v. 36): *kaviḥ kuvalayāśvacārītradhātuh kṛṣṇaḥ praśastim iha ratnasutah sa tene*. Another Bālasarasvatī was named Ājaḍa. He was son of another Ājaḍa, author of the *Vivekamañjarī* of CE 1193, see *NCC* 2, p. 240. Both are different from the Ājaḍa mentioned above (see note 4), the author of the *Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇavṛtti*.

⁸See Hans T. Bakker, "Throne and Temple: Political Power and Religious Prestige in Vidarbha", in *The Sacred Centre as the Focus of Political Interest*, (ed.) Hans T. Bakker (Groningen, 1992), pp. 83–100.

⁹Jina Vijaya Muni, (ed.), *Prabandhakosa of Rājaśekhara* (Śāntiniketan, 1935), the portions here drawn from Phyllis Granoff, "Sarasvatī's Sons", p. 356.

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he is reported to have said: "My lord! You are like a reincarnation of the great king Bhoja in your patronage of the arts! You are like the God Brahmā in your ability to discern the truth and you are a jewel on the neck of the goddess Sarasvatī in your refined poetic sensibilities!"

The most extensive account of Bhoja's character and ambitions in the *prabandha*-genre is Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, completed in the opening years of the fourteenth century.¹⁰ Post-medieval collections, such as Ballāla's *Bhojaprabandha*, composed at Benares in the seventeenth century, continued to extol Bhoja's greatness.¹¹ This tradition was picked up in the twentieth century as India searched for indigenous cultural heroes. In the words of K. K. Munshi, "... during Bhoja's rule civilization in Mālwa had risen to a magnificent pitch. Our appreciation of Bhoja for having portrayed a faithful picture of the most glorious period of medieval Indian History [in the *Śrīgāramañjanīkathā*] is heightened when we take into consideration that he worked and stood for all that was glorious in Hindu Culture".¹² These words make somewhat curious reading to contemporary eyes but they are given a degree of context by Frederic Morell Holmes, *Four Heroes of India* (London, 1892) where we find, to our general astonishment, that India's four heroes are Clive, Hastings, Havelock and Lawrence! As a consequence of all this, sites and objects connected with Bhoja have acquired cultural potency and are intimately connected with modern Hindu identity in central India.¹³ And few places have come to have more potency in this regard than the Bhojśālā at Dhār.

Dhār and its monuments

Given the Bhojśālā has become the scene of a fraught communal drama, it is not inappropriate to 'set the stage' with an account of Dhār and its monuments. As we will see in the pages that follow, many of the popular assertions about the Bhojśālā can be attributed to a misunderstanding of the wider literary, historical and urban context of the building. The old town of Dhār is of considerable antiquity, the first reference to it appearing in the Jaunpur inscription of the Maukhari dynasty.¹⁴ Already in this record there is a play on the word 'sword' or *dhārā*, showing that the prevailing etymology of Dhārānagara as the 'city of sword blades' was current from at least the sixth century. The consistency of the usage, with no further synonyms as far as I am aware, might indicate that swords were once manufactured at Dhār, but it seems more probable that the name shows the city was a recurrent scene of conflict because it was an essential stronghold for any king aspiring to control central India.¹⁵

¹⁰Jina Vijaya Muni, (ed.), *Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅgacārya* (Śāntiniketan, 1933), translated as Tawney, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*. The rhetorical strategies of Merutuṅga, essential for understanding his use of history, are explained in Toshikazu Arai, "Jaina Kingship in the Prabandhacintāmaṇi", in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, (ed.) J. F. Richards (Madison, 1978, reprint., Delhi, 1981), pp. 92–132.

¹¹Louis H. Gray, *The Narrative of Bhoja (Bhojaprabandha)*, American Oriental Series, vol. 34 (New Haven, 1950).

¹²K. K. Munshi, (ed.) *Śrīgāramañjanīkathā*, Singhi Jaina granthamālā, no. 30 (Bombay, 1959), p. 90.

¹³See, for example, *Bhoj Shala - Ek Sangharsa Gatha*, which can be seen on Youtube (retrieved January, 2011). The majority of people who identify themselves as Hindu do not, of course, endorse these strident views.

¹⁴J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. 3 (Calcutta, 1888), p. 228 (line 6). Hans T. Bakker, "The So-Called Jaunpur Inscription of Īśvaravarman", *Indo-Iran Journal* 50 (2009), pp. 207–216, shows that the inscription belongs not to Īśvaravarman but to Īśānavarman or one of his successors.

¹⁵In this issue of the *JRAS* Csaba Dezső's article has insightfully highlighted the symbolism of swords in Dhānapāla's *Tilakamañjarī*.

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Fig. 1. Dhār fort. General view. Photograph by Deen Dayal, 1882. Courtesy of the British Library, Photo 2/4(90), item 90.

The town of Dhār is dominated by a large stone fortress (Fig. 1). Although partly surrounded nowadays by the modern town, the fort remains an imposing structure. The date of its construction is not documented by inscription, but Jahāngīr visited the place in 1617 and referred to it in his memoirs, stating that "... when Sultan Muḥammad ibn Tughluq was proceeding to the conquest of the Deccan, he built a fort of cut stone on the top of the ridge. Outside it is very showy and handsome, but inside the fort is devoid of buildings"¹⁶ One of the gateways, added at a later time, is dated 1684–85 in the reign of ʿĀlamgīr.¹⁷ Inside the fort there is a deep rock-cut cistern, probably of great age and around which the pre-Tughluq fort was probably built.¹⁸ A later palace on one of the bastions, the Kharbhuja Mahal, incorporates an elegant pillared porch and appears to belong to the same period as the seventeenth-century gate. A few low buildings in a functional style were added in British times.

Jahāngīr's attribution of the fort to Muḥammad ibn Tughluq (1325–51) is confirmed by the general similarity of the fortifications to those at Tughluqābād in Delhi.¹⁹ The attribution is also supported by the policies of the Tughluqs who sought to consolidate their control over the territories conquered by the Khaljīs. Muḥammad ibn Tughluq signalled his wish to exercise power over the southern parts of his dominion by making Daulatābād the imperial

¹⁶Francis Gladwin, *The History of Jahangir*, (ed.) with notes by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (Madras, 1930), p. 173; *The Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīr or Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, translated by Alexander Rogers and edited by Henry Beveridge, 2 vols. (London, 1909) 2, p. 407, cited with a slightly different translation of the passage in CE Luard, *Dhar & Mandu: A Sketch for the Sight-seer* (Bombay, 1916), p. 8.

¹⁷*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (1971–72), p. 81, no. D. 72 (hereinafter cited as ARE). The inscription is reported on a metal plaque on the wooden gate and although local people knew of it, I was unable to locate the plaque when visiting the site.

¹⁸Suggested by K. K. Lele, in Dikshit, *Pārijātamāñjarī*, p. xxi, n. 1, who identifies it, correctly I think, as the Dhārāgiri mentioned in the play.

¹⁹Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie H. Shokoohy, *Tughluqabad: A Paradigm for Indo-Islamic Urban Planning and Its Architectural Components* (London, 2007).

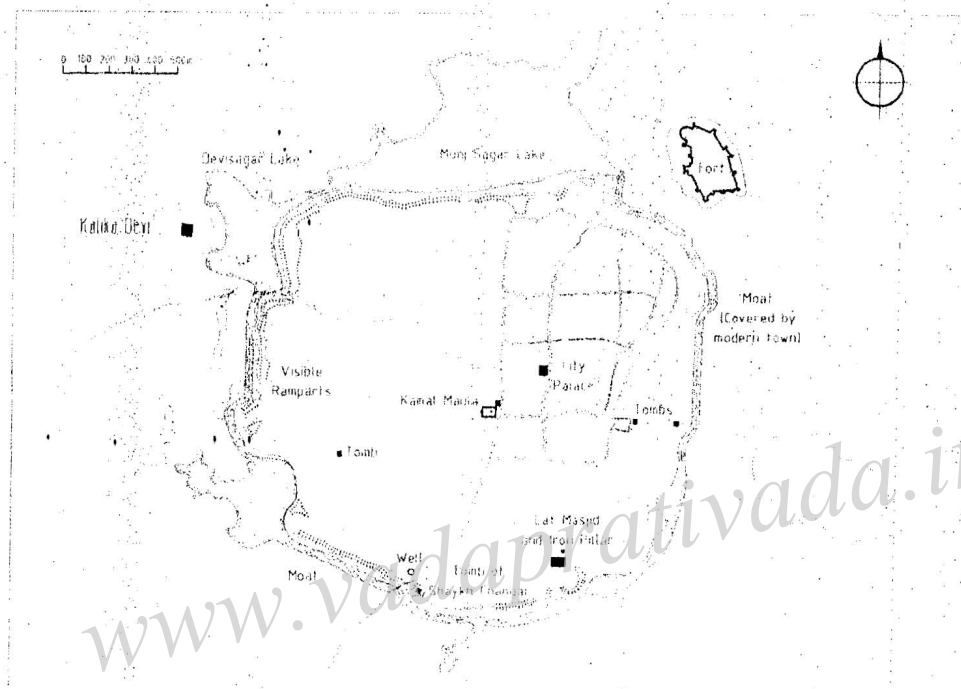


Fig. 2. Dhār. Plan of the medieval town showing the location of monuments and disposition of the ramparts.

co-capital in 1337.²⁰ That Dhār was a key staging-post on the road to the Deccan is shown by the fact that when 'Ala' al-Dīn Khiljī dispatched 'Ayn al-Mulk Mūltānī to subdue Mālwa in the early fourteenth century, the latter made Dhār the provincial capital and served there as governor until 1313 after which time he was transferred to Daulatābād.²¹ It was still the capital of Mālwa some years later when Ibn Battūta travelled to the Deccan.²²

The fort at Dhār stands on the north-eastern edge of a circle of tanks, channels and earthen ramparts that made Dhār, in effect, a moated, circular city (Fig. 2). This plan is alluded to in Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* and is similar to that at Warangal in the Deccan.²³ As the circular configuration is probably mentioned by Padmagupta in his *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, a work that casts King Bhoja's father Sindhurāja as a latter-day Vikramāditya, it seems likely that the plan was already taking shape in the tenth century.²⁴

²⁰ Richard Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300–1761: Eight Indian Lives* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 38.

²¹ Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Authority and Kingship under the Sultans of Delhi* (Delhi, 2006), pp. 283–284.

²² H. Yule, "The Geography of Ibn Battuta's Travels in India", *Indian Antiquary* 3 (1874), p. 116.

²³ George Michell, "City as Cosmogram: The Circular Plan of Warangal", *South Asian Studies* 8 (1992), pp. 1–18. Tawney, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 46 where the plan is said to have been based on Laṅka (i.e. an island) and laid out according to the designs of Dhārā, a courtesan. A detailed study of the circular city, first noted in 2007 by Dr O. P. Mishra and myself, is reserved for a future time; the drawing published here is accurate but only preliminary.

²⁴ Padmagupta, *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* with Hindi commentary, introduction etc., by Shastri Jitendrachandra Bhāratīya (Varanasi, 1963). A translation is awaited; for the moment readers may refer to the relevant sections in A. K. Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, 7 vols (Delhi, 1972–2004).

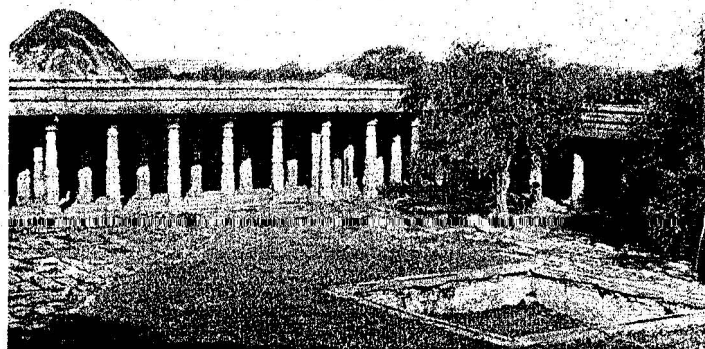


Fig. 3. Dhār. Interior of the Mosque at the tomb of Kamāl al-Dīn. Unknown photographer, 1902. Courtesy of the British Library, Photo 2/4(90), item 4303212.

In the exact centre of the circular city is the tomb of Kamāl al-Dīn Mālāwī (circa 1238–1330). This Chishtī saint, called Mālāwī because of his long residence in central India, was a follower of Farīd al-Dīn Mas‘ūd Ganj-i Shakar (1175–1265) and Nizām al-Dīn Auliya’ of Delhi (circa 1243/4–1325). Some details about Kamāl al-Dīn are recorded in Muḥammad Ghawthī’s *Gulzār-i abrār*, a reliable hagiography of Sufi saints composed in 1613.²⁵ The custodians of Kamāl al-Dīn’s tomb have served in an unbroken lineage for almost seven hundred years and are still resident; their history can be found in an informative volume by Rām Sevak Garg.²⁶ The structures in the complex belong primarily to the fifteenth century as documented by inscriptions still *in situ*.²⁷

Next to the tomb is a spacious hypostyle mosque built primarily of reused temple parts (Fig. 3). When this building was constructed is not recorded, but an inscription of AH 795/1392–93, dug up in the small graveyard of the adjacent enclosure, mentions that the mosques of Dhār had fallen into disrepair and that they were renewed by Dilāwar Khān.²⁸ This suggests that the mosque next to Kamāl al-Dīn’s tomb was the first Jāmi‘, constructed soon after Dhār was annexed to Delhi and made headquarters of the province under ‘Ayn al-Mulk Mūltānī. As noted above, Mūltānī served as governor until 1313 so it seems likely that the mosque was completed prior to his departure. Some seventy years later, in AH

²⁵ Muḥammad Ghawthī Mandawī, *Aṣṣar-i abrār*, Urdu *Tarjuma-i Gulzār-i abrār*, trans. Fazl Ahmad Jewari [Urdu lithograph] (Agra, 1326/1908, reprint ed., Lahore: Islamic Book Foundation, 1395/1975), p. 581. I am grateful to Richard Eaton for drawing this source to my attention. The text is available in digital form through <http://www.archive.org>

²⁶ Rām Sevak Garg, *Hazrat mawlānā kamāluddīn cistī rah. aur unkā yug* (Bhopāl, 2005).

²⁷ G. H. Yazdani, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1909–10), p. 14, pl. V (hereinafter cited as *EIM*); *ARE* (1971–72): 81, no. D. 76.

²⁸ Zafar Hasan, “The Inscriptions of Dhar and Mandu,” *EIM* (1909–10), pp. 13–14, pl. II, no. 2; *ARE* (1971–72): 81, no. D. 73. The discovery of the inscription, shortly after 1902, is recorded in Ernest Barnes, “Art. XI. – Dhār and Mandu,” *JRAS Bombay Branch* 21 (1903), p. 349, n. 1.

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793/1390–91, Sultān Muḥammad Shāh appointed Dilāwar Khān *muqṭiʿ* of Dhār (and thus governor of Mālwa), so the renovations of 1392–93 can be seen as inaugurating Dilāwar Khān's governorship.²⁹

The variety of pillars used in the building, and the number of inscribed tablets still visible in the floor with yet others displayed along the walls, show that the materials for this building were collected from a number of old sites over a wide area. The approach to the construction of the mosque deliberately mimics what was done at the Qutb in Delhi. Both buildings do not simply use temple material because nothing else was available or because the use of temple pillars was a triumphant display of Islamic supremacy. Rather, the reuse of old temple parts represented a comprehensive appropriation of the resources of the past – both architectural and cultural – and their radical reconfiguration into a new kind of sacred space unknown in India before the appearance of Islam. Just as individuals could choose to become Muslim and find a place in the new Islamic dispensation, so too pillars, beams and slabs could be converted and find an appropriate role in the new architecture. In British India there was little interest in exploring or explaining these cultural practices, as we will see in the pages that follow.

The mosque at Kamāl al-Dīn was displaced as the focus of Friday prayers when Dilāwar Khān, assuming the title 'Amīd Shāh Dāwūd Ghōrī, built what is called the Lāt masjid as the new Jāmi' in 1405.³⁰ The Lāt masjid derives its name from the pillar or *lāt* lying outside the building. Being a monolith cast in iron, the pillar is a technological marvel that has drawn considerable attention through the centuries.³¹ Jahāngīr reports that Dilāwar Khān installed the pillar outside the building.³² Where it was before Dilāwar Khān's time has not been discussed in a definitive fashion. Here I would note that because the old Jāmi' at Kamāl al-Dīn was modelled on Delhi, it seems likely that the pillar at Dhār played an analogous role to the iron pillar at the Qutb and so stood at Kamāl al-Dīn between *circa* 1305 (conquest of Dhār and building of the first Jāmi') and *circa* 1405 (declaration of independence by Dilāwar Khān and the building of the second Jāmi'). The location before *circa* 1305 remains uncertain. Originally some 13.5 m in length, the pillar was broken when the Sultan of Gujarāt attempted to move it in the 1500s. The three surviving portions are now placed on a small platform outside the Lāt mosque.³³ The only dated inscription on the pillar records a visit by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1598 while on campaign towards the Deccan.³⁴

The Lāt masjid is situated at the south-eastern edge of the old town near to what would have been the gate to Māṇḍū. Because Māṇḍū had long served as a hill-retreat for those at Dhār, it was natural for Dilāwar Khān to have built the new Jāmi' on this side of the town. A similar pattern is seen at other centres, notably Chanderi, where a new Jāmi' was constructed on the western edge of the town in the same period.³⁵ A key feature of the Lāt

²⁹For date of Dilāwar Khān's appointment, U. N. Day, *Medieval Malwa* (Delhi, 1969), p. 13.

³⁰Zafar Hasan, *EIM* (1909–10), pp. 12–13; *ARE* (1971–72): 81, no. D. 73.

³¹A full bibliography can be found in R. Balasubramaniam, "A New Study of the Dhar Iron Pillar," *Indian Journal of the History of Science* 37.2 (2002), pp. 115–151.

³²*Tūzūk-i Jahāngīrī*, 2, p. 407.

³³The old photograph in Luard, *Dhar & Mandu*, (with another in Balasubramaniam, "A New Study") shows the fallen pillar beside the stone footing, prior to it being set on a platform by the Archaeological Survey of India in about 1980.

³⁴Zafar Hasan, *EIM* (1909–10), p. 13; translation in Barnes, "Dhar and Mandu", p. 348.

³⁵Gérard Fussman et al., *Naissance et déclin d'une qasba: Chanderi du X^e au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 2003).

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masjid is the reduced number of re-used temple pillars compared to the mosque at Kamāl al-Dīn, and the corresponding reduction in the depth of the prayer-hall colonnades. This indicates that there were substantially fewer pillars available for the construction. In addition to these well-known monuments, there are a number of other tombs of the fifteenth and sixteenth century at Dhār that have received little scholarly attention; an account of these buildings, important as they are, is outside the scope of the present essay.³⁶

Dhār and the 'discovery' of the Bhojśālā

Dhār and Māṇḍū were known to be important places in the nineteenth century and their histories began to be explored at an early date. Although the oldest writing is not as revealing as we would like, a review of the literature nonetheless shows how the tradition of the Bhojśālā began to emerge.

The first account of Dhār in a western language is found in John Malcolm's *Report on the Province of Malwa*. That was published in 1822.³⁷ Malcolm's treatment of Dhār is brief, but in his historical survey he notes that it became the capital under Bhoja in the eleventh century. In a footnote Malcolm gives an extended account of one of the folk-tales that were current in his time. According to one story, Bhoja made a vow to build a series of dams "to arrest the streams of nine rivers and ninety-nine rivulets".³⁸ A location was found in the kingdom that allowed the king to fulfil this vow and the dams were duly built at the site we now call Bhojpur. The dam at Bhopāl, according to this story, was built by the king's minister. In his description of Dhār, Malcolm is very brief, saying only that: "The materials of its finest temples appear to have been appropriated to build Palaces and Mosques for its new sovereign. The city did not however, remain the capital of the Mahomedans for long. Alif Khan (the son of Dilawur Khan) who became celebrated under the name of Hoshung Sha, removed the seat of Government to Mandoo". In a footnote he adds: "I took, when last at Dhar, a fine polished stone tablet of large dimensions, on which there was a Hindu Inscription, from a ruined Mosque, where this sacred writing had been placed as the floor of the Mimbar or pulpit of the Mahomedan place of worship".³⁹ This is the first reference to the mosque of Kamāl al-Dīn and to the numerous inscribed slabs that subsequent visitors repeatedly observed in the floor of the building. Aside from the obvious fact that Malcolm makes no reference to the Bhojśālā, and clearly describes the building as a ruined mosque, what draws our attention is the inscribed slab he extracted from the *minbar*. This has not, so far as I am aware, been noted or traced; there is a tantalising possibility that his "fine polished stone tablet" is the missing part of the inscription containing the drama *Pārijātamañjarī* composed by Madana, the preceptor of the Paramāra King Arjunavarman, on which more below.

The encyclopaedic care with which Malcolm prepared his report made his book a standard reference and led to its republication in several editions under the title *A Memoir of Central India, including Malwa and Adjoining Provinces*. The only other work in circulation was William

³⁶The only account is given in Barnes, "Dhar and Mandu", p. 353; also see the article by R. Babagolzadeh in this issue of the *JRAS*.

³⁷John Malcolm, *Report on the Province of Malwa, and adjoining Districts* (Calcutta, 1822).

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 21.

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Kincaid's 1879 edition of the *History of Mandu*, first published in 1844.⁴⁰ Kincaid spent most of his life in Mālwa and recorded a number of folk-tales about Bhoja in the 1888 volume of *Indian Antiquary*.⁴¹ Like Malcolm, he documents popular memories of Bhoja as a great king, with a similar account of the temple and dams at Bhojpur. The Bhojśālā is singularly absent in these stories. In his detailed notes on Dhār and Māṇḍū, added as numbered appendices to the *History of Mandu*, Kincaid mentions the Akl ka kua or 'Well of Wisdom' in front of the tomb of Kamāl al-Dīn, observing, in passing, that "a loquacious Musalman here recounted to me a number of remarkable stories".⁴² Of the mosque, however, he only says "... close by is a small masjid". While Kincaid was not the most sympathetic of ethnographers, if there had been an active folk-tale about the Bhojśālā, the talkative person he encountered would surely have mentioned it and Kincaid made a note. The silence of both Malcolm and Kincaid on this point shows that there were no living traditions about the Bhojśālā in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

The degree to which the *Memoir of Central India* and the *History of Mandu* held sway is shown by Guiaud's *Ruins of Mandoo*. Guiaud acknowledged that his historical notices were culled "chiefly from the pages of Sir John Malcolm's *History of Central India*, and from a small work published at Bombay in 1844, by A Bombay Subaltern".⁴³ Guiaud, as a consequence, adds nothing to our understanding of Dhār and the problems we seek to address in this essay.

Epigraphic research at Dhār began in earnest in 1871 when Bhau Dāji of Bombay sent his agents to take copies of inscriptions at Dhār.⁴⁴ Dāji died in 1874 and does not seem to have done anything with these copies in the final years of his life. Nonetheless, Dāji did have an active interest in the literary figures at Bhoja's court and the *prabandhas* attached to Bhoja's name.⁴⁵ Of Dhār itself, however, he says nothing.

After Dāji, epigraphic research at Dhār was continued by Georg Bühler in 1875, or at least so we are told by C. E. Luard in his *Gazetteer* of 1908.⁴⁶ However, Bühler's presence in Dhār is not something I have been able to trace. Bühler's report for 1874-75 documents a trip through Rājasthān in search of manuscripts; his report for 1873-74 also focuses on Rājasthān.⁴⁷ Indeed in his report for 1873-74 he notes: "In conclusion, I beg to express the hope that Government will be pleased to give me an opportunity and funds to continue the

⁴⁰ *History of Mandu, The Capital of Malwa*. By a Bombay Subaltern, (ed.) by William Kincaid, 2nd ed. (Bombay, 1879). The notes at the end are by Kincaid (1831-1909) who served in a number of roles, notably as Resident in Bhopawār and Bhopāl. He gives an account of Dhār in note XXVI, *ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

⁴¹ Kincaid, "Rambles among Ruins in Central India", *Indian Antiquary* 17 (1888), pp. 348-352. The folk-memory of Bhoja is also documented by Alexander Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes* (London, 1854), p. 327.

⁴² See *History of Mandu*, (ed.) Kincaid, p. 102.

⁴³ J. Guiaud, *The Ruins of Mandoo, the Ancient Mahomedan Capital of Malwah in Central India. From the Original Sketches of Captain Claudius Harris ... with Descriptive and Historical Notices, and an Appendix* (London, 1860): preface (non pagination).

⁴⁴ C. E. Luard, *Western States (Mālwa)*. *Gazetteer*, 2 parts. The Central India State Gazetteer Series, vol. 5 (Bombay, 1908): part A, p. 401 (hereinafter cited as Luard, *Gazetteer*).

⁴⁵ T. G. Mainkar, (ed.), *Writings and Speeches of Dr. Bhau Daji* (Bombay, 1974), p. 140 where Dāji calculates Bhoja's date and mentions that he procured a manuscript of Dhanapāla's *Tilakamāñjarī*. For Dāji collection, V. N. Mandlik and A. F. Moos, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Books belong to the Bhau Daji Memorial* (Bombay, 1882).

⁴⁶ Luard, *Gazetteer*, p. 401.

⁴⁷ Georg, Bühler, *Report on Sanskrit MSS. 1874-75* (Bombay, 1875). S. R. Bhandarkar, *Report of a Second Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Rajputana and Central India in 1904-05 and 1905-06* (Bombay, 1907): Bhandarkar (p. 1) notes that Bühler's report of 1873-74 of his tour in Rajputana seems to have been lost but I find an account of the tour for that year by Bühler in Archibald Edward Gough, *Papers relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India* (Calcutta, 1878), pp. 115-120.

search. Besides the great library at Saidhpur Pattan, Gujarat, there are the royal and private libraries of Kasnir, Jammu, Jaypur, Udaypur, Ujjain, and Dhar, which, if explored, no doubt will yield the solutions of many problems of Sanskrit philology".⁴⁸ This suggests that Bühler never reached Dhār in his quest for manuscripts.

Although Bühler cannot be placed in Dhār, it is nonetheless clear that he had an interest in the Paramāra dynasty and that he was well aware of the importance of Dhār as a centre of literary activity.⁴⁹ In the course of his research into the *Pāyilacchī* and *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, Bühler prepared the first study of the Udaypur *prastā* of Udayāditya.⁵⁰ In his article on this inscription, Bühler devoted considerable space to Bhoja's learning and proficiency as a poet, citing several manuscripts that supported the assertion in the *prastā* that Bhoja was a poet-king.⁵¹ With reference to his temple building activities, also recounted in the Udaypur inscription, Bühler states, "Regarding the extensive building operations which Bhoja undertook according to verse 20, I am unable to bring forward any corroboration from other sources. But it is very probable that a prince, so fond of display as he was, adorned his capital and perhaps even foreign sacred places with architectural monuments".⁵² To put the matter another way and in a succinct form relevant to our theme, Bühler had before him evidence of Bhoja's interest in literature and architecture, and of Dhār as a centre of literary production, but he did not speculate about the king building a school for Sanskrit studies or a temple to Sarasvatī. This is all the more telling because Bühler actively engaged with traditional knowledge-holders in India and knew about Sanskrit schools. A particularly interesting account of his encounter with Paṇḍits working in the time-honoured manner is found in his report of 1869. This is worth giving in full because it provides a clear sense of how Sanskrit learning and Sanskrit schools operated in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.⁵³

After receiving charge of the office of Inspector, I addressed a circular to the Deputies of Surat, Broach, Kaira, Ahmedabad, Kātthiāwar, Rewakantha and Khandesh, requesting them to name the chief towns where Sanskrit manuscripts are found, and to furnish me with lists of the person possessing Sanskrit libraries. . . . On my tour, I visited a number of towns where Sanskrit learning is cultivated, amongst which I may mention Ahmedabad, Dholka, Limdi, Rājkoṭ, Gondal, Junāgaḍh, Pālitānā, Bhaunagār, Nariad, Cambay, Broach, and Balsār. In all these places I had interviews with the Native scholars and possessors of libraries, and I explained to them the intentions of Government, and the purposes for which the present search for Sanskrit manuscripts is instituted. I mostly met with a very friendly reception on the part of the Brāhmins and Śāstrīs. They came willingly to talk with me, to show me the lists of their books, and to bring those which I wanted to inspect. At Balsār I held a regular *sabbhā*, or assembly of the learned, for

⁴⁸Bühler in Gough, *Papers relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 120.

⁴⁹Bühler, "On a Prakrit Glossary entitled *Pāyilacchī*", *Indian Antiquary* 2 (1873), p. 166 where Dhār is specifically mentioned as a "great centre of literary activity" under Bhoja.

⁵⁰Bühler, "The Udepur Prasasti of the Kings of Malva," *Epigraphica Indica* 1 (1892), pp. 222-238. The inscription, recording a Vaiṣṇava foundation, was first found at Udaypur but what has not been noted before is that it came from the Varāha temple at Muratpur, about 5 km. to the south, as noted by Ansari in this issue of the *JRAS*.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp. 231-232.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁵³Bühler in Gough, *Papers relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 49-51.

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the purpose of learned discussions. It was well attended. I examined first the pupils of the various Śāstrīs, and next proposed a few questions to the teachers, which they discussed in their peculiar manner, one upholding the Pūrvapaksha, the first proposition, and the other its opposite, the Uttarapaksha. Finally I addressed them on the object pursued by Europeans in studying Sanskrit; the intentions of Government in regard to the cultivation of that language; the purposes for which Sanskrit books are collected, & c. All these topics appear to have great interest for them, as they listened eagerly, and frequently asked question demanding fuller explanations. The ceremony was concluded by the recitation of improvised poetry, and the orthodox distribution of *pān*, *supārī* and of *dakṣhiṇā*. In Junāgaḍh, also, the whole *posse* of Śāstrīs was assembled at the examination of the Sanskrit School, and submitted to a rigorous examination in Sanskrit grammar; and I afterwards received a curious proof how deeply the Pundits had been impressed by seeing a foreigner able to converse in their sacred language and acquainted with their Śāstras. On the last evening of my stay in Junāgaḍh, a deputation came to me with an address, which assured me of their friendliness, and requested me to answer some questions, among the following were the most curious:

- (1) Whether in Europe, especially in Germany, the learned lived according to the Brāhmanical law.
- (2) Whether they performed sacrifices, as a European had done in Poona (Dr. Haug).⁵⁴
- (3) Whether I preferred sacrifices, or the study of the Vedānta, as the road to salvation.
- (4) How, supposing that I was descended, as I had told them, from the Aryan stock, I could consider myself entitled (*adhikṛta*) to study the Vedas and Śāstras without having been initiated.

Though I hereupon disclaimed all belief in the Vedas and Śāstras, I succeeded in satisfying them that I had no sinister intentions against their creed; and one of them volunteered to teach me the correct way of reading the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa from Professor Weber's edition.

If we cannot place Bühler in Dhār, the same is not true of his protégé Dr Alois Anton Führer (1853–1930). He visited central India in 1892–93 and published an account of his tour in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-western Provinces and Oudh*.⁵⁵ Reading Führer's report as a whole, one is struck by the ambitiousness of his itinerary and the lightning speed with which he travelled across Rājasthān and Mālwa. The hurried nature of the tour shows in Führer's frequent mistakes and his basically meaningless comments on architecture. These consist of aesthetic disquisitions with a top-dressing of disparaging remarks about the influence of Islam, a stock-in-trade of British historical interpretation designed to undermine the Islamic rulers of India and highlight the benefit of colonial rule. About the temples at Mount Ābū he thus noted: "These two temples are perfect gems of Indian art workmanship and monuments of the architectural, plastic, and decorative arts based on sound principles of design and imbued with the hereditary skill of the artists, and preserved to us from the ravages of time and iconoclastic tendencies of the Musalmān rulers of India". At Ajmer he admired the design of the mosque, but was compelled to say that it

⁵⁴Martin Haug (1827–76); German Indologist in India from 1859 to 1866, who became Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Munich in 1868.

⁵⁵A. Führer, "Progress Report of the Epigraphical Section for the Working Season of 1892–93" in *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June, 1893* (Rourkee, 1893), pp. 8–29.

was built "of the spoils of many Hindû temples which were thrown down by the bigotry of these conquerors".⁵⁶

We are under no obligation to take any of this seriously. What is a matter of concern is the fact that Führer was a persuasive and charismatic individual responsible for a series of audacious scholarly deceptions. Those from the first part of his career have been explored by Professor Andrew Huxley in a previous volume of this journal.⁵⁷ Like many of his ilk, Führer seems to have combined an impressive personality with enough Indological knowledge to appear convincing, at least to those who did not know better or who did not take the time to check details. Of course the method of all con-artists, academic or otherwise, is to Hoover-up other people's ideas, move quickly and create such a flurry of activity that details cannot be checked. Eventually, however, Führer was investigated and forced to resign from his position in the Archaeological Survey of India. That was in 1898. Vincent Smith conducted the investigation and uncovered a breath-taking degree of bad scholarship and bad archaeological practice. Smith's report is essential reading for anyone interested in the Indological and colonial history of north India. Not previously published, the report is given here in an appendix.

This background helps us assess Führer's account of Dhâr. Thus Smith's report, which tells us that Führer openly admitted that "he was not in the habit of keeping a journal of his tours or of writing up notes of his observations from day to day", helps explain how Führer could have said that the tomb of Shaykh Changâl "... is simply the transformation of a Jaina temple of the 12th century".⁵⁸ Based on this, he concluded: "This mode of adapting Hindû temples to their own service has been practiced by the Musalmâns at Mându, Dhâr, Jaunpur, Zafarâbâd and many other places". There is, in fact, no trace of reused material in the fabric of the Dargâh or in the small mosque beside it, so either Führer never went there or is mixing up his memories. After all, he did not make field notes. Although inherently flawed, Führer's account is important because it points to a pattern of misrepresentation that culminates in the work of men like P. N. Oak. This writer has variously asserted that the Taj Mahal in Agra is a Rajput palace, a Hindu palace, a temple-palace and a temple.⁵⁹ While scholars are apt to find these claims mildly amusing, the expression of such notions has influenced the destiny of several contested sites. Side-stepping the famous examples, I would point to a late Mughal mosque at Gwalior that was quietly turned into a temple sometime before 1989.⁶⁰ Similar pressures surround the mosque of Kamâl al-Dîn at Dhâr, as noted at the start of this essay. It is therefore significant that Führer remarked: "The dargâh of Maulânâ Kamâl-ud-dîn, built during the reign of Mahmûd Shâh Khiljî I., in A.H. 861, has a spacious

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9 and p. 14.

⁵⁷ Andrew Huxley, "Dr Führer's *Wanderjahre*: The Early Career of a Victorian Archaeologist," *JRAS* 20 (2010), pp. 489–502.

⁵⁸ Führer, "Progress Report", p. 22. The inscription at the tomb is discussed by Babagolzadeh in this issue of the *JRAS*.

⁵⁹ The trajectory of the 'thinking' is shown by the evolving title: P. N. Oak, *Taj Mahal was a Rajput Palace* (Delhi, 1965); *ibidem*, *Taj Mahal is a Hindu Temple* (Bombay, 1968), *ibidem*, *The Taj Mahal is a Temple Palace* (New Delhi, 1974), *ibidem*, *The Taj Mahal is Tejo Mahalaya: a Shiva Temple* (New Delhi, 1978), *ibidem*, *Taj Mahal, the True Story: the Tale of a Temple Vandalized* (Houston, Tex., 1989).

⁶⁰ Alexander Cunningham, "Gwalior, or Gwalior," *Archaeological Survey of India Report 2* (1862–65), p. 335. The mosque was built on the site of the temple of Gwâlîpâ according to an inscription of 1664; Willis, *Inscriptions of Gopaksetra* (London, 1996), p. 95.

quadrangle with a colonnade of very fine Jaina pillars on each side within the square, and some are very elaborately sculpted in a similar style as those in the Dailwârâ temples at Abû. The floor is formed of black stone slabs from which Sanskrit inscriptions of the 12th century have been effaced. The mihrâbs and minbar of the masjid proper are very handsome. On two of the columns supporting the central dome of the masjid are inscribed a couple of grammatical sûtras, which show that they were probably part of a scholastic building".⁶¹ This is the first published suggestion that the mosque, or the fragments built into it, marked the location of some kind of school. Of course Führer had no evidence for the proposition and he probably developed the idea from Bühler's Sanskrit researches noted above. All the ingredients are there in Bühler's writing and Führer consistently drew on Bühler's work, often copying out Bühler's words verbatim, as Huxley's meticulous research has shown.⁶²

After Führer was dismissed in 1898, his work was not cited as a source of reliable information.⁶³ There is circumstantial evidence, however, that Führer's observations were picked up by the local officials with whom he interacted in the course of his tour and that the origin of 'Bhoja's school' and all the problems that have attended this identification can be placed at Führer's doorstep. But with this we get ahead of ourselves.

Returning to the sequence of events in proper chronological order, we know that there was a significant increase in research activity at Dhār in preparation for the visit of Lord Curzon in November, 1902. Captain Ernest Barnes, I.C.S., who served as the political agent at Dhār from 1900 to 1904, established a small archaeological department in September, 1902 and placed the Superintendent of State Education, Mr. K. K. Lele, in charge.⁶⁴ Just prior, Barnes collected available information on Dhār and Māṇḍū and communicated his findings to the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, in June, 1902.⁶⁵

Barnes's report contains a wealth of information and includes some important details about the archaeological investigations taking place at the mosque next to Kamāl al-Dīn's tomb. Most importantly, Barnes's report shows that by the time he was writing, Lele had found two serpentine inscriptions giving the alphabet and grammatical rules of the Sanskrit language.⁶⁶ These were understood by Barnes as "confirming the local tradition" that the mosque was "known among the Hindoo population as 'Raja Bhoja ka Madrassa', i.e. Raja Bhoja's school".⁶⁷ Barnes does not tell us how he came to know this "local tradition", but we can conclude, quite safely I think, that it was given to him by his informants, i.e. Lele and his

⁶¹ Führer, "Progress Report", p. 21.

⁶² Huxley, "Dr Führer's Wanderjahre", p. 495.

⁶³ J. M. Campbell, "Art. XI. — Māṇḍū," *JRAS Bombay Branch* 19 (1895), pp. 154–201 does not refer to Führer or to Dhār, so is not directly relevant. However I feel compelled to note here that Henry Cousens, "The Iron Pillar at Dhār", *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902–03* (Calcutta, 1904), p. 211 states that Campbell has mistakenly described the position of one of the iron pillar fragments and that "it is curious how both Sir James Campbell and Dr Führer make the same mistake, unless the one simply copied his account from the other". This is wrong. Campbell did not describe a piece of the iron pillar as standing outside the mosque at Māṇḍū. Cousen's error is perpetuated in Balasubramaniam, "A New Study", p. 121 whose historiography is muddled. Kincaid's note in *History of Mandu*, p. 102 (commenting on p. 16) shows that the position of fragments in 1844 and 1879 were: (1) the Lāt mosque, (2) "some pieces in the Dhar fort" and (3) "the block of iron opposite Hindoli mahal at Mandu". Führer has the piece at Māṇḍū in front of the mosque in 1893, but Campbell reports no piece there in 1895.

⁶⁴ Luard, *Gazetteer*, p. 401. This was 10 years after Führer's visit, so it is possible that Führer and Lele met, more on which below.

⁶⁵ Barnes, "Dhar and Mandu," pp. 339–390. The date of the communication is given at the head of the article.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

assistant Babaji Nalchekar, both of whom are thanked by Barnes in his opening remarks.⁶⁸ In other words, the "local tradition" of the "Hindoo population" is nothing more than what was reported to Barnes by Lele. How Lele formed his views, based on Führer's report, is something to which we will return shortly.

Concluding his account of the mosque, Barnes wrote: "Finally, a recent close inspection has brought to light the fact that the reverse side of two of the great black stone slabs which form the lining of the 'Mehrab' are covered with similar inscriptions, which happily by their position have escaped destruction, but which owing to that same position, it has only been possible up to the present to take fragmental impressions. These impressions seem to show that the inscriptions are a dramatic composition probably on an historical subject, written in the reign of a successor of Bhoja".⁶⁹ The state of understanding in the middle of 1902 is therefore clear: the mosque was being called 'Raja Bhoja's Madrasa' thanks to the two serpentine inscriptions found at the site by Lele but it was not yet known as the Bhojśālā and it was not yet associated with the goddess Sarasvatī.

Five months after Barnes completed his article, Lord Curzon came to Dhār. This visit was part of a wider campaign, which Curzon was leading, to modernise the government of India, not least the Archaeological Survey.⁷⁰ During Curzon's visit, Lele reports that the inscribed slabs he had discovered "were seen by His Excellency Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India while yet in the wall on the 2nd November 1902. By his H. E.'s advice they were taken out and have since attracted much attention and interest". We owe the preservation of this information to S. K. Dikshit who decided to print Lele's account in his 1968 edition of the inscription.⁷¹ Lele's report is titled: *Summary of the Dramatic Inscription found at the Bhoja Shala (Kamal Maula Mosque), Dhar, C. I., in November 1903*. This is of historical importance because it is the first recorded use of the word 'Bhojśālā'. Coincidentally, the *Summary* also shows that Lele was a very competent Sanskrit scholar who took just a few weeks to read the inscription and grasp its purport and importance. It seems likely that he was trained in the kind of traditional Sanskrit school described by Bühler.

Lele circulated his report widely. This is shown, firstly, by the account of it given by R. Pischel in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1903-04.⁷² Pischel was concerned with the Prakrit inscriptions and tells us that he received estampages from Professor E. Hultzsch who had them from John Marshall, the Director-General of

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-352. Lele reports that the slab with the dramatic text was "attached to the northern wall of the principal Mehrab with the writing turned inside", see Dikshit, *Pārijātamāñjarī*, p. xviii. The credit for the discovery must go to Lele. I should add here that the slabs, which have the usual horizontal format of Indian inscriptions and are now displayed on the back wall of the mosque inside the entrance, were turned on end when they were re-set in the *mīhrāb* (thus with the writing on its side). I mention this only to forestall misguided suggestions that that *mīhrāb* is some kind of temple niche or *garbhagṛha*.

⁷⁰ See John Marshall's introduction to the *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-04* (Calcutta, 1906), pp. 1-2. The immediate effect of Curzon's visit on the conservation of monuments at Dhār and Māndū are recorded in Government of India, *Proceedings of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture for July, 1903. Archaeology and Epigraphy*, pp. 347-360 (India Office Proceedings P/6600).

⁷¹ Dikshit, *Pārijātamāñjarī*, p. xviii. Lele's report is dated 30 December 1903. Dikshit had close relations with Lele's nephew and reveals (*ibid.*, p. xiv) that he was the son of K. N. Dikshit, the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India. The elder Dikshit's role in our story is taken up below.

⁷² R. Pischel, "Inscriptions from Dhār", *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-04* (Calcutta, 1906), pp. 238-240.

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the Archaeological Survey. For our concerns, the key point is that Pischel accepted Lele's *Summary* at face value and innocently refers to the "discovery of the two long inscriptions and several fragments found in the Bhojaśālā at Dhār".⁷³

Lele also sent his *Summary* to Hultzsch. This excited Hultzsch's interest and, through various intermediaries, he received inked impressions and published the full text in the 1905-06 volume of *Epigraphia Indica*.⁷⁴ As it turns out, the ink impressions came from Henry Cousens who was also studying the antiquities of Dhār at the time.⁷⁵ Cousens was concerned with the iron pillar and published his detailed study in the first volume of the *Archaeological Survey of India Report* for 1902-03.⁷⁶ In his attempt to locate the surviving parts of this pillar and the history of their placement and movement, Cousens made enquiries through Captain Barnes. In reply Lele wrote: "As soon as your letter came, I drove to the Agency House and made a search for the bell-capital near the Havaladar's house. Nothing like it was found there or anywhere else. But on further enquiries I found, near the *bāghbān's* house, a flat octagonal slab of ordinary black-stone, which old people say rested upon the *lāt* while it was standing in the Agency garden ... When Dr. Führer visited Dhār this slab with its support might have appear to him bell-shaped."⁷⁷

This statement is critical because it demonstrates a link between Lele and Führer. Whether Lele met Führer personally or knew him only through his 1893 report is probably something we shall never know for sure. Vincent Smith examined Führer papers in 1898 and noted that the lists of inscriptions and antiquities he found were not Führer's own work, but "prepared by local officials".⁷⁸ Whether this shows that Führer met with Lele and took a list from him is uncertain, but it at least shows how Führer was able to give the correct dates and details for the Dhār inscriptions he mentions in his report. However that may be, the text of Lele's letter printed by Cousens leaves no doubt that Lele knew what Führer had said about Dhār and that he had a degree of respect for it. What this means is that Lele would have been aware of Führer's general understanding of Indian architecture, i.e. that that pre-Islamic temples were "... perfect gems of Indian art workmanship", which in some case were "... preserved to us from the ravages of time and iconoclastic tendencies of the Musalmān rulers of India", and that "... many Hindū temples ... were thrown down by the bigotry of these conquerors" but, nonetheless, Islamic rulers sometimes recycled older buildings to their needs, "... a mode of adapting Hindū temples to their own service ... practiced by the Musalmāns at Māndu, Dhār, Jaunpur, Zafarābād and many other places".⁷⁹ Führer was not, of course, the inventor of this style of interpretation. It was Führer, however, who introduced these themes to Dhār and it was Lele who developed them in the local setting.⁸⁰

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁷⁴ E. Hultzsch, "Dhār Prasasti of Arjunavarman: Parijatamanjari-Natika by Mandana", *Epigraphia Indica* 8 (1905-06): 96-122. A translation had to wait until 1968, see Dikshit, *Parijatamanjari*.

⁷⁵ Hultzsch, "Dhār Prasasti", p. 96 and Dikshit, *Parijatamanjari*, p. v.

⁷⁶ Cousens, "Iron Pillar at Dhār", pp. 295-312.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 210, n. 1. It is not clear if Lele wrote to Barnes or directly to Cousens.

⁷⁸ See appendix for Smith's report. From the report we find Führer had in his papers a list prepared by William Kincaid. Kincaid had returned to Europe in 1886 and retired in 1889, so it appears Führer was able to get hold of extant lists during his tour of 1892-93.

⁷⁹ Führer, from his report cited above.

⁸⁰ The wider context is explored in Finbarr B. Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter* (Princeton, 2009), esp. Chapter 5 without, however, reference to Dhār.

The basic conundrum for Lele was that if the mosque at Kamāl al-Dīn was going to be explained away as a re-used Hindu building, then some sort of Sanskrit basis had to be found for 'Bhoja's school', the designation 'Rājā Bhoja kā Madrassa' being too manifestly Urdu to serve his purpose. Lele addressed the problem by inventing the term 'Bhojśālā'. While this was a clever bit of Sanskritisation, it had no basis in common parlance or the architectural types known from *śilpa*-texts. A *dharmśālā* was and is a well-known place of refuge for pilgrims, and there are various functional buildings called *śālā*, such as those used by washer men (*dhobīśālā*).⁸¹ But there is no such thing as a Sanskrit *śālā* (that would be *vidyālaya*, *vidyāpīṭha* or *jñānapīṭha*) and no *śālā* named after a king. Lele coined the term to provide the descriptive terminology he needed for the pillared colonnades of the mosque and so advance the idea that the building was indeed an old structure put to new use by the Muslims.

Although Lele busied himself with promulgating the idea that the mosque was the Bhojśālā, and had some success in this as we have seen, the proposal did not meet with universal acceptance. In Luard's landmark *Gazetteer* of 1908, the buildings of Dhār are described and 'Bhoja's school' duly noted. Because the statements that appeared in this publication were well-researched and represented an official government record, they have been repeated in more recent gazetteers and have enjoyed popular currency. This happened even though Luard openly stated that the name 'Rājā Bhoja's School' was "a misnomer".⁸² Why Luard did not simply suppress the misnomer may be explained by the fact that his *Gazetteer* was meant to be an up-to-date account of realities on the ground, not a definite historical assessment.

Luard's scepticism was well grounded. No text mentioning the Bhojśālā was known in Luard's time and no text or inscription has been found subsequently. This shows that the present 'tradition' about the Bhojśālā has been created retroactively from the gazetteers. This conclusion is supported by the application of the sources at the hands of the historian K. M. Munshi. He asserted that: "Close to Sarasvatī-mandira was a large well, still known as 'Akkal-Kui' or the 'Well of Wisdom'".⁸³ What Munshi omits to tell us is that he has lifted this information directly from the *History of Mandu* where it is recorded that the well took its name from the hundred Arabic books that fell accidentally into the well a long time ago, thus giving the name Akl ka kua.⁸⁴ The Islamic source of the legend is proven by the fact that *akl* is an Arabic word pure and simple.

Sarasvatī

The comment of K. M. Munshi just cited brings us to the final part of the Bhojśālā puzzle, namely the goddess Sarasvatī. As my readers may have noticed, there is no trace of this goddess in Lele's writing or that of his contemporaries. What brought Sarasvatī into the limelight was Tawney's translation of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*. This text, published in 1901, includes several

⁸¹ An inscription found in such a place mentioned in Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras*, probably marking the site of a ruined temple given the proximity to water.

⁸² Luard, *Gazetteer*, p. 498.

⁸³ K. M. Munshi, *Glory that was Gūjaradeśa: A.D. 500-1300* (Bombay, 1955), p. 284.

⁸⁴ *History of Mandu*, note XXVI, p. 182.

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episodes describing King Bhoja's visits to the temple of Sarasvatī at Dhār. Merutunga calls the temple the *Sarasvatikanthābharana* or *Necklace of Sarasvatī*, transposing on the building the name of two texts attributed to Bhoja that were known in western India at the time.⁸⁵ So with Mertunga telling us that Bhoja visited the temple of Sarasvatī and with the inscription of Arjunavarman telling us that the *Pārijātamañjarī* was performed in the temple of Sarasvatī, all that was missing from the picture was the statue of Sarasvatī herself. This gap was filled in 1924. O. C. Gangoly and K. N. Dikshit discovered an inscribed sculpture in the British Museum and straightaway announced that it was Bhoja's Sarasvatī from Dhār.⁸⁶ The sculpture is shown here in Fig. 4. Gangoly was a celebrated art historian and Dikshit the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, so their discovery was universally accepted and had a significant impact. The British Museum sculpture was repeatedly identified as Bhoja's Sarasvatī in the years that followed, most notably by C. Sivaramamurti, one-time Director-General of the National Museum of India.⁸⁷ Some writers, such as K. M. Munshi and V. Raghavan, have also asserted that the British Museum sculpture was from the mosque of Kamāl al-Dīn.⁸⁸ This is not correct. Already in 1943, C. B. Lele, who had access to the archival sources, reported that the sculpture had been found in the debris of the old city palace in 1875.⁸⁹ The city palace was being rebuilt at that time and stands facing the central square of the town. The building is now used as a school.

The inscription on the British Museum sculpture is damaged, but clearly mentions King Bhoja and Vāgdevī, another name for Sarasvatī. The *editio princeps* was prepared by H. V. Trivedi and published in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.⁹⁰ A re-examination of the inscription was undertaken by H. C. Bhayani, the well-known Sanskrit and Prakrit scholar. This was published in 1981 in an article co-authored with Kirit Mankodi.⁹¹ Their study showed that the inscription records the making of a sculpture of Ambikā after the creation of three Jinas and Vāgdevī. In other words, although Vāgdevī is indeed mentioned, the inscription's main purpose is to record an image of Ambikā, i.e., the sculpture on which the record is incised. That the sculpture is Ambikā is confirmed by the iconographic features,

⁸⁵ The two texts deal with grammar and poetics; for the title in western India see Ājaṇa's commentary cited above in note 4. *Sarasvatikanthābharana* with the commentary of Śrī Nārāyaṇadaṇḍanātha, (ed.) K. Śāmbaśiva Śāstrī (Trivandrum, 1935-), also see R. Birwé, "Nārāyaṇa Daṇḍanātha's Commentary on Rules III.2, pp. 106-121 of Bhoja's *Sarasvatikanthābharana*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 84 (1964), pp. 150-162. The poetic text was published most recently as *Sarasvatikanthābharanam of King Bhoja*, 3 vols., edited and translated by Sundari Siddhartha (Delhi, 2009). I am obliged to note that, contra Pollock, the *Sarasvatikanthābharanaprāsāda* does not refer to the royal palace of King Bhoja; in the context set out by the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* it means temple. S. Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (Berkeley, 2006), p. 189, referencing "Tilakamañjarī, p. 5 and CII 7.2: 49 and n. 3". This footnote simply re-cycles the incomplete and incorrect reference in Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras*, 2, p. 49.

⁸⁶ O. C. Gangoly and K. N. Dikshit, "An Image of Sarasvatī in the British Museum," *Rūpam* 17 (January, 1924), pp. 1-2.

⁸⁷ C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Sculpture* (New Delhi, 1961), p. 106.

⁸⁸ Munshi, *Glory that was Gūjaradeśa*, p. 284; Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śrīgaraprakāśa*, front matter (no pagination). Reasoning like this, one might as well argue that the second slab from the *mīhrāb* of the mosque with verses to Kūrma shows that the Bhojśālā is Bhoja's Kūrma temple! The odes to the Tortoise incarnation are taken up in Devangana Desai, "Two Inscribed Kūrma Śatakas Attributed to King Bhojadeva", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai* 77-78 (2002-03), pp. 42-48.

⁸⁹ [C. B. Lele], *Parmaṇ Inscriptions in Dhar State, 875-1310 AD* (Dhar, [1944]): iii. C. B. Lele was the nephew of K. K. Lele.

⁹⁰ Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras*, 2, p. 49.

⁹¹ Kirit Mankodi, "A Paramāra Sculpture in the British Museum: Vāgdevī or Yakṣī Ambikā?", *Sambodhi* 9 (1980-81), pp. 96-103.

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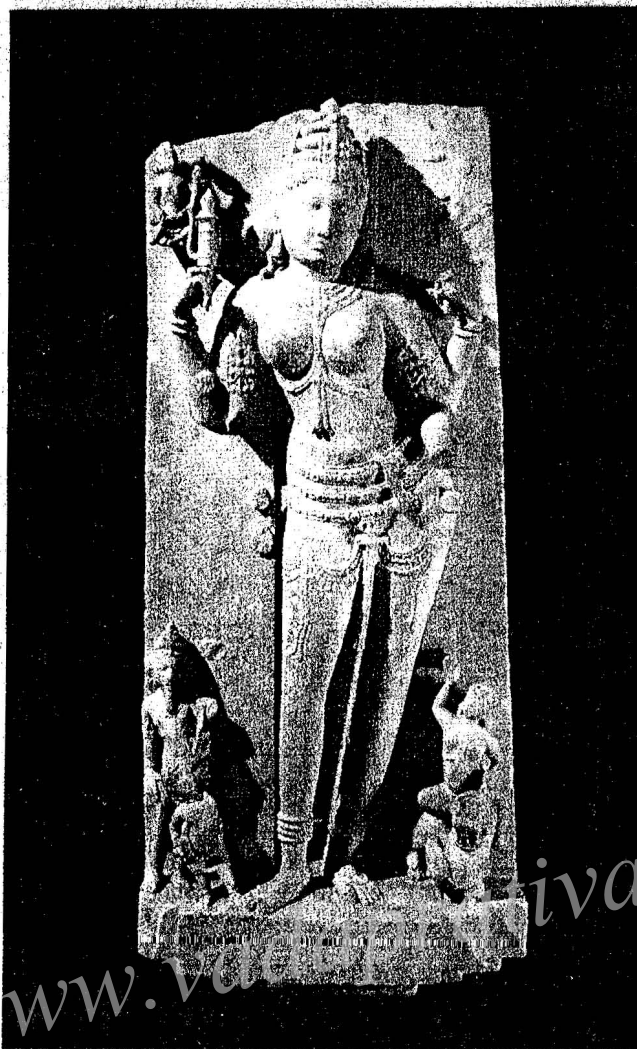


Fig. 4. Standing figure of the Jain goddess Ambikā. Courtesy of the British Museum.

notably the lion and elephant goad.⁹² The composition also leaves space for a mango cluster in one of the missing hands, a frequent attribute of Ambikā. This is alluded to in the inscription which describes the goddess as 'ever abundant in fruit'.

The epigraphic features of the record have been noted by H. V. Trivedi in his edition of the text to which the interested reader is referred. The main advance offered here is the identification of the grammatical subject of the text. This appears in line 2 where the reading *vararuciḥ* is clear. The purport of the inscription is, therefore, that an individual named Vararuci made the image of Ambikā on which the text has been engraved.

⁹²M. N. P. Tiwari, *Ambikā in Jain Art and Literature* (New Delhi, 1989).

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Text⁹³

- (1) aum | śrīmadbhojanāremdracāndranagarīvidyādhārī [*dha]rmmadhīh yo - - U U - U -
[damaged portion] khalu sukhaprasthāpanā-
- (2) y = āp(sa)rāh⁹⁴ [*|] vāgdevī[*m] prathama[*m] vidhāya janani[*m] pas[*c]āj jinānām trayīm
ambā[*m] nityaphalādhikām vararuciḥ⁹⁵ (m)ūrttim subhā[m] ni-
- (3) rmmame [||] iti subhaṃ || sūtradhāra sahirasutamāṇathaleṇa ghaṭitaṃ || vi[jñā]nika sivadevena
likhitaṃ iti ||
- (4) saṃvat. 100 91 [||*]

Translation

Aum. Vararuci, King Bhoja's religious superintendent of the Candranagarī and Vidyādhārī [branches of the Jain religion], an *apsaras* (as it were) for the easy removal [of ignorance? (damaged portion)], that Vararuci, having first fashioned Vāgdevī the mother (and) afterwards a triad of Jinas, made this beautiful image of Ambā, ever abundant in fruit. Blessings! It was executed by Maṇathala, son of the sūtradhāra Sahira. It was written by Śivadeva the proficient. Year 1091.

A number of historical problems which are raised by the record cannot be addressed here in detail, notably the identification of the Vararuci named as the sculpture's patron. There are a number of people named Vararuci in the literary history of India and by the eleventh century it seems likely that Vararuci was not a personal name but a courtly pseudonym for a high-placed Paramāra official with literary aspirations.⁹⁶ Whoever he may have been, the text of the inscription notes that Vararuci made an image of Vāgdevī and three Jinas before he commissioned the image of Ambikā. This indicates that Vararuci was a follower of Jainism and, by extension, that the Vāgdevī at Dhār was dedicated to the Jain form of the goddess. This is confirmed by the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*. In this text there is a story that Dhanapāla, the celebrated Jain savant and author, showed King Bhoja some eulogistic tablets in the Sarasvatī temple engraved with his poem to the first Jina.⁹⁷ This text survives as the *Rṣabhapañcāśikā*.⁹⁸ Because an inscribed poem to the Jina would only appear in a temple sacred to Jainism, Merutuṅga's account shows that the Vāgdevī at Dhār was indeed the Jain form of the goddess, just as the British Museum inscription attests.

The Jain affiliation of the inscription begins to explain the first half of the verse, although this remains problematic given the damaged surface and lacuna in the text. The word *dharmadhīh* agrees with Vararuci and means "he whose mind is on the *dharmā*" or, more simply, "religious". Here however, the word would appear to refer to an office or role under King Bhoja. The *dharmā* on which Vararuci was to focus is given in the long compound: *śrīmad-bhoja-naremdra-cāndra-nagarī-vidyādhārī-dharmadhīh*. This does not refer, as previous

⁹³The metre is Śāradūlavikrīḍita.

⁹⁴Construe as *sukhaprasthāpanāy=āpsarāh*. The syllables immediately before are damaged and not legible but their number and length is indicated by the metre.

⁹⁵The *visarga* is clearly visible, excusable at the *yati*, but anyway read: *vararuciḥ*.

⁹⁶I have presented some preliminary thoughts about the identification of Vararuci as Dhanapāla in my "New Discoveries from Old Finds: A Jain Sculpture in the British Museum", *Centre of Jain Studies Newsletter* 6 (2011), pp. 27-29.

⁹⁷Tawney, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, p. 57.

⁹⁸Warder, *Indian Kāvya Literature*, 5: §4210.

editors have supposed, to a Vidyādhārī or 'holder of knowledge' in the city of the 'moon-king Bhoja' (an especially infelicitous gloss). Rather, the words refer to the Candranagarī and Vidyādhārī branches or *śākhā* of the Jain community. Jainism is organised into an hierarchical series of groups known as *gaṇa*, *kula* and *śākhā*. The *gaṇa* – termed *gaccha* in later times – was an assembly following the same rules of conduct (*samācārī*). The *gaṇa* was made up of preceptor-disciples lineages known as *kula*, roughly speaking 'spiritual families'. Monks following a specific teacher were classified into *śākhās* or branches. Members of these branches were often of the same *kula*. The Candranagarī and Vidyādhārī branches are ancient and known from inscriptions and the *Kalpasūtra*.⁹⁹ The fact that these *śākhās* were part of the Śvetāmbara church appears to show why they needed oversight: the Śvetāmbaras had close links to western India and the court of the Cālukyas, a dynasty in direct conflict with the Paramārās. Śvetāmbaras, therefore, had to be watched lest they be tempted to collude with the enemy.

The current location of the Sarasvatī from Dhār remains an interesting mystery seeing that it is not located in the British Museum. There are famous and ancient Sarasvatī temples at several locations in India, notably Maihar in eastern Madhya Pradesh and in Kashmir.¹⁰⁰ The site in Kashmir is known as Śāradā pīṭha.¹⁰¹ Envoys from Gujarāt visited this temple in the twelfth century to collect texts so the western Indian polymath Hemacandra could compose his comprehensive grammar, the *Siddhahema*.¹⁰² A more aggressive approach was taken by the Solāṅkī and Vāghelā rulers toward Dhār. They sacked the city repeatedly in the dying days of the Paramāra regime, removing the libraries to their own cities where Paramāra texts were copied, studied and preserved.¹⁰³ The inscription of Viśaladeva from Kodinar dated 1271 records the creation of a pleasure garden (*ketana*) and college (*sadās*) sacred to Sarasvatī.¹⁰⁴ This suggests that in addition to removing books, the western Indian kings also took away the sacred image of Sarasvatī, installing her in a new temple in Saurāstra, not far from Somnāth. The practice of moving images is well-testified. Aside from the examples documented by Richard Davis, attention may be drawn to Jinaprabhasūri (d. 1333) who states that an image of Candraprabha came to Somnāth from Valabhi along with figures of Ambā and Kṣetrapāla.¹⁰⁵ We should not, therefore, entertain the idea that Sarasvatī remains hidden somewhere in Dhār never mind spirited away to London in colonial times.

Indology

Those who practice bad science certainly undermine science in society, but they do not invalidate the scientific method as such. Similarly, Indology badly done and contaminated

⁹⁹S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and Literature* (Poona, 1956), pp. 361–364. Jain, *Jaina Sects and Schools*, p. 51. I am grateful to Paul Dundas for suggesting that the inscription appears to refer to branches of the Jaina faith, personal communication, April, 2009.

¹⁰⁰D. C. Sircar and V. S. Subrahmanyam, "Inscriptions from Maihar," *Epigraphia Indica* 35 (1963–64), pp. 171–178.

¹⁰¹D. C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (Delhi, 1973), p. 15.

¹⁰²According to the *Prabhāvakacarita*, a text dated 1277–78; translation in Pollock, *The Language of the Gods*, p. 589. Pollock, however, has given the wrong date for the work.

¹⁰³As noted in Pollock, *Language of the Gods*, p. 181.

¹⁰⁴Gadre, *Important Inscriptions*, no. 10.

¹⁰⁵Cited in U. P. Shah, *Jaina Rūpa Māṇḍana* (New Delhi, 1987), p. 142; Richard Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Delhi, 1999).

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by the imperial project may be the source of the Bhojśālā imbroglio and the basis of an entirely false religious tradition, but that, however deserving of condemnation, does not destroy the validity of Indology as a discipline. In this essay I have attempted to show that Indology, i.e. the comprehensive examination of sources, has power to bring us closer to the historical realities of medieval India. The importance of retaining an ability to deal with these sources, generally dismissed as irrelevant in the modern academy, is nowhere clearer than on the threshold of the Bhojśālā. Claims and counter-claims about the place can only be measured against sources in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Persian, Arabic, Urdu and English. But if nobody can read these sources and evaluate them, then who can make any kind of valid assessment? To conclude I quote the words of the forward-looking Captain Barnes: "I would ... content myself with the hope that the present work, however imperfect, will serve to stimulate inquiry, and that in the future progress may not depend solely on the chance interest displayed by European officials, but that native gentlemen, many of whom are well-fitted to take up the work, will recognise that it is part of their duty to their country to endeavour to preserve from oblivion the records of the part".¹⁰⁶ Sadly, the state of learning has declined after a period of initial promise and Barnes would be dismayed to know that the 'native gentlemen' well-fitted to take up their duty to their country – men like D. C. Sircar, G. H. Yazdani, Z. A. Desai and V. V. Mirashi – have disappeared as a breed in India.

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Appendix

I am grateful to Mr. T. Phelps for drawing my attention to this document in the National Archives of India and for providing me with his photocopy of it. Aside from exposing Führer, this document is a useful indicator of how the British administration compiled archaeological information. It shows, moreover, Führer's connection with local officials in

¹⁰⁶ Barnes, "Dhar and Mandu", p. 340.

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central India. I have not included Smith's extended comments in this report on the Nepal Terai and Kapilavastu because this is outside the scope of the present article and takes us to a separate set of problems that merit independent examination.

File no. 13 of 1899, Serial no. 37, 1899, Archaeology and Epigraphy, Department of Revenue and Agriculture. Proceedings for April/99, no. 16, part B.
(OC-11/95/Pr I (R. II).

Subject: Dr. Führer's discoveries in the Nepal Tarai, Inspection of Dr. Führer's Office by V. A. Smith

Dated: Naini Tal, the 18th October 1898.

From: W. G. Wood, Esq, Under-Secy. to Govt., N.-W. P. and Oudh, P. W. D.,
To: The Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Revenue and Agriculture (Archaeology and Epigraphy)

Sir,

With reference to your letters, No. 2568-13-12 of the 22nd September 1898, and No. 2650-18-8 of the 29th September 1898, I am directed to forward for the information of the Government of India a printed copy of a report of an Inspection of the Office of Dr. A. Fuhrer, Archaeological Surveyor, by Mr. V. A. Smith, Chief Secretary to this Government. A list of the facsimiles of Inscriptions, 110 in number, found in Dr. Fuhrer's room is attached. A copy of the list, so far as it relates to Burmah, with all books and papers relating to that province will be sent to the Government of Burmah. In regard to the Neapul excavations there are drawings and photographs and Mr. V. A. Smith will write such a report as is possible with scanty materials available.

2. Mr. V. A. Smith suggests that a copy of the list enclosed should be sent to Dr. Hultzch, Government Epigraphist, Otacamund, in order that he may select for publication any of the unpublished documents which he may consider worth publishing. I am to ask if this suggestion meets with the approval of the Government of India.

3. The Lieutenant Governor proposes to direct Mr. E. W. Smith, Assistant Archaeological Surveyor to this Government to relieve Dr. A. Fuhrer of both the offices held by him, namely the offices of Archaeological Surveyor and Curator of the Lucknow Museum. Mr. E. W. Smith when assuming charge of the office of Archaeological Surveyor will be careful to take over all drawings, photographs and other documents which still remain in Dr. Fuhrer's custody. Many papers were taken possession of by the Chief Secretary and are now in the Secretariat. The appointment of Mr E. W. Smith as Curator is proposed as a temporary measure to allow time for the decision of permanent arrangements. Very special care will be taken that Dr. Fuhrer take with him nothing belonging either to the Museum or the Archaeological Department.

I have the honor [sic.] to be, Sir, Your most obedient servant,

[signed] W. H. Wood, Under Secretary.

Enclosure: A list of inscriptions 110 in number found in Dr. Fuhrer's room. Printed report with 5 spare copies.

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Report on the Inspection of the Office of the Assistant Archaeological Surveyor, North-West Provinces and Oudh, at Lucknow, on the 22nd September 1898, by the Hon'ble Mr. V. A. Smith, I.C.S., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh.

In accordance with the orders of the Government of India, contained in Mr. Holderness' demi-official letter dated 5th September 1898, to the address of the Hon'ble Mr. Odling, and in the official letter No. 2006-6-2, dated the 28th July 1898, from the Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, to the Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Public Works Department, which orders were conveyed to me by endorsement No. 2174E., dated the 6th September 1898, I visited the Lucknow Museum by appointment and examined the papers of Dr. Führer in that officer's presence.

I was instructed to verify the exact stage which the compilation and printing of each of the lists marginally noted has reached, and to ascertain when Dr. Führer expects to finish them.

[in the margin]

Abstract Tabular Lists of Antiquities.

- (1) North-Western Provinces and Oudh.
- (2) Panjáb.
- (3) Burma.
- (4) Rájputána and Central India.

Detailed Lists.

- (5) Panjáb.
- (6) Burma.
- (7) Rájputána and Central India.

Report on Kapilavastu and the Nepal Tarái.

I also desired to arrange that all documents, proofs, photographs, and the like, of which he has possession in his official capacity, should be duly taken over from him before he resigns office.

2. The Government of India will probably be surprised to hear that Dr. Führer has never put pen to paper on any one of the lists in question. All the statements in his letters asserting that the lists were nearly ready, in the press, and so forth, are simply falsehoods. I put each case plainly to Dr. Führer, and he admitted the falsity of his statements. It would be tedious and useless to go through the long series of falsehoods in Dr. Führer's correspondence with various Governments about the lists which he was supposed to be printing. It will suffice to quote one passage of concentrated fiction from an official printed report of his (Annual progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-Western provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June 1894, paragraph 21).

This passage is as follows: "Small tabular lists, for administrative purposes, of the architectural and archaeological remains and buildings in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Rájputána, and Central India, were prepared and sent to press: similar lists for the Panjáb and Burma are now approaching completion. These lists have been prepared on a uniform plan, in accordance with the orders of the Government of India, in the Revenue

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and Agricultural Department (Archaeology), with a view to the selection of those remains requiring to be preserved and to their being made over definitely and permanently to the Public Works Department for conservation and restoration. The proofs of the large volume *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of Rájputána and Central India*, similar to that published by me for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, were being passed through the press, and its issue may be shortly expected. Similar volumes of the Panjáb and Burma are in a more or less advanced state of progress."

I read this passage to Fr. Führer and he was compelled to admit that every statement in it is absolutely false. The small tabular list for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Rájputána, and Central India were *not* "prepared and sent to press"; they do not exist. Nor are the similar lists for the Panjáb and Burma "approaching completion"; they were never begun. The small tabular lists can only be prepared after the detailed lists have been compiled. The only detailed list in existence is that for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh; but the tabular list even for those Provinces has not been touched.

The statement that the proofs of the large volume on the antiquities of Rájputána and Central India were being passed through the press is an audacious falsehood. The similar volumes for the Panjáb and Burma, which were said to be in a more or less advanced stage of progress, have never been begun.

These various works, or some of them, have from time to time been publicly advertised as being in the press. All such advertisements must now be withdrawn.

3. Dr. Führer does not seem to possess even rough drafts or notes. He says that he was not in the habit of keeping a journal of his tours or of writing up notes of his observations from day to day.

How he managed to produce the books which he has produced, including some very credible works, I cannot understand. He is a most unmethodical and unbusinesslike person.

What his motive was in writing such a series of palpable falsehoods I cannot tell. His only excuse is that more was thrust upon him than he could possibly do. It may be true that he was asked to do an unreasonably large number of heavy tasks; in fact, I have no doubt he was asked to do too much; but he could easily have pointed this out, and if he had honestly done so, no one would have blamed him. He preferred to adopt the extraordinary course of systematic lying.

4. I took possession of all the papers produced by Dr. Führer which relate to the lists required from him. These papers are as follows:

Burma

- (I) An extract from the Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, about relics found at Rangoon.
- (II) Printed *List of Objects of Antiquarian Interest in British Burma* (Rangoon, Superintendent of Government Printing, 1892).
- (III) *Note on a Tour in Burma in March and April, 1892*, by F. O. Oertel (Rangoon, 1893).
- (IV) Printed lists sent in by the Commissioners of the Northern Southern and Eastern Divisions.

Dr. Führer has never written a line, and says that he possesses no notes or materials except those which he had embodied in the progress report dealing with Burma (1893-94).

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Punjab

For the Punjab Dr Führer has nothing to show, except Mr. Rodgers' printed *Revised List of Objects of Archaeological Interest* (Lahore, no date).

Rājputāna and Central India, including Bundelkhand

- (I) Rough pencil notes taken from Dr. Führer on 22nd September 1898 (Rājputāna and Central India).
- (II) Inscriptions of Bhopal (Dr. Burgess' forms).
- (III) List of Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Bhopal Agency, by Colonel W. Kincaid.
- (IV) List of Ancient Inscriptions in the Bhopawar Agency.
- (V) List of Objects of Antiquarian interest in the Bhopawar Agency.
- (VI) List of Objects of Antiquarian interest in the Kotah State.
- (VII) List of Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Gwalior Districts within the West Malwa Agency.
- (VIII) Inscriptions in Central India and Bundelkhand (received with letter No. —, dated 20th May 1887 from — Indore residency to Dr. Burgess).
- (IX) List of Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Bundelkhand Agency.
- (X) List of Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Goona Agency.
- (XI) List of Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Gwalior District.
- (XII) List of Inscriptions in Gurrha State.
- (XIII) List of Inscriptions in Raghogarh State.
- (XIV) List of Inscriptions in Parun State.
- (XV) List of Inscriptions in Tonk State.
- (XVI) List of Inscriptions in Bhadowra State.
- (XVII) List of Inscriptions in Umri State.
- (XVIII) List of Inscriptions in Dharnaodha State.

The pencil notes indicate that Dr. Führer had thought of beginning work on the lists for those provinces but the notes are of very slight value. The lists above enumerated were prepared by local officials.

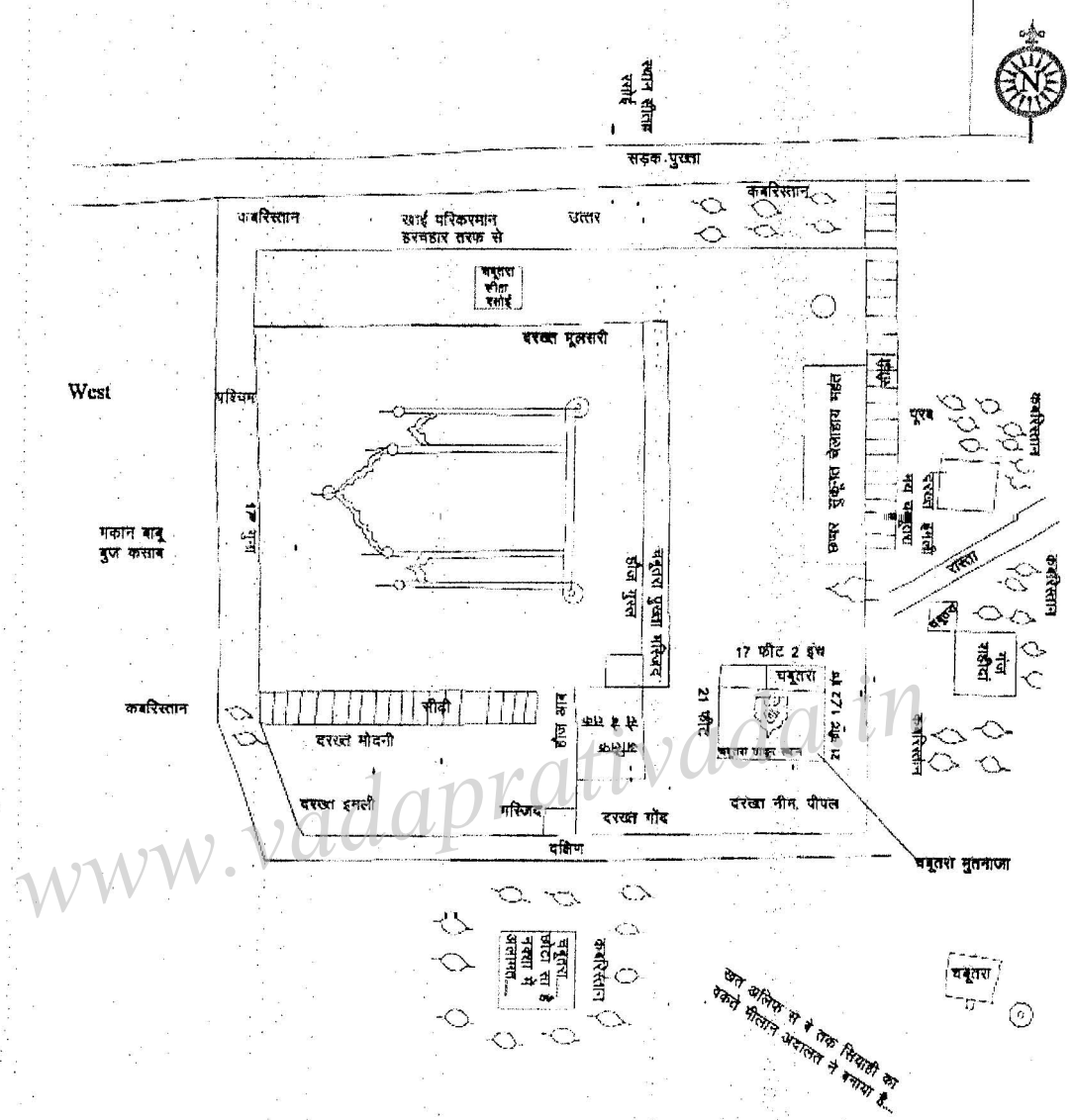
[The report concludes with an account of the Nepal Terai and Kapilavastu excavations.]

MICHAEL WILLIS
British Museum

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एकजीविट-ए 25, ओ0ओ0एस0 1/89

नक्शा मौका मुतनाजा यानी चबूतरा जनम स्थान कि अन्दर हाता मस्जिद व चबूतरा हर दो वाके हैं मुरलिबा गोपाल सहाय मुंशी वाके अयोध्या जी बनौजूदगी फरीकैन नक्शा मुकतब व पैमाइशी चबूतरा मुतनाजा हुआ बतासिख 06 दिसम्बर 1885 ई0 बमुकदमा महंत रघुवर दास मुद्दई बनाम साहब सैकरेद्री व सय्यद मोहम्मद असगर मुद्दआअलैहिम दावा इमारत बनवाने तामीर मन्दिर ऊपर चबूतरा जनम स्थान



अल्लखम् गोपाल सहाय कनिश्चनर

अल्लखम् मोहम्मद असगर चाह मास्जिद है
व चबूतरा किसी का नाम नहीं है
बकलम शुद 6 दिसम्बर 1885 ई0

दमहतरपुरदास

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THE HEDAYA
OR GUIDE:
A
COMMENTARY
ON THE
MUSSULMAN LAWS.

Translated by order of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal,

BY

CHARLES HAMILTON

BY

STANDISH GROVE GRADY

BARRISTER-AT-LAW ; RECORDER OF GRAVESEND ;

Reader on Hindu, Mahommedan and Indian Laws to the Inns of Court ; Author of "The Hindu Law of Inheritance;" and of "The Mahommedan Laws of Inheritance and Contract ;" Editor of "The Institutes of Hindu Law, or the Ordinances of Menu;" Author of "The Law of Fixtures and Dilapidations, Ecclesiastical and Lay ;" and Joint Author of "The Law and Practice, of the Crown Side of the Court of Queen's Bench."



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out of his hands, from a regard to the interest of the poor; in the same manner as he is at liberty to suspend the powers of an executor, where he happens to be a person of bad character, from a regard to the interest of the orphans. If, also, an appropriator constitute another the Mootwalee or procurator, declaring that "the sovereign or magistrate shall not take the appropriation out of his charge," yet these are at liberty to take it from him, where he happens to be a person of bad character;—because, as such a declaration is repugnant to the precepts of the LAW, it is consequently void.

Section

A mosque is not alienated from the founder otherwise than by the performance of public worship in it.—If a person build a mosque, his right of property in it is not extinguished so long as he does not separate it from the rest of his property, or give general admission to people to come and worship in it: but as soon as the people in general, or a single person, say their prayers in it, his right of property is extinguished, according to Haneefa. The utter separation of it from the rest of the appropriator's property is indispensable, for this reason that the mosque cannot become dedicated solely to God until that be effected: and the performance of prayer in it is a condition; because, as a consignment (according to Haneefa and Mohammed) is indispensable, it follows that consignment is requisite in this way, since in whatever way may be proper to the nature of the appropriation and the mode of consignment proper to a mosque is public worship; or, the performance of prayer is a condition, because as it cannot be conceived that God himself should take possession of a mosque, it follows that that which is the design must stand as a substitute for the taking possession of it. It is proper in this place to observe that if a single person say his prayers in the mosque it suffices (according to one report from Haneefa and Mohammed); because, as it is impossible that all men should perform their prayers in it, the circumstance of a single individual performing his prayers is the condition. It is also reported, from Haneefa and Mohammed, that the performance of prayer by a whole congregation is a necessary condition, because a mosque is founded with a view to public worship. Aboo Yoosaf maintains that the founder's right of property is destroyed immediately upon his saying, "I constitute this a mosque!"—because he does not hold consignment to be a condition, since according to him, appropriation signifies a relinquishment of right on the part of the individual; the thing appropriated, therefore, appertains solely to God merely in consequence of the right of the individual ceasing,—as was before demonstrated.

Cases of a mosque, as connected with a dwelling-place.—If a person erect a building

of two stories, making the under storey a mosque, and the upper storey a dwelling, or vice versa,—with the door of the mosque towards the public road, and detach the mosque from his own property [in the manner before described], he is nevertheless at liberty to sell it;—or, if he die, the mosque is an inheritance;—as the mosque does not in this instance, appertain solely to God, because of the individual's right in it still subsisting. This, however, is only where the dwelling has not been constructed merely for the purposes of the mosque: for if it have been constructed for the purposes of the mosque (as in the great mosque at Jerusalem), the appropriation is absolute, Hasan reports from Haneefa, that if the lower storey be a mosque, and the upper story a dwelling, the former continues for ever a mosque; because a mosque is one of those things which are designed to continue in perpetuity, and an under storey answers this purpose better than an upper storey. The reverse of this is reported from Mohammed, because reverence is indispensably due, to a mosque and where an upper storey is constructed over a mosque, for the purpose either of dwelling in or of letting out to hire: this reverence cannot be observed. It is recorded, also, that when Aboo Yoosaf went to Bagdad and beheld the narrow and crowded condition of the place, he held the appropriation to be lawful and absolute in either case,—that is, whether the mosque be in the lower storey and the dwelling in the upper, or vice versa:—but this he admitted out of necessity. The same is recorded of Mohammed, when he went to Rai,* and for the same reason.

If a person convert the centre hall of his house into a mosque, giving general admission into it, still it does not stand as a mosque but remains saleable and inheritable: because a mosque is a place in which no person possesses any right of obstruction; and wherever a man has such a right with respect to the surrounding parts, the same must necessarily affect the place inclosed in them. This place, therefore, cannot be a mosque: besides, it is necessarily a thoroughfare for the family, and consequently does not appertain solely to God. It is reported from Mohammed that the centre hall of a house, thus constituted a mosque, cannot afterwards be given away, sold, or inherited. He consequently considers it to stand as a mosque; and Aboo Yoosaf is of the same opinion, because, as the person in question was desirous, that this place should become a mosque, and as it cannot become so without a road, or entrance into it, the road is included without specification, in the same manner as in a case of hire.

Ground appropriated to building a mosque cannot be sold or inherited—If a person appropriate ground for the purpose of erect-

*The capital of Irak (the ancient Chaldea).

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ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE UNDER THE MUSLIM DYNASTIES OF INDIA

India came under Muslim rule after the successive invasions of Mohammad of Ghazni and Muhammad of Ghori. In the capital and provincial centres, the administration of justice was established as based on Islamic tenets. Civil Procedure Code was compiled during the Tughlaq period under the orders of Feroz Shah Tughlaq and was called *Fiqha-e-Feroze Shahi*. It prescribed details of the procedure and law. Originally written in Arabic, it was translated into Persian and the procedures were followed till the reign of Aurangzeb, who replaced it with the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, written in 1670.

The court systems under Muslim rule can be examined under three heads: Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526), Sher Shah's reforms (1540–1555) and the Mughal period (1526–1540, 1555–1726).

DELHI SULTANATE

Central Level

The King's Court
Diwan-i-muzalim
(criminal appellate court)
Diwan-e-ristat
(court of civil appeal)
Sadre jahan's court
(special court of qazi)
Chief Justice's Court

Subha Level

Adalat nazim subah
Adalat qazi subah
(governor's bench)
Diwan-e-subah
Sadre-subah

District Level

Qazi
Dadbok's court
Court of faujdar
Court of sadr
The amils
The kotwals

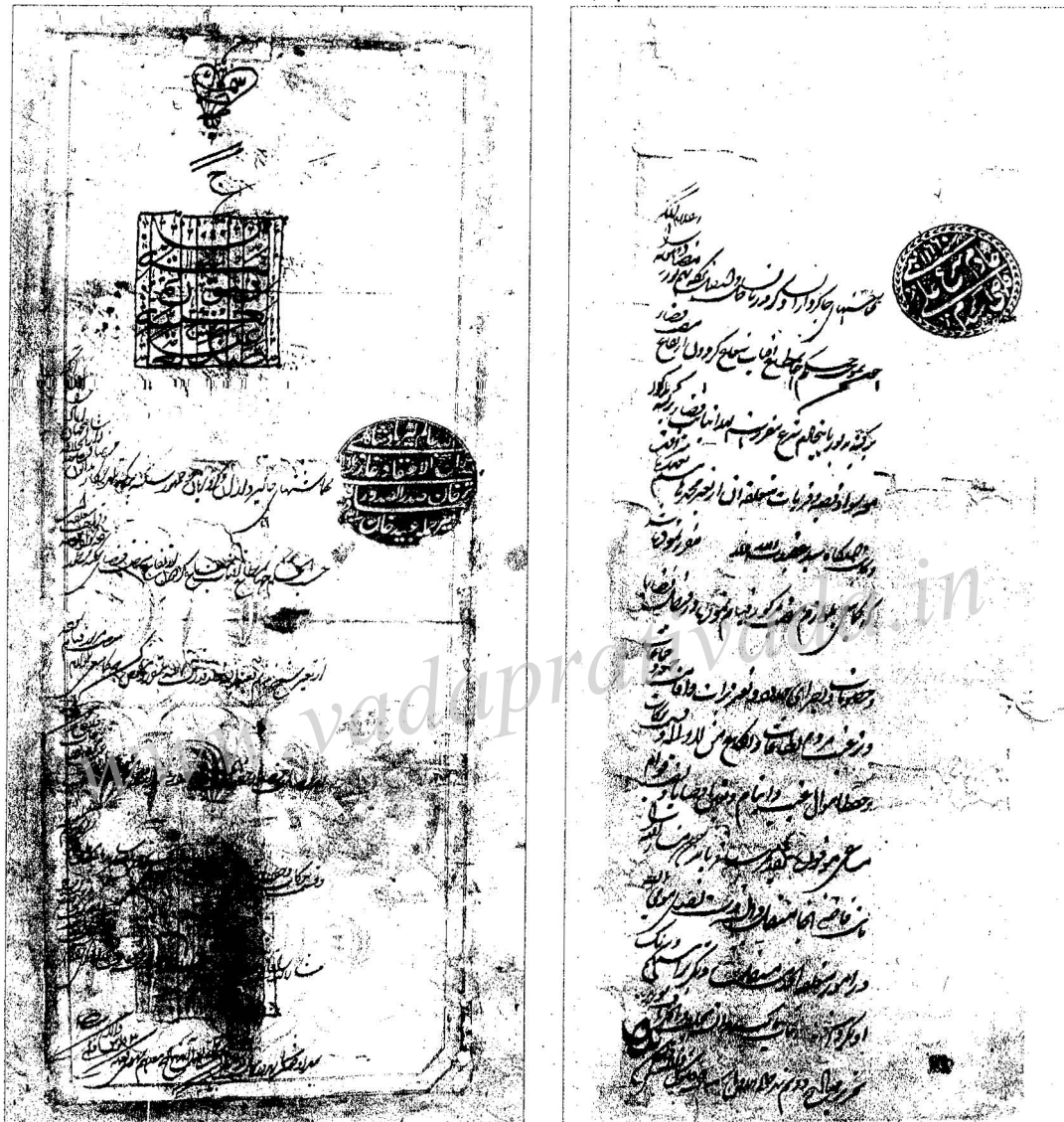
Pargana Level

Qazi-e-pargana
Kotwals

Judicial Administration under the Delhi Sultanate

The Delhi Sultanate included the Slave dynasty, the Khiljis, the Tughlaqs and the Lodis. The emperor was the supreme authority in the administration of justice. A systematic hierarchy of courts prevailed at various levels including the central capital, the subahs (or provincial headquarters), sarkars (or districts), parganas (or groups of villages) and villages. At the central capital, there were six courts, the Emperor's Court, the diwan-i-muzalim (criminal appellate court), the diwan-e-ristat (court of civil appeal), the sadre jahan's court (special court of qazi), the chief justice's court and the diwan-e-siyasat (court to deal with persons charged with rebellion and treason). The sadre jahan's court gained superiority over the chief justice's court during the regime of Sultan Nasir-ud-din's reign in 1248 and Ala-ud-din Khilji (r. 1296–1360) amalgamated these two courts. The emperor in his court was assisted by two reputed muftis learned in law and had original and appellate jurisdiction from all the courts.

Five kinds of courts were in place at the subah level including the adalat nazim subah (governor's court), which was presided over by the emperor's representative and had original and appellate jurisdiction. The adalat qazi subah was presided over by the chief qazi of the subah and had trial jurisdiction in all civil and criminal matters as well as appellate jurisdiction over qazi courts at the sarkar level. There were also the governor's bench, which had supervisory jurisdiction upon lower courts; the diwan-e-subah (final court on land revenue matters); and sadr-e-subah (chief ecclesiastical court). The six courts at the sarkar level included that of the qazi, who had original jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases and appellate jurisdiction over the qazis and kotwals (police inspector) and village panchayats, and was assisted by a mufti, pundit and a mohtrasib (public prosecutor). Also present were the dadbok's court; the court of faujdar, which had jurisdiction over petty criminal matters; the court of sadr,



Shahi farmans bearing the seal of a qazi. Source: Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna

which dealt with the grant and registration of land; the amils, who dealt with revenue matters; and the kotwals, who were authorised to decide petty criminal and police cases. The pargana headquarter included the two courts of the qazi-e-pargana, which had jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases; and the kotwals, who had jurisdiction over petty criminal and police cases. At the bottom, village panchayats, consisting of a sarpanch (or council head) appointed by the faujdar and four men of local standing, decided civil and criminal cases of purely local importance.

Judicial Reforms by Sher Shah

Sher Shah (r. 1540–1545) had observed that the “stability of a government depended on justice and that it could be [his] greatest care not to violate it either by oppressing the weak or permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impunity.”¹²⁷

He carried out a number of reforms to the judicial system. He created separate civil courts in the parganas under a judge called munsif (a name still in currency in parts of India) having jurisdiction on civil and revenue matters, and the substitution of the kotwals with magistrates called shiqahdars. He made village heads called moqoddams responsible to prevent theft and robberies and to reimburse the victim in case of the occurrence of such crimes. He ensured the periodic transfer of judges below the chief provincial qazis once in two or three years. He also made the chief qazi responsible to report to the emperor on the governor's compliance (or non-compliance) with law.

JUDICIAL REFORMS BY SHER SHAH

Munsif
(civil and revenue matters)
Shiqahdars
(with magisterial powers)
Moqoddams
(Head of village councils)

Judicial System during the Mughals

The Mughal emperor was regarded as the fountain of justice. Successive Mughal emperors reiterated their commitment to a just rule. Akbar and Jahangir granted to their subjects the right to directly petition the emperor. Jahangir arranged for a chain with bells to be hung outside his palace to enable petitioners to bring their grievances to his notice.¹²⁸

After my accession, the first order that I gave was for fastening up the Chain of Justice so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay or practise hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention. Its fashion was this: I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold, 30 gaz in length and containing 60 bells. Its weight was 4 Indian maunds equal to 42 Iraqi maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shāh Burj of the fort at Agra and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river [Yamuna].¹²⁹

Mughal rulers devoted time to deciding cases in the morning on all days of a week in a process known as “jharokha darshan” when they would appear to their

MUGHAL PERIOD**Central Level**

The Emperor's Court
The Chief Justice's Court
The Chief Revenue Court

Provincial level

The governor's court
(adalat-e-Nazim-e-Subah)
Provincial chief appellate court
Provincial chief revenue court

District Level

Court presided by qazi-e-sarkar
Faujdari adalat
Kotwali court
Amalguzari kachehri

Pargana Level

Adalat-e-parganah
Court of kotwali
Kachehri
Panchayat (at village level)

subjects in a designated jharokha or open window in their place. They would also set one day aside to hear cases. They would decide cases in the diwan-i-khas or hall of private audience, and issue directions to their subordinates or, where practicable, direct investigation and hearing. A.L. Srivastava observes that "this arrangement of transacting judicial business personally by the sovereign was not disturbed even when the emperor happened to be on tours or when he was engaged in military expedition. The emperor decided both civil and criminal cases and his court was not only the highest court of appeal but also sometimes a court of first instance as well. Sometimes, the emperor would appoint a commission of inquiry and issue instructions to decide cases on the basis of facts revealed in the investigation on the spot."¹³⁰

The Mughal emperors were careful not to interfere with local autonomy, as was the precedent set in the Sultanate period. Some portions of fatwas were made applicable to non-Muslims, but only through royal proclamation.¹³¹ However, by and large, judicial administration in the Mughal period was highly organised. There was a separate department of justice called mahukma-e-adalat, and, in the imperial capital, three prominent courts, the emperor's court, the court of the qazi-ul-quzat (chief justice's court) and the chief revenue court. The emperor's court, which was the highest court of the land, had original and appellate jurisdiction in all civil and criminal matters. The emperor was assisted by different sets of officers for civil and criminal cases.¹³²

In hearing appeals, he sat along with the qazi-ul-quzat, and presided over the court. The second court was the chief court of the empire headed by the qazi-ul-quzat, who had original and appellate jurisdiction on civil and criminal matters.¹³³ The emperor appointed the chief justice on the basis of his scholarship and reputation.¹³⁴ The chief revenue court was presided by the diwan-e-ala, and was the highest court of appeal on revenue matters.

There were three courts at the subah level—the adalat-e-azim-e-subah, presided by the governor (nazim-e-subah), which had original jurisdiction in the provincial capital; the provincial chief appellate court, presided over by the qazi-e-subah, having original and appellate jurisdiction over all civil and criminal matters; and the provincial chief revenue court, headed by the diwan-e-subah, having original and appellate jurisdiction on revenue matters.

At the sarkar level, there were four courts. They included the chief civil and criminal court, headed by the qazi-e-sarkar, having original and appellate jurisdiction on civil and criminal matters;¹³⁵ the faujdari adalat for deciding cases on riots and state security; the kotwali court for petty criminal and police matters; and the amalguzari kachehri to deal with revenue matters.

Pargana courts included the adalat-e-pargana, presided over by the qazi-e-pargana, having original and jurisdiction on civil and criminal matters; the kotwali

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مختصر صحيح مسلم

The Translation of the Meanings of
Summarized
Sahih Muslim
Arabic - English

Volume 2

Compiled by
Al-Hâfiz Zakiuddin Abdul-Azim Al-Mundhiri

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the two, profession and freedom are admitted by all. To marry other than *Kufu* is not prohibited, but it is better to marry in *Kufu* for many reasons.

Kunya : (الكنية) Calling a man, 'O father of so-and-so!' or calling a woman, 'O mother of so-and-so!' This is a custom of the Arabs.

Kusûf : (الكسوف) Solar eclipse.

Labbaika wa sa'daika : (لبيك وسعديك) I respond to your call; I am obedient to your orders.

Lâ ilâha illallâh : (لا إله إلا الله) None has the right to be worshipped but Allâh.

Lailat-ul-Qadr : (ليلة القدر) One of the odd last ten nights of the month of *Saum* (fasting) (i.e. *Ramadân*), Allâh تعالى describes it as better than one thousand months, and the one who worships Allâh during it by performing optional prayers and reciting the Noble Qur'ân, etc. will get a reward better than that of worshipping Him for one thousand months (i.e. 83 years and four months). [See the Qur'ân *Sûrat* 97 (VV.97: 1-5)]. (See *Sahih Al-Bukhâri*, *Hadîth* No. 2014 and Chapter No.1).

Lât & Uzza : (اللات والعزى) Well-known idols in Hijâz which used to be worshipped during the Pre-Islâmic Period of Ignorance.

Li'ân : (اللعان) An oath which is taken by both the wife and the husband when the husband accuses his wife of committing illegal sexual intercourse. (The Qur'ân, *Sûrat Nûr*, 24 : 6,7,8,9.).

Al-Lizâm : (الليزام) The settlement of affairs, in the *Hadîth*, it refers to the battle of Badr, which was the means of settling affairs between Muslims and the pagans.

Luqata : (اللقطة) Article or a thing (a pouch or a purse tied with a string) found by somebody other than the owner who has lost it.

Ma'âfiri : (معارفي) A type of garment of Yemen origin.

Al-Madîna : (المدينة) Well-known city in Saudi Arabia, where the Prophet's mosque is situated. It was formerly called Yathrib.

Maghâfir : (المغافير) A bad smelling gum.

Al-Maghâzi : (المغازي) Plural of *Maghza*, i.e. holy battle; or the place where the battle took place; or the deeds and virtues of *Ghâzi* (fighters in Allâh's Cause)

Maghrib : (المغرب) Sunset, evening *Salât* (prayer).

Mahr : (المهر) Bridal money given by the husband to the wife at the time of marriage.

Mahram : (المحرم) See *Dhu-Mahram*.

Makrûh : (المكروه) Not approved of, undesirable from the point of view of religion, although not punishable.

Mamlûk : (المملوك) A male slave.

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GLOSSARY

OF

JUDICIAL AND REVENUE TERMS,

AND OF

USEFUL WORDS OCCURRING IN OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

OF

BRITISH INDIA,

FROM THE

ARABIC, PERSIAN, HINDUSTĀNĪ, SANSKRIT, HINDĪ, BENGĀLĪ, URĪYĀ, MARĀTHĪ,
GUJARĀTHĪ, TELUGU, KARNĀTĀ, TAMIL, MALAYĀLAM,
AND OTHER LANGUAGES.

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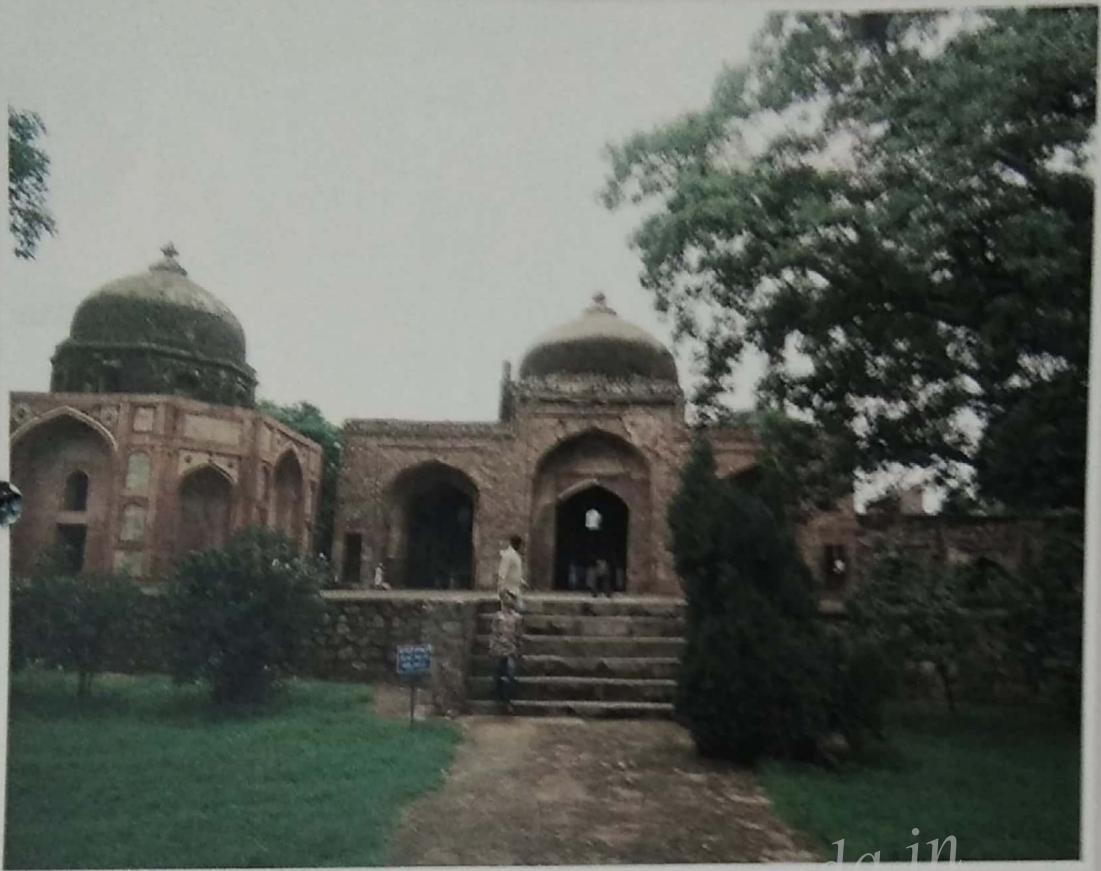
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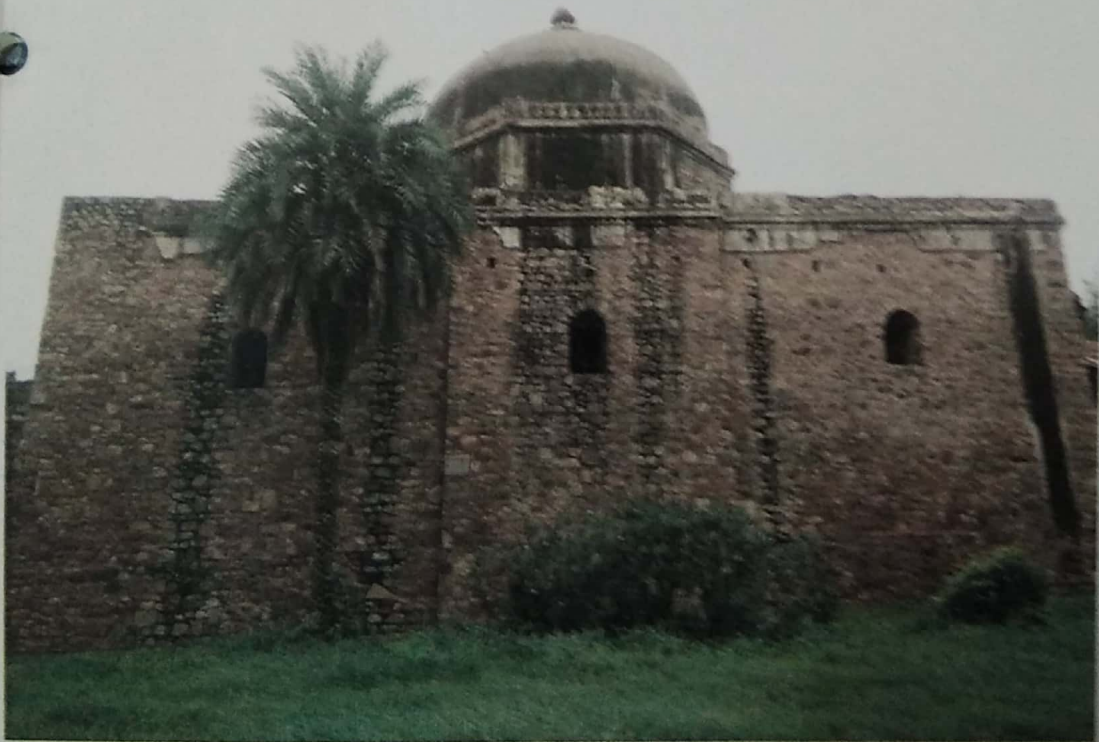
- GÉDĀṬA**, Karn. (ಗೇಡಾಟ) Ploughing or tillage.
- Gédāra**, Karn. (ಗೇಡಾರ) 'A ploughed field.
- GENUN**, **GENOON**, II. (P. گينون) Wheat, which is extensively cultivated in the upper provinces. Several kinds, but resolvable in native opinion, into two families, red and white, are grown: there is also a beardless species similarly divisible.
- GENU**, Tel. (గేను) A heap of salt.
- GENJĀ**, Ben. (গেজা) The tops of hemp, used to make an intoxicating beverage. See *Genja*.
- GENTOO**, (derived from the Portuguese *Gentio*, a Gentile or heathen,) A Hindu, a native of India.
- GENU**, Karn. (ಗೇನು) A span from the top of the thumb to that of the little finger.
- GERU**, II. (گيرو) Soil of a red colour, red ochre, or ocreous clay.
- Garāmāṭi*, Hindi (गरामाटी) Loam of fine clay.
- GERVĀ**, Mar. (गेरवा, from گيرو, red clay) Blight, turning the crop of a brickdust red colour. (The word appears to be the same as the Hindustani *Gervi*, q. v., which is applied in the north-west provinces to the insect causing the disease or blight).
- GHĒTA**, Karn. (ಗೇತಾ, from *Grihastha*) A householder.
- GHARĀṆ**, Mar. (घराण) A lucky conjunction of the planets.
- Ghāḥṛmāp*, Mar. (घाहणमाप) A weight or measure rather in excess of the market one.
- GHADN-I-FĀHISH**, A. (غبن فاحش) Shamefully fraudulent; applied, in Mohammadan law especially, to the sale of property for a price grossly inadequate to its value; also termed *Nuḥsān-i-fāhish*. (From غبن, fraud, or نقصان, loss, and فاحش, shameful).
- GHADĪ**, or **GHĀṬĪ**, Mar. (घाडी) A Śūdra attendant in a village temple.
- GHADŚĪ**, or **GHĀŚĪ**, or **GHURŚĪ**, incorrectly, **GURŚĪ**, Mar. (घदसी) A caste, or person belonging to it, by calling vagrant or village pipers and drummers. They are said to be descended from the aboriginal inhabitants of the great forest of the south, the Dandakāranya.
- GHADĪŪ**, A. (غدير) A festival observed by the Shias of India on the 18th of Zilhajja, when three images of dough filled with honey are made to represent Abu-bakr, Omar, and عثمان, which are stuck with knives, and the honey is sipped, as typical of the blood of the usurping khalifs. The festival is named from *ghadir*, a pool; Mohammed, it is said, having declared Āli his successor at a place

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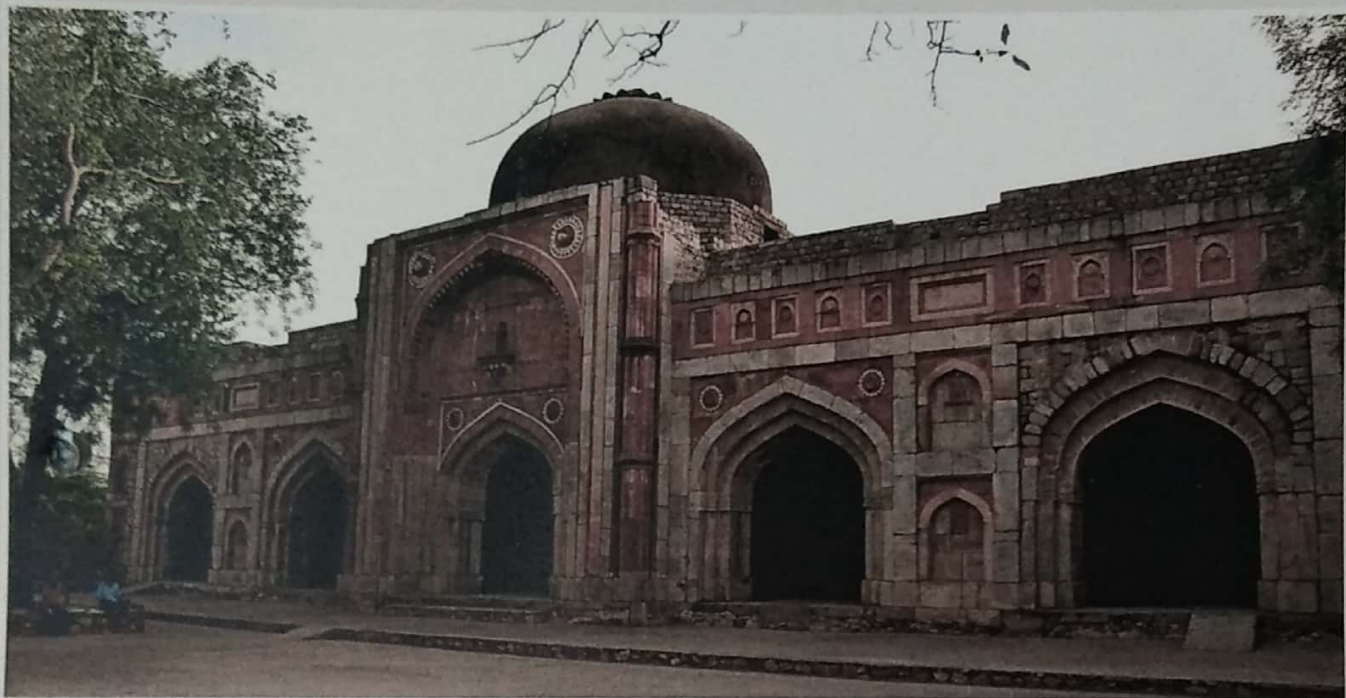
- called *Ghadir-kbūm*, a watering-place for caravans half way between Makka and Medina.
- GHAEJA**, (?) Guz. The village barber and barber-surgeon.
- GHĀFIL**, II. (A. غافل) Careless, negligent.
- Ghāfilat*, II. (A. غفلت) Carelessness, negligence, inattention.
- GHĀĪ**, or **GHĪYĪ**, II. (گهئي) Ground cleaned and raised, on which to raise a stack of straw, or pile of grain.
- GHĀIB**, vernacularly **GAIB**, (the aspirate being rejected and *g* substituted for the A. *gh*) II. (A. غيب, गैब) Hidden, concealed, missing, lost.
- Ghāibut*, or *Gāibatu*, Tel. (గైబుట) Lost, missing, tra (as collections); distant (as an outstation).
- Ghāibāt-i-munkatāt*, A. (غيبات منقطع) In Mohammadan law, remote distance. The absence of a husband at such a distance as renders the acts of his wife, with regard to his property, valid.
- GHĀINS**, Thug. Uproar, confusion.
- GHĀIN**, when adopted in the Hindu dialects, **GAIR** or **GAR**, II. (A. غير) **GAIRĀH**, Hindi (गैरह) Mar. (गैर) Tel. (గైర) Ben. (গৈর) Guz. (گير) Different, other, without; used as a particle to imply the absence or want of a thing.
- Ghar-ābād*, Ben. (গরীবাদ) Devoid of cultivation; land cultivable, but neglected.
- Ghair-āḥ*, Tel. (గైరాహ) Uncultivated, waste.
- Ghair-āḥ-i-shalema*, Tel. (గైరాహిశాలెమ) Waste land.
- Ghair-band-o-bast*, II. (غیر بند و بست) Unsettled; applied to lands not included in the revenue assessment.
- Ghair-dastu*, or *-dastī*, Mar. (गैरदस्त, -दस्ती) Exempt from government imposts (fields, &c.).
- Ghair-hāzīr*, II. (غیر حاضر) *Ghair-hājīr*, Mar. (गैरहाजिर) Absent, not in attendance.
- Ghair-hāzīrī*, II. *Ghair-hājīrī*, Mar. Absence, being away especially when called for, as in court.
- Gharjād*, Ben. (গরজাদ, for A. غریضه, *ghair-zabt*) Omitted, excepted; applied to lands in Sylhet not included in any measurement, and consequently unassessed.
- Ghair-jamā*, II. (غیر جمع) Not paying revenue, rent-free.
- Ghairī-kharch*, Hindi (गैरहीखर्च) Expenses of various kinds incurred by a village, or on account of establishments and collections.
- Ghair-kabūl*, II. (غیر قبول) *Gair-kabūl*, Ben. (গরাকবুল) Denying, not admitting or confessing, not agreeing to.
- Gair-kharch*, Mar. (गैरखर्च) Extra or miscellaneous expenses.



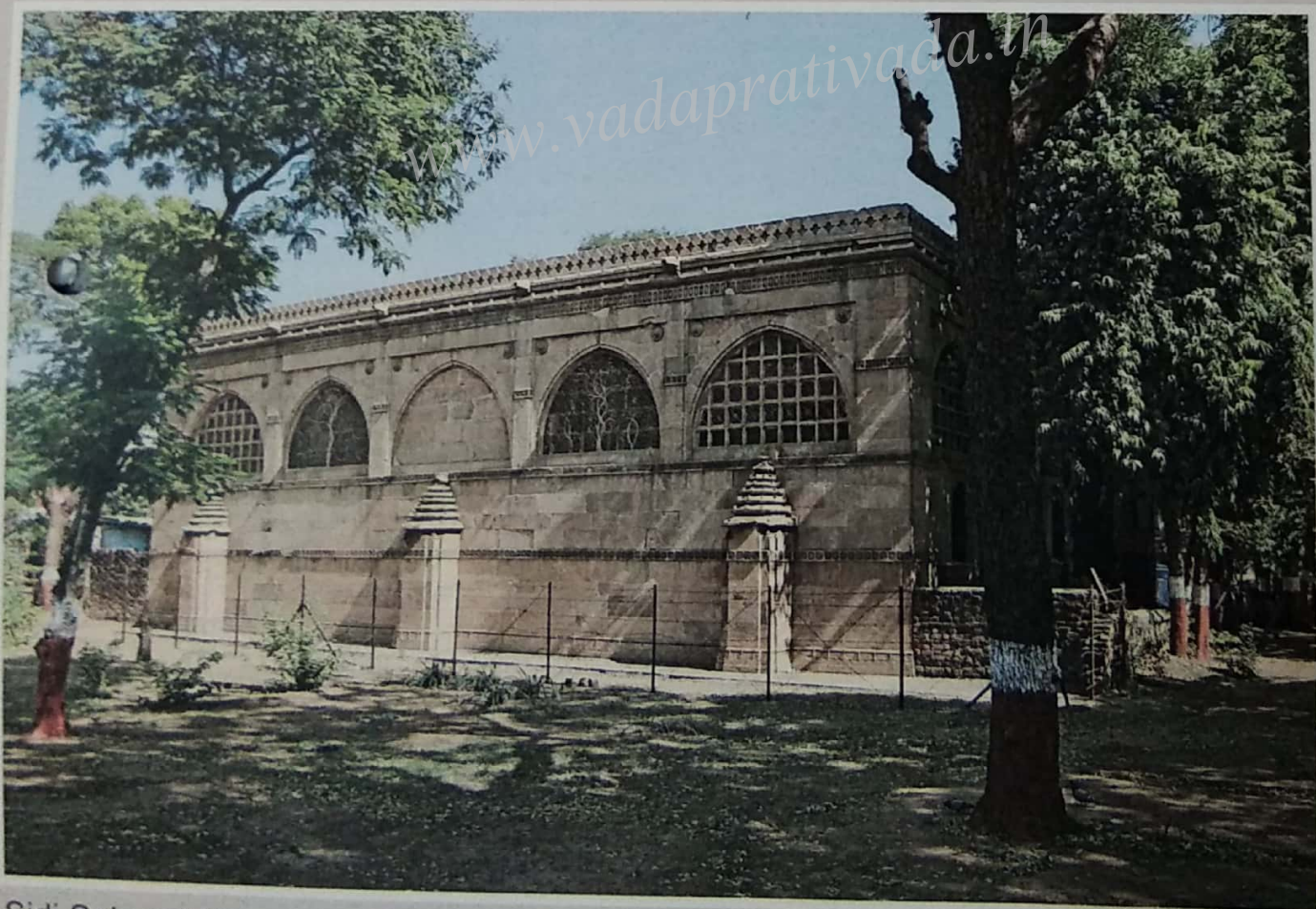
Afsarwala Mosque, Humayun's Tomb Complex, New Delhi. Built 1566-67



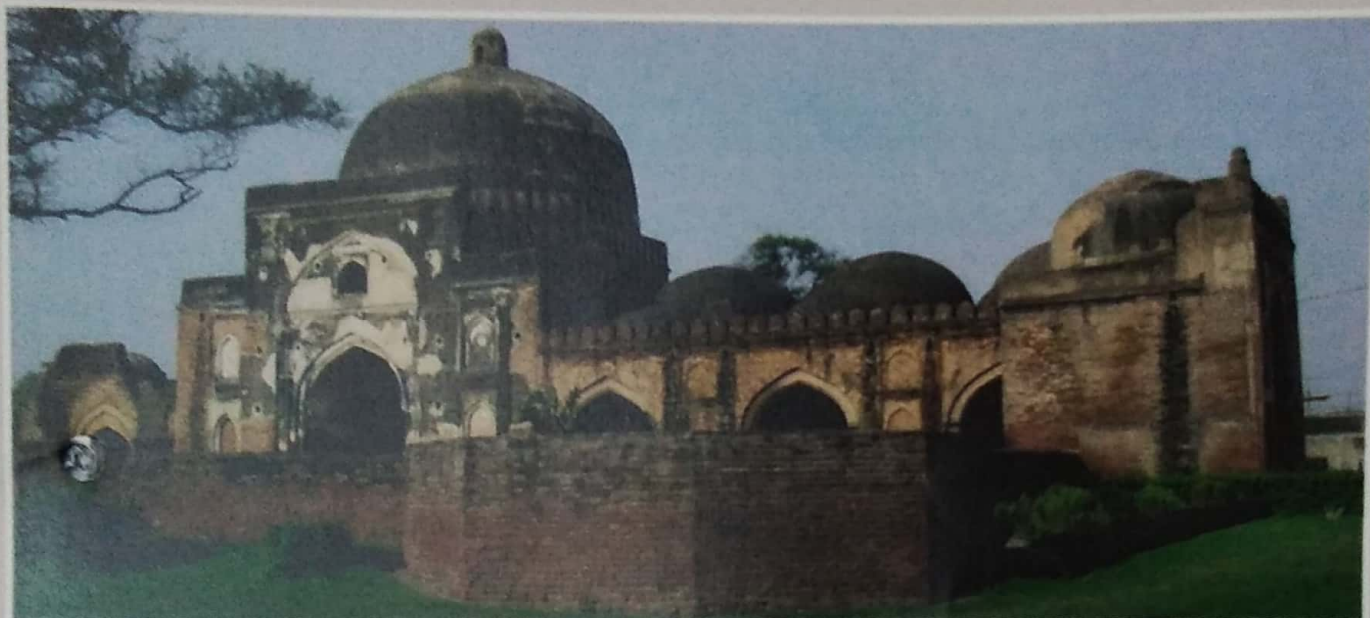
Afsarwala Mosque, Humayun's Tomb Complex, New Delhi. Built 1566-67



Jamali Kamali Mosque, New Delhi. Built 1528



Sidi Saiyyed Mosque, Ahmedabad. Built 1572-73

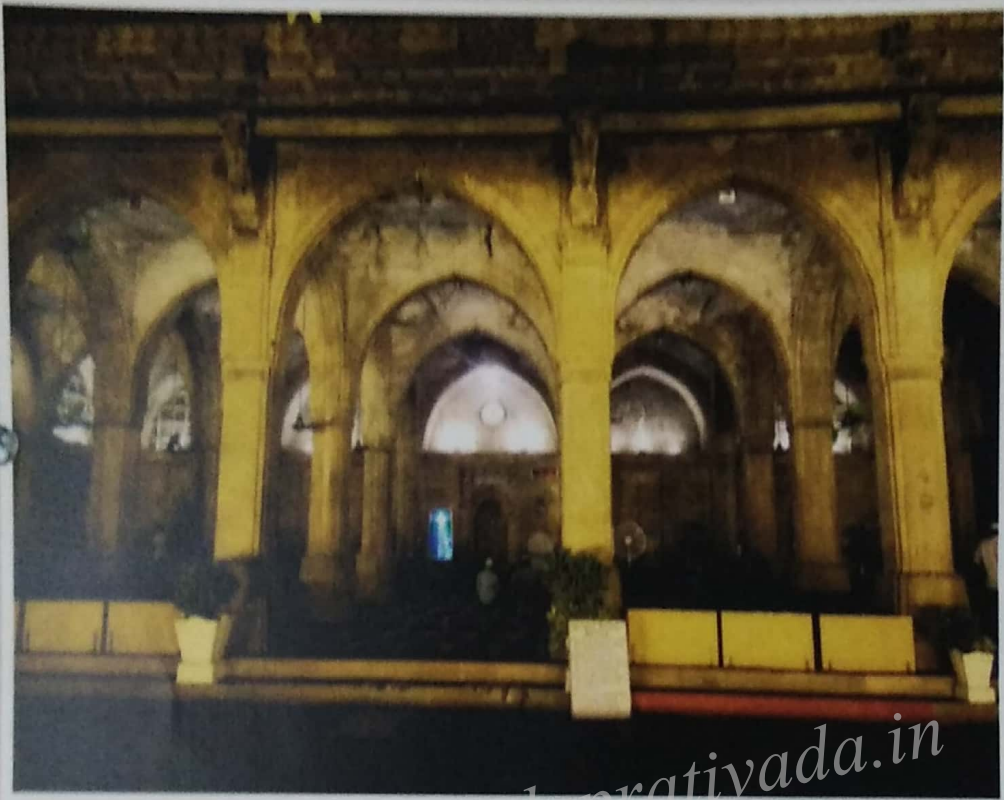


Kabuli Bagh Mosque, Panipat. Built 1527 AD

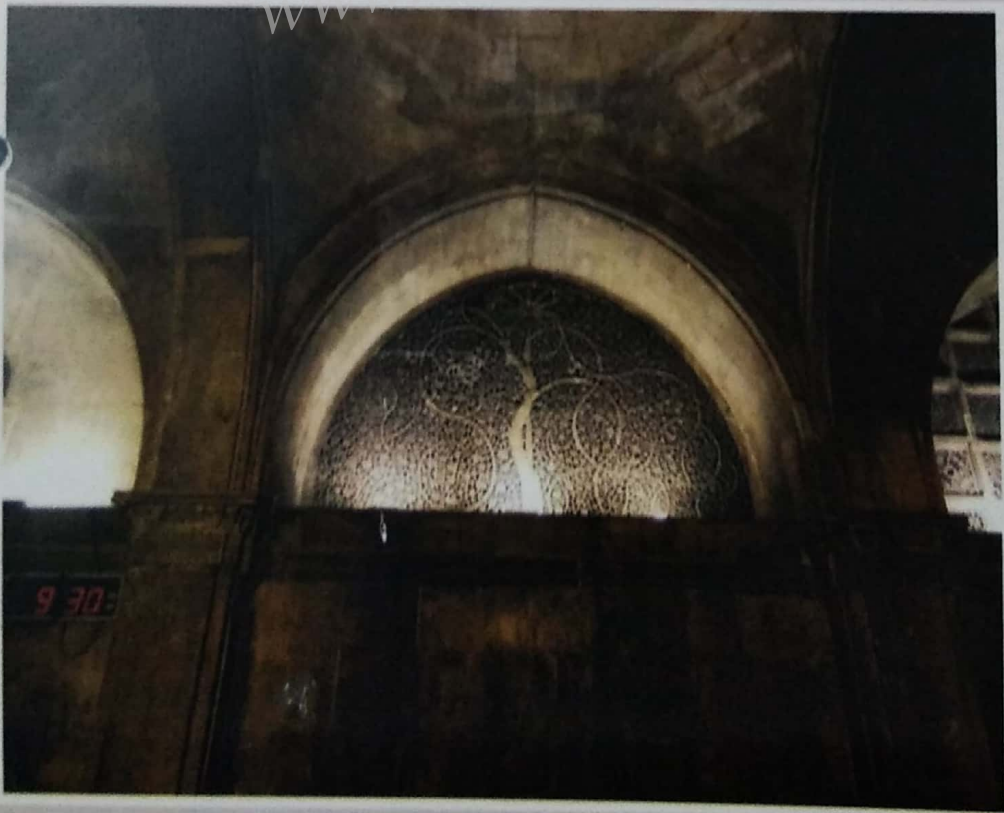


Dome of The Rock, Jerusalem. Rebuilt 1022-23AD

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Sidi Saiyyed Mosque, Ahmedabad. Built 1572-73



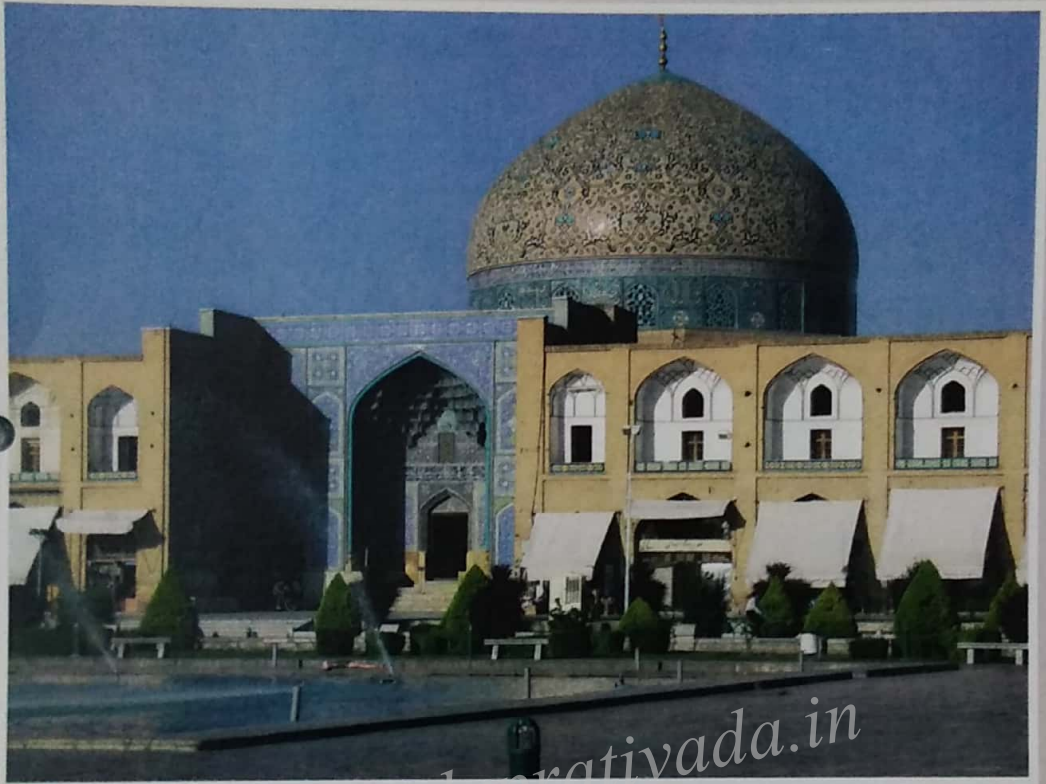
Sidi Saiyyed Mosque, Ahmedabad. Built 1572-73



Jumma Masjid, Kilakarai, Ramanathapuram, Tamil Nadu. Rebuilt 1036 AD



Thanzhathangady Juma Masjid, Kottayam, Built 8th Century AD



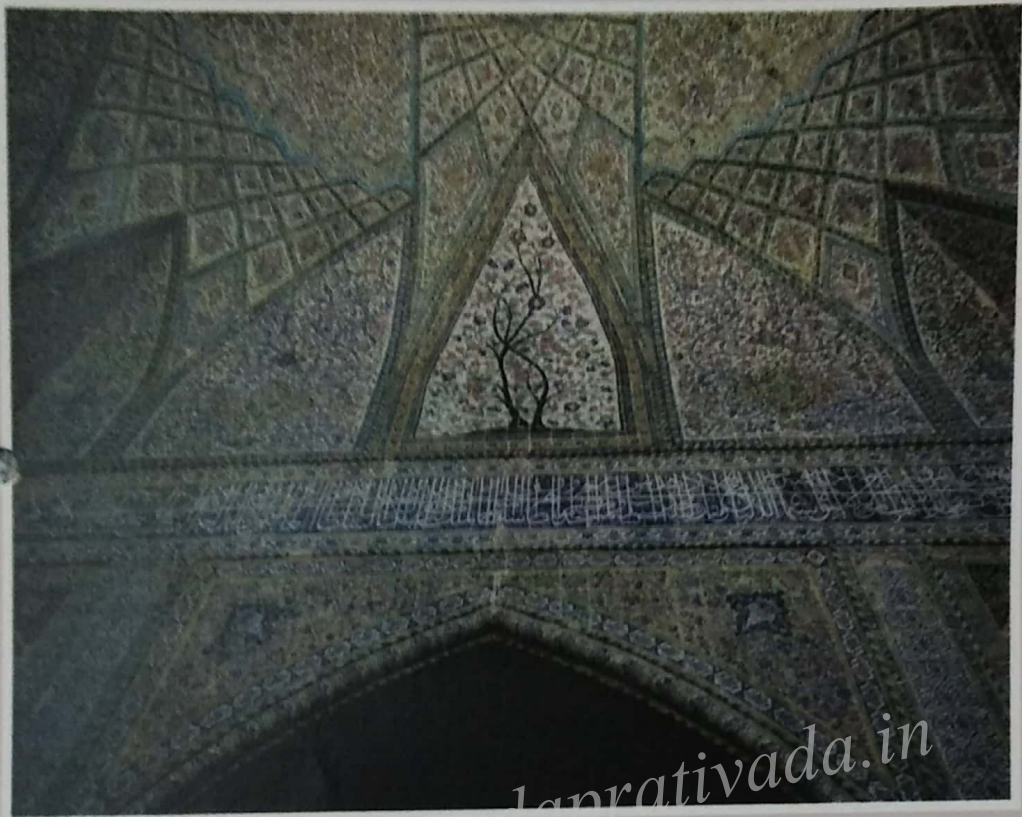
Masjid Sheikh Lotfollah, Isfahan

Built 1619 AD



Masjid Sheikh Lotfollah, Isfahan

Built 1619 AD



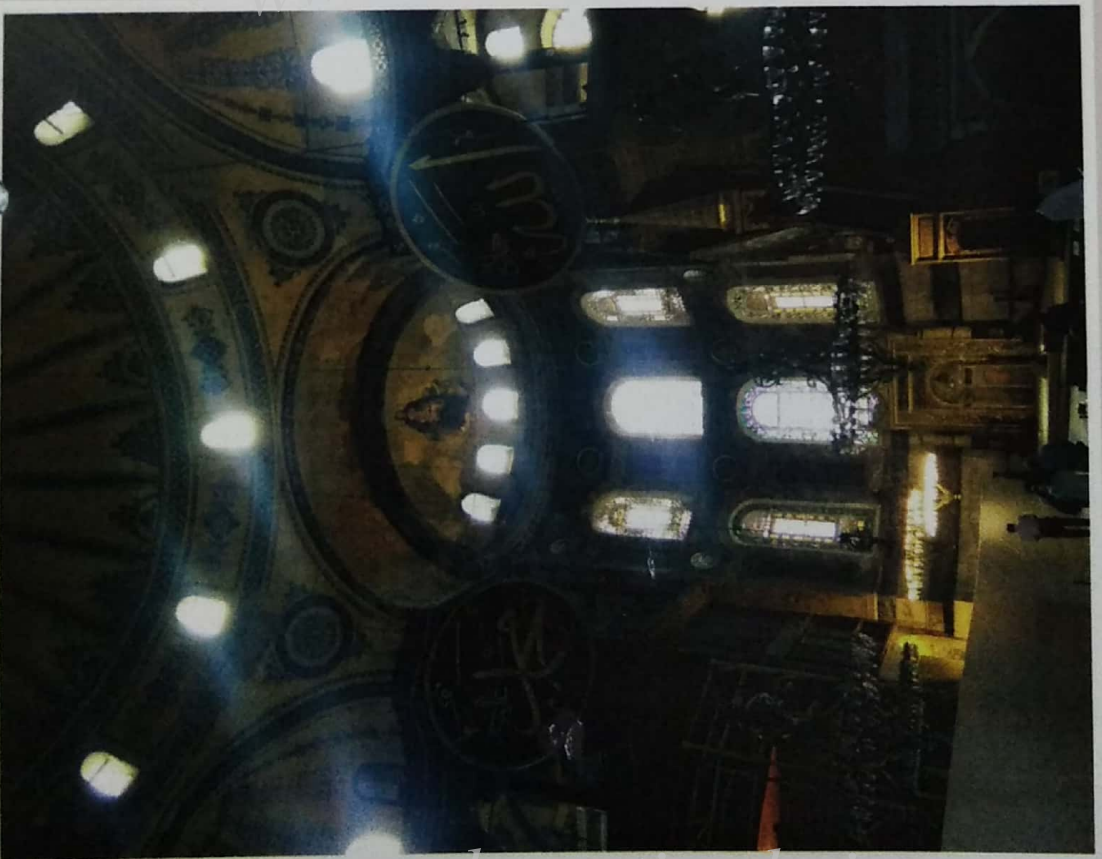
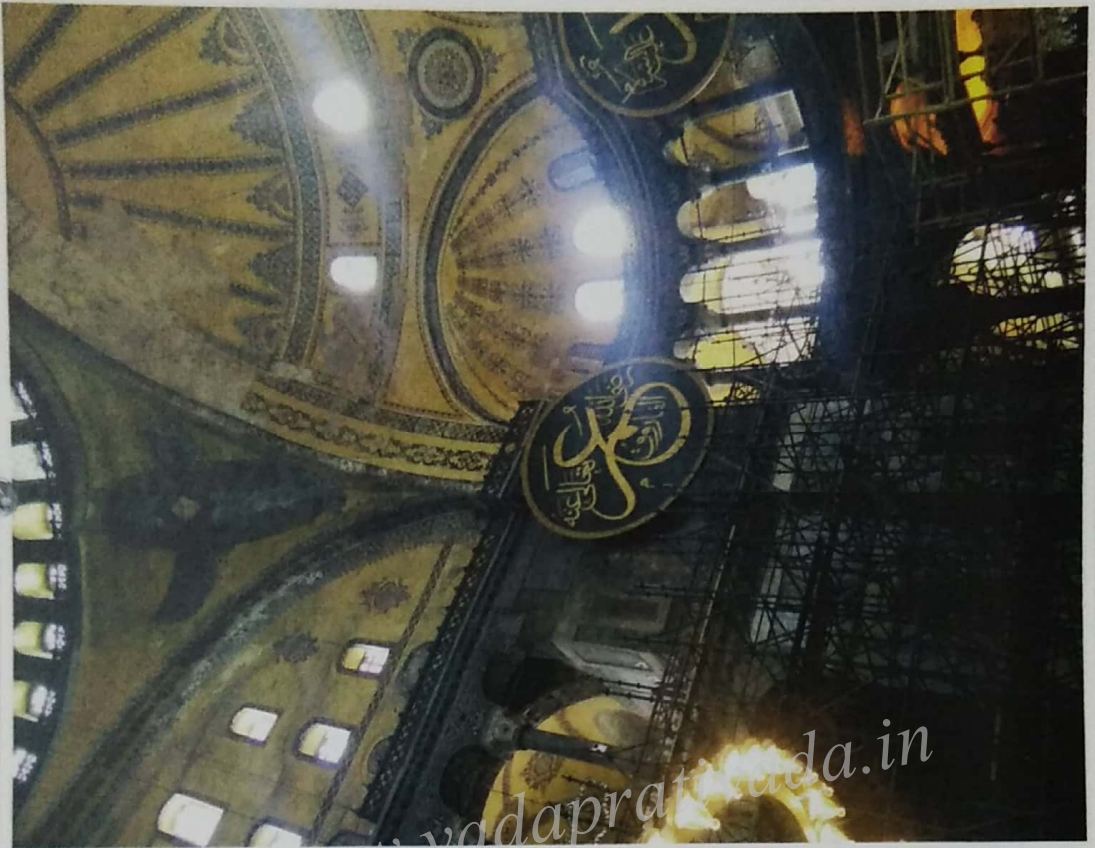
Masjed Vakil, Shiraz

Built 1751 AD



Vali e Asr Mosque, Tehran.

Built 2017 AD



Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. Consecrated 1493 AD



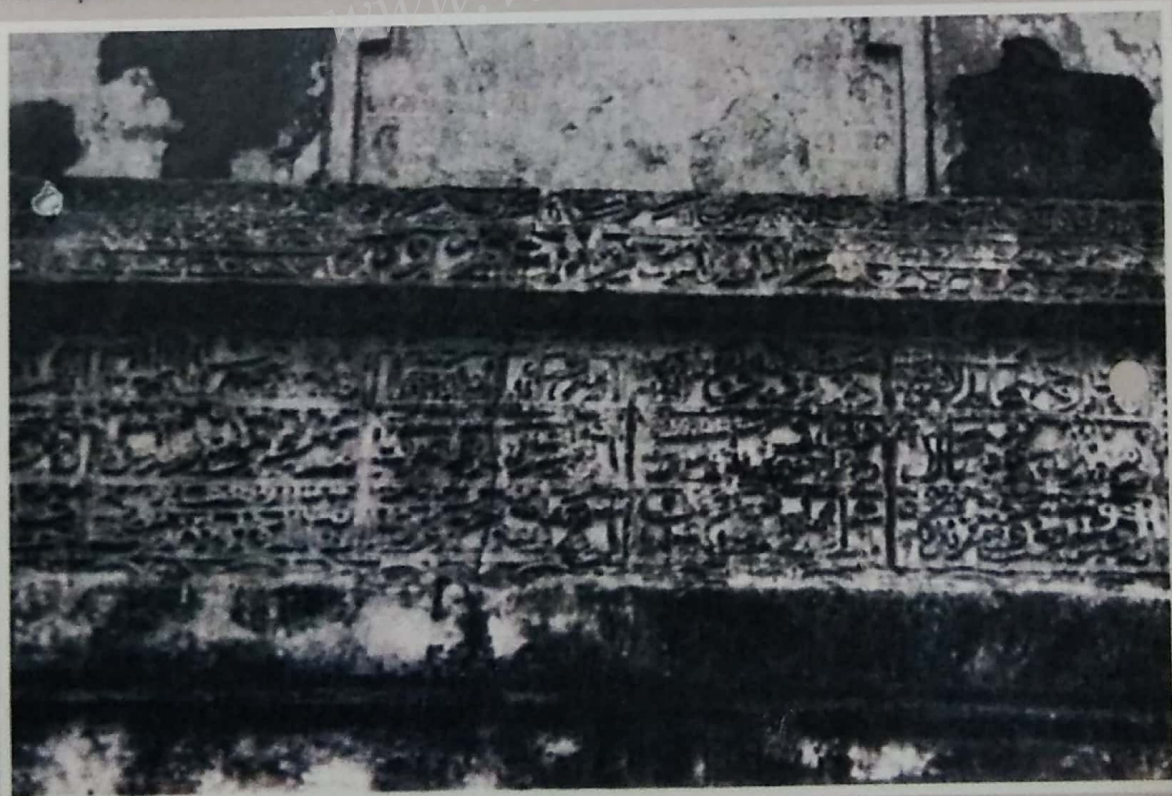
Markazi Masjid, Hazrat Nizamuddin, New Delhi

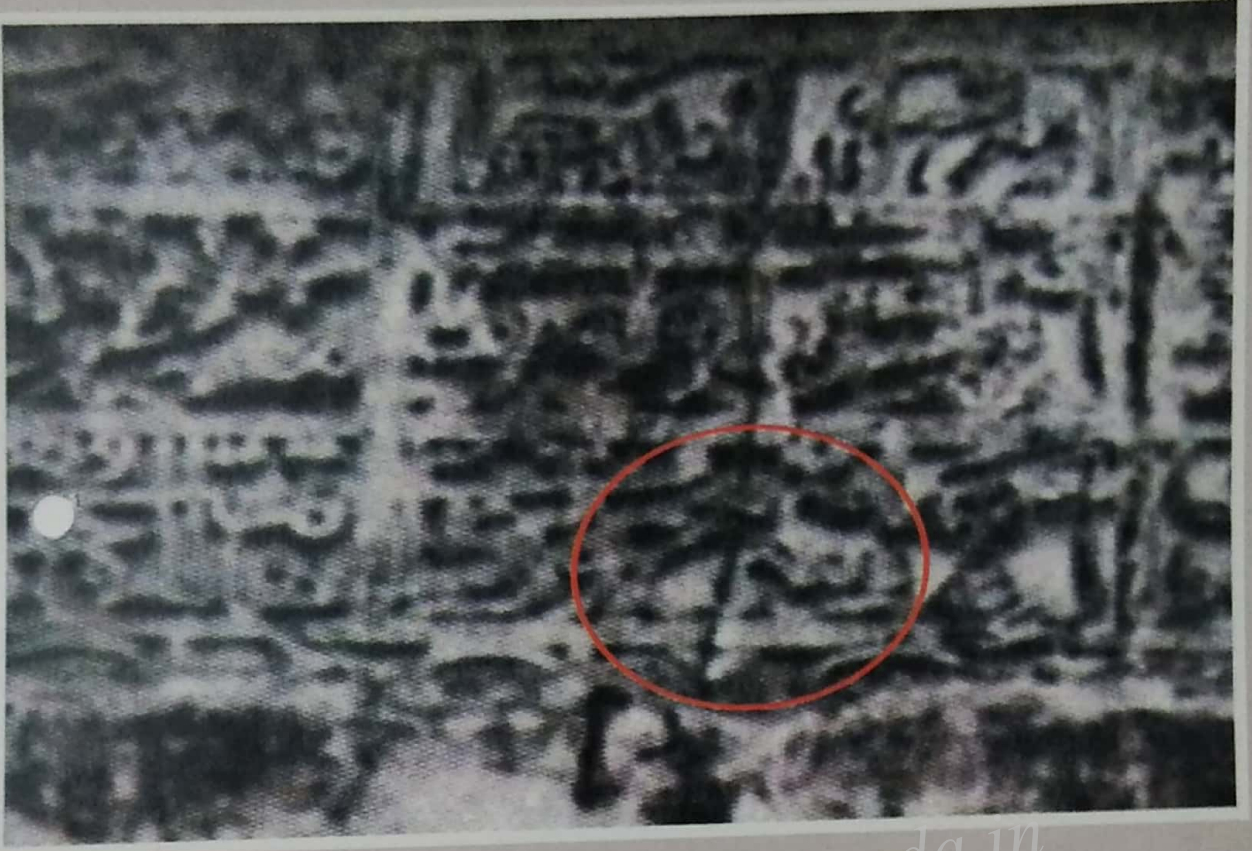
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Inscription above Front Entrance of Babri Masjid





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سیخ

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Fuhrer (1889)	Beveridge (1921)	Z.A. Desai and Ashraf Hussain (1964)	1946 Order
First Inscription (Right of the Mehrab)			
बनामाचे बाबर खर्च जहाँ	बबरमूर ए-श्राह बाबर कि अदलश	बबरमूर ए-श्राह बाबर कि अदलश	ब फरमूर ये शाह बाबर कि अदलश
बाकी कि बा काख गरद हुनां	बिनाइस्त बा काख गरद मुलकी	बिनाइस्त बा काख गरद मुलकी	बिनायेस्त ता काखे गरद मुलकी
बिना कर्द ए-खान ए-यायेदर	बिना कर्द ई महबते कुदसियां रा	बिना कर्द ई महबते कुदसियां रा	बिना कर्द ई महबते कुदसियां
अमीरे सआदत निशां मीर खां	अमीरे सआदत निशान मीर बाकी	अमीरे सआदत निशान मीर बाकी	अमीरे सआदत निशान मीर बाकी
बनानंद हनेशा चुना बाजियश	बुवद खैरे बाकी व साले बिनाइश	बुवद खैरे बाकी व साले बिनाइश	बुवद खैरे बाकी च साले बिनाइश
चुना शहरियरी जमीनी जमां	अयां शुद च गुप्तम बुवद खैरे बाकी	अयां शुद च गुप्तम बुवद खैरे बाकी	अयां शुद कि गुप्तम बुवद खैरे बाकी
Second Inscription (over the entry door)			
बनामैं आं कि	बनाम आंकि उ दानास्त अकबर	बनाम आंकि उ दानास्त अकबर	बनामैं आंकि उ दानास्त अकबर
कुन्द खालिक बकलमे जावेदानी	कि खालिक जुमला आलम लामकानी	कि खालिक जुमला आलम लामकानी	कि खालिक जुमला आलम लामकानी
	दूरदे मुस्तफा बाद अज सतायश	दूरदे मुस्तफा बाद अज सनायश	दूरदे मुस्तफा बाद अज सनायश
	कि सरवर अबिया-ए-दो जहानी	कि सरवर अबिया जुब्दा जहानी	कि सरवर अबिया जुब्दा जहानी
फशानाद दर जहां बाबर गुले खैर	फसाना दर जहां बाबर कलन्दर	फसाना दर जहां बाबर कलन्दर	फसाना दर जहां बाबर कलन्दर
कुन्द दर दौर गीती कामरानी	कि शुद दर दौर गीती कामरानी	कि शुद दर दौर गीती कामरानी	कि शुद दर दौर गीती कामरानी
चुना शाहंशाह मशहूर अकलीम	चुनां कश हफत किशवर दर गिरफता	चुनां कश हफत किशवर दर गिरफता	चुनां कश हफत किशवर दर गिरफता
जमी रा चूं भिसाले शादमानी	जमी रा चूं भिसाले आसमानी	जमी रा चूं भिसाले आसमानी	जमी रा चूं भिसाले आसमानी
दरा हजरत यके मीरे मुअज्जम	दरां हजरत यके मीरे मुअज्जम	दरां हजरत यके मीरे मुअज्जम	दरां हजरत यके मीरे मुअज्जम
कि खाकान दीलतो व फराफूरे सानी	कि नामश मीर बाकी आस्फ सानी	कि नामश मीर बाकी आस्फ सानी	कि नामश मीर बाकी आस्फ सानी
मुशीरे सलतनत तदबीरे मुलकश	मुशीरे सलतनत तदबीर मुलकश	मुशीरे सलतनत तदबीर मुलकश	मुशीरे सलतनत तदबीर मुलकश

कजीं मरिजद हिसारे हरस्त बानी		कजीं मरिजदो हिसार हरस्त बानी	कजीं मरिजदो हिसार हरस्त बानी
खुदाया हर जहां बा शाह बादा		खुदाया दर जहां पाइन्दा बादा	खुदाया दर जहां पाइन्दा बादा
बचिबो तख्तो बख्तो ज़िन्दगानी		कि चिबो तख्तो बख्तो ज़िन्दगानी	कि चिबो तख्तो बख्तो ज़िन्दगानी
बिनाये अहदे दी तारीख मैमूं		बिनाये अहदे जी तारीख मैमूं	बिनाये अहदे जी तारीख मैमूं
नूह सद सी बुवद हिजरत बदानी		कि नूह सद सी पंज बुवद निशानी	कि नूह सद सी पंज बुवद निशानी