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Society and Culture in Medieval India

(1206-1556 A.D.)



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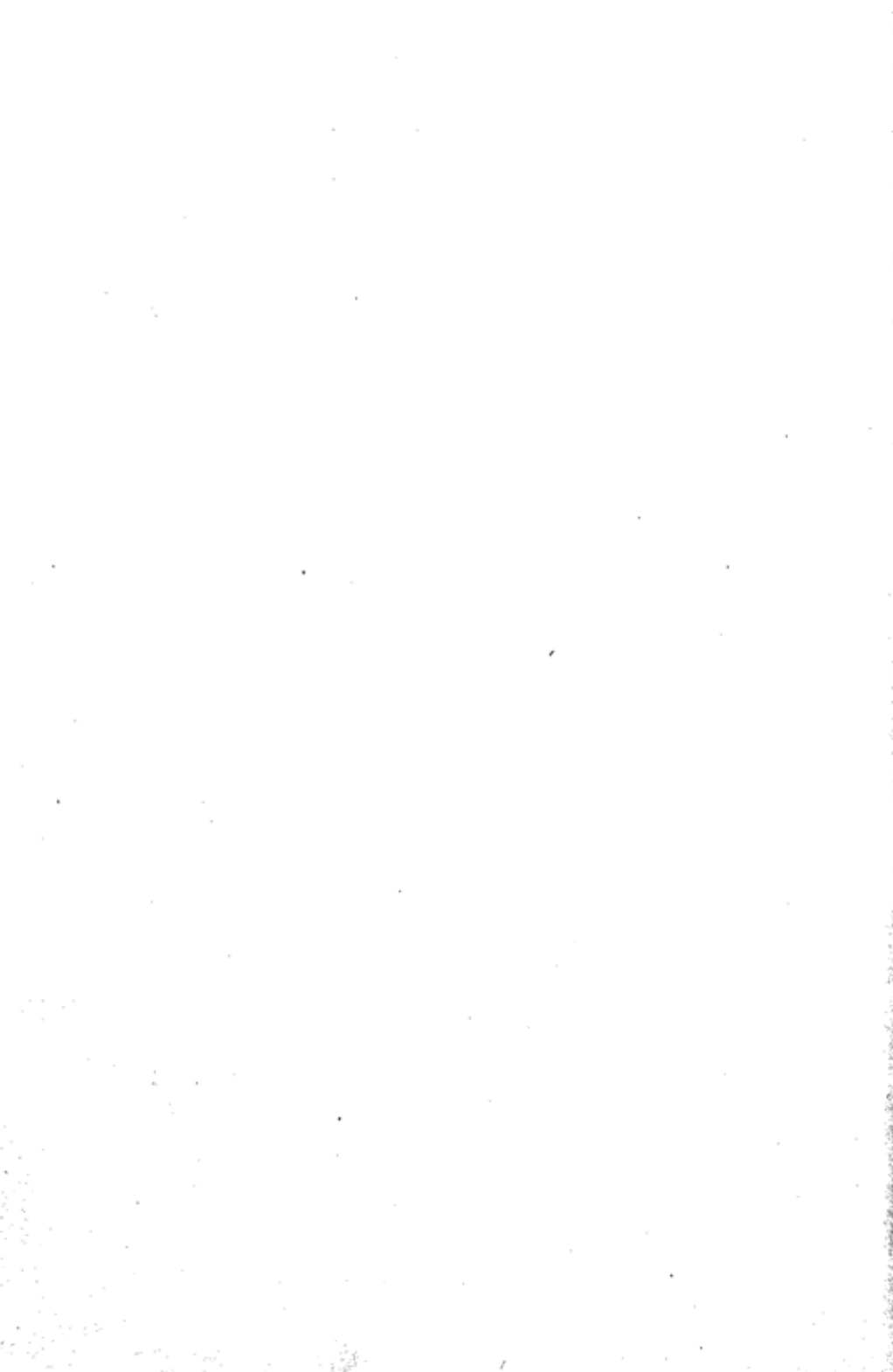
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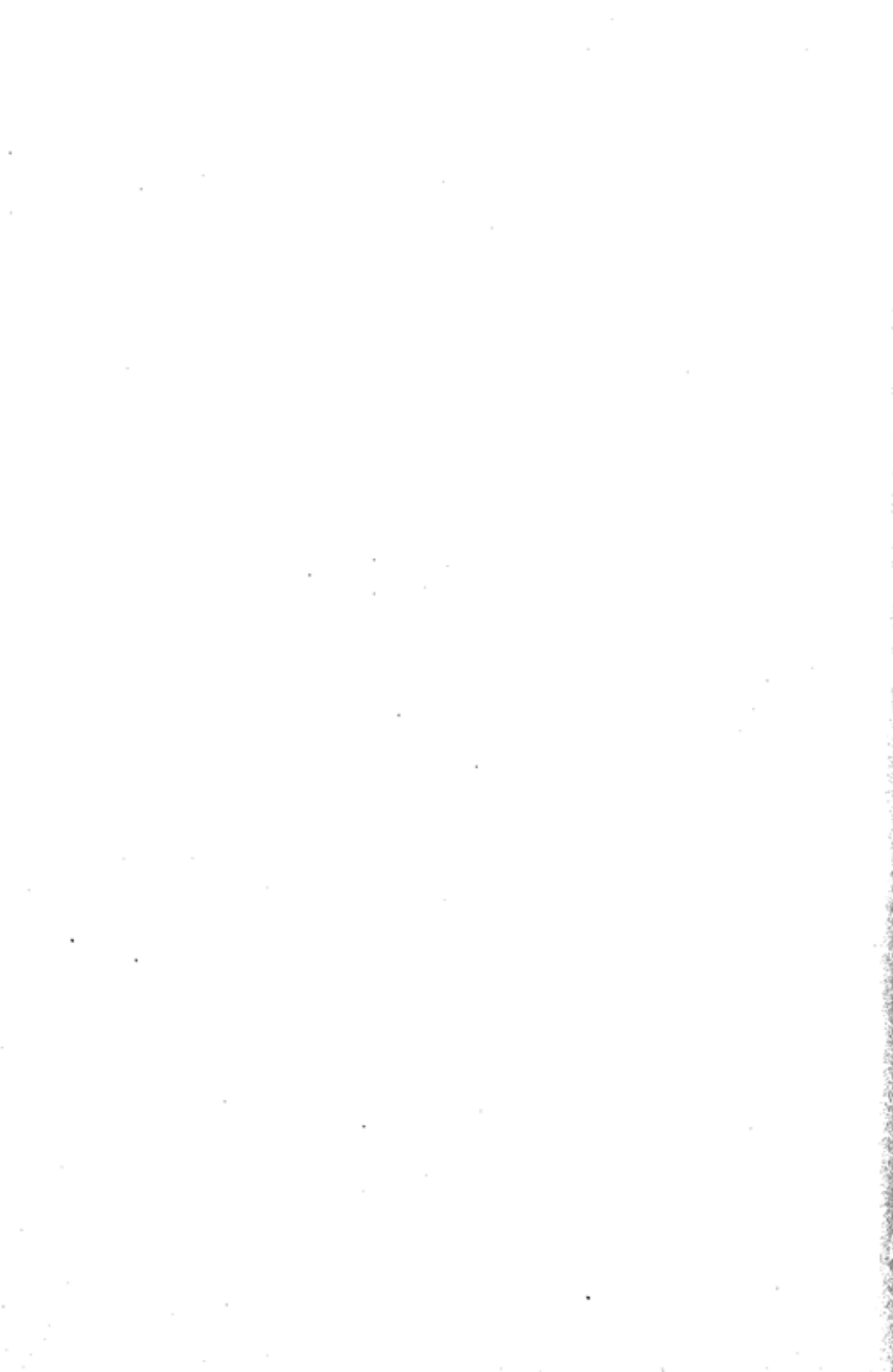
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TO
MY TEACHER
Professor Syed Hasan Askari



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PREFACE

A study of the life of the people in India during the Sultanate period needs meticulous attention and careful research on the basis of original sources. *The Life and Conditions of the People of Hindusthan* by Dr. K. M. Ashraf was a pioneering work in this field. It constitutes a substantial contribution to the socio-economic life of Medieval Indian people. Dr. Ashraf has inspired others to undertake a work of similar nature. The present study is an humble attempt in the same direction. The task of supplementing and reassessing the findings of Dr. Ashraf and others is arduous. The materials on which the depiction of medieval Indian social life depends are scanty and scattered. They are not easily and locally available. Dr. Ashraf has mentioned Amir Khusrau's works and rightly pointed out their value for a student interested in the social aspect of the thirteenth century. But he has not fully utilised the store-house of information perhaps because he was pressed for time and was concerned with a panoramic view of the subject. One can get a better insight into the life of the people by going through the *Tazkirah* or biographical sketches of the Sufi saints, the *Maktubats* or letters and *Malfuzats* or table talks, especially of the leading figures of the prominent orders. The Persian sources can be supplemented by what is found in the non-Persian works.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise the close connection between the evolution of society and the gradual development of economic life. In the present work, dealing mainly with aspects of the social and cultural history, an attempt has been made to depict the economic condition in a general way.

It is regretted that it has not been possible either to make an extensive study of the social life of the Hindus or to present a comparative estimate of the Hindu and Muslim communities. Without a thorough analysis of the features and factors concerning men of all classes and communities, a social history of Medieval India would be incomplete. An attempt to do justice

to the subject would require greater time and energy and better equipment. Unless one goes through the original sources relating to Hindu society, which are written in Sanskrit, Apabhramsa, Sauraseni, Brajabuli languages and other regional dialects, there can not be a correct appraisal of the social system and culture of the Hindu and Muslim communities living in northern India. Yet some salient features of Hindu manners and customs, system of education, slaves, women etc. have been noted. The last chapter of this book deals with the Bhakti movement as a social force. The resurgence of Sudras and relentless war against orthodoxy were the salient contributions of that dynamic movement.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his deep sense of gratitude to those who have very kindly helped him in his work. Dr. R. S. Sharma, Head of the Department of History, and his erstwhile teacher, very kindly suggested the subject of the thesis. But for his inspiration and guidance the work would not have seen the light of the day. The writer offers this acknowledgement, inadequate though it be. The author is extremely grateful to his revered teacher, Prof. Syed Hasan Askari. The completion of the thesis would not have been possible without his guidance and advice. It has been a matter of pride, privilege and pleasure for the writer to sit at the feet of such an eminent scholar-teacher. No less is the debt of gratitude which the writer owes to Prof. Mohammad Habib, formerly of Aligarh Muslim University, for the generous sharing of his extensive knowledge. To his esteemed friend and colleague, Dr. B. P. Mazumdar, Reader in History, Patna University, the author owes an immense debt of gratitude. He read the manuscript in a highly critical spirit, suggested desirable amendments and did not mind the encroachment on his precious time. To his teacher, Dr. K. K. Dutta, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, he owes the first lesson in the technique of historical research. The writer is deeply thankful to Mr. D. P. Sen Gupta, Reader in English, and Mr. B. P. Majumdar, Lecturer in English, B. N. College, Patna University, who have patiently gone through portions of the typescript of the book. To his pupil and friend Dr. Hasan Nishat Ansari, the writer offers thanks for his many

acts of kindness in the various stages of the work. Whenever sought, Mr. S. M. Moinul Haq, former Principal, B. N. College, Patna University and Dr. Bimanbehari Majumdar extended generous help to the author. The writer also expresses his heartfelt thanks to Maulana Shāh Taqī Hasan Balkhi, Alamganj, Patna, Maulana Ghulam Husain, Phulwari, Janab T. Junaidi, Mojibia Khanqah and Maulana Shah Murad Ullah of Maner Khanqah for allowing him to use the manuscripts in their possession. The writer's esteemed friend, Hakim Mohammad Affan, Ramna Road, Patna, also procured valuable manuscripts.

The author also offers his grateful thanks to the staff of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; the National Library, Calcutta; Lucknow University; Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna; Patna University Library; B. R. S. Library; K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna and Sinha Library. Special thanks are due to Sri Rajeshwar Jha and Sri G. R. Choudhuri of Bihar Research Society, Patna. The former undertook the painstaking work of reading out and translating Maithili books for the writer.

The author wishes to express warm gratitude to the publishers for their unobtrusive technical help at every stage and for the cheerfulness with which they accepted this humble dissertation.

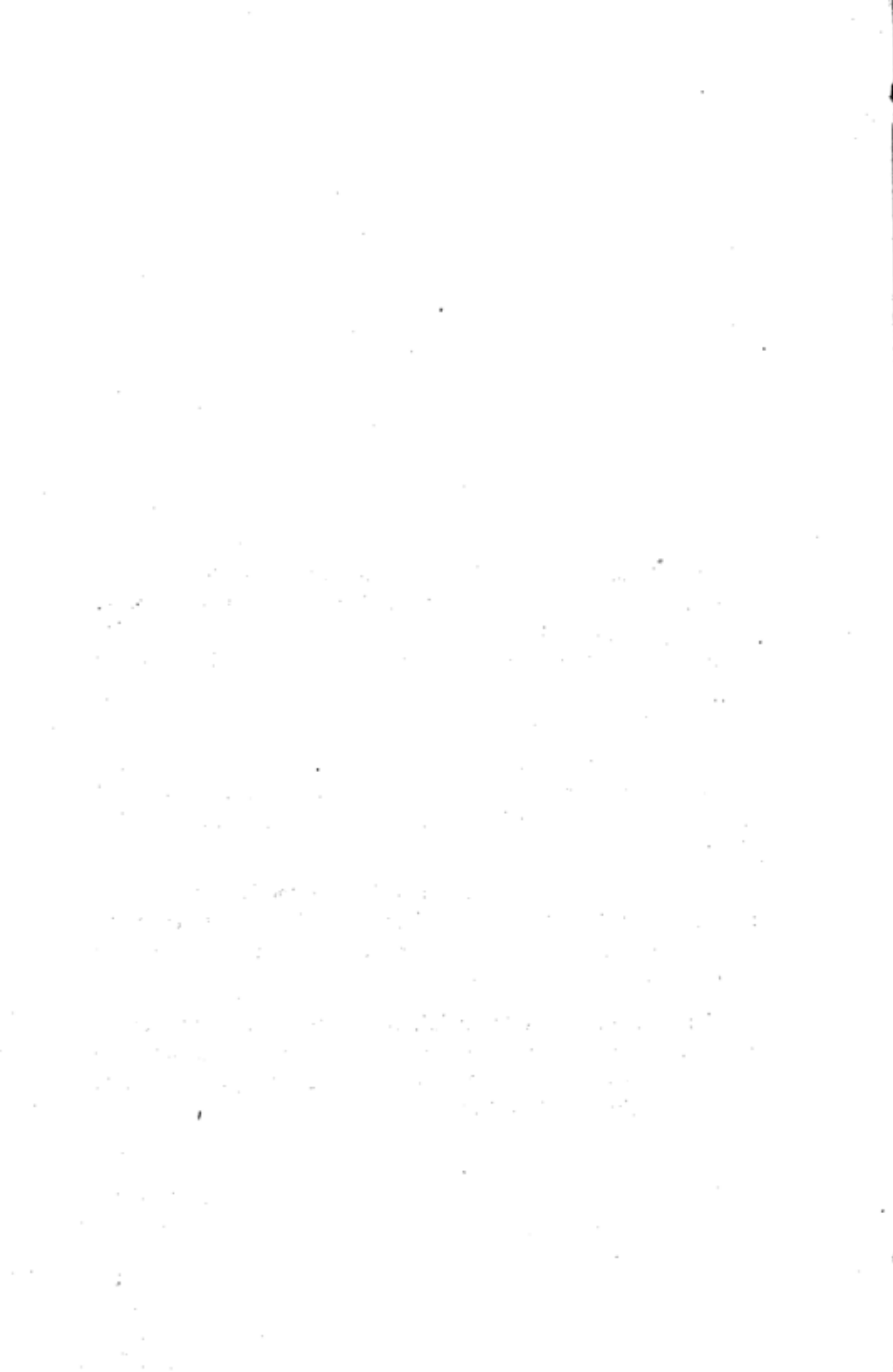
This book is substantially based on a thesis approved for the degree of Ph. D. at the University of Patna. It relates to the society and culture of Northern India between c. 1206 and 1556 A. D.

The author craves the indulgence of the readers for certain misprints and different spellings of some proper names. On account of some unavoidable circumstances the book is being published without diacritical marks.

B. N. College,
Patna University, Patna.

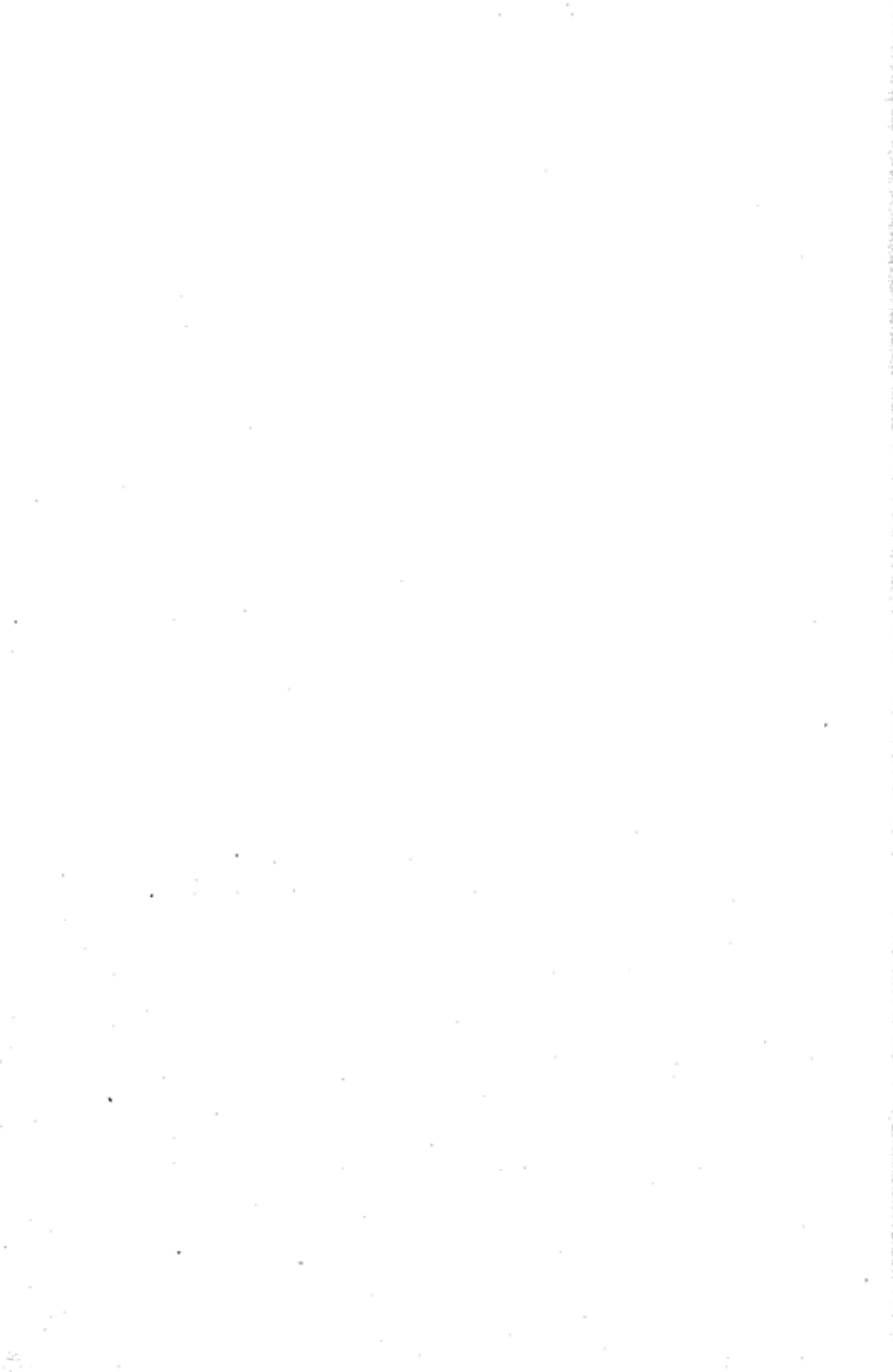
A. Rashid

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A.B.O.R.I.—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- A.S.L.—Asiatic Society Library (Bengal)
- A.S.R.—Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India
- Bid. Ind.—Bibliothica Indica
- C.R.—Calcutta Review
- E & D—Elliot and Dowson
- E.I.—Epigraphica Indica
- E.I.M.—Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica
- G.O.S.—Gaekwad Oriental Series
- Haz.—Hazrat
- H.P.P.—Hindi Pracharak Pustakalay, Varanasi
- I.S.C.—Islamic Culture
- I.H.Q.—Indian Historical Quarterly
- J.A.H.R.I.—Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute
- J.A.S.B.—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
- J.B.R.S.—Journal of the Bihar Research Society
- J.D.L.—Journal of the Department of Letters
- J.I.H.—Journal of Indian History
- J.P.H.S.—Journal of Pakistan Historical Society
- J.R.A.S.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
- J.R.A.S.B.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
- K.P.J.R.I.—K. P. Jayswal Research Institute
- M.I.Q.—Medieval India Quarterly
- O.C.M.—Oriental College Magazine
- O.P.L.—Oriental Public Library
- Pr.I.H.C.—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress
- P.U.J.—Patna University Journal
- P.U.L.—Patna University Library
- R.B.P.P.—Rashtra Bhasha Parishad, Patna
- Sh.—Shaikh



CHAPTER I

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Islam is a monotheistic religion. Besides monotheism it lays stress on equality and brotherhood in faith. It emphasises the importance of piety and devotion rather than birth or colour as criterion for greatness and nearness to God. Nobility of descent and pride in the purity of blood were ingrained in the social consciousness of the Arabs. Prophet Mohammad directed his attention towards the establishment of a new society of equals. Rank in this new society was to be determined not by aristocratic descent but by the degree of faith and piety. 'The most devout of the believers is the most worthy in the sight of God', says the Quranic text. Thus religious devotion and not birth determined a man's dignity. The marriage of Zaid, the freed slave of Mohammad, with the latter's first cousin Zainab and the appointment of his son, Osama, as the leader of the blue-blooded aristocratic Arabs in the expedition to Syria show how Mohammad tried to break the barrier dividing man from man. The case of Jaballa, the ex-king of Ghassan, who became an apostate at being treated on terms of perfect equality with an ordinary Arab by Caliph Omar is also an instance in point.

The life of the Muslim community was to be regulated by these principles. But in the subsequent decades after the death of Prophet Mohammad, and at the end of the period of the orthodox Caliphate, the noble precepts and practices were twisted to suit the whims and moods of his followers.

Muslim moral consciousness never accepted the distorted principles of Islam, yet the history of Islam is replete with actual instances of invidious distinction between man and man. The assemblage of the people of various cultural groups of different professions crystallised into broad divisions—the high and low, the rulers and the ruled, the privileged class and the working class, the landlord and the peasants, the masters and the slaves. By the time Islam came in India and Muslim rule was established

in our country, those tendencies which went against the teaching of Prophet Mohammad had taken deep root, and the Indian atmosphere was conducive to their development. The Arabs conquered Sindh and laid the foundation of a new Indo-Arab race and culture. They left some legacies and their occupation of Sindh was not a mere episode in the history of Islam, a triumph without results, as has been supposed by some European and Indian historians. Sindh served as the gateway of Islamic religion and culture, but not of Islamic power. Islamic power in this sub-continent was established by the Turks, who differed from the Arabs in some respects, especially in culture and outlook. One can visualise the changes that might have occurred if the more liberal Arabs alone had established their empire in India. But we have to reckon with facts as they happened.

Racial Composition :

The Turko-Afghan period in Indian history is covered by the rule of the Muslims belonging to different nationalities such as the Mamluke Sultans of the *Ilbari* Turkish tribes, of the Khaljis or the Afghanised Turks, and the Qaraunah Turks of mixed blood, and of the Syeds and Lodi Afghans. These nationalities flit across our vision with varied cultural lights and shades as political expressions of various social forces. In medieval Indian history they appear as social and political entities.

The Turks were the founders of the Muslim rule in India. In the wake of their conquest, wave after wave of Turkish adventurers belonging either to the *Khita*ⁱ, *Qara-Khita*², *Qipchaq*³ *Garji*⁴, or the *Ilbari*⁵ tribes of the Turkish race came to Hindustan to seek employment and prosperity. Fakhr-ud-din Mobarak Shah⁶ says that the army of Qutb-ud-din was composed of Turks, Ghurids, Khorasanians, Khaljis and the Indian army of *Ratgans*, *Takrans* and *Ba Sa'idans*. Minhaj states that people from Persia came in various capacities⁷.

A number of other factors contributed to the influx of people of various nationalities, other than Turks in India.

The Afghans are reported to have served in the armies of Sultan Mahmud Ghazni⁸. Afghan soldiers were employed by

Shihab-ud-din in his Indian campaigns⁹. Balban employed Afghans in subduing the hill tribes of Mewat¹⁰.

The Mongols caused a great upheaval in Central Asia. As a result of this, countless number of refugees from the Central Asian countries took shelter in India¹¹. Balban claimed that no less than fifteen sovereign princes from Muslim countries of Asia had found asylum in his kingdom¹². The Mongol invasion also introduced many Mongols into the fold of the Muslim society. Barani¹³ speaks of Mongol converts who had settled in Delhi in Balban's reign. Some Balbani nobles even established matrimonial relations with them. There were also Ethiopian Muslims. These may have included the families of Yaqut of Raziah¹⁴. Barani¹⁵ tells us that needy persons from different parts of the world—Khorasan, Iraq, Mawaraun Nahr, Khwarizm, Seistan, Herat, Damascus came to India to receive bounty from Mohammad bin Tughlaq. Many Mongols of distinguished family came to his court: some stayed and they were lavishly awarded by the king. Immigration was encouraged. Ibn Batuta says that no new-comer from Khorasan was allowed to enter into Indian territory unless he came with the express purpose of staying in India. He himself was asked to write a bond to that effect for this¹⁶. According to an Arab traveller¹⁷ the army of Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq consisted of Turks, Persians and Indians. We are told by Barbosa¹⁸ that foreigners from many lands—Arabs, the Mamlukes, the Persians and Khorasanis added to the variety of racial stock of the Muslim upper class of Hindustan. They lived in the coastal towns, especially in Gujrat. Local traditions of Bengal speak of the settlement of Arab traders in Chittagong.¹⁹ This corroborates the account of Barbosa. *Rehla*²⁰ mentions the name of the Abyssinian named Badr. The author of *Tarikh-i-Daudi*²¹ says that during the reign of Sikandar nobles, *Shaikhs*, and men of learning came from Arabia, Persia, Bokhara and took up residence at Agra.

Some Sultans encouraged migration of their own kinsmen into Hindustan. Abbas²² tells us that Bahlol Lodi encouraged the migration of his kinsmen from Roh. An invitation was sent to them to come to Hindustan so that they might be relieved from the indignity of poverty.

To complete the enumeration of different races mention should be made of the imported slaves who also swelled the ranks of Muslim society. We get references to imported slaves in the *Rehla*.²³ Female slaves were imported from China and Turkistan.²⁴

Men of various races came and settled down in different parts of India and became acclimatised to the land of their adoption during the period under review. They forgot their homeland. They remained no longer conscious of any foreign affiliation. Isami²⁵ says that those who came from Arabia, Iraq, Iran "into this garden of pleasure became so much attached to it that they hardly recalled their native lands." A new situation arose with the advent of the Mughals in India. Babar²⁶ writes that when he arrived in Agra there was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between his people and the men of the place. The peasantry and the soldiers of the country avoided and fled from his men. The antipathy between the new rulers and those who lost their power was natural. The animosity between the Afghans and the Mughals was a long continued affair. But gradually the Mughals also became a part and parcel of the Indian population.

Social Divisions :

As regards division of the population, Barani²⁷ speaks of persons of low birth and high birth, persons learned, illiterate, wise and foolish, artists, free born and *abids*, merchants, *darveshes*, clerks, soldiers, *bazaris*, cultivators, employed and unemployed. In the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*²⁸ he refers to religious scholars, mystics, physicians, astrologers, artisans, shop-keepers, merchants, caravan people, courtesans, musicians, dancers, buffoons, tavern-keepers, jugglers, story-reciters, wrestlers and jokers. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi*²⁹ speaking about the people of Delhi and its vicinity refers to *amirs*, *maliks*, notables, *ulamas*, *sadat*, *mashaikh*, beggars, artisans, the money-lenders and the cultivators. These observations of the chroniclers throw a significant light on the social and economic life of the population. A distinction was made on the basis of property, occupation and economic interest, birth and educational attainments. But the distinction was not sufficient to constitute a caste

system, such as it existed in the Hindu society. It was possible for an individual to rise from the lower to a higher class, even as high as a leading position in the government. But still some distinction was maintained though there was no rigidity about it.

However, we may roughly divide the population into three classes of which the first two, *ahl-i-suyuf* (men of the sword) and the *ahl-i-qalam* (men of the pen), constituted together the social aristocracy. They were handful in number as compared with the third. At the top of the social order were the governing class or military aristocracy and relatives of the king. In the next were men of the pen, comprising theologians and litterateurs, *mashaikhs*, and *sadat*. At the bottom of the ladder were *awwam-i-Khalq* or the common people comprising peasants, professional clerks and men of business like artisans, bankers, money-lenders, merchants, and professional people, homeless city-dwellers and vagrant religious mendicants.

(a) *Governing Aristocracy :*

The position of primacy was enjoyed by this class. Its formation and growth was due to certain factors. The credit of establishing a sovereign independent Muslim state goes to the Turks. They overran the whole of northern India. As a result of the conquest, a nexus of military aristocracy came into existence. Their number was ever on the increase. The notable participants in wars and campaigns were called upon to do the work of consolidation and management of the newly conquered territories. Many of them rose from very humble beginnings, and became men of power and influence. This new aristocracy became conscious of its power.

The material change which the conquest brought to the individual members of the Turkish race can be best assessed from the writings of a contemporary historian. "Even a poor householder, who did not possess a single slave, became the owner of numerous slaves, horses and camels; a man who originally owned only one horse, became a *sipahsalar* and possessed a Kettle-drum, standard, *naubat*, all of his own."¹⁰ In fact they monopolised all key-posts and insisted on maintaining their racial identity. They developed a consciousness that they alone were capable not

only of conquest and expansion but also of government and administration. According to Minhaj³¹ they provided the executive and military personnel.

Muizz-ud-din Mohammad Ghori, after the conquest of Hindustan, kept his trusted men at different places who exercised both military and civil powers.³² His supporters and followers fulfilled the requirements of an expanding empire. The governing aristocracy established its monopolistic control over the resources of the empire. But their racial pride hindered the evolution of a homogenous Muslim society. It weakened the sense of solidarity and deprived the nascent state of the support of the general body of the Muslims.

In the governing aristocracy we find men of different characters and position-predominantly Turkish-valiant men³³ of the time, men of literary genius and civil offices such as Qiwan-ul-Mulk Rukn-ud-din Hamza³⁴ who could be distinguished from others for his civilities and good manners, learning and wisdom. There was a sprinkling of people of non-Turkish origin. Sabaq-ul-Mulk Nasir-ud-din whom Qutb-ud-din before marching towards Ranthambhor had entrusted with the affairs of the state, has been described by Hasan Nizami as a man of Syed lineage and familiar with rules and regulations.³⁵ The offices of the *Imams* and *Qazis* were generally held by the Arabs and Persians. Such was Sharf-ul-Mulk, the chief justice, who received the historian, Hasan Nizami, at Delhi. Qubacha's Wazir, Ain-ul-Mulk Fakhr-ud-din al Husain bin Sharf-ul-Mulk Razi-ud-din Abu Bakr Ashari and Nizam-ul-Mulk Mohammad bin Abi Saaz al Junaidi, the illustrious Wazir of Iltutmish who had patronised Said-ud-din Mohammad al-Awfi, were two great luminaries in the second category of nobles.³⁶ Minhaj³⁷ speaks of Imam Baha-ud-din who wrote encomiums in praise of the beneficence of Qutb-ud-din. References are made to free-born *amirs*.³⁸ Barani³⁹ speaks of the free-born *maliks* and notables of the time of Iltutmish. They had not entered government service as slaves but as free men. Minhaj⁴⁰ says that from the very beginning of his reign eminent doctors of religion and law, venerable *syeds*, *maliks*, *amirs*, *sadr* and great men gathered together at Delhi.

The attitude of the governing class to non-Turkish foreign and the indigenous elements may be reviewed here. Generally speaking the former were tolerated and respected, while the latter were kept at a distance. If the statement of Barani is to be relied upon Iltutmish treated the Indian Muslims with contempt. He is said to have dismissed thirty-three persons from the government service on account of low birth. On the recommendation of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi, the *Wazir*, Jamal Marzuq was appointed as *Mutasarrif* of Kanauj. The appointment was objected to by Aziz Bahroz. An inquiry was instituted into the lineage of Nizam-ul-Mulk himself. He was found to belong to a weaver family. He lost the confidence of the Sultan.⁴¹ Minhaj is silent over the matter. Barani's statement is not corroborated by any other contemporary source. Barani has not unjustly been suspected of having projected his own ideas and prejudices into his statement and fathered them on others. He writes that the low-born people should not be given any precedence over the nobles and free-born.⁴² The low-born are capable only of vices—immodesty, falsehood, miserliness, misappropriation, wrongfulness, lies, evil-speaking, ingratitude, dirtiness, injustice, cruelty, non-recognition of rights, shamelessness, impudence, blood-shedding, rascality, jugglery and godlessness.⁴³ Our Chronicler is silent about the circumstances leading to the appointment of Nizam-ul-Mulk Junaidi as *Wazir*. How was he elevated to such an exalted and responsible post? His appointment might have stirred feelings in his rivals. Iltutmish suffered from no complex. He is reported to have said that when he saw the notables standing with folded hands in his presence he felt like stepping down from the throne and kissing their hands and even their feet.⁴⁴ He was fully conscious of his own humble origin. It may be that the general body of the Turks, imbued with feelings of racial superiority, pressed Iltutmish to do things which went against his own views and sentiment.

So long as Iltutmish was alive he maintained some sort of balance between the two wings of social groups—Turkish and non-Turkish. But after his death those two groups became warring factions. Non-Turkish people were not allowed to have ascendancy. For about thirty years the Turkish oligarchy enjoyed

virtually absolute power. They became vain, boastful and conceited. Individualism became rampant. "What are thou that I am not and what will thou be that I shall not be."⁴⁵ Racial jealousy became so acute that during the reign of Sultan Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shah, the Turkish body-guard of the Sultan killed men like Taj-ul-Mulk Mohammad, the *dabir* and *mushrif-i-mamlakat*, Karim-ud-din Zahid, Zia-ul-Mulk, Khwaja Rashid-ud-din Malkani, Amir Fakhr-ud-din and a number of Tajik officials.⁴⁶ An attempt to break the clique of the Turkish oligarchy was made under Raziah. It failed. But the movement against Turkish monopoly of power gained momentum and it reached its climax in the rise of Imad-ud-din Raihan. Raihan became *Wakil-i-dar*. Through some fresh appointment⁴⁷ an attempt was made to weaken the position of the Turkish oligarchy in the administration of the state. The historian, Minhaj, the spokesman of the ruling aristocracy, gives vent to his feelings and perhaps of those of his fellow-men, when he says Turks of pure lineage and Tajiks of noble birth could not tolerate Imad-ud-din of the tribe of Hind to rule over them.⁴⁸ Balban and his party led a counter-movement against Raihan and his men which culminated in armed action. Balban came out successful and he and his men were reinstated.

The restoration of Balban to the post of *naib* was a victory for the Turkish oligarchy. But they gradually lost their former glamour. Balban himself, a member of the Forty—an institution set up by Iltutmish, realised the pernicious influence exercised by its members and tried to emasculate if not eliminate or exterminate them altogether. He was determined to perpetuate his own dynastic rule. He could only destroy some thorny elements which in his estimation stood in the way of his cherished scheme. He got them killed, some by poison and some by the sword, either openly or by making them die of thirst, or by throwing them from heights or by drowning them in water or by burning them in fire.⁴⁹ Sher Khan, cousin of Balban and a most powerful member of his family, was poisoned to death by Balban's order. Balban was suspicious of Sher Khan, a great warrior and *muqta'i* of Bhatinda, Batnair, Sunnam and Suman. A distinguished and elderly member of the institution of Forty

he struck terror in the heart of Mongols. His name instilled fear in the hearts of Mongols. But afraid of Balban he left coming to Delhi after his accession. He died in a mysterious circumstance.⁵⁰ Kishlu Khan was another great, capable and distinguished member of the *Shamsi* oligarchy, who was put to death. Others were humiliated by being punished before the public. The motives here were different from that which led Balban to order the dismissal of a capable Indian born, newly converted Muslim, named Mahiyar, whom at first he wanted to exalt because of meritorious service rendered by him in restoring and remedying a certain financial disorder.⁵¹

Balban's death and the incapacity of his grandson provided an opportunity to Nizam-ul-Mulk, the ambitious *wazir* of the latter, to give another blow to the powerful Turkish oligarchy. Barani⁵² says that men like Malik Shahik, who was the *amir* of Multan, Malik Tuzaki, *ariz-i-mamlikat*, who was holding Baran as *iqta* were ruined. Nizam-ul-Mulk got the orders of the Sultan for the execution of the surviving notables. Many families and dependents were exterminated.⁵³ Khwaja Khatir was disgraced. This broke the backbone of the remnants of the old Turkish bureaucracy, and the two Balbani nobles 'Aitmar Kachchin and Aitmar Surkha were unable to prevent the accession of Sultan Jalal-ud-din,⁵⁴ the founder of the Khalji dynasty.

A new military class headed by the Khaljis came to power. Their coming into power is regarded as a revolution because it brought to an end the domination of the *Ilbari* Turkish aristocracy. Barani⁵⁵ says that notables, soldiers and *bazaris* were amazed and they wondered at the way the Khaljis seated themselves on the throne in place of the Turks and thus kingship passed from the Turkish race to another race. This statement raises doubt that the Khaljis were not of Turkish race. The Khaljis constituted an important section of the Muslim population and had long established social affinities with the notables of the society. By their long continued residence in the regions of Afghanistan, they had adopted the manners and customs of the people of the region and had become Afghanised, but they were Turks and eminently possessed the martial qualities

of the Turks. Jalal-ud-din Khalji's accession to the throne did not mean the physical annihilation of the Turkish nobility. They were not disturbed. He confirmed the old nobility in their posts. His attitude was one of humility because he had served the ruling *Ilbari* Turks for a pretty long time. Barani⁵⁶ says that the Sultan did not think it proper to sit on the throne while his old friends, who like himself had served under Balban, were standing before him. He took his seat among the nobles. We do not get any evidence of exclusiveness and snobbery in the rank of the new aristocracy during this period. The old nobility, which had terrorized and produced disturbances of racial character in all grades of social hierarchy, had lost power. They felt depressed and were compelled to establish their social affinities with the new emerging class of families. In fact the Khalji revolution has been justly regarded by some as a triumph of reaction against monopoly of power enjoyed by the *Ilbari* oligarchy and a vindication of the cause of the non-Turkish elements.

The study of the history of Ala-ud-din's time gives an impression of greater harmony and freer intercourse between the old and new nobility. The Khalji revolution marked the end of the racial domination of a particular class of Turkish race. Besides the Khalji stalwarts we find many new elements including the indigenous one to be emerging in importance. Malik Kafur and Ikhtyar-ud-din yal Afghan⁵⁷ and many others⁵⁸ began to shine at their best owing to the patronage of the Sultan. The governing class was not fussy about class divisions which is painfully evident in earlier times. From the time of the Khaljis down to that of the Lodis the governing class went on shedding the complex of racial superiority and class exclusiveness.

When we pass from the Khaljis to the Tughlaqs, the tendency that was already at work began to make itself felt fully. The new rulers who had been called *Qaraunah* Turks were men of mixed origin⁵⁹ and Indian blood was flowing in their veins. The founder⁶⁰ is said to have been the offspring of a Turkish father and an Indian *Jat* mother. The theory of low birth was no more tenable. Sultan Mohammad did not feel any scruple in appointing Indians to position of trust and responsibility.

Even men of low birth found favour with him.⁶¹ Najba, son of a singer, was appointed to a high position. He was made in charge of Gujrat, Multan and Badaon. In this way Ariz Himar and his brother, Firoz Hajjam, Manka, the cook, Masud Khummar, the vintner, Laddha, the gardener, and likewise many other gems of low-birth got high offices and *iqtas*. Shaikh Bahu, the son of a *Nayak* weaver (*Nayak Bachcha Jolaha*) was honoured by being allowed nearness to his person. Pera Mali, the gardener, was assigned *Diwan-i-wizarat*. He was made head of *maliks*, *amirs*, *walis* and *muqtais*. The territory of Awadh was assigned to Kishan Bazran Indri. The *wizarat* of Gujrat, which had hitherto been enjoyed by *khans* and *maliks*, was given to Muqbil.⁶² Ibn Batuta also refers to a Muslim governor of Ajmere as belonging to Sumara tribe⁶³ which is said to have been of Indian extraction. Another distinguished feature of his time was the appointment of foreigners to government offices. Ibn Batuta⁶⁴ says that the Sultan used to honour foreigners and to show his love for them by specially appointing them as governors, chamberlains, judges, and ministers. Many foreigners came as visitors to the emperor's court.⁶⁵ Ibn Batuta⁶⁶ writes about the *amirs* of Khorasan and foreigners who were helped in many ways by the Sultan.⁶⁷

As regards the nobility under Firoz we get the following names. Qiwam-ul-Mulk Khan Jahan Azam Humayun,⁶⁸ originally a Hindu of Telingana, was the *wazir*. He could not read or write but was a man of great common sense. Another man of note was Imad-ul-Mulk Shabbir Sultani,⁶⁹ a slave who enjoyed the confidence of Sultan Shah. He was appointed as a master of five thousand valiant troopers and wrestlers. By the order of Sultan prominent *Khans* and *maliks* entered his service. Then comes the name of Malik Mustaufi Iftikhar-ul-Mulk,⁷⁰ *naib* of Gujrat, who for years served the court. We also find some Afghans like Bir Afghan⁷¹, Malik Billi Afghan⁷² and Malik Khitab Afghan⁷³ as among the notables of the time of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq. We are told about some *amirs* whose fore-fathers were *amirs* of Tamun in direct descent from Chingiz Khan⁷⁴. One of the scions was Amir-i-Mahman. Another was Amir Ahmad Iqbal, a direct descendant of Amir-i-Tuman.

Under Firoz Shah slaves were patronized. They were raised to the status of *amirs* and *maliks*. According to Afif every slave of the king was a king and every one possessed elephants, troops and *chattr*⁷⁵. After the death of Sultan Firoz Shah they virtually constituted the governing aristocracy. We find two distinct racial groups—the slaves of Sultan Firoz Shah and the Lodi Afghans at the royal court. They were hostile to each other.

The accession of Sultan Bahlol Lodi marked a new phase in the evolution of Muslim aristocracy. Henceforth Lodis constituted the chief governing class of the Delhi Empire till the coming of the Mughals. Already before the coming of the Lodis the Afghans formed a constituent element of Muslim nobility.⁷⁶ But as a result of the ascendancy of the Lodis a large number of people from Pushtu speaking area came to India. They occupied high position of trust and responsibility.⁷⁷ The Syed dynasty appears to have been dependent upon their support and co-operation. According to Nimat-ul-lah⁷⁸ the Afghans formed many tribes. A few of them like *Lodis*, *Nuhans*, *Surs*, *Farmulis*, *Sarwanis*, *Niyazi*, *Kakars*, *Karranis*, *Dilzak* and others rose to political importance. When Bahlol Lodi found himself exposed to the jealousy of non-Afghan elements, he sought the support of his Afghan kinsmen of Roh⁷⁹. An invitation was sent to them.⁸⁰ They responded and, to quote Abbas Khan, they swarmed like locusts and ants.⁸¹ They were deemed to be more reliable than unconnected fellow countrymen. Jagirs were conferred on them. They held important posts. But non-Afghans were also relied upon. Most of them enjoyed equal status and position with Afghans. Syed Shams-ud-din was a reliable non-Afghan noble of Bahlol.⁸² Ahmad Mewati⁸³ who was an Indian, Ali Khan Turk Bacha⁸⁴, Ahmad Khan Shami,⁸⁵ and others were the leading non-Afghan nobles of the time of Bahlol Lodi. There was no racial bar for non-Afghans to hold important posts, but the majority of the *Jagirs* and important positions were held by the Afghans. For all practical purposes they constituted the ruling aristocracy. Sher Shah conferred *Jagirs* on fellow Afghans in Sirhind,⁸⁶ Malwa,⁸⁷ Rohtas.⁸⁸

Shujaat⁸⁹ held Malwa in *Jagir*. In the Punjab and Multan, the Niyazi Afghans enjoyed big *Jagirs*.⁹⁰

Besides the official governing class we have to consider an important section of the Muslim population consisting of the sons and relatives of the rulers. They formed a special and privileged class of the aristocracy. The Sultan was the lofty and glittering head of the State, the embodiment of the might and majesty of the nation. Sons, brothers and other relatives of the king stood at the top of the social hierarchy. They constituted a very small section of the gentry enjoying great personal prestige and invidious privileges. It is not necessary to catalogue the names of all the princely recipients of honours and titles, posts, sinecures, landed assignments and special privileges like canopies, kettle-drums etc. A few typical cases of those who received favour and responsible position mostly on merit and also because of their royal birth and connection may be illustrated here. Malik Nasir-ud-din Mahmud was the son of Iltutmish. The first *Iqta* that was given to him was Hansi⁹¹. He was sent to Lahore and then to Lakhnauti.⁹² Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shah obtained the *Iqta* of Badaun, and a green canopy of state. After some time the territory of Lahore was entrusted to him⁹³. Malik Ghiyas-ud-din Mohammad, son of Sultan Shams-ud-din, younger in years than Rukn-ud-din, was in charge of Awadh.⁹⁴ Balban appointed Bughra Khan, one of his sons, to the province of Lakhnauti and allowed him the use of *chatr* (parasol) and *durbash* (baton) which were among the emblems of sovereignty⁹⁵. His eldest son and heir apparent, Mohammad, was in charge of Multan, Lahore and Dipalpur. He used to send presents every year to the Sultan.⁹⁶ Sultan Jalal-ud-din conferred the title of *Khan-i-khanan* on his eldest son⁹⁷. His second and third sons were given the title of *Arkali Khan* and *Qadr Khan*. And to each of them was assigned a *pargana* for his maintenance.⁹⁸ His brother got the title of *Yogresh Khan* and the post of *ariz-i-mamalik*⁹⁹. Almas Beg was raised to the dignity of *Amir-i-Hajib-i-Barbak* by Ala-ud-din. He received the designation of *Ulugh Khan*.¹⁰⁰ After the accession of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq, Malik Fakhr-ud-din, his eldest son, was declared heir-apparent, and was awarded the

royal canopy together with the title of Ulugh Khan.³⁰¹ To his other sons, he gave the title of *Bazran Khan*, *Zafar Khan*, *Nusrat Khan* and *Mahmud Khan*³⁰². Malik Baha-ud-din,³⁰³ cousin brother of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq was made *Ariz-i-Mamalik*, and was given the *Iqta* of Samana and the title of Ghurshasp. Mohammad Tughlaq appointed his cousin Malik Firoz as *Naib-i-Barbak*.³⁰⁴ Sons and brothers of Firoz are mentioned as favoured courtiers. Prince Shadi Khan was entrusted with the office of *Wakil-i-dar*. Other princes were also given the title of *khan*³⁰⁵. Firoz's brothers became the recipients of honours and posts.³⁰⁶ This practice was followed by the Afghan Sultans also³⁰⁷.

The aristocracy was given military rank, which determined their social status. Military rank was graded into *sarkhail*, *sipahsalar*, *amir*, *malik* and *khan*. We can get an idea about the organisation from a part of the instruction that Balban gave to his son, Bughra Khan, and which has been recorded by Barani. "A *sarkhail* commanded ten chosen horsemen, a *sipahsalar*, a ten *sarkhails*; an *amir* ten *sipahsalar*s; a *malik* ten *amirs*, a *khan*, ten *maliks*."³⁰⁸ Thus the governing aristocracy was graded in order of precedence into *sarkhail*, *sipahsalar*, *amir*, *malik* and *khan*. But the connotation and functions of persons holding these ranks were not always the same as described by Balban.

The rise of individuals to high ranks and power was a gradual one. Every slave before he was admitted into the fraternity of the military aristocracy rose from the lowest rank. To give only a few examples, Taj-ud-din Sanjar was a purchased slave. The first office that he held was *Chashni-gir*. Then he became *Amir-i-akhur*, and then the holder of *Iqta* of Kohram.³⁰⁹ Malik Saif-ud-din-i-bak-i-bak-Yughantat was purchased by Iltutmish, and was employed *Amir-i-majlis*, and he was given the *Iqta* of Sarusti.³¹⁰ Malik Izz-ud-din Tughril-i-Tughan was purchased by Iltutmish. He was made *Saqi-i-Khas* (personal cup-bearer). After some time he was made *dawat-i-dar*. Then he became *Chashni-gir* and from *Chashni-gir* to *Amir-i-akhur*. Then he became the *muqtai* of Badaun and *muqtai* of Lakhnauti, where

the insignia of royalty was conferred on him.²¹¹ Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetgin was purchased by Iltutmish. He was made Sar-i-jandar, then the iqta of Mansurpur was conferred on him.²¹² Patronage of kings and personal merit were the chief factors in one's rise to power and position. All of them were the instruments of royal creation. They were men of merit and talent. A talented person in favourable circumstances could rise to the highest ladder. Baha-ud-din was first of all employed as personal attendant, later became master of sports, and afterwards rose to be master of the stable. Next he became *muqtai* of Hansi. Again we find him as chamberlain and then the first *naib* (deputy) and finally he became the king.²¹³ Ghiyas-ud-din Mohammad Tughlaq began his service under Ulugh Khan, the governor of Sindh, who enlisted him in the infantry. His talents came to be known and he was enrolled in the cavalry. Then he became one of the junior officers (*Umara-us-Sighar*) and then master of the horses (*Amir-i-Khail*). Afterwards he rose to be one of the great *amirs* (*Umara-ul-Kibar*) and was named as *Malik-ul-Ghazi*.²¹⁴ A noble was eligible for the throne if he was influential enough to command respect and submission of others. The most important consideration was efficiency, capacity for and power of organising a group of personal retainers pledged to support and stand all the vicissitudes. This finds illustration in the various dynastic changes of the period.

The governing aristocracy who made history by their deeds of valour and other virtues had their own individual traits of character. Many of them were frugal while others were spendthrift and luxurious. Some of them were famous for liberality and generosity, and many people specially the needy and indigent persons enjoyed the benefits of their even-handed charity. Of course there was an element of show and display and a sense of competition in their philanthropy. Very few of them were highly educated and accomplished, yet they realised the value of culture and education, and extended their magnanimous patronage to men of piety and learning. It is worthwhile to illustrate the above by citing some such cases.

Imad-ul-Mulk, the *Rawat-i-Arz* of Balban, was famous for his hospitality. He lavishly entertained guests. He often invited his subordinates to his house and gave robes to every one of them. He set apart certain villages, the income derived from which was given to needy persons and spent in meeting the expenses of feeding persons and recitors of the *Quran*.¹¹⁵

Malik-ul-Umara Fakhr-ud-din was equally reputed for charity. He gave stipends and scholarships to twelve thousand persons who recited the *Quran*. He was fastidious about clothes. He changed his clothes and bedding every day. These were collected and given as dowry to orphan girls in their marriage. Copyists of the *Quran* were lavishly rewarded.¹¹⁶

Malik Ameer Ali was called *Hatim* for his generosity. Amir Khusrau was in his service. Malik Amir Ali never gave less than a hundred *tankas* in charity. When he gave horses and robes to any one, he also gave a bag of silver. The roaming beggars of the street got pieces of silver. He never gave a *jital*, which was a copper coin as charity.

Barani says that there was a sense of competition among the *khans* and *maliks* concerning acts of liberality and generosity. Whenever one *khan* or *malik* heard that another *khan* or *malik* had fed five hundred persons, the former felt ashamed and he tried to feed a thousand persons. If he learnt that a certain *khan* at the time of riding (which probably means embarking on a journey or expedition) gave two hundred *tankas* in charity, he felt ashamed and tried to give four hundred *tankas* in charity. If a particular *khan* in his wine party gave fifty horses and garments to two hundred persons, another grew jealous and gave charity to five hundred persons.¹¹⁸

Generally speaking the motivating force was not philanthropy but the element of show and competition according to the fashion of the time. This sort of spendthrift life involved considerable waste of money. They ran into debts.¹¹⁹ Barani would have us believe that they were hollow within and showy without. But there were exceptions. Some by their very nature were generous and were not guided by sordid and mundane motives. Sometimes a noble out of his generosity could give

even his village. Ibn Batuta records his personal experience. Malik Sharif Jalal-ud-din offered him his village to use its revenue for sometime.¹²⁰ Asad Khan was one of the prominent nobles of the time of Sikandar Lodi. He had an exalted notion of generosity. Whenever the dining cloth was spread before him at meal time he first filled in large china plates with food on which he put great quantities of bread and other eatables, and on them a gold *mohar*, all of which he gave to beggars, then he began to eat. If the author is to be believed he gave 1,00,000 *tankas* for the marriage of the daughter of Shaikh Mohammad Farmuli.¹²¹ Badaoni records the generosity of Abdullah Niyazi. He was very particular about his sick neighbours and did his best to cure them of their ailments. He went so far as to give up his '*madad-i-maash*' land for that purpose. He gave all his wealth and even books to the poor and deserving persons.¹²² Another case of genuine liberality noticed by almost all contemporary writers is that of Khwas Khan, the greatest general of Sher Shah. He used to give maintenance allowance to the widows. Once there was no corn, Khwas Khan after weighing dry fruits distributed it to indigent persons. Once he spent a few *man* of sugarcandy for *sharbat* and *halwa*. He roamed about the streets to find out the condition of the poor and indigent ones and distributed *halwa* and sweet rice among the sleepy frustrated men of the street. They would find silver *tankas* inside the sweet rice placed before them.¹²³ The Afghan historians have given many instances of lavish liberality of the Afghan nobles.¹²⁴

There are other aspects of the life led by the Turko-Afghan nobles which need a passing notice. They were great lovers of pomp, power and magnificence. They loved to imitate the ways of the kings and sometimes they assumed airs and emblems of royalty. We are told that they had their own army, trumpet and flag. Some of them had their own insignias. They were allowed to carry their own banners and caused the drum to be beaten at the time of marching.¹²⁵ Ibn Batuta's account of his journey through river Indus in a boat with Ala-ul-Mulk is interesting. One of the five boats had a raised dais for the *wali*

round whom was his retinue, some sitting and some standing. The other boats were occupied by singers, buglers and trumpeters. Drums were beaten, trumpets blown and minstrels sang. During the night the sentries mounted guard by turn. The sentries changed their duty at fixed hours. One of the sentries called out in a loud voice, "Your Excellency! so many hours of the night have passed." When the *Amir* continued the journey by land, the chamberlains walked in front, followed by the foot soldiers who immediately preceded the *Amir*. In front of the chamberlain were six horsemen carrying trumpets and flutes round their necks.¹²⁶ There is another interesting case of a noble who posed himself as a personification of lord and master, Sultan Firoz Shah, which has been recorded by Afif. We are told that when Malik Naib Barbak came to the court elephants marched in front of him. The Sultan had given him six elephants.¹²⁷

Sadat :

Besides the official aristocracy, civil or military, created by the Sultan's will, and dependent on his favour, there was a much wider class of *sadat*, *ulamas* and litterateurs who may be said to have formed a class of privileged people, with indefinite but powerful claims to social rank and exercising a corresponding influence. They played an important role in the social and cultural sphere and not unoften they exercised considerable influence on those who were at the helm of affairs.

Sadat, descendants of the Prophet Mohammad through his daughter, Fatimah, constituted a venerated section of the Muslim society. A large number of venerable Syeds came to the capital during the time of Iltutmish.¹²⁸ It is difficult to assess the numerical strength of the Syeds and non-Syeds, but a considerable number of *Sadat* settled in different parts of the country.¹²⁹

Enmity with the family of prophet is unlawful and one should not abuse the *Sadat*.¹³⁰ Sultan Iltutmish instructed his son to consider it as a rule and basis of the Islamic faith to honour and revere the descendants of the Prophet.¹³¹ That great reverence was shown to the *Sadat* is evident from the statement of Barani when he says that he had the good fortune of meeting Syed

Taj-ud-din and Syed Rukn-ud-din and performed the rites of kissing their feet.¹³² Barani speaks very highly about *Sadat* in general, and those of Kaithal in particular. Sultan Balban was very particular in attending the funerals of Syeds.¹³³ From the very beginning the sentiment of respect for the *Sadat* was strong in India. Ibn Batuta called Syed as *shurafa*¹³⁴ and he says that Indians addressed the Arabs as Syeds.¹³⁵ When a Syed came to the great saint of Bihar, Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, on the 10th of *Moharram*, the latter said that it was his duty to go to the former's house to offer his condolence on the martyrdom of his great ancestor, Imam Husain.¹³⁶ Timur had great veneration for *Sadat*. During the siege of Bhatnir a Syed was sent by the Rai of the place to plead for him. Timur observes that when the Syed came to him and represented the forlorn and miserable state of Rai Dal Chain, his respect for the gray-beard of the intercessor and the reverence which he had for Syeds in general led him to give the command to his soldiers to stop fighting.¹³⁷ Timur gave special protection to the *Sadat* of India. After the suppression of Jats, a party of *Sadat* came to Timur, who were received graciously. He gave valuable robes, and appointed an officer to go to their abode and protect them from his soldiers.¹³⁸ Timur exempted the *Sadat* from the ransom money.¹³⁹ When ordering the general massacre of the prisoners Timur permitted the Syeds to be taken out and spared. When Delhi was sacked the houses of Syeds were spared.¹⁴⁰

Hazrat Hisam-ud-din, the fifteenth century Chishti *Sufi* saint of Manikpur, would not permit his disciple, Syed Hamid Raja, to do any service to him for he was a Syed. Syed Hamid Raja felt that he was being denied the good fortune of serving his *murshid* (spiritual guide). One night the great Manikpuri saint, while coming down from the roof of his house, had to pass through a staircase in one of whose niches (*Taqcha*) Syed Hamid had put his head and some portions of his body. He hoped that his *Pir* would put his leg on his body and head, but his *Pir* immediately jumped over and found out the whole game. Hazrat Hisam felt hesitation in giving to his disciple his shirt (*Qamis*) for while putting it on his body, a descendant of the

Prophet as he was, he would have to raise the shirt above his head. He decided to invest him with the *Sarawil* (a kind of trouser), for while using it his Syed disciple would have to bring it down to his own feet. But the *murshid* was as much anxious to humiliate himself before his *Pir* as the latter was anxious to honour the former for being a Syed. Syed Hamid instead of folding it round his legs put the *Sarawil* on his head as a *turban*.¹⁴¹ The author of *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* tells us about a Syed of Koel who was alleged to have misappropriated the state revenue. The case was brought before Sikandar Lodi, who discharged the alleged culprit and even permitted him to keep the gain.¹⁴² This must be treated as an exceptional and extraordinary case.

The Syeds enjoyed the esteem and respect of the people not only because of their claim of their descent from the Prophet but also because they were taken to be truthful, pious and God-fearing. Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri observed that a Syed should be polite. He should not be harsh and impolite towards any one. He should not have any vanity.¹⁴³ There were, however, many Syeds who had forfeited the esteem of the fellow Muslims and were looked down upon as fomenters of mischiefs. Once the topic of discussion was reverence and respect for the *Sadat* at one of the *majlis* of a Bihari saint. The saint (Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri) observed that some people of Hindustan did not have much respect for the *Sadat*. It was because some of them had become fomenters of disturbances and indulged in such activities that people did not have feeling of reverence and respect for them.¹⁴⁴

The *Sadat* maintained their livelihood by following varied types of professions. Normally they took the profession of teaching and manned the judicial services.¹⁴⁵ The economic position of the Syeds as gleaned from the literature of the period cannot be stated to be satisfactory. Afif¹⁴⁶ says that owing to the generosity of Firoz the *Sadat* married their daughters in young age. They received stipends and scholarships throughout the period. Their economic position fluctuated depending upon the generosity of Sultans and *amirs*.

Ulamas :

In a survey of Muslim society a prominent place is to be accorded to the *ulamas*. This is not merely because our chief authorities are ecclesiastical, but also because this class was the most potent force in controlling and remoulding the society of the time. They occupied a commanding place both in secular and religious affairs. The status enjoyed by the *ulamas* in Muslim society can be gleaned from the tradition of the Prophet as recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mobarak Shah*. The passage reads thus : "The *Ulamas* are the heirs of the Prophet. On the Day of Resurrection the ink used by the scholars will out-weigh and turn the scale. The world exists on account of the piety of the learned. The laws of *shariat* are enforced by them, and things illegal and not sanctioned by the *shariat* are suppressed by them. The religion of God stands firm due to them. The best kings and the best nobles are those who visit the doors of the *ulamas* and the worst *ulamas* are those who visit the doors of the kings and the nobles. The *ulamas* are much superior in dignity and status to others. After them rank the kings."¹⁴⁷

It is natural if the people expected *ulamas* to be chaste, truthful, serene, afraid of moral turpitude, scrupulously observing the *shariat* and *sunnah* and free from all worldly greed. "They believed, when an illiterate man dies his sins also die with him, but when an *alim* dies his sins outlive him."¹⁴⁸

The *ulamas* have been classified by the literature of our period into two categories¹⁴⁹—*Ulama-i-Akhirat* and *Ulama-i-Dunya*, not according to the standard of knowledge, but their approach to mundane affairs and the maintenance of the high standards of conduct. The *Ulama-i-Akhirat* kept themselves aloof from worldly greed. They put aside their own desires to render themselves agreeable to all. They were respected. The *Ulama-i-Dunya* held the world dear. They were experts in explaining away their irresponsible statements and actions. A worldly-minded *alim* felt no scruple in finding excuses for the

Sultan not observing the fast of *Ramazan*.¹⁵⁰ Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrezi once observed that 'the one great ambition of such *ulamas* was to become *mutawallis* or teachers or *Qazis* and *Sadr-i-Jahan*. Their highest ambition of life was to become *Sadr-i-Jahan*.¹⁵¹ Generally the offices of *Sadr-i-Jahan*,¹⁵² *Shaikh-ul-Islam*,¹⁵³ *Qazi* and *Mufti*¹⁵⁴ were filled in by the *ulamas*. They acquired knowledge for the worldly gains.¹⁵⁵ Qazi Fakhr-ud-din Nafla sought the blessings of Sh. Ain-ud-din Qassab, a saintly butcher, to become a *qazi*.¹⁵⁶ Some of the incumbents were intolerent and conceited. Shaikh-ul-Islam Najm-ud-din Soghra¹⁵⁷ was a conceited person. He resorted to all sorts of vile methods to remove all those who would attract royal attention and become popular in the public eye. He brought a charge of adultery against Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrezi, a great *mashaikh* of his time.//The great Bihari saint, Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri wrote and spoke openly and bitterly against the worldly *ulamas*, who were robbers, highway men and danced at the threshold of the kings and agents of the Satan. They failed to live up to the high ideals.¹⁵⁸ Amir Khusrau¹⁵⁹ depicts the worldly *ulamas* as sycophants who surrounded the Sultan and Maliks, and gave their opinion on the *shariat*. They wore turbans in order to demonstrate the acquisition of knowledge. The turbans gave passport to get robes like *nasij* (garment of fine texture) and *khaz* (course kind of silk cloth) from the treasury. They were engrossed in their work and got the recognition of their knowledge from the court by giving a false display of their learning.

There are numerous instances of intolerance as well as rigidity of the *ulamas*. Ahmad Bihari and Shaikh Aaz Kakvi, the two Bihari saints fell a victim to the wrath of the *mullahs* at Delhi. Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, the spiritual guide of those saints expressed his disgust at their unjust execution.¹⁶⁰ Shaikh Jamali tells us about the unjust execution of a Hindu *Darogha* named Nawahun, a favourite of Firoz Shah, and described as *Muqarrari Farsinavis* (Permanent writer of Persian) on the *fatwa* of the *ulama* secured by a fanatical *sufi*

of Uchch, Syed Sadr-ud-din.¹⁰¹ Another glaring case of victimization on the charge of uttering *shatahat* (meretricious utterance) on the strength of *fatwa* of the *ulama* is that of an eminent poet and mystic writer, Masud Bak. His body was torn into pieces and thrown into a river by fanatics.¹⁰²

It is pleasing to learn that in the midst of this intolerant atmosphere there was no lack of learned *ulamas* who could take a more reasonable and rational view of things. Shaikh Mohammad, son of Qazi Abdul Muqtadir, was asked by Firoz Shah to state his views regarding the charge of apostasy against his favourite servant Nawahun, and he not only gave a correct opinion in refutation of the charge, but tried to save the unfortunate Hindu.¹⁰³

In this connection it is worthwhile to dilate upon the outlook of the *ulamas* belonging to a group of loyalists as we glean from the questions and answers recorded in *Fatawa-i-Firoz Shahi*, an encyclopaedia of civil and ecclesiastical law. The controversial question concerning the rights of the people to rise in revolt and fight against a bad and oppressive government is beautifully revealed in the following questions and answers.¹⁰⁴

Q. 1. If a class of Muslims threw off the yoke of the ruler, and established themselves in a city, and when asked about this revolt, said that the ruler had committed oppression on them and other creatures, does the *shara* require the ruler to abstain from oppression and do justice? A. It behoves the king to do that.

Q. 2. When the people do not support the rebels, for it is not conformable to *shara* to rise against a ruler, and it behoves the people to support the king, would it not be countenancing oppression in doing so? A. No.

Q. 3. If the people, who, have risen against the king, justify their actions not because of his oppressive actions but because they consider themselves to be on the right side and are possessed of power and dignity, and claim the kingdom and territories, would the *shara* treat them as rebels or not? A. It would treat them so.

Q. 4. When such people, in these circumstances, become rebels, but have power and dignity, is it conformable to *shara* for the king to wage war against them, and is it incumbent on the people to

support the king and kill the rebels so that their mischiefs are ended? A. Yes, it should be so. Q. 5. When these people are declared rebels and they are killed, is it conformable to *shara* that they be bathed and buried and prayers offered to their souls? A. No. These extracts give us an insight into the attitude of the royalist *ulamas* who would not permit any armed revolt against an established government, however, oppressive it might be.

At times the influence of the *ulamas* was on the wane due to the policy and attitude of the reigning sovereign. This happened in the time of Ala-ud-din and Mohammad Tughlaq. But during the reign of Balban, Firoz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi, as also during the short reign of Sher Shah, the *ulamas* wielded a tremendous influence and their voice was felt in matters, political as well as religious.¹⁶⁶ It was the intrinsic virtue of the individual *ulama* that gave them an effectual reverence and a distinct place in the Muslim society. Whatever might be said against those hypocritical, conceited and selfish *ulamas*, cases are not rare of fearless *ulamas* who gave their independent views and their interpretation of the real spirit of Islam without any consideration of the consequences that might follow therefrom. Shihab-ud-din¹⁶⁶ called *Haq-go* (truthful) resented Mohammad Tughlaq's disclosure of his misgivings about the Prophet of Islam and questioned the justification of his self-assumed title of *Adil*. Mohammad Tughlaq caused him to be thrown down from the balcony and he ceased to exist. Hazrat Muzaffar Shams Balkhi of Bihar used to address Ghiyas-ud-din Azam Shah of Bengal as "My prosperous son"¹⁶⁷. Sikandar Lodi threatened to destroy a temple and a tank of Kurukshetra where the Hindus used to go for a holy dip. *Ulamas* were consulted over this matter. Mian Abdullah of Ajodhyan supported the cause of the Hindus as it was against the spirit of Islam to interfere with their ancient right. Mian Abdullah was threatened with death penalty for his view. At last the Sultan had to bow down before his *fatwa*.¹⁶⁸

To sum up, the class of *ulamas* consisted of men both of liberal and narrow views, of spiritual and mundane

outlook. Learned men true to the spirit of Islam and fearless enough to risk their lives in speaking the truth were not rare.

Awwam-i-khalq :

Between the governing nobility and the slave engaged in domestic service was the mass of the people (*awwam-i-khalq*). The most prosperous were the three groups of Hindu merchants : (a) the bankers (*Sarrafs* and *Sahus*), (b) the transport merchants (*Tujjars*), (c) and wholesale merchants.

With regard to bankers and money-changers, Barani¹⁶⁹ tells us that the Multanis and *Sahus* of Delhi provided loans on interest to the extravagant and luxurious nobles of the time. As a result of their money-lending business they became rich. They used to get reward and presents from the nobility. The creditor and money-lenders frequented the houses of the debtor nobles.¹⁷⁰ They also used to advance loans to foreigners who came to India in order to purchase articles of presents for the Sultan. Ibn Batuta¹⁷¹ says that the merchants of Sindh and Hind advanced a loan of thousand *dinars* to every new-comer intending to visit the Sultan. They provided him with all that he needed for the purpose of offering presents to the king and to facilitate the purchase of animals and goods for personal use. They not only rendered monetary help but personal services to such persons. Their debt was paid with the gift that the Sultan gave them. Thus they made enormous profit. The money-lenders sometimes relieved even the Sultan of their financial worry.¹⁷²

The borrower was to execute a document and the creditor was expected to keep the document.¹⁷³ Even the *Sufi* saints and religious divines were at times compelled to accept things on loan from the Hindu grocers. We learn that Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya was once indebted for twenty *jitals*. Since he could not pay even this small amount at one time, payment by instalments was agreed upon by the party.¹⁷⁴ Some of the *Sufi* saints discouraged borrowing. Once Baba Farid said that a *darvesh* should prefer dying of starvation to incurring debt for the satisfaction of the baser desires.¹⁷⁵ But the needs of the wayfarers and travellers, indigent people and inmates of the hospices

had to be attended to, and the saintly personages had no fixed income and had to depend upon *nazoor* and *futuh* (presents and gifts). We are told that a certain Hindu grocer who ran his shop just in the vicinity of *Khanqah* of the renowned *Firdausi* saint, Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri of Bihar, used to supply grains on credit. He did not press for immediate payment. When the amount swelled to one thousand *tankas* the whole of it was paid off from the income of *futuh* (income received gratuitously).¹⁷⁶ Despite copious references to lending and borrowing of money the rate of interest has not yet been known from contemporary works.

The Multanis had specialised in business. Barani¹⁷⁷ tells us that after the death of Sultan Ala-ud-din Multani sold articles at profitable rates. Under favourable circumstances the merchants and shop-keepers became prosperous. We glean something about the economic position of the merchants under Firoz Shah from Barani.¹⁷⁸ According to Barani they became the rulers of the market. They bought as they liked and sold as they liked, and thus as a result of absence of competition the property of the shop-keepers, merchants and bankers reached lacs and crores.

We hear of merchants, some dealing in horses, some in slaves and some in clothes.¹⁷⁹ We are told that some articles like wheat, gram, sugarcandy were carried from Delhi to those places where these were not available.¹⁸⁰ The merchants went to far off places and stayed there for two or three years¹⁸¹ Amir Khurd¹⁸² says that *til* was carried from Nagpur to Multan, and cotton from Multan to Nagpur.

The merchants also accompanied the royal army. Before they could accompany the army, they had to take permission of the chief of the town. In order to get their consent they made offer of presents.¹⁸³ There were also some restrictions on the movement of articles. The merchants had to pay a number of taxes like *mandi barg* (a tax on leaves), *gulfaroshi* (sales tax on flowers), *garibahr-i-tambol* (sales tax on betel leaves), *chung-i-gallah* (octroi on grain), *nilgari* (a tax on indigo), *mahi farushi* (sales tax on fish), *nadafi* (tax on cotton carders),

sabungari (a tax on soap-making), *risman faroshi* (sales tax on ropes), *raughangari* (tax on oil-making), *nakhud-i-biryani* (tax on parched gram).¹⁸⁴ There was *jazari*.¹⁸⁵ Sometimes the attitude of the officials was not encouraging. Merchants brought grain, salt, sugar and other goods laden upon beasts of burden into the city. The men of the *Diwani* seized those animals by force and sent them to old Delhi. It caused great inconvenience to the merchants and thus they left coming. The merchants had to pay the *dang*.¹⁸⁶ Ibn Batuta tells us that it was the custom at Multan that one-fourth of the commodities brought by the merchants was appropriated by the state and on every horse was levied a tax of seven *dinars*. Later on these taxes were remitted.¹⁸⁷ Yet in spite of all these obstacles and dangers, there was more active trade than the conditions of the country that might lead us to expect. We hear from Vidyapati of markets and business houses.¹⁸⁸ The merchants sold camphor, saffron, scents, black cotton, collyrium and clothes on good profit.¹⁸⁹

In *Munis-ul-Qulub* we get an anecdote about a certain Muslim merchant who became bankrupt, and whose strained circumstances compelled him to take 50 thousand *tankas* from a Hindu grocer by telling a lie and adducing a false witness. Being by nature honest, he was determined from the very beginning to share the profits arising from the investment of this money advanced by the grocer. In his heart he treated that transaction as a *mozarbat* (partnership of stock on the one hand and labour and management on the other. No interest was charged. Risk and profits were shared by the parties). The grocer had provided the money, treating it as a charitable gift from him. When the merchant came after some time to return the amount with the profits, the grocer refused to take back what he had given in charity. But the Muslim merchant would not accept charity at his hands. The *Qazi*, to whom the case was referred, appreciated their honesty and his suggestion for building a mosque out of the money in question was carried out.¹⁹⁰

References are also made to regraters. They belonged to the rich community. We are told how the regraters in the

course of their business took from the poor whatever source of livelihood they had, and under the pretence of sale they used to take everything from them to their own homes.¹⁹¹

Below the merchant came the artisans, the wage-earners, land-less workers and petty business men like *Khabbaz* (bakers), *Halwai* (confectioners), *Qassab* (butchers). We have no means of defining their numerical strength. Amir Khusrau has mentioned *zarger* (gold-smith and jewellers), *ahangar* (blacksmith), *darzi* (tailor), *kafshdoz* (shoe-makers), *kulah-doz* (cap-makers), *moza-doz* (makers of stockings), *kamanger* (bow maker), *kuzagar* (potter), *rismantab* (carder).¹⁹² According to Al-Qalqas-handi master craftsmen prepared swords, bows and other weapons.¹⁹³

Speaking about the cap-makers he says that some of the caps were so light that they could be blown off by the fragrant breeze, and some were so heavy or bad that they were thrown on the earth by the cap-wearers.¹⁹⁴ Some cobblers made soft and fine boots, but some made such boots that their soles made the feet swollen.¹⁹⁵ The weavers turned out fine fabric.¹⁹⁶

Amir Khusrau condemns goldsmiths who took out a portion of the gold by heating it and using borax.¹⁹⁷ They were masters of manipulation.¹⁹⁸ Yet their fine workmanship earned praise.¹⁹⁹

Another important member of the artisan community was the blacksmith. They manufactured various implements. Amir Khusrau makes special mention of the fine flexible swords. He refers to a certain blacksmith who made the sword as thin as the leaf of a willow and shook even when there was no breeze.²⁰⁰ Speaking about the needle-worker, he says that the needle worker had borne so much pain in attaining such perfection in his profession that by his thorn-like iron needle, he made golden flowers to blossom.²⁰¹

Besides the individual artisans there were those who were employed in the emperor's *Karkhana*. Shihab-ud-din, the author of *Masalik-ul-Absar*, tells us that Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq employed 500 manufacturers of golden tissue, who wove the gold brocade.²⁰² We are told about the existence of an

embroidery house of the Sultan in Delhi in which four thousand workers in silk prepared different kinds of embroidered royal robes and other clothes.³⁰³

Amir Khusrau in his letter to his son makes mention of many professional people such as butcher, cooks, snake-charmers and milkmen etc. in addition to those referred to above. His observation on the dignity of labour and the lawful and unlawful professions of the different kinds of artisans are well worth one's notice. He tells us that the professional artisans earned their livelihood by lawful means.³⁰⁴

The fact that India had a large number of skilled artisans who could compare favourably with similar people elsewhere is quite evident from a reference found in *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*.³⁰⁵ Thus we can presume that those skilled artisans whose lives were spared, were taken by the conqueror to his own country in order to impart knowledge and skill to the people of Central Asia.

Slaves :

The slave was at the bottom of the social ladder, but he could rise to the top. In fact he could be anywhere. With the mass of the *chandalas-payaks* in the country, slavery could only be an artificial institution. In ancient Greece and Rome, the slave had no right to life even. In India slave's right to life and livelihood were guaranteed. Slavery came to an end when the master was unable to feed his slave. The position of a slave was better than that of a *chandala*. Slavery as an institution was so well-established that Barani records the advantages and disadvantages of retaining slaves in *Fatawa-i-Jehandari*. He observes : "Owing to a large number of slaves the king looked powerful and dignified.....In order to maintain their peculiar distinction and to establish their superiority in courage and loyalty over the king's ordinary servants, the slaves enter into battles and fort-sieges before the rest of the army; and they strive with their hearts and souls for the success of every enterprise.....the pride and arrogance of the army-officers decreases at the sight of their organisation. When the slaves are numerous, no community or groups for fear of them can

think of over-powering the government." At the same time they could be dangerous for the state. "Most of the slaves are reckless and shamelessthere can be no permanent security against their revolt."²⁰⁶

Among the Hindus one notices a difference between an ordinary servant, a hired labourer, a wage-earner and a slave. The former got wages or allowances or something for his maintenance and were called upon to do neat and clean work and the slaves were treated as chattels, and they had to do all kinds of duties, clean or unclean.²⁰⁷ But in Muslim society, perhaps, this distinction did not exist, although one comes across the words *khadim* and *gholam*. The people in affluent circumstances kept servants and slaves, but the two were hardly distinguishable from each other. Amir Khusrau tells us of *jarias* and *khitmatis*, who swept the houses and grinded the corn.²⁰⁸

According to Hindu smritis slaves are of fifteen kinds. (1) Born in the master's house. (2) Bought. (3) Received in gift. (4) Hereditary. (5) Maintained during famine. (6) Received in mortgage from the master. (7) Enslaved by being freed from a heavy debt. (8) Captured in battle. (9) Won through a wager. (10) One who has surrendered himself saying, "I am thine". (11) An Apostate from Renunciation. (12) Enslaved through connection with a slave-girl. (13) One who has sold himself. (14) Enslaved for food, and (15) Enslaved for a stipulated period.²⁰⁹

We are told by Afif that under Sultan Firoz the employment of slaves reached its high-water mark. Firoz Shah ordered all the *muqtas* to collect slaves wherever they could be found and send the best to the royal court. In this way their numbers increased so much that it was beyond description.²¹⁰

The presence of the enormous numbers of slaves in the fold of Muslim society may be attributed to a number of causes. War was an important factor. Hasan Nizami gives an exaggerated figure when he says that after the victory of Kalinjar fifty thousand men were made to wear the yoke and chains of slavery.²¹¹ Slaves were also imported from countries

like Africa and Western Asia.²¹² Other factors like brigandry and kidnapping cannot be ruled out. Barbosa refers to the purchase of boys from their parents or from those who stole them.²¹³ We are told at a slightly later period that villages were raided and their inhabitants were carried away as slaves. Akbar issued orders prohibiting soldiers from taking part in such raids.²¹⁴

Though positive instances are lacking in the contemporary narratives with regard to the voluntary sale of children by their famine-stricken parents, yet its possibility cannot be ruled out. The people sold their children for provisions.²¹⁵ At a later period we are told that parents sold their children so that they might live.²¹⁶ On the basis of some allusions relating to the poverty of the people and afflictions of unemployed persons given by Afif, we may assume that some offered themselves to be sold as slaves of nobles and upper classes.²¹⁷

The *Dharmashastras* clearly refer to the option of slavery on account of poverty. The lawgivers like Manu and Narada refer to such persons who became temporarily slaves to their creditor (Dhanika) in order to wipe off the debts.²¹⁸ According to ancient Indian tradition a Brahman was not to be reduced to the status of a slave. However, Sultan Mahmud, says Dr. B. P. Mazumdar, in carrying thousands of persons as slaves to Ghazni, did not certainly make any distinction between a Brahman and a Sudra.²¹⁹ Though the evidence suggesting the conversion of Hindus into the status of slavery, irrespective of *Brahman* and *Sudra* is lacking, one may reasonably assume that in most cases low caste Hindus offered themselves to be sold as slaves. The prevalence of slave trade of our period was purely an economic phenomenon. The failure of the people to get food and clothes forced them to sell themselves as slaves. In those days slave trade was one of the most remunerative branches of commerce.

Slaves were sold in markets. One such market was at Delhi.²²⁰ Ibn Batuta tells us that a slave from Kamru (Kamrup was in Assam) was worth several times more than the slaves of other stocks.²²¹ He found plenty of slave girls in Bengal.²²²

Even the Hindu kingdom of Mithila served as emporium of slaves.

Very interesting details of slave transactions are given by Vidyapati.²²³ A *mallah* (boatman) family consisting of husband, wife and their two children were brought for sale by a certain person. The sale deed was drawn up by a *Kayastha* scribe who charged rupees two, one from each party. He was particular about the genuineness of the coin he received from the parties. The document described that if the slave fled, he would be brought back, even if he might have entered into royal service. Vidyapati also mentions the case of a man who voluntarily sold himself till eternity for rupees two which was the price fixed by *Panch*. From another document we learn that a man mortgaged himself for rupees four. It was laid down in a paper that if he failed to do the work allotted to him, he would have to pay four *paisa*. He was to be given free board and lodging, but no clothes. The man who drew up the document charged rupees two, one from each party.

No less interesting is a case mentioned by Vidyapati about a man who was sold only for half the period of the year. He got only one meal a day and if he served for a year he was entitled to get a piece of cloth also.

In case the slave escaped the man who sold him was to pay the buyer a penalty at the rate of two *paisa* a day.

The owners of the slaves purchased females and united them in wedlock with their male slaves.

Chroniclers refer to the price of slaves—male and female. The price as obtainable from the slave-market of the time of Sultan Ala-ud-din may be noted. The price of a working girl was fixed between 5 and 12 *tankas*, and a good-looking girl could be had between 20 and 30 and 40 *tankas*. Sometimes a beautiful girl was offered for sale in the market at 100 or 200 *tankas*.²²⁴ In Bengal a beautiful slave girl capable of serving as mistress was available for a gold *dinar*.²²⁵ Amir Hasan Sijzi refers to a slave girl whose price was 100 *tankas*.²²⁶ But elsewhere he tells us that a slave girl was purchased at five *tankas*.²²⁷ The author of *Masalik-ul-Absar* says that the value of

a young girl for domestic work did not exceed eight *tankas* at Delhi. And those who were fit for domestic work as well as concubinage were sold for about 15 *tankas*. The price in other cities was lower than at Delhi. Even at four *dirham* a young slave girl could be purchased. The author, mentioned above, further adds what appears to be an unbelievable figure of 2,00,000 as the price of a very beautiful girl. We are told that young Indian girls fetched 20,000 *tankas* and even more because of their remarkable beauty and the grace of their manners.²²⁸

In the case of girls, physical beauty was the chief determining factor for a higher price than that of a male slave. Slave boys of handsome appearance also were rated high and good price was paid for them. Price of handsome slave boys ordinarily varied from 20 to 30 *tankas*. Malik Kafur is called *Hazar-Dinari* because he is said to have been purchased for a thousand *dinars*. But it was the work and the accomplishments of the male slaves which attracted buyers. A working slave was available at 10 or 15 *tankas* and ill-favoured boys at 7 and 8 *tankas*.²²⁹ A good looking boy of tender age could be purchased at a few gold *dinars*.²³⁰

A section of the *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* is devoted to slaves, males and females, their characteristic features and significant names. Amir Khusrau refers to some fair complexioned delicate-bodied Turkish slave girls brought from Khita, a certain Chinese slave girl with sweet scented hair locks, who had been brought by a Khotani. He saw a Turkish slave girl from Yamak whose twin moles on the face detracted from her beauty. The Turkish slave girls, characterised by dignity and sincerity, were worth purchasing. Some of them rubbed their rose-coloured (red) cheek at the feet of a black mistress to attain happiness (honour). Indian slave girls were a combination of water (soft disposition) and fire (passion). A Hindu slave girl was rather soft by nature and cultivated the habit of being so. A Turkish slave girl might become all fire if her passions were roused. The names of Turkish slave girls are mentioned, and these names according to Amir Khusrau signified their respective attributes. The slave boys of tender age have been dignified with the name of *Ghilman*

(the boys who attend on the virtuous in paradise) and a Hindu slave boy has been described as a flower of paradise.

Elsewhere while writing about the imports of goods from Habsh, Barbary (Abyssinian slaves) and *Ghulaman-i-Zangi* (Ethiopian or negro slaves) who were ebony-coloured, very tall and stout-bodied, Amir Khusrau says that they were very fast runners. They ran so fast like giants that even the shooting stars in the atmosphere could not keep pace with them. They were quick-tempered. When they applied collyrium to their eyes, blood seemed to ooze out of them.²³¹

Relation between master and slave :

Vachaspati Mishra lays down conditions for the emancipation of slaves in the Hindu Society.^{231a} The liberation of slaves in Islam was looked upon as the highest act of virtue entitling its master to a special reward in the next world. They were to be regarded as members of the family. A slave was sometimes preferred to a son.²³² There are many instances of intimate and happy relations between the two. Slaves were taken into the social order of their masters, and they shared their ideas and contributed towards the growth of a homogeneous culture and also exercised a positive, sometimes powerful, influence on the direction of the affairs of the government. When once a courtier expressed regret at the fact that Mohammad Shihab-ud-din Ghori had no son, the Sultan replied "I have so many sons in my Turkish slaves".²³³ Qutb-ud-din as a slave read the Quran with the Qazi's son and also learnt the art of riding.²³⁴ Balban was treated by his master, Khwaja Jamal-ud-din, like a son.²³⁵ The slaves were entrusted with responsible posts.²³⁶ Literary evidences also testify to the manumission of slaves.²³⁷ Ibn Batuta tells us that Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq manumitted his slaves on the fourth day of *Id* every year.²³⁸

Slaves did numerous and varied types of work. Domestic slavery was one of the prevalent features during the period under consideration. The nature of their household work depended upon the economic status of their masters.²³⁹ They were bearers of basins and ewers ; they washed the hands of the masters, prepared food and kept plates and dishes.²⁴⁰ A slave also supported his

master. We are told by Amir Hasan Sijzi that Maulana Nur Turk²⁴¹ had a slave who was engaged in cotton dressing. He gave one *dirham* daily to his master, Maulana Nur Turk, and that was the means of the latter's livelihood.²⁴² We learn of another slave who out of his earning kept two shares for himself and gave one share to his master.²⁴³

Some of the slaves engaged by a Sultan were appointed to serve as *chashni-gir* (taster of food) *saqi-i-khas* (special cup-bearer), *sar-abdar* (incharge of drink), *khassa-dar* (incharge of master's meal) etc.²⁴⁴

The best testimony to the trust of the Sultans on slaves was their employment as informers. Sultan Ala-ud-din employed slave boys to verify the market prices.²⁴⁵ We are told by Ibn Batuta that Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq kept one of his slaves with every *amir*, great or small, to watch his activities. The slave-spy informed the Sultan about the activities of the *amirs*. Slave girls also acted as spies of the Sultan.²⁴⁶ Badaoni tells us that Islam Shah, along with other articles, gave a slave girl and an eunuch to Kamran Mirza so that they might do the work of espionage.²⁴⁷

Those who were brave, trust-worthy and loyal were appointed as personal body-guards of their masters.²⁴⁸ References are also found to the employment of slaves by the merchant class to ensure their personal safety. The slave looked after the comfort of his master and transacted business.^{248a}

Slaves were prized not only for domestic and political services, but also for companionship. The literary works also refer to beautiful slave girls and beardless slaves as forming charming companions. We are told by Barani that attractive Indian slaves and beautiful slave girls were taught court etiquette and the art of singing in order to entertain a pleasure-loving Sultan like Kaiqubad Mu'izz-ud-din.²⁴⁹

Valour, beauty and trustworthiness were not the only qualities of the best slaves, some, including female slaves, were fairly educated. Some slave girls knew the *Quran* by heart and were good swimmers and riders. They performed the five daily prayers and observed the fasts regularly.²⁵⁰ Afif tells us that the slaves were given training in different vocations. Many became artisans and craftsmen.²⁵¹

As for the maintenance of the royal slaves they received compensatory allowances both in kind and cash. The author of *Masalik-ul-Absar* says that each one of them received a monthly allowance. It consisted of two *man* of wheat and rice, and a daily allowance of 3 *seers* of meat, with all the necessary accompaniments. Besides these, they received ten *tankas* per month, and four suits of clothes every year.²⁵² We are told by Afif that slaves got scholarship and some were assigned villages.²⁵³

Slavery during the period did not form a regular part of productive work as was the case with contemporary European countries. There was nothing like agrarian serfdom. The slaves for the most part confined themselves to the house-hold duties. *Shariat* enjoins that slaves should be treated humanely, and also guarantees them a more dignified position. The inner sense of equality and of religious brotherhood provided the slaves in many cases with opportunities to rise in the social scale, and brought them to the very highest position in the state. Some of them became the progenitors of ruling dynasties. Often talented slaves acquired a position of intimacy with the rulers and finally they themselves occupied important positions in the state.

REFERENCES

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Bib. Ind), p. 238.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 242, 249, 252.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 247, 256, 258, 262.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 276, 281
6. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah* (London), p. 33.
7. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 157-160.
8. *Tarikh-i-Yamini* (E & D), Aligarh, II, p. 32.
9. Nimatullah : *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan-wa Makhzan-i-Afghana* (O.P.L.) f. 89b.
10. Barani : *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 57-58.
11. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 166
12. A. R. M. Habibullah : *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* (1945), p. 272.
13. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 133-34.

14. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 188.
15. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 462.
Ibn Batuta gives the names of foreigners whom he met. He speaks about Khudawandzadah Qiwam-ud-din, Qazi of Tirmidh, who had come with his family and children. He was followed by his brothers, Imad-ud-din, Zia-ud-din and Burhan-ud-din. Other persons of note were Mobarak Shah of Samarqand, Malik Zadah, nephew of Khudawandzadah and Badr-ud-din al Fassal. Each had come with his companions, servants and followers (*Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 14.
16. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), pp. 14-15.
17. Shihab-ud-din Abul Abbas Ahmad (Elliot & Dowson), p. 576.
18. *The Book of Durate Berbosa*, I, pp. 119-120.
19. Abdul Karim : *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, p. 147.
20. Ibn Batuta, p. 162. Badr was the commander of Alapur. He used to eat up a whole sheep at once and a half rattle of *ghi* after his meal as it was the custom of the Abyssinians in their country.
21. Abdullah (O. P. L.), f. 36b.
22. *Tarikh-i-Shar Shahi* (K.P.J.R.I.), p. 3.
23. Ibn Batuta (G. O. S.), p. 125.
24. Amir Khusrau : *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, pp. 169-70, 334
25. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, (Agra), p. 569.
26. Memoirs of Babar (King), Vol. II, p. 246.
27. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 74, 108, 570.
28. Barani, Tr. (Kitab Mahal), p. 74.
29. Yahya Sarhindi, p. 114. Compare Jyotirisvara's description of various castes and classes like Nagal, Tapsi, Teli, Tanti, Tewar, Tureya, Tuluk, Dhanuk, Dhaar, Dhunia, Chamar, Gonti, Ghonthi, Goar, etc. (*Varnaratnakara*, p. 1).
30. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mobarak Shah*, p. 20 ; Eng. tr. of the excerpt by A. B. M. Habibullah : *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 315.
31. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 177-79, 206-07.
32. *Taj-ul-Maasir*, ff. 51b, 156, 185a. Most of those who played the leading part in the war and conquest of India were provided with particular areas which became the scene of their activities.
33. Jahan Pahalwan, Asad-ud-din, Arsalan Qibich, Nasir-ud-din Husain Izz-ud-din. They were the commanders of the army sent by Shihab-ud-din Mohammad Ghori from Ghazni to help Qutb-ud-din. *Taj-ul-Maasir*, f. 167a.
34. *Ibid*, f. 77b.
35. *Taj-ul-Maasir*, f. 78b, 79a.
36. Nizam-ud-din : *Introduction to Jawami-ul-Hikayat wa lawami-ur Riwayat* (London), p. 12 ; *Dibacha of Lubab-ul-Albab*.
37. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 138.

38. Minhaj mentions the name of Malik Firoz Shah-i-Iltutmish Shah Zadah Khwarizm, Malik Jani Shahzadah Turkistan, Malik Qutb-ud-din Malik Ghor Sher Khan Surkh and his brothers. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 177-178.
39. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 26.
40. Raverty, pp. 598-99.
41. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 38-39.
42. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* (Kitab Mahal), p. 20.
43. *Ibid*, p. 98.
44. Barani : *Tariki-i-Firoz Shah*, p. 137.
45. *Ibid*, p. 28.
46. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 183.
47. Abu Bakr was replaced by Junaidi, Bhatinda and Multan were placed under Arsalan Khan. Shams-ud-din became the Chief Qazi. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 217-18 ; 280, 298-99.
48. Raverty, p. 829.
49. Barani : *Tariki-i-Firoz Shah*, pp. 47-48.
50. *Ibid*, p. 65.
51. *Ibid*, pp. 36-37. Balban remarked that being a descendent of Afrasiyab, he would not allow any low born person to occupy a position of trust and responsibility. His blood started boiling the moment he saw the face of a low-born person.
52. *Ibid*. pp. 133-34.
53. *Ibid*, p. 134.
54. Mohammad Habib : *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate* (Kitab Mahal), p. 146.
55. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 175-76.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 179.
57. Barani : *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 240.
58. Mohammad Habib : *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 147.
59. Yule's *Marco Polo*, pp. 98-99.
60. Sujan Rai : *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, f. 218a. See also Dr. Mahdi Husain : *Tughlaq Dynasty*, pp. 52-60.
61. Barani : *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 504.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 505.
63. *Rehla* (G.O.S), pp. 21-22.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
67. Barani : p. 462.
68. In the capacity of *wazir* he had collected a huge fortune. He maintained a large *haram* consisting of women of other parts of the world like China and the Levant. His sons and relatives led a luxurious life (Afif, pp. 394-406 ; Barani, pp. 578-79).

69. Imad-ul-Mulk held Rari as *iqta*, and worked for its prosperity. He amassed great wealth. It is said that once he required gunny bags to keep his wealth. In those days a gunny bag was available for four *jitals*. He spent two thousand five hundred *tankas* for the purchase of bags (Afif. pp. 436-445). Barani says that he stabilised the *diwan-i-arz-i-mamalik*. Whatever petitions he put before the court about the well-being of the imperial army it was accepted in its entirety (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 581).
70. Barani tells us that by his good economical measures, knowledge, sense of justice and redress of grievances, he restored order in such an extensive and wide-spread area, which had fallen in chaos and confusion due to mischievous activities of seditious people (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 582-83).
71. *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 133. He was appointed *Muqtai* of Bihar.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
74. Barani, pp. 584-85.
75. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 440.
76. According to Ferishta Sultan Firoz Shah patronised the Afghans (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, I, p. 271). Afif mentioned three Lodi Afghans—Zafar Khan, Darya Khan and Shams-ud-din Damghani—as governors of Gujrat one after another (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 499).
77. *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi*, p. 195, 219, 226; 239 ; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*: Vol. I, p. 98.
78. *Makhzan-i-Afghana*, ff. 350 ab.
79. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (K.P.J.R.I.), p. 3.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
82. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, f. 14a.
83. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Newal Kishore), p. 151.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
86. Abbas Khan (K.P.J.R.I.), p. 145.
87. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, f. 157 b.
88. Badaoni (Calcutta) I, p. 359.
89. Abbas Khan, p. 198.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 162, 185.
91. *Taj-ul-Maasir* says that Lahore was his first fief, quoted by Raverty, f.n. 4, p. 628.
92. We are told that he sent money in the shape of presents to all *ulamas*, *sadat*, devotees, recluses and pious men of the capital; Delhi and other cities. When the dress from Baghdad came, Iltutmish selected one dress of great value and sent it to Lakhnauti along with the canopy of the state (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 180-181).

93. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 181-185.
94. Raverty says that probably he was put to death. Malik Nurat-uddin Ta-yasi was put in charge of Awadh by Raziah (p. 633. f.n. 7).
95. Barani, p. 92.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
97. Barani, p. 176.
98. *Ibid.*
99. Barani, p. 177.
100. *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi*, p. 71.
101. Barani, p. 428.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi*, p. 93.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
105. Barani, p. 576.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 577-78.
107. Ferishta, pp. 178-179 ; *Makhzan-i-Afghana*, 116b ; Abbas Khan, p. 72.
108. Barani, p. 145 ; See also Mohammad Habib : *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 148.
109. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 231-33.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 238-39.
111. *Ibid.*, pp. 242-46.
112. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-53.
113. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 281-319.
114. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 47-48.
115. Barani (Bib. Ind.), pp. 114-17.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
117. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 120. One would not find anything in their houses except in those parties.
120. *Rehla* (G.O.S.) p. 11.
121. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, ff. 86b-87a.
122. *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* (Ranking), pp. 509-10.
123. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, ff. 174a-178a.
124. Yadgar : *Tarikh-i-Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 59-60. Here mention may be made of Daulat Khan and Bhikhan Khan. The latter gave four gold coins to a woman who had prepared *sag* of *neem* leaf. Abbas Khar. records the generosity of Shujaat Khan (*Talikh-i-Sher Shahi*, p. 202).
125. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 60-61, 252 ; Afif (Bib. Ind.), pp. 115, 194.
126. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 9-10.
127. Afif, pp. 428-30.
128. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 166.
129. Barani, p. 111 ; *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* (E & D), III, pp. 423, 429.
130. *Mukh-ul-Maani* (O.P.L.), p. 74.

131. *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, f. 260 b.
132. Barani, p. 349.
133. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.
134. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 40.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
136. *Ganj-i-la-Yafna*, p. 44.
137. *Malfuz-i-Timuri* (E & D), III, p. 423.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 429.
139. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 445-50.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 446; p. 484.
141. *Ganj-i-Arshadi* vide Current Studies (P.C.) No. 2, 1953, p. 88.
142. Rizqullah Mushtaqi as quoted in K. M. Ashraf: *Life & conditions of the people of Hindustan*, p. 72, fn. 2.
143. *Rahat-ul-Qulub*, p. 18. Yahya Sirhindi, discussing the Syed lineage of Khizr Khan, says that one of the proofs of his Syed origin is that he was generous, brave, gentle, kind, humble and true to his promise (*Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi*, p. 182.).
144. *Ganj-i-la-Yakhfa*, p. 45.
145. Barani, pp. 350-51; *Insha-i-Mahro* (A.S.L.), ff. 70b, 71a, 72 ab.
146. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 180.
147. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mobarak Shah* (London), 1927, pp. 9-11; Eng. tr. of the excerpts by K. A. Nizami: *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 150.
148. *Sarur-u's-Sudur*, p. 26, as quoted in K. A. Nizami: *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 151.
149. Barani, pp. 154-55.
150. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 111.
151. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 237; *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p. 212.
152. Head of the ecclesiastical department.
153. Incharge of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Empire. For details see *Ency. of Islam* pp. 519-22. From the literature of the period it appears that *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* was both an office and honorific title (*Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 24). Sh. Baha-ud-din Zakaria got the title of *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* from Sultan Iltutmish (*Siyar-ul-Arifin* p. 169). Baba Farid once addressed Sh. Baha-ud-din Zakaria as *Shaikh-u'l-Islam* (*Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 82). Sometimes this title was used out of respect even though it was not conferred upon by the reigning Sultan. Barani used the title for Sh. Nizam-ud-din Auliya (*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 343). Amir Hasan Sijzi used it for Baba Farid (*Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 5).
154. Legal Interpreter.
155. *Maadan-u'l-Maani*, p. 28.
156. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 151.
157. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 54-55.
158. *Rahat-ul-Qulub*, p. 26.
159. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, pp. 193, 195.

160. Aaz Kakvi was well versed in esoteric practices. In his ecstatic moments he made remarks which were beyond the comprehension of the common people. Ahmad Bihari, a mad-looking man, often visited Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri and asked questions on the topics of unitarianism and sometimes he himself said something. In his lunatic state he discussed such topics which were unintelligible to the common man (*Monaqib-ul-Asfia*, pp. 129-30, 137-38; *Munis-ul-Qulub*, pp. 134-35). In *Futuh-i-Firoz Shahi* Firoz Shah refers to him as "the chief of a sect which wore garments of atheism and having thrown off all restraint, led men astray." "He dwelt in the city, and a party of his followers called him a God" (Elliot & Dowson, III. p. 378).
161. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 159.
162. Masud Bak, originally entitled Sher Khan, who is said to have been some how related to the reigning sovereign gave up power and pelf and turned *darvesh* of the *Chishti* order. Abdul Haq, the author of *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*, says that his reckless and unrestrained expressions and disclosures of the secrets of the realities had no parallel in *Chishti* order (*Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*, p. 169).
163. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, pp. 159-60.
164. *Fatawa-i-Firoz Shahi*, ff. 134b-35a; Eng. tr. of the excerpt by H. Askari : *Side-Light on Firoz Shah and his Times (P. U. J.)* 1959, pp. 62-63.
165. Barani, pp. 46-47; *Insha-i-Mahro* (R. A. S.), f. 6a; *Makhzan-i-Afghana* (O.P.L.) ff. 137 ab; *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (O.P.L.), ff. 29 ab, 35; *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, pp. 165-66, 174-75.
166. According to the *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, he was the son of Shaikh Fakhr-ud-din Zahidi. His son and successor Fakhr-ud-din II, a contemporary of Syed Jalal Bukhari Makhdum Jahanian, had deputed his three sons for missionary work. Badr-ud-din Zahidi came to Bihar. Baha-ud-din was sent to Kalpi. Shaikh Sadr-ud-din was made incharge of Jaunpur (Urdu translation of *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, pp. 46, 57).
167. *Maktubat-i-Shams Muzaffar Balkhi*, Letter No. 163.
168. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, ff. 29 ab, 30a.
169. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 120; Vidyapati tells us that the system of taking loan from Saha was prevalent in Mithila (*Likhanavali*, Letter Nos. 61, 62, 63).
170. Barani, p. 204.
171. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 5.
172. Afif, p. 61.
173. *Rehla*, p. 135.
174. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 140; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 330-31.
175. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 66.

176. *Ganj-i-la Yakhfa*, p. 101.
177. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 385.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 554.
179. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 138, 159, 167-68; Barani, p. 311.
180. Barani, p. 569.
181. Afif, p. 181.
182. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 158.
183. Afif, p. 290.
184. *Futuh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Elliot), III, p. 377; S. H. Hodivala : *Studies in Indian Musl'm H'story*, pp. 340-344.
185. Afif, p. 375. It was levied from the butchers at the rate of 12 *jitals* for every cow slaughtered.
186. *Ibid.*, pp. 375-376.
187. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 12.
188. *Kirtilata*, p. 13.
189. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
190. *Munis-ul-Qulub*, pp. 311-14. The mosque built of marble stone is said to have been situated in Delhi. There is a striking similarity between this story and that of the two Gujratis found in Awfi's *Jami-ul-Hikayat*, a 13th century authority suggesting the possibility of borrowing of one from the other. In *Fatawa-i-Firoz Shahi* there is a chapter on *Mozaraba*. One of the questions, answered in the affirmative, was about the legality of the *Mazarib-i-Siftaja*. It means the act of giving a bill of exchange on letters of credit, the amount to be payable with interest at a distant time and place. *Siftajat* also meant the delivery of money to another through someone. There is an interesting section on *silim* which, in the language of law, was a contract of sale, causing an immediate payment of price and admitting a delay in the delivery of the wares. Some of the extracts are : "Q. 1. In case Zaid gave Amru 10 arrows, each being of 8 yards in length and 1/2 yard in width for a *tanka* on the basis of *silim*, and payment was fixed at *Hauz-i-Shamshi* after a specified delay, will the *shara* treat this *silim* as proper? A. Yes. Q. 2. If a bird-catcher undertook the delivery of 10 partridges for a *tanka* will it be proper? A. No. If Zaid offered to sell for a *tanka* 10 maunds of wheat by way of *silim* which is lawful and then resiled, will it be proper? A. Yes; Eng. tr. of the excerpt by S. H. Askari, P.U.J., Vol. XIII, 1959, p. 69. ff. 246a-58.
191. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* (Kitab Mahal), p. 37.
192. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, pp. 45-48.
193. *Subh-ul-A'sha* (Chapter on India by Otto Spies : *An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century*, p. 50).
194. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, pp. 45-46.
195. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
196. *Ibid.*

197. *Ibid.* p. 273.
198. Afif., pp. 347-48.
199. Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, f. 58b. If the author is to be believed, once a certain goldsmith prepared an earring which looked like a nilofer flower, and inside it he put a bee. So long the woman did not swing her head, it remained like a bud. But when she gave even a slight movement to her hand, the bud of the nilofer bloomed and the bee came out. When she stopped moving her head, nilofer became bud again and the bee came back.
200. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 47.
201. *Ibid.*
202. Elliot Dawson, III, p. 578.
203. Otto Spies op. cit. p. 51.
204. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, pp. 172-73.
205. *Tuzuk-i-Timuri* (Bombay), p. 61.
206. *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate* (Kitab Mahal), pp. 25-26.
207. Vachaspati Mishra, *Vivadachintamani* (G. O. S.), 1942, p. 69.
208. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 334.
209. Vachaspati Mishra, *Vivadachintamani* (G. O. S.), p. 70.
210. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 267-72.
211. *Taj-ul-Maasir* (K. P. J. R. I.) ff. 184 b, 185a.
212. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, pp. 142-43 about "*Barda-i-Habashi*" and "*Ghulamani-i-Zang*" (Abyssinian Slaves).
213. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, ii, p. 147.
214. *Akbarnama*, tr. II, p. 246.
215. We learn of the earlier period that during the time of famine people sold themselves as slaves in order to have their life (B. P. Mazumdar: *The Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, p. 186).
216. Irfan Habib: *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 103.
217. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 335-36.
218. Sachindra Kumar Maity: *The Economic Life of Northern India in Gupta Period*, p. 142.
219. B. P. Mazumdar: *The Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, p. 186.
220. Barani, p. 314; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 393.
221. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 237.
222. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
223. *Likhanavali*, Letter Nos. 55, 56, 57, 58.
224. Barani, p. 314.
225. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 235.
226. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 188-189.
227. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
228. Shihab-ud-din (E & D), III, p. 580.
229. Barani, p. 314.
230. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 235.

231. Amir Khusrau : *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, I, pp. 166-171; 142-43.
- 231a. The four kinds of slave—the slave born in the master's house, the bought, the one received in gift, and the hereditary can not be emancipated except through the favour of the masters. Persons stolen and sold were to be set free by the kings. A slave who has saved the life of his master, should be emancipated and given as much share as that of a son of the master. A slave maintained during famine becomes emancipated by giving a pair of oxen, as also whatever has been eaten during the hard times. If a man has contracted a debt and when the debt has been cleared off by the work done for the master and the stipulated period has elapsed, the man becomes emancipated. A slave who has surrendered himself or been captured in battle or won through wager, becomes emancipated, on giving substitutes whose capacity for work is equal to their own (*Vivadachintamani*, pp. 70-72).
232. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 4.
233. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 132.
234. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
235. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
236. Barani, pp. 134, 381; Afif, pp. 272, 285; Abbas, p. 186.
237. Afif, p. 445; *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 111, 188-89.
238. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 63.
239. Barani, p. 117.
240. *Padmavati* (A. G. Shirreff, pp. 322-23.).
241. He was one of the notable preachers of the thirteenth century India. He elicited praise from Baba Farid Maulana Nur Turk publicly criticises the worldly *ulamas*. Once Sultan Raziah sent some gold to him. He struck them with his stick and got the messenger to remove them from his sight (*Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 198-99; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 62; *Akhar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 74).
242. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 199.
243. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 88.
244. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 232, 252, 265, 282.
245. Barani, p. 318.
246. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 105.
247. *Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh* (Ranking), p. 502.
248. Yadgar : *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 15.
- 248a. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, V, pp. 87-89.
249. Barani, p. 157.
250. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. XXV.
251. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 270-73.
252. Shihab-ud-din Ahmad (E. & D.), III, p. 577.
253. Afif, p. 270.

CHAPTER II

FOOD, DRINKS AND MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE

A good index to the appraisal of the material condition of a society is the availability of the prime necessities of life. The supply of food and dress in normal times and famine, luxury goods, facilities for conveyance etc. indicate the standard of living. Such a study also reveals the changing habits of the people and the degree of protection of their life and property through centuries.

Food :

Everything grown now was grown then also with the exception of potatoes, chillies, tobacco, tea, etc. which were brought to this country by foreigners. Contemporary chroniclers make us believe that some articles of food were common, but as regards others there were differences from place to place and class to class. All over Northern India, the categories of cereals generally in use consisted of rice, wheat, millets, pulses, barley, gram, and the articles of food included fruits, vegetables, meat, fish, milk, *ghi*, oil and animal fat.

As early as the ninth century Sulaiman noted that rice was the most common food of the Indians who ate no wheat. According to the author of the *Masalik-ul-Absar* wheat was the dearest cereal,² and it was sold for a *dirham hastkani* and a half the *man*.³ Rice was cultivated in Kashmir,⁴ Kara and Manikpur, which lie near Allahabad, produced wheat, rice and sugar.⁵ Mahuan, referring to the eastern provinces of Bengal, mentions that they had one crop of rice in a year.⁶ Bengal abounded in rice. Ibn Batuta says that he saw rice being sold in the streets of Bengal at the rate of twenty-five *ratls*.⁷ of Delhi weight for a silver *dinar*.⁸ We learn about varieties of rice like *basmati*, *Kajari*, *ratnari*, *madhukar*, *dhela*, *jhenasari*, *ghiu*, *kandau*, *kumwarbilasu*, *rambas* (strongly scented), the *laungchaur* and

iachi (exceedingly pleasant) *sonkharika* and *kapura*, *korahan*, *barhan*, *jarhan* and *sonsartilak* and *khanrvila*, *dewal* and *ajana*.⁹ Jaisi refers to the serving of rice first, among other items of food, on the occasion of the feeding of the bridal party. Rice was followed by bread.¹⁰ Rice was cooked in different ways. Rice mixed with pulses was prepared and called *khichri*. Some took it as morning breakfast. *Khichri* was one of the principal diets with the *mashaikh*.¹¹ Rice was also cooked with sugar, without sugar, with salt and sometimes mixed with roasted fowl.¹² Amir Khusrau mentions different kinds of pulses—*moong*, gram, *maash*.¹³

Fish :

It was practically taken all over Northern India. We get frequent references to the consumption of fish in the contemporary literature. Vidyapati mentions about the fish market in Jaunpur also.¹⁴ Jaisi mentions various types of fish such as *parhin*, *rohu*, *sedhari*, *sauri*, *jhinga*, *singi* and *bhakur*.¹⁵ Different dishes of fish were prepared. Sometimes mangoes were sliced and served with fish.¹⁶

Meat :

Meat was an important item of food with the Muslims. The flesh of goat, pigeon, and chicken was taken.¹⁷ Jaisi informs us that for the banquet of Sultan Ala-ud-din animals like goat, sheep, black buck, antelope, spotted deer, swamp deer, sambhar, partridge, quail, cranes, pea fowls, pigeons, swamp-partridge, green pigeons, and others were collected.¹⁸ Mutahhar mentions different varieties of dishes served to him in the *Madrasah-i-Firoz Shahi* and these consisted of the meat of partridges, of young pigeons, of large fowls, of starlings, of fat cocks and of hillbred goat-kids. They were stuffed with pomegranates, sugar, almonds, and were perfumed with saffron, sandal juice and musk.¹⁹ According to the author of *Masalik-ul Absar* the general food of the Indians (Muslims) contained beef and goat flesh. There was no scarcity of sheep, but still beef was preferred by the Muslims. Beef and mutton were sold at the same price, that is, six seers for a *dirham sultani*.^{20a} Mutton was sold at four

seers per dirham sultani. A goose used for meat cost two *dirhams hastkani* and four fowls could be bought for one *hastkani*. A well-fattened sheep of the first quality was sold at one *tanka*. Pigeons, sparrows and other birds were sold very cheap.²⁰ Different preparations of meat have been recorded by our chronicler. *Seekh kawab* was one of the favourite dishes. If the author of *Tarikh-i-Afghani* is to be believed the meat roasted on skewer emitted such a fragrant smell that a present of it was made by a Raja to Islam Shah.²¹ Sometimes a whole goat was roasted.²²

Ibn Batuta refers to the eating of the flesh of a slaughtered horse by a party of Turks, who were accompanying him from Abohar to Ajodhyan.²³ According to the author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* the flesh of buffalo constituted the food of the tribal people of Orissa. They also took water of the coconut.²⁴ Timur mentions the eating of swine's flesh by the people.²⁵ The Rajputs hunted wild boar and pigs and ate their flesh. We get reference in *Lataif-i-Quddusi* to pork, and when the Hindus got an ascendancy in Rudauli, pork was publicly sold in the market.²⁶ Reference is also found to the taking of eggs.²⁷ We should not presume that the great consumption of meat was due to high cereal prices for the price of cereals was low.

Vegetables :

Food grains were supplemented by vegetables. We get references to the consumption of vegetables in the literature of the period under survey. *Jogis* generally took vegetables.²⁸ Vegetable was also one of the principal items of food with the *Sufi* saints. Muslim widows consumed a good deal of vegetables.²⁹ Many kinds of vegetables like pumpkins, *arvi*, *torai*, *chickiras*, *denrases*, *parwars*, *Korallis* etc. were cooked and formed items of food. This does not exhaust the list. Different preparations were made of these vegetables. Chopped gram was mixed with *arui*. *Torais* and *chichiras* and *denrasis* were fried. Slices of apples were cooked.³⁰ We also get reference to the eating of *sag* (preparation of vegetable leaves). Chaitanya was very fond of eating *sag*.³¹ References are made to *sag of sarso*,

soa, *bathua*³⁵. Mulla Daud makes mention of *palak*.³⁶ Amir Khusrau refers to *gajar*³⁵ (carrot).

Salt, both sea and rock, sugar, refined and black, onion, spices, *ghi*, animal fat, mustard oil, vinegar formed principal adjuncts to the diet of the people.³⁶ The curded milk formed an important part of the peasants' diet. Lemon juice, milk curd and sweets were taken by the people. Dharmasvamin tells that the devotees worshipped the Bodhi tree with curd, milk and perfumes.³⁷ References are found in *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* to *jughrat* (curd), *panir* (cheese), *paluda* or *jaluda* (a kind of flummery or liquid sweetmeat) *sakbat* (a kind of victual prepared with meat, vinegar, dry fruits like pistachio and others mixed together), *lozina* (a kind of sweetmeat in which almond is mixed), *zaliba-i-nabat* (that is *jelabi* sweets) and *fuqqa* (a kind of barley drink).³⁸ It is difficult to determine the extent to which sweetmeats tickled the palate of the people. But we get frequent references to sweetmeats and also some of its varieties in our literature like *halwa sabuni*³⁹ and *halwa gajar*.⁴⁰ In Mithila preparation of sweets was *khirsa* (preparation of milk), *mungma*, *khirni*, *matha* etc.⁴¹ Sweet cakes called *khishti* (a preparation of flour, sugar and *ghi*) was also taken.⁴² We are also informed about the drinking of milk mixed with dry fruits.⁴³

Many kinds of porridge were cooked in which vinegar was mixed. *Karhi* was prepared. *Tahri* was cooked.⁴⁴ Incidentally it may be mentioned that in the religious literature we get a long list of articles with full account of its food value.⁴⁵ Thus it is clear that at least certain classes of people in the selection of the diet were guided by considerations of calory value of the different items of food. Religious literature⁴⁶ speaks about the consumption of *pelu* and *delah*^{46a} by the Sufi saints. Generally the *Sufis* took *bhat* (rice), *kak* (cake), *khichri* (boiled rice mixed with pulse), *nan* (bread cooked in oven), *jughrat* (curd), *sarid* (bread soaked in meat soup).

As regards fruits our authorities give a long list of fruits such as pomegranates, grapes, apples, melons, oranges, figs, mangoes, *khirnis*, *jamuns*, Indian dates, etc. Amir Khusrau mentions *angur* (grape), *mawez* (dried raisin), *khurma* (a date), *turanj* (citron-like orange), *badam* (almond).⁴⁷

It was a widely prevalent habit to chew betel leaves. Amir Khusrau in *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* has devoted many pages to the virtues of betel leaf. As many as 42 items⁴⁸ have been enumerated. Anticipating objections to some of the descriptions, Amir Khusrau switched on to the other view points and his ingenuity enabled him to bring forward as many and a little more on the other side of the picture. Offer of betel leaf was a sort of social courtesy. Imad-ul-Mulk, the famous *Rawat-i-Arz* of Balban, was very fond of chewing betel, and he offered betels to everybody who came to him. Fifteen to sixty slaves attended his assemblies for bringing in fresh relays of betel leaf alone.⁴⁹ In festive assemblies betel was distributed.⁵⁰ Amir Khurd speaks of his uncle who was very fond of betel leaf. Once there was such a scarcity of it that the price of it had risen to ten *tankas* per piece.^{50a} After the dinner betel leaves and nuts were served.⁵¹ In the biographical works we get enough evidence of the use of betel leaves by the *mashaikh*. Baba Farid and his chief disciple, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya of Delhi, and Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya and many others were very fond of betel leaves. We learn from *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad* that once the saint of Delhi said jocularly that outside India when basin and ewer were brought after meal, people took it that the meal was over but in India the purpose was served by the offer of *tambul* (betel leaves) and it was called *Abul Yas* (father of despair).⁵² Amir Khurd, while giving an account of one of his saintly uncles of fastidious taste, says that he was a voracious eater of *pan* even at a time when one betel leaf cost about ten *tankas*.⁵³ Amir Khusrau regarded betel as a fruit and to him there was no fruit better than the betel leaf.⁵⁴ Lime formed part of the combination of betel. Amir Khusrau refers to *chuna* and *sopari* on many occasions.⁵⁵ Ibn Batuta says that betel leaves together with betel-nut and lime were chewed.⁵⁶ We hear how once a great hue and cry was raised in the *madrasah* of Sonargaon over the taking of lime prepared from oyster.⁵⁷ Amir Khusrau tells us that fresh betel leaf was liked to some extent, but the old betel leaf was liked very much.⁵⁸

Jyotirisvara tells us that in Mithila people having washed their mouth after the meal, used tooth-picks and then they took

betel leaf along with *Srihatti ke ilachi*, *Lakhnauti supari* and *saahar* (?) of Tirhut.⁵⁹

Drinking water :

Plain water which is so essential an ingredient for human existence was not easily available everywhere. Under some Sultans an abundant supply of water was procured and maintained by an excellent system of management. Sultan Iltutmish constructed *hauz* for the supply of drinking water.⁶⁰ Ibn Batuta says that outside Delhi there was a big reservoir named after Sultan Iltutmish. The inhabitants of Delhi took their drinking water from it. It was about two miles long and a mile broad and it was fed by "rain water".⁶¹ There was another water reservoir called *hauz-i-khas* built by Sultan Ala-ud-din which was larger than the one built by Sultan Iltutmish.⁶² Ibn Batuta tells us that Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq took Ganges water. Even at Daulatabad the water of the Ganges was supplied to him.⁶³

Wine :

Wine-drinking in convivial parties and in the company of *nadeems* (friends) appears to have been a common practice during the period under review. Lovers drank "emerald-like wine" (*sharab-i-Raihan*) in front of their sweethearts.⁶⁴ Sultan Qutb-ud-din and Iltutmish indulged in such forms of gaiety.⁶⁵ Balban, while a Khan, used to take wine in the festive assemblies.⁶⁶ Nobility held wine parties at their houses. They invited their friends.⁶⁷ Probably many social groups in Muslim society were victims of the habit of drinking wine. Not only the drunkard and voluptuous Sultans like Kaiqubad and Mobarak Khilji, but also a puritanical and orthodox Sultan like Firoz Shah was not free from addiction to wine.⁶⁸ The wine, which he used to drink secretly was of different colours. Once accidentally Tatar Khan arrived while Feroz Shah was drinking wine. The Sultan did not like his presence at that time. So he concealed the wine cup under the cot on which he was sitting.⁶⁹

During the period under review many drank wine. Yet society, as a whole, disapproved of it. The author of *Masalik-ul-Absar* appears to have gathered a good impression of the

Indians when he says: "The inhabitants of India have little taste"⁷⁰ (for wine). Among the counsels administered by Amir Khusrau to his son Ghiyas-ud-din Ahmad is that he should banish all sorts of lust, intoxication, wantonness and negligence so that he might tread the path of religion steadily.⁷¹

Besides wine, opium⁷² and leaves of hemp (*bhang*)⁷³ were used as intoxicants by some of the then people.

Dress :

Dress varied from region to region and people to people. The dress of a man of lower status was simple and was barely sufficient for covering his body. The costumes of the men of affluence were costly. People in different walks of life had different apparels, made of different stuffs. Unfortunately our chroniclers had very little to say about matter in which we are very much interested these days. The information gathered from incidental references is meagre and lacks precision. However, the little we know about the dress of the different categories of people is not devoid of interest.

The richer section of the people wore embroidered robe.⁷⁴ They had separate robes for winter and summer. Amir Khusrau tells us that in winter some people used blanket and woollen clothes, and some cotton.⁷⁵ But many were too poor to afford warm clothes and such persons slept by pressing their bodies against their knees.⁷⁶ A passage in *Khair-ul-Majalis* suggests the difference in the dress of the richer and poor sections of the social order. Khawajgi Khujandi, an honest and pious trader of Awadh, used to deal in cheap and coarse cloth in a corner of the congregational mosque. When people asked him to keep fine clothes to earn greater profits, he said, "I bring low-priced coarse cloth because they serve the purpose of the poor and the indigent ones. The fine and costly clothes form the garments of the Turks and soldiers."⁷⁷

In Hasan Nizami's book there are references to rich costumes, apparently used by the kings, princes and nobles, for example, *diba-i-haft rang* (variegated brocades of seven colours), *bisqa-i-zamurradi* (emerald-coloured apparel), *jama-i-unnnabi* (carnation-coloured garment), *libas-i-parniyan* (a garment of a fine painted

China silk cloth), *jama-i-zarbaft* (a robe of brocade of cloth of gold), *jama-i-sanjab* (a fur dress), *libas-i-bahman* (an apparel of fine silk interwoven or painted with flowers), *khaftan-i-qaba* (a vest worn under a close long gown or tunic), *qaba-i-fistuqi* (a tunic or a close cloak of pistachio or sea-green colour), *tailasan* (the end of a turban-sash hanging down behind like a lappet, also a hood).⁷⁸ Barani and Amir Khusrau mention a variety of clothes, such as, *Tabrezi*, *Shushtari* (Iran), *Chinese*, *Delhi Khazz*, *Bhiram* and *Devagiri*.⁷⁹ The latter historian refers to *katan-i-Rusi* (linen of Russia), *katan-i-Bihari*, *jama-i-Deogiri*, *yektai-Awadh*, *mawaz-i-Marwari*, *rupak-i-Bihar*, *jama-i-daraz-i-Wilayati*, *chambartali* (a kind of thin cloth), *narma-i-latif*, *shuqqa-i-naranji*, *atlas* (satin), *barharman* (multi-coloured woven silk).⁸⁰

According to the author of *Subh-ul-A'sha*, Sultans, *Khans*, *Maliks* and other army officers wore Tartaric gowns and Islamic *qaba* of Khwarizm, buckled in the middle of the body, and short turbans. The usual dress was gold embroidered Tartaric gowns. Some of them wore gold embroidered sleeves. Their head dress was four-cornered in shape and ornamented with jewels and mostly inlaid with diamonds, and rubies. They tied gold and silver belt tightly round their waists. None of them wore cotton clothes.⁸¹ Mutahhar mentions the wearing of Syrian *jubba* (long vest or shirt) and Egyptian *dastar* by the teachers of Firoz Shah *Madrasah*.⁸²

Ibn Batuta refers to the wearing of white clothes by the people.⁸³ The statement of Ibn Batuta is corroborated by Chinese accounts. The men wore a white cotton turban and a long white cotton shirt.⁸⁴ Another Chinese account testifies to the wearing of white turban.⁸⁵ An early Tibetan traveller found the Raja of Vajrasana Bodh Gaya wearing a turban of white silk ornamented with various jewels.⁸⁶

Generally speaking Babar in his account of Hindustan has done scant justice to many things Indian, perhaps because of his insufficient knowledge and incorrect observation. But what he says about the dress of the common people may be taken to be on the whole correct. Babar observes: "Peasants and the lowly go about completely bare-footed.¹ They tie on a thing called *langota*, a decency cloth which hangs two spans below the navel. From the tie of this pendent, another clout beneath it is passed

between the thighs and made fast behind. Women also tie on a cloth (*lung*), one half of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head".⁸⁷ This description of *langoti*, *dhoti* and *sari* is correct. A century later an English factor writes that "the plebian sort is so poor that the greatest part of them go naked in their whole body (save) their privities, which they cover with a linen (or cotton) coverture".⁸⁸ Religious literature of the period refers to the general poverty of the people. The labourers wore *langoti* and even the female labourers did not have enough cloth to cover their body fully.⁸⁹ Shaikh Hamid-ud-din Swali, a petty peasant, wore one piece of cloth round his waist, and kept another piece on his body.⁹⁰

The average costume of the Muslim women consisted of a sheet of cloth called *chadar*, veil called *naqab*, *lungi* trousers called *surawil* in Arabic and *izar* in Persian; *pairahan* (a kind of loose waist-shirt or shift); *shalwar*, *maqna* (worn over head reaching to the ground). Some of these, like trousers and shirts, were common among males and females. Amir Khusrau has mentioned *paichai-shalwar*, *khastak-i-izar*, *niganda* (a garment stuffed with cotton), *dotah* (a kind of double cloth), *barani*, *kulah*, *dastar*.⁹¹ Reference to female dress such as "*mungia sari an Pahirawan*" (caused her to wear the *mungra sari*) is found in Mulla Daud's *Chandain*. In the contemporary paintings we get three figures attired in bordered *orhni* or scarf of transparent muslin, *choli* or bust-bodice and *ghagra*, a kind of shirt or petticoat gathered at the waist and extending up to the feet, bordered and embroidered. The *odhnis* of Maina and Chanda in the picture have fallen from head. Maina was wearing a close-fitted small *choli* which covered the shoulders and breasts, but not the back. The *choli* is unlike *angia*. It is open at the back and fastened with strings. *Ghagras* were of check pattern cloth. In another picture two ladies wearing *cholis*, *ghagras* and strings, but not wearing *odhnis*, are seen working with iron spoons. In another picture two ladies, richly dressed, are wearing embroidered *ghagras*, *odhnis* and half-sleeved tight *cholis*.⁹² We are told that in Bengal women wore *kanchuli* (corset). It was considered a fancy dress by the ladies. *Kanchuli* were of two main types, one short, covering the breasts, and the other long enough to reach the waist. The corset was fastened at the back

with ribbons.⁸⁵ They also used *kacha*⁸⁴ (the tuck of the lower garment). The male costumes were *kuladhar* turbans, vest coat, worn cross-wise, and narrow trousers or *pyjamas*.

There was no uniformity in the male dress. The *ulamas* (learned men) wore *dastar*, *amama*, *kulah* (cap) and *shuab* on their heads, *aba* (a long gown) and *qaba* (a kind of cloak), *jubba* (a kind of long vest resembling a shirt).⁸⁵ This was the dress also of the *mashaikh*, *Sufi* saints and *darveshes*. Amir Khusrau has mentioned *khulqan* (wornout garments), *khirka* (religious mendicants' cloak made of numerous patches). They wore *lungi* (a cloth worn between the legs), *mirzai* (a jacket with sleeves) and *taqia* (a fillet worn under the head dress).⁸⁶ In the *Sufi* literature references are also found to *dota* (a double shirt used in winter) and *barani* (a kind of overcoat).⁸⁷ Sarcastic references are made to false saints who wrapped themselves in *hazar-mekhi* or *mush dandahi*, *zhanda*, *gudri* (tattered clothes full of patches).⁸⁸

Footwear :

Contemporary chroniclers and religious literature have made references to footwear. Barani writes that Sultan Balban would not allow his servants to attend his private audience without stockings.⁸⁹ Amir Khusrau and others make mention of *moza* which means both stockings and boots and *kafsh* (shoe or slipper, high-heeled and shod with iron) and also *naalain* (a pair of shoes with wooden sole).¹⁰⁰ The first two were generally used by the richer section and the *ulama* and *mashaikh*, while the last one was exclusively used by the latter. Some also wore sheep-skin shoes with gold threads.¹⁰¹

Soaps, Dyes, Cosmetics, Toilets and Ornaments :

The use of soap was known to India from the earliest times.^{101a} The medieval Persian literature also makes frequent mention of *sabun* (soap) which was used both for washing the body and cleaning the clothes.¹⁰² Some *Sufi* saints used clay to clean the hair.¹⁰³

Dying, *wasma* (prepared out of indigo or other ingredients, in order to paint the head or beard) was much in use in medieval times. *Wasma* and *khizab* have been mentioned by Amir Khusrau

and others in their works.¹⁰⁴ Besides these, Amir Khusrau mentions in *Ijaz-i-Khusravi of gulguna* and *ghaza* (red-colour with which women painted their faces), and *supaida* (hair powder) which may be taken as articles of cosmetics. Ikhtisan has also mentioned these things but does not refer to *supaida* as an article of embellishment. Collyrium was used. Women used collyrium on their eye-lids to enhance their grace and beauty. Hasan Nizami refers to *surma-i-chashm* (collyrium) and *bahraman* and *gulguna* (paint to redden the face).¹⁰⁵ The body was adorned with cosmetics and scented lotion.¹⁰⁶ We learn about the application of *ubtan* (paste), decoration of the hair with flowers, and also the application of red colour in the feet.¹⁰⁷ Women reddened their lips by chewing betel leaf.¹⁰⁸ They put black dots on their cheeks as a protection against evil eyes.¹⁰⁹ *Hena* was used to give red colour to hands and feet.¹¹⁰ The forehead was adorned with a beauty mark.¹¹¹ Vermilion was used.¹¹² Vermilion was regarded as a sign of chastity.¹¹³ According to Chinese accounts the women of Bengal did not use cosmetics because they were of fair complexion.¹¹⁴

Hasan Nizami tells us about the use of perfumes like *mushk*, *amber*, *itr* (a kind of perfume), *ud* (yellow wood) and *argaja* (the name of a perfume of a yellowish colour compounded of several ingredients).¹¹⁵ Perfumes were sold.¹¹⁶

We also learn about the massaging of the feet with oil.¹¹⁷ Jyotirisvara Thakur tells us about the shampooing of the body with oil.¹¹⁸ Comb was used. The *Sufis* parted the hair of the head. The *Syeds* and the *ulamas* used to have a particular kind of ringlet or lock of hair.¹¹⁹

To decorate the various parts of the body ornaments were used. The ornaments were necklace, earring, ankle-ring, bracelets worn round forearms and legs, nose pendent, broad ornamented bracelet. The perforation of the ears of one's daughter is mentioned.¹²⁰ According to a Chinese traveller, "the women of Bengal wore ear-rings of precious stones set in gold. They had pendants on their necks, gold bracelets on their wrists and ankles."¹²¹

Men also wore ornaments. We get reference to the wearing of pearl in ear.¹²² Barbosa refers to the wearing of finger-ring with rich jewels.¹²³

The goldsmiths had good business and were always busy in designing new and beautiful patterns. Yadgar tells the story of a goldsmith who brought *mang-tika* of precious diamonds of different valuations—five lacs, three lacs and of two lacs *tankas* for sale before Hamid Khan.¹²⁴ Kings and nobility used precious stones and jewels like *Yashm* (Jasper or agate), *zamurrad* (emerald) *marjan* (pearl), *aj* (ivory), *almas* (diamond), *lal* (ruby), *yaquts* (sapphire), *aqiq* (cornalian), *lajward* (apis) *billaur* (a kind of stone), *durar* (pearl), *gauher* (pearl), *lulu* (pearl) and *mina* (diamond).¹²⁵ In this connection it should be made clear that the needs of the poorer classes in respect of food, drink, cosmetics, toilets, ornaments and other habits were very small.

Housing :

We are ignorant of the engineering skill in the building of a house. The influence of weather in the planning of rooms and ventilation cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. At best one can distinguish between the houses of rich and poor citizens by noting references to the palaces, double storied and thatched houses and the amenities and furniture in a room in the contemporary literature. We find mention of thatched houses and hovels of thatch and mud. In these lived men of the lower middle and the poorer classes, while the mansions of the rich were well furnished with cushions, silken carpets, hanging curtains, soft beds, mattings, big pillows and quilt, and other articles of luxuries, which were perhaps necessary for them.

Everyone could not afford to have a house or habitation of his own. That lots of people must have spent their days in streets and other public places is evident from the statement of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya as recorded by Hasan Sjizi.¹²⁶ In big towns, specially the big cities many people lived in rented houses.¹²⁷ The father of Amir Khusrau, who hailed from Patiala, lived in a rented house at Delhi. So was the case with Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who had come from Badaon and lived in a rented house.

The author of *Masalik-ul-Absar* speaks of the houses of stone and bricks. He says that the floors were paved with white stone like marble. None of the two houses was more than two stories high and some were single storied.¹²⁸ There is a reference to two

storied houses of businessman, one story being used as shop and the other for dwelling purposes.¹²⁹ In the religious literature we get reference to *dihliz*¹³⁰ (threshold) where the *Sufi* saints used to meet newcomers.

The houses had plasters of variegated colours, and sometimes given coating of gold and silver. The walls and ceilings of the houses were painted with figures of trees and other inanimate things.¹³¹ The *Chaitanya Charitamrita* refers to a garden in front of the house of a *Qazi*, which was destroyed by the followers of Chaitanya.¹³² Barbosa says: "They bathe often in great tanks which they have near their houses".¹³³

But neither the available items of food nor the housing conditions of ordinary citizens show a marked contrast to the modern times. We get references to thatched houses supported by logs. The roofs of the huts were covered with straw and a special kinds of grass.¹³⁴ The floors were usually of bare earth. Religious literature refers to *Do Chhapri* which Maulana Nizam-ud-din built for Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, which was later converted into a residential house by Zain-ud-din Majd-ul-Mulk for the saint.¹³⁵

Furniture :

Household furniture included chairs, couch and bedsteads. The house of Ibn Batuta was furnished with beddings, carpets, mats and cots. These were essential household articles. Ibn Batuta speaks of the lightness of Indian cots. They were portable. The cot consisted of four tapering legs on which stretched four sticks, and between them was made a net of silk or cotton.¹³⁶ At Manersharif there is a room which is pointed out as the place where Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri was born. In the corner there is a very old rickety wooden cot. The planks and the four legs were made of one single block wood. It is said that the saintly lady used to offer her prayer on the cot. A similar wooden cot is still found in a cell adjoining the *Khanqah* of Hazrat Nasir-ud-din Chiragh Delhi, on which it is said that he offered his prayer.

Among the articles of bedding Ibn Batuta mentions mattresses, pillows, quilts and blankets.¹³⁷ Mosquito curtain was

also used.¹³⁸ The floor was covered with carpets. Barani speaks of figured carpets and embroidered screens.¹³⁹ We learn about the use of Bulgarian carpet. Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq sent to Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri of Bihar through Zain-ud-din Majdul Mulk, the muqtai of Bihar, the *Mosalla-i-Bulgari* (prayer carpet imported from Bulgaria).¹⁴⁰ Mention has also been made of Persian carpets.¹⁴¹ The main idea was to sit on good carpets with plenty of large pillows. Chairs were found, but they were rare. The table, so common in present day India, has been borrowed from Europe.

Utensils :

Gold and silver vessels, golden trays, coloured dishes, gobblets, *lota* (water-pot), spoon, and leather and earthen pots have been mentioned as articles of utensils in our period.¹⁴²

The houses of the *Sufi* saints were furnished with earthen pots for preserving drinking water and for cooking purposes. There is a reference in the *mal'uz* of Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, the 14th century *Firdausi* saint of Bihar, to the use of '*badhna-i-ab*'.¹⁴³ In Bihar a kind of pot with a spout to it is called *badhna* and it has been in use for a very long time.

Transport :

Travelling was tedious and troublesome. The means of transport were human carriers and beasts of burden. The distance from Delhi to Firozabad was five *kos*. A regular service of carts, camels and horses shuttled daily between these two places at fixed hours. *Kahars* (a class of palanquin bearers) were available with *doli*. The fare of cart was four *jitals*; of oxen, six *jitals*; of horses twelve; and of *doli* half *tanka*.¹⁴⁴ Religious literature also refers to *dolas* (a kind of sedan or inferior type of palanquin) which were used by saints for covering short distances and were carried by bearers and occasionally shouldered by enthusiastic disciples.¹⁴⁵ *Dola* was also used by women. It was overhung with curtains.¹⁴⁶ Abbas Khan says that he saw Afghans in covered *dolas*.¹⁴⁷ *Palki* or palanquin, was a

comfortable means of transport. The nobility covered long distances in palanquins.¹⁴⁸

Journey was also covered on the back of the camel.¹⁴⁹ Horse as means of conveyance was preferred specially for long distance journey.¹⁵⁰ Bullock carts also formed one of the means of transport. Probably, it formed part of the conveyance for the poor section of the people.¹⁵¹ It is interesting to note that Hisam-ud-din, who later on became Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din, came to Hindustan on the back of an ass.¹⁵² In India according to Ibn Batuta riding on ass-back was regarded as humiliating and was looked down upon.¹⁵³

The use of boats was also known. Dharmasvamin, the 13th century monk, in connection with the crossing of river Ganges, refers to two ferry boats which had the appearance of boxes, and were tied together with ropes. They could accommodate three hundred passengers.¹⁵⁴ Afif tells us about the use of boats.¹⁵⁵ An elephant could be transported on a boat.¹⁵⁶

Dangers of travel :

The chief problem both for the merchant and the traveller was security of life and property. The perils and discomforts of travelling were many and serious. We are told that a river like the Ganges contained crocodiles. Sometimes the crocodiles caused the boats to sink, and sometimes they lifted passengers from inside the boats in their mouths.¹⁵⁷ There was also danger from brigands. Travellers were stopped by highway men. The lonely roads, often passing through dense forests, offered many chances to marauders. Once Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya went to Gujrat. He had two or three men in his company. On the way he was attacked by robbers. But he had a miraculous escape.¹⁵⁸ Sometimes the way-farers were attacked by bandits with naked swords.¹⁵⁹ Amir Khusrau makes mention of the caravans laden with goods which were plundered by robbers and highway men. Once a caravan carrying cloves and saffrons from the east to the west arrived at a place somewhere in U.P. It was attacked by dacoits who plundered the goods.¹⁶⁰ He also tells us of a caravan of merchants taking betel leaves from Gujrat to

Delhi which was plundered on the way.¹⁶¹ Ibn Batuta and his men were attacked by a party of bandits.¹⁶² We get reference to highway robbery committed by men belonging to the *Jat* community. Timur observes that they had no equals in theft and highway robbery. They plundered caravans on the roads.¹⁶³

Sometimes highway brigands took men captive and released them on payment of ransom money. Once one of the sons of Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya was made captive by the bandits in course of his journey. They demanded the property inherited by him from his father. At last he was released after the payment of a large sum by his brother.¹⁶⁴

The roads and routes were infested not only by robbers and dacoits, but also by wild beasts and ferocious animals. Dharma-svamin, a Tibetan monk-pilgrim, met with a wild buffalo, whose hair of the belly reached the ground.¹⁶⁵

We get references to *thugs* and pick-pockets.¹⁶⁶ *Thugs* used to victimise people through drugged sweets.¹⁶⁷ Sometimes women also acted as highway robbers and *thugs*. Once Husain Khan Sherwani, while coming from Lakhnauti, met a beautiful embellished lady. She was well dressed and well decorated. She took the initiative in the talk with the traveller and offered him betel leaves in the usual polite manner of the time. But her foul game was detected.¹⁶⁸

Discomforts of travel were also caused by the lack of proper facilities to the travellers. In some sandy tracts travellers, out of the fear of sun-stroke, did not travel during day time, and had onions hanging round their necks.¹⁶⁹

Great preparations were made for the journey of a man of rank. Barani tells us that when Malik Chajju was sent to Multan, provision for food, wine, fruits and garments for journey were made.¹⁷⁰ Sometimes advance party was sent ahead to secure the eatables and other things. The journey of Khudawandzada Qiwam-ud-din,¹⁷¹ *Qazi* of Tirmidh,¹⁷² from Multan to Delhi is an illustration that travelling for well-to-do was easy and expeditious.

Public Insecurities :

The degree of insecurity felt by the people can be inferred from the writings of the historians of the period under review. Breaches of tranquillity may be grouped into external and internal. The external factor consisted of foreign invasions. The intermittent Mongol raids made the life of the people of the border towns, like Multan and Lahore, insecure and miserable. The invaders used to make people homeless and captives.¹⁷³ Once Amir Khusrau himself was captured by the Mongols. He, mentioning the incident in the *Dibachah* of *Ghurrat-ul-Kamal*, says 'In that disastrous conflagration the infidels cord-bound me by neck too, but as God wanted to let me live longer, I escaped and fled from the path of destruction'.¹⁷⁴ The whole city of Multan mourned and wept at the death of their sons and relatives and Prince Mohammad. On account of the loud wailing and beating of drums, in order to keep the people alert against the Mongols, nobody slept that night, as in every house there was some dead to be mourned. The Hindus and the Turk suffered alike.¹⁷⁵ References to the killing and pillaging of men and women, and the destruction of villages by the Mongols are found in the mystic literature also.¹⁷⁶

The danger of Mongol invasion caused migration of the people into a city like Delhi. From the outskirts of Delhi, people flocked into the city. Once the influx of the people was so great that they could not find accommodation in the streets, market places and mosques. Prices of all commodities rose high because the roads for importing grains were closed.¹⁷⁷ Timur's invasion profoundly affected the normal life of the people. The sacking of the cities like Tulamba, Ajodhan, Divalpur, Bhatnir, Meerut and Delhi left a trail of misery behind for a pretty long time. The massacres and sufferings of the people, both Hindus and Muslims, were colossal.

We are told of the plundering of the town of Shahabad (near Delhi) by the soldiers of Babar. Shaikh Rukn-ud-din¹⁷⁸ tells us that when the kingship of the Afghans was gone and Mohammad Babar became king, Shahabad was plundered and ruined. In regard to the insecurities caused by the Mewatis, we

learn that they entered into the town in the night, plundered the people and destroyed the *sarais* which lay in the environs of Delhi. Roads were closed and business men did not dare to go out. After the sun had set none visited the tomb of a saint. The Mewatis used to molest the male servants who went to draw water. They would strip them off, and make them naked and take away their garments.¹⁷⁹

Then the army sent by a Sultan against the refractory *muqtais*, or provincial governors, would also cause insecurity to the people. Life and property would lie at the mercy of the conquering army. The unsocial elements in the community availed themselves of the opportunity. Afif refers to the wailing of the women of the fortress of Ikdalla. Sultan Firoz apprehended that the women might fall into the hands of undesirable men.¹⁸⁰ *Malfuz-us-Safar* (containing discourse of Hazrat Sharf-uddin Yahya Maneri delivered in the *majlis* in A.H. 762) refers to the great uproar and anxiety among the populace consequent upon the approach of the army of Sultan Firoz Shah. The saint advised all to keep indoors.¹⁸¹ The invading army would destroy the standing crops in the fields. Probably this was the reason which led Sher Shah to issue military regulations for the protection of the peasantry. Soldiers were asked to keep watch on the crops and no one was to destroy them.¹⁸²

Hospices :

There is enough evidence in contemporary literature about the existence of hospices or rest houses for travellers. They were maintained by the religious orders or set up by kings and members of the royal family or the aristocratic order. Ibn Batuta tells us that at every station from Delhi to Daulatabad there was a hospice for the travellers. Every station provided for the needs of the travellers. As a result of this, poor travellers did not feel the necessity of carrying provisions along that way.¹⁸³

Building of hospices was regarded as an act of charity. We are told that Makhdum-i-Jahan, mother of Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq, was a charitable lady, who built many hospices wherein she made provisions for feeding the way-farers.¹⁸⁴ Afif tells us

that Sultan Firoz constructed a number of hospices. In Firozabad and Delhi there were one hundred and twenty-one hospices. The travellers were allowed to stay as guests for three days. In this way travellers could stay for the year round in different hospices.¹⁸⁵ The religious establishments (*Khanqahs*) of the *Sufi* saints catered to the poor and the destitute way-farers and travellers, and also served as centres of religion and education. Sometimes the kings and nobles caused these *Khanqahs* to be built for the convenience of the devoted followers and admirers of a particular saintly personage. The religious literature of Bihar tells us that when Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq heard the fame of Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, he sent a *farman* to Zain-ud-din Majdul Mulk, the *muqta* of Bihar, to build a *Khanqah* and assign a *jagir* at Rajgir for its upkeep. The Sultan wrote in the *farman* that if the saint did not accept the gift, he would be compelled to do so. The assignment of Rajgir was reluctantly accepted¹⁸⁶ by the aforesaid saint. It was returned after 15 years. There are many references with regard to the lavish grants made by Sultan Firoz Shah to other *Khanqahs*.¹⁸⁷ Mutahhar tells us that travellers, way-farers, pilgrims and ascetics, the residents of the *Khanqah*, were provided by the king and every one of them offered thanksgivings to God for the beneficence conferred on them by the king.¹⁸⁸ Darya Khan Nuhani is also said to have constructed a *Khanqah* for Syed Mohammad, a *Qadri* saint of the mid-fifteenth century Bihar.¹⁸⁹

Information is also not lacking about other charitable institutions and works of public utility. Besides canals and public edifices, which brought relief to many people in various ways, hospitals in India are known to have been set up even before the times of Moghals. Unfortunately our information about hospitals is scanty, but some incidental allusions prove the existence of such institutions. Afif says that all the rulers invariably and always took upon themselves the duty of taking interest in, and ascertaining the conditions of, the ailing persons. Every ruler thought it his bounden duty and responsibility to strive his utmost for taking care of the helpless and the sick. Showing desirable virtues and doing laudable deeds each ruler

in his own reign and time established the benevolent institution of *Sihat Khana*¹⁹⁰ (hospital). Al-Qalqashandy writes that "there were many *bimaristans* (hospitals) called *dar-us-shifa* in the time of Mohammad Tughlaq",¹⁹¹ Sultan Firoz Shah himself set up hospitals for the general people. Expert and skilful physicians, surgeons and oculists were employed. Expenses for medicines and diet were met by the royal treasury. In this way all were benefited.¹⁹² We are told that the Sultan took personal interest in the treatment of those who suffered from eye diseases.¹⁹³

Famine and Relief Measures :

The great terror of medieval India was famine. The period under survey was often scourged by famine. Jamali tells us that during the time of Sultan Iltutmish there was drought in Delhi and food grains became very dear. Many people died on account of starvation.¹⁹⁴ We are told by Barani that during the reign of Mohammad Tughlaq people of Delhi and its environs and of the land between the Doab became victim of famine and thousands of people died.¹⁹⁵ An idea of the miseries caused to the people by famine during the time of Mohammad Tughlaq can be had from the account given by Ibn Batuta. He says that he saw three women cutting into pieces and eating the skin of a horse which had died several months before. Even hide was cooked and sold in the market. When oxen were slaughtered people used to take their meat and drink their blood. Some students of Khorasan told Ibn Batuta that they had entered a city called Akroha. They entered into one of the houses on a particular night and they found a man, who had kindled a fire and was holding in his hand a leg of a human being. He was roasting it in the fire and eating it.¹⁹⁶

Relief Measures :

As regards relief measures we are told that attempts were made to mitigate the hardships caused by famine. Sultan Jalal-ud-din tried to alleviate the distress by gifts to poor and indigent persons.¹⁹⁷ Ala-ud-din asked his people to buy corn from the market according to their needs at the time of drought.¹⁹⁸ They

were not to buy even one grain of corn more than the required needs. Barani says that those notables who had no villages or fields at their command, were given grain for their requirements.¹⁹⁹ Ibn Batuta tells us that when people failed to meet the peril of famine, Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq ordered six months' provisions to be distributed to all citizens of Delhi.²⁰⁰ The author of *Tarikh-i-Afghan*²⁰¹ says that Sher Shah ordered that 10 *istar* per *bigha* should be taken from all the parts of the kingdom and kept in storage. The grain, thus stored should be sent to the place where there was scarcity or famine.

Poverty :

It is difficult to assess the real degree of the people's poverty during our period, which differed not only from place to place but also from year to year. Literature of the period suggests that wealth was the monopoly of a few. These few moneyed people were extremely opulent and delighted in luxury. But the vast mass of the people was afflicted by pinching penury.²⁰²

Chroniclers draw a picture of general contentment and prosperity under some Sultans like Ala-ud-din, Firoz and others.²⁰³ But the most lavish rhetoric could hardly conceal the appalling poverty of some classes of people. The accounts of the life of saints acquaint us with stark reality. Once when one of his disciples insisted on his taking of *sahri*, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya said : "How the food would go down his throat when indigent persons and *darveshes* slept without food in the corner of the mosque and in front of shops".²⁰⁴ Tombs and shrines of the *Sufi* saints were surrounded by crowds of poor people importuning the faithful for alms. The houses and mansions of the rich were thronged on days of festivals by the poor, the indigent, the blind, the lame and paralysed ones begging for alms. A perusal of the sufferings of the people during the time of famine will also reveal that the general mass of the people had nothing to fall back upon. Afif, while describing the setting up of a hospital by Firoz, remarks that a sick man suffers in two ways : "He is tortured by disease. His position becomes pitiable owing

to his poverty when he has nothing to spend on his treatment. He is looked down upon by the people when he has nothing to maintain his family with. He becomes dejected and out of dejection and frustration he wishes nothing but death. Only death could give him relief".²⁰⁵

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1. Ancient Accounts of India and China, p. 34, quoted in B. P. Mazumdar: *The Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, p. 287.
2. Shihab-ud-din Abul Abbas Ahmad (E & D), III, p. 583.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 582. The author says that *dirham hast kani* was worth 32 *fals* or *falus* and four *fals* were equal to one *jital*.
4. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* (E & D), III, p. 401.
5. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 40.
6. *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 531.
7. Pound weight consisting of two maunds.
8. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 234.
9. *Jaisi: Padmavat* (A. G. Shirreff), pp. 313-14. They were fragrant and pleasant.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
11. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 109, 113, 255, 259, 277. Sometimes rice was cooked mixed with milk and sugar (*Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 125).
12. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 15. Compare Barbosa, I, p. 211. In Vijayanagar rice was boiled with chick-peas and other pulses.
13. *Pjaz-i-Khusravi*, V, p. 65.
14. *Kirtilata* (H. P. Shastri, Calcutta), p. 13.
15. *Padmavat* (A. G. Shirreff), p. 312.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
17. Barani, p. 116.
18. *Padmavat*, p. 312.
19. *Diwan-i-Mutahhar* (O.C.M., 1935, Lahore), 5, p. 138.
- 19a. It was an Indian coin. It has been mentioned as corresponding to one *hast kani*. One *hast kani* was equal to four *sultanis* or four *dogonis* or one *dirham*.
20. Shihab-ud-din (E & D), III, p. 583.
21. Shaikh Md. Kabir f. 550.
22. *Padmavat* (A. G. Shirreff), p. 314. Large pieces of roasted meat were served at the dinner (*Rehla*, p. 151).
23. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 19-20.

24. *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, f. 24 b.
25. *Malfuzat-i-Timuri* (E & D) III., p. 427.
26. *Shaikh Rukn-ud-din*, p. 31.
27. *Padmavat* (A. G. Shirreff), p. 315.
28. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 164
29. Vijay Gupta : *Padma Purana*, p. 56, quoted in Abdul Karim : *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, p. 194.
30. *Padmavat*, p. 315.
31. Yadgar, p. 59.
32. A. Karim : *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, p. 191 (FN 2).
33. Bipin Bihari Trivedi : *Chand Bardai aur Unka Kavya*, (Allahabad). pad. 94, p. 102.
34. *Chandain* : edited by P. L. Gupta (Bombay), pad; 4, p. 156.
35. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 63.
36. *Padmavat* (A. G. Shirreff), pp. 314-315 ; *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (K. P. J. R. I.), p. 58, *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, V, p. 142; Mahuan, J. R. A. S., 1895, p. 531.
37. *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (K. P. J. R. I.), p. 67.
38. Amir Khusrau, II, pp. 173-1. IV, pp. 51, 64, 157, 325; V, p. 17.
39. Species of sweetmeat, which is a mixture of almonds, honey and oil sesame ; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 137.
40. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 110.
41. Jyotirisvara : *Varna Ratnakara* (Bib. Ind.), p. 13.
42. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 15. Reference to *Shewai* is also found. *Sharf-Nama Ahmad Maneri* f. 266b.
43. *Jamai-ul-Ulum*, p. 338.
44. *Padmavat* (A. G. Shirreff), p. 316.
45. *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*, Part II, pp. 197-198.
46. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 64.
- 46a. Wild fruits of thorny plants found in the Panjab and used as food. K. A. Nizami : *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganji-Shakar*, p. 28 fn.
47. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 173 ; IV, pp. 63-64.
48. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 253-267. Ibn Batuta also mentions some of the good quality. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 244. Jyotirisvara gives thirteen qualities of betel leaf (*Varna-Ratnakara*, p. 13).
49. Barani, p. 117. *Imad-ul-Mulk* was the maternal grandfather of Amir Khusrau.
50. *Ibid.*, 247.
- 50a. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 217.
51. Ibn Batuta, pp. 16, 66 ; Amir Khurd : *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 413-414.
52. Amir Hasan Sijzi, pp. 206-207. See also *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 413-414.
53. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 218.

54. *Nuh Sipihr*, p. 161.
55. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 27; II, p. 254, See also *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (K.P.J.R.I.), p. 97.
56. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 244.
57. *Khwan-i-Pur Niamat*, pp. 13-14.
58. *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*, p. 186.
59. *Varna-Ratnakara* (Bib. Ind.), p. 13.
60. *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*, p. 32.
61. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 28.
62. *Ibid.*, (G.O.S.), p. 28.
63. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 4.
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66. Barani, pp. 45-46.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
68. Afif, pp. 145-146
69. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
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71. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, IV., pp. 258-259.
72. *Basatin-ul-Uns*, ff. 164 b, 127 a.
73. Barani, p. 591.
74. Afif (Bib. Ind.), p. 280.
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78. P.U.J., 1963, p. 122.
79. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 311.
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81. Al Qalqashandi, tr. by Otto Spies : *An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century*, pp. 69-70.
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94. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

95. *F'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, pp. 11, 177 ; *Maktubat-i-Sadi*, Letter Nos. 51, 91, pp. 141, 261 , *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*, II, pp. 355-375 ; *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* (Calcutta), pp. 133, 135 ; *Munis-ul-Qulub*, pp. 268, 410.
96. *F'jaz-i-Khusravi*, II, p. 32 ; V, p. 67 ; *Khwan-i-Pur Niamat*, p. 105.
97. *F'jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 177.
98. Vide S. H. Askari : *A fifteenth century Shuttari Sufi Saint of North Bihar* (Pr.I.H.C. 1950), p. 156 ; Mention is made of *Jama-i-Khadi* (*Khaddar* garment) worn by the saints. *Jama-i-khadi* was not a costly cloth (*Maktubat-i-Shaikh Muzaffar Shams Balkhi*, letter No. 129 f 147 ; *Maktubat-i-Sadi*, p. 259).
99. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 33.
100. *F'jaz-i-Khusravi*, III, p. 95 ; IV, p. 46 ; *Maktubat-i-Shaikh Muzaffar Shams Balkhi*, Letter No. 3. f. 10 ; *Maktubat-i-Sadi*, Letter No. 5, p. 141.
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108. Yadgar (Bib. Ind.), p. 103.
109. *Nuh Sipih*, p. 381.
110. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 78.
111. *Padmavat* (A. G. Shirreff), p. 182.
112. *Munis-ul-Muridan*, p. 24. In one of the letters Vidyapati tells us about the sending of vermilion, perfumed oil, clothes ; coloured in the Kusumbhi colour by a mother to her daughter assuring her to call her back from her husband's house after the rain (*Likhanavali* ; Letter No. 36).
113. Vidyapati : *Kirtilata* (H. P. Shastri), p. 15.
114. *Visva-Bharati Annals*, I, 1945, p. 122.
115. *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, p. f. 91a.
116. *Kirtilata*, p. 12.
117. *F'jaz-i-Khusravi*, II, p. 337
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120. Vide S. H. Askari, P. U. J., XIII, 1959, p. 68.
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122. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 153.
123. *The Book of Durate Barbosa*, I, p. 147.

124. *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, pp. 60-61.
125. Vide S. H. Askari, P. U. J., 1963; p. 123.
126. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 128.
127. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 142.
128. Shihab-ud-din Ahmad (E & D), III, p. 575.
129. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 93.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
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132. *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, Adi, 17th, quoted in Abdul Karim : *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, p. 190.
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134. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), pp. 104, 242, *Ganj-i-la Yakhfa*, p. 78,
135. *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* (Calcutta), p. 134.
136. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), pp. 119-120.
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138. *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (K. P. J. R. I.), p. 90.
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140. *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* (Calcutta), p. 134; *Ansab-i-Sharfi*, (MS), p. 16.
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143. *Ganj-i-la-Yafna*, p. 21.
144. Afif, p. 136.
145. *Ganj-i-la yafna*, p. 69; *Munis-ul-Qulub*, p. 351; *Munis-ul-Muridin*, pp. 14, 25; See also *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (K. P. J. R. I.), p. 100.
146. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 122.
147. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, (K. J. R.), pp. 200-101-
148. Barani, p. 184.
149. Afif, p. 173.
150. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 180.
151. Barani, p. 568.
152. *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* (Bib. Ind.), p. 161.
153. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), p. 146. A criminal after being whipped was seated on an ass and paraded.
154. *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (K. P. J. R. I.), p. 63, The ferry boats were fairly big.
155. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 110, 122, 144.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
157. Dharmasvamin (K. P. J. R. I.), p. 63.
158. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 76.
159. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 53.
160. *I jaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 156.
161. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 249-250.
162. *Rehla* (G. O. S.), pp. 19-20, 153-158.

163. *Malfuz-i-Timuri* (E & D), III, p. 428. Timur says that they called themselves Muslims.
164. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 159.
165. *Biography of Dharmasvamin* (K.P.J.R.I.), pp. 59-60.
166. *Padmavat* (A. G. Shirreff), pp. 31, 268.
167. *Ibid.*, pp. 180, 263.
168. *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (O.P.L.), ff. 83 ab.
169. Barani, p. 570.
170. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 184.
171. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 15.
172. Name of an old town on the Oxus.
173. Afif, pp. 49, 136.
174. M. W. Mirza : *Life and works of Amir Khusrau*, p. 60 (fn. 6).
175. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.
176. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 206, 259-260 ; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 276.
177. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 143.
178. *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, p. 63 ; S. H. Askari, *Haz. Abdul Quddus Gangohi*, P.U.J., 1957 ; S. Nurul Hasan : *Lataif-i-Quddusi (M.I.Q.)* July, 1950.
179. Barani, p. 56 ; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 84.
180. Afif, pp. 118-119 ; Elsewhere we are told that the invading army dishonoured the women (*Ibid.*, p. 275).
181. Zain Badr Arabi (MS), pp. 1-2.
182. Abbas Khan, pp. 193-194.
183. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 44.
184. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
185. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 330-331.
186. *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* (Calcutta), pp. 133-134 ; *Tahqiqat-ul-Ma'ani*, ff. 4b-5a.
187. Barani, pp. 538-39, 560 ; Afif, pp. 330-331 ; 332-388 ; *Insha-i-Mahro*, ff. 19a-20, 25a.
188. *Diwan-i-Mutahhar* (O.C.M.L.), 1935, pp. 138-139.
189. *Manaqib-i-Mohammadi*, p. 58.
190. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 355-356 ; Eng. tr. of the excerpt by S. H. Askari : *Medicines and Hospitals in Muslim India* (J.B.R.S., Vol. XLIII, 1957), p. 16.
191. Otto Spies : *An Arab Account of India in the 14th century*, p. 29.
192. Afif, pp. 353-357.
193. *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, ff. 169b-170a.
194. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 154.
195. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 473.
196. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 117.
197. Barani, p. 112.
198. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
199. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
200. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 84-85, 117.

201. Shaikh Mohammad Kabir, f. 37 a.
202. Afif, pp. 335-336.
203. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, pp. 171-174 ; Afif, pp. 288-89; 292-95 ;
Khair-ul-Majalis, pp. 185, 240.
204. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 128.
205. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 353-354.

CHAPTER III

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Manners are a valuable index of the mental and moral tone of the society in any age. Manners cover various forms of action. One man may contribute one thing to a custom, but custom as a whole is a common creation. It controls every phase of man's mental and moral activity. The two are complementary.

Ceremonies connected with Birth :

The birth of a child was an occasion of rejoicing. Amir Khusrau tells us of a tiny cradle prepared in advance to receive the new-comer.¹ The very first thing done was to call the *azan*² in the ears of the newly born child. Hazrat Abdul Quddus Gangohi, while doing manual work of washing the garment of his *pir* in Rudauli was summoned through a maid servant of his *pir's* wife to perform this religious duty.³ The *Sufi* literature provides an instance of *Chatti* ceremony performed on the sixth day after the birth of the child. On this occasion parents received new garments for their newly born babe from their relatives and friends.⁴ It was generally on the sixth day after the child's birth that *aqiqa* ceremony was performed and the hair of the new born infant was shaved and a feast was given. The next stage was that of circumcision ceremony. The child was brought out in gorgeous dress and a feast was given to relatives and others.⁵

Social Calls :

A boy becomes a young man and on becoming an adult he was expected to acclimatize himself with the current manner of receiving and responding to the social calls. It was part of social courtesy to stand up to receive guests. The guest was received by taking him by hand and embracing.⁶ Ibn Batuta

tells us that with a man of commanding position the Sultan joined hands and even embraced him.⁷

The host was expected to perform certain formalities. If the guest was invited to a dinner, the host was to help him in washing his hands. But first of all the host was to wash his own hands.⁸ Visitors were entertained with food, fruit and *pan*.⁹ Generally *sharbat* and *pan* were served to the guests. The entertainment depended largely on the monetary condition of the host. The hagiological literature of the period tells us that the visitors at the saint's house were served with something. They were not allowed to go back without taking anything. If nothing was available, a pot full of water was placed before the guest.¹⁰ We are informed that some saints of Bihar used to serve *sharbat* to any person who called upon them. Once Sultan Sikandar came to the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Fakhr-ud-din Zahid. There was no sugar. The Shaikh asked one of his attendants to extract sugar from the sweetmeat (*shirni*) and prepare the *sharbat*.¹¹

Dining Manners :

Only two types of dinner are formally recorded of kings and of mystics. We get some idea of how meal was served and food was taken. The manners differed amongst the various sections of the people. According to Ibn Batuta before the dinner began the chamberlain stood at the head of the dinner carpet and performed the bow in the direction of the Sultan. All present did the same. This was called *Khidmat* which meant in India bowing down to the knees as in prayers. After this people sat down to eat. First was served sugar water perfumed with rose water called *Sharbat*. After they had taken the *sharbat*, the chamberlain called out *Bismillah*. Then all began to eat. At the end of dinner barley drink (*Fuqqa*) was served. Then betel leaves and nuts were served. After they had taken betels and nuts, the chamberlain called out *Bismillah*, whereupon all stood up and bowed in the same way as before. Then they retired.^{12a}

Ibn Batuta speaks about two kinds of dinners, private and public, given by the reigning king. In the private dinner the

Sultan himself was present. The public dinner was headed by the Chief Palace Officer. When the dishes were served the Palace Officers stood up in rows. The Chief Palace Officer made a discourse in which he praised the Sultan. Then he bowed to him. In the same manner all bowed. The custom was that the moment anyone heard the utterances of the Chief Palace Officer he stopped instantly, if walking. All remained in their place if they happened to be standing. None was to move till the discourse was over. Everybody occupied his appointed seats.^{11b} Everyone had before him a set of various dishes constituting the dinner and no one shared a plate with another.^{11c}

Mention is also made of entertainment during a dinner. Babar in his memoirs observes that when the dinner was served, the Hindustani jugglers were brought and performed their tricks. Tumblers and rope dancers exhibited their feats.¹²

Unfortunately we get very scanty information about the way the common people, other than those belonging to the upper classes, took their meals. The *Sufra* or *dastarkhan* which means a round piece of cloth spread on the ground on which food was laid out and around which the guests squatted and the *chamcha* or spoon formed a common feature. There was no table knife. People used their hands in taking food. Abbas Khan Sarwani tells that when a big fish was served before Sher Khan on a large plate in the dinner hall of Babar, the Pathan was at first at a fix how to take the delicious thing and he made use of his dagger to cut the fish into pieces.¹³ But the way of taking food was a very simple affair with the *Sufis*.

Meeting the Sultan and the elders :

The procedure for paying respects to the Sultan and of offering presents to him was also prescribed. An elaborate court etiquette was laid down. References are found to the Persian practice of touching the ground (*zaminbosi*) and kissing the feet (*paibosi*) of the Sultan. Balban insisted on *paibosi*. People prostrated before the throne.¹⁴ *Khans*, *amirs*, notable persons and men of letters used to present themselves in the palace in order to offer their salutation according to rank.¹⁵

It was a part of the court manners that on the first day of every month *mashaikh* and notables went to the court and offered their greetings to the reigning Sultan. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya used to send his attendant Iqbal for the purpose.¹⁶ Incidentally it may be mentioned that whenever and wherever people heard the name of the Sultan, they were expected to bow their heads.¹⁷ Once some one asked Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri as to how far it was justified to observe the practice which had become prevalent of bending the head and showing respect when one heard the name of the reigning Sultan. The saint replied that there was no objection if it was the etiquette.¹⁸ The *amirs* and army chiefs were to observe certain etiquette at the time of receiving seasonal robes from the Sultan. They went out to receive them, and the moment they saw robe-bearers they got down from their horses and carried on their shoulders the robes and bowed in the direction of the Sultan.¹⁹ At the time of receiving any thing from the royal court one had to bow with his right hand touching the ground. Often a Sultan sent food to one absent from private dinner. The receiver had to perform the same rules of etiquette.²⁰ Abdullah tells us that under Sikandar Lodi the *amirs* to whom *farmans* were issued were to advance two to three *kos* in order to greet them. A platform was erected. Those who carried the *farman* placed it on the dais. The *amir* stood below it and respectfully held the *farman* with both hands and rubbed it on his head and eyes.²¹

One was to be particular about salutation. Falling on one's feet, touching the beard, and kissing were regarded as signs of affection.²² Sometimes salutation was offered to elderly men by stretching hands towards the feet.²³ Among the Muslim families of Bengal the younger brother when offering his salutation to his elder brother touched his feet.²⁴ The etiquette observed in the *Sufi* circles was very reverential. Contemporary literature reveals that people paid their homage to the *Sufi* saints by putting their head on the ground. A disciple kissed the feet of his spiritual teacher.²⁵ It was believed that by doing so they killed their ego and helped the development of the spiritual aspect of their personality. Their posture of sitting was also respectful, namely kneeling down and sitting on the knees.

It was a part of social etiquette for the nobility to make presents to the Sultan.²⁶ The Sultan received presents not only from the *grandees*, but also from the royal princes.²⁷ There were many occasions on which the nobles and others offered presents to the Sultan. One such occasion was when Sultan returned after achieving victory. The articles of presents included horses, camels, elephants and also slaves.²⁸ During the time of Firoz Tughlaq *muqtais* came to offer their allegiance to the Sultan along with slaves. They brought with them swift running horses, elephants, different varieties of clothes and other precious articles according to their status.²⁹

Another occasion of offering presents to the Sultan was when he would return from his hunting excursion.³⁰ When the Sultan gave audience, *amirs*, *maliks* and *sadoors* offered their presents.³¹ We are told that whatever was received by a Sultan by way of offering after his triumphant victory, was sent to different parts of the empire to be distributed among the deserving persons.³² The Sultan also used to receive presents from foreigners. They were expected to offer presents to the Sultan who in return gave things worth several times more in value.³³ Ibn Batuta purchased at Ghazni about 30 horses and a camel carrying a load of arrows, a gift usually presented to Sultans.³⁴

References are found to the offering of presents to the Sultan after long absence of an official. Ibn Batuta says that if any officer absented himself for three consecutive days or more from the royal palace with or without excuse, he was not allowed to enter in it without the Sultan's permission. If his absence was due to any illness or similar cause, he brought along with him on his coming back a fit present for the Sultan. The same was the practice for those who arrived after long journeys. While the *amirs* presented horse, camels and arms, the jurists presented a copy of the *Quran* or a book or something like it, and *faqirs* presented a prayer-mat or a rosery or a tooth brush.³⁵

High officials made costly presents to the Sultan. Once Wazir Khan-i-Jahan gave presents in the vicinity of Bayana when the Sultan arrived from Daulatabad. The presents included trays full of rubies, emeralds and pearls.³⁶

Presents were also given on the occasion of the birth of a prince. Amir Khusrau speaks about the presentation of *nazr* by *amirs* and *maliks*. Ibn Batuta tells us that on the day of *Id* everyone who possessed a village which was bestowed on him brought some gold *dinars* wrapped up in a piece of cloth on which his name was written.³⁷

Presents were also given to governors. Ibn Batuta gave a slave and horse together with some raisins and almonds to Qutb-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Multan.³⁸

Other ways and manners :

If somebody committed any offence or was guilty of any dereliction of duties in matters political and spiritual he had to present himself before the king or the spiritual master in all humiliation. Barani says that Ahmad Ayaz after tying the turban round his neck and making his shaven head bare came to the royal court and sought apology from Sultan Firoz Shah for all acts of omissions and commissions.³⁹ This was regarded as an act of complete unconditional surrender before one's superior authority. Sometimes one put an iron chain round one's neck and also took off turban from one's head.⁴⁰ From the hagiological works it appears that it was a common social practice of seeking compassion from one's elders and superiors.⁴¹

The removal of turban from one's head was regarded as an act of humiliation and disgrace. Afif tells us that when a *muqtai*s failed to clear the account, his turban was removed from the head.⁴² The culprits were paraded after being seated on an ass's back with the face turned back.⁴³ Sadhan in his Hindi poem *Maina Sat* furnishes us with such an example. An old *Malin* who proved to be a procuress was ordered to be punished and placed on the back of the donkey with her face blackened and turned towards the tail of the animal.⁴⁴

Ceremonies after death :

We get a fairly good account of the mourning practices and ceremonies after death of one's dearest and nearest. They tore their garments into pieces and wore black mourning dress. When

Qutb-ud-din heard the news of the death of his sovereign, the Ghorī Sultan, he put off his cap and the gorgeous robe from his head and body.⁴⁵ Hasan Nizami tells us that on this occasion people tore their garments into pieces (*para-para kardand*). They wore 'the black mourning dress of the Abbasids. On *Suyum* (third day), the garment of the daily wear (*jama-i-bad roze*) became (blue) like the water of the Nile. The expression *Kiswat-i-Abbasiyan* (Abbasid robe), *Izar-i-matum* (drawers and trousers worn in mourning), *libas-i-sogwaran*, *kiswat-i-zangari* (rust-coloured clothes), *libas-i-arzaq* (azure-coloured dress), *jama-i-kabud* (blue) in the literature of the period relate to the same thing.⁴⁶ When the news of the fatal death of Khan-i-Shahid, the eldest son of Balban, was communicated to his old father, he tore off his garments and threw dust on his head.⁴⁷ Yahya Sirhindi tells us that the Sultan observed funeral ceremonies for three days.⁴⁸ When Balban's bier was taken out from the *Kushk-i-lal*, *maliks* and other dignitaries of the state threw dust on their heads. They tore their garments and followed bare-footed the king's bier. For months they slept on the ground.⁴⁹ Amir Khurd tells us that when Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya died, Amir Khusrau was in Lakhnauti. He left Lakhnauti for Ghiyaspur. He made his face black and tore off his garments.⁵⁰ Ibn Batuta informs us that it was customary for the Indians to tear shirt collar whenever one who was dear to them had died.⁵¹

Elsewhere Ibn Batuta tells us that it was a custom for the people in India to go to the grave of the deceased in the morning of the third day called '*Suyum*' after the burial. Carpets and silk clothes were spread on all sides of the grave. The grave was covered with flowers. Orange and lemon branches bearing fruits were placed on the grave. Fruits were attached to the branches by means of threads if the branches happened to bear none. Some dry fruits were strewn on the grave. People assembled around it with their copies of the *Quran* for recitation. When the recitation of the *Quran* was over people were offered betel leaves. Rose water was also sprinkled on them.⁵²

Abdullah tells us that it was the practice among the Afghans in Delhi to offer cold drink, betel leaf, *kharkari* (?) and sugar on the third day of the death. The Afghan Sultan abolished this

practice and introduced that of offering rose and rose water, because the old custom was beyond the means of an Afghan. It was because of this fact that if an Afghan of small means died, a hundred thousand clansmen would come and call upon him.⁵³

References to the sending of food by the relatives of the deceased for his family are also found on the day of his death. To bless the soul of the deceased, food was offered to the poor and indigent.⁵⁴ Ibn Batuta says that it was a custom among the Indians to provide for their dead in the same way as people did during their life-time. The elephants and horses were brought to the tomb and tied near its gate and the tomb was highly decorated. Ibn Batuta had to appoint for the tomb of his daughter one hundred and fifty reciters of the *Quran* who were known as *Khatmi* (because they had to complete the recitation of the whole *Quran*), eighty students, eight repeaters called '*mukarrarin*', one professor and eighty *sufis*, an *imam*, *muazzins*, pleasant-voiced readers, panegyrists and clerks to register the absentees. He had also to appoint the cooks, running footmen, water-bearers, betel givers, arm bearers, umbrella-bearers, etc.⁵⁵ This was an abnormal practice and was limited only to the circles of high and mighty. Hamid Qalandar refers to the existence of separate graveyards for each class of people. If a Qalandar died he was buried by a Qalandar. Likewise, if a *Sufi* died, he was buried by a *Sufi*, *Jawalqi* (those members of the *Qalandaria* order who wrapped the blanket round their body) by a *Jawalqi*, scholar by a scholar, a merchant by a merchant, cook and butcher by men of their fraternity.⁵⁶

Superstition and Some Beliefs :

Religious impulses were the motivating factors in the social life of the people. Social life as depicted in Persian literature, whether Sufistic or political, is full of allusion to contemporary men and their superstitious beliefs and practices. They were so widely practised that even the intelligent, rational and sceptical people were unable to withstand and check it. Even a cursory glance over the pages of the contemporary literature will give a fair idea of the kind of portent that powerfully influenced the mind

of the people of the age. Shaikh Badr-ud-din Ghaznavi, who came to Lahore and later became the disciple of Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki, used to take omen from the *Quran*.⁵⁷ Sultan Firoz Shah believed in augury and he was in the habit of consulting the *Quran*, deriving omen from certain passages, as was done later on by some of the Mughal Emperors. He judged from omens persons who deserved robes and *iqtas*.⁵⁸ We learn that Sultan Firoz Shah on his way to Bengal from Delhi arrived in Bihar (Sharif) for the sake of paying respect to Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Maneri. The Sultan thought of offering his prayer with the saint. The saint acted as *Imam* (leader). In the first genuflection he recited the verse *Ezaja's Nasrullah*⁵⁹ and in the second he read the *Tabbat yada*, etc.⁶⁰ (well known verses of the 30th para of the holy *Quran*). The coincidence was taken by Firoz Shah to augur well for his success against Ilyas.⁶¹ Jaisi has referred to a time-honoured custom of the Hindus of deriving omen from a number of things just at the time of setting forth for a journey called *yatra*. When Ratna Sen departed the sooth-sayers observed the following omen. On the right a fish was kept in a dish. A woman, carrying a pitcher full of water approached. A milk-maid called out as to who would take the curd. A gardener-maid came with a coronal of flowers. The crow sat on the head of a snake. On the right a deer came running out of a forest. On the left a partridge called and donkey brayed.⁶² Medieval people took augur from sneezing.⁶³ That the sturdy iconoclasts were also superstitious is proved by an observation of Dharmasvamin. He stated that while breaking a huge statue of a deity, a Turk fell down and died. This event deterred the other fellow Turks from repeating this sacrilegious act.⁶⁴

In cases of snake bite a certain line of the *Quran* was read out on the water three times and it was considered a good sign if the patient could sip that.⁶⁵ People avoided burning onion and garlic in their houses and they also considered it bad to sweep the house at night, and to sit on the threshold of the house. Some had the superstitious belief that the breaking of the comb was a sign of impending poverty and the use of the same comb by two persons

caused separation.⁶⁵ A certain section of the people abstained from taking curd in a particular night (*Shab-i-Qadr*).⁶⁷

People believed in lucky and unlucky days. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya was once asked as to why the people regarded Wednesday as an ominous day. He smiled obviously to show his disbelief and said that most of the saints were born on Wednesdays.⁶⁸ Last Wednesday of *Safar* (name of a month) was considered by some to be bad. An instance is cited here. In Badaon a child was born in the house of an *Alawi*. The child was said to have been born under the influence of *aqrab* (sign of scorpion), which was regarded as inauspicious. The man gave his son to a *Kanas* (sweeper). He brought up the child. People spoke to *Alawi* about his callous attitude. He brought back the child. The child read the *Quran* and later on became a great saint.⁶⁹ People often called their pet child *Dukhil* (the sorrowful one) in their superstitious belief that Death may not notice one who was called by so humble an appellation.⁷⁰

People of different age groups belonging to different stations of life developed weakness for astrology. Barani tells us that the age of Ala-ud-din produced great astrologers and astronomers. Every quarter of the city had astrologers. They received favour and reward from the king, *maliks*, *amirs* and notable persons. The astrologers brought almanacs. They prepared the horoscopes of the sons of *maliks*, *amirs*, *wazirs* and other notable persons. People did not do anything without consulting the astrologers. Maulana Sharf-ud-din Matriz, Faro Rakan Ajach were astrologers of scholarly repute. Sultan Ala-ud-din gave them villages.⁷¹ On the occasion of marriage astrologers were consulted. They fixed the auspicious time for the marriages.⁷²

The importance of the astrologers in the royal palace may be gauged from the repeated references to auspicious hours for various types of work. The astrologers fixed the time for accession of the Sultan on the throne.⁷³ They accompanied the royal army and often consulted their books and almanacs.⁷⁴ Though many Muslims had taken on the Hindu belief in astrology, Islam did not sanction it. We get cases of Muslims who looked askance at it. Babar before the battle of Kanwa did not pay any heed.

to astrologers.⁷⁵ A man's fate is not controlled by the movement of stars. But still some people turned to astrology.

Witchcraft was also prevalent. Ibn Batuta tells us about a witch or *kaftar*, who was burnt alive for her incantations. When she was burnt her ashes were taken away by men and women to make themselves safe from the *kaftar* enchantment for a year by smearing the same on their bodies.⁷⁶ There is another interesting reference. Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri was told that in order to ascertain theft a *badhna* (water pot with spout) was made to revolve, and a text of the *Sura-i-Yasin*, a verse from the *Quran*, was recited over a grain of rice under the belief that the grain would stick to the throat of the guilty.⁷⁷ The great Bihari saint Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri believed witchcraft as a work of *Satan*. He told that once he saw a calf falling on the ground and dying without any apparent reason. Some women of the neighbourhood ascribed it to the enchantment practised by a woman belonging to the cowherd class who was taken to be a *kaftar*.⁷⁸ Hamid Qalandar tells us that once Baba Farid fell ill. The disease was not diagnosed. His son, Badr-ud-din Sulaiman, saw in a dream that a certain man was saying "Your father is the victim of magic." It was the work of the son of Shahab, who was famous for magic in Ajodhyan. He was told in the dream to recite a particular verse of the *Quran* near the grave of Shahab. The instruction was followed. When the earth was removed a human figure made of flour with a horse's hair tied round it and pierced through it by needle was found. As the needles were taken out one by one the Shaikh began to show increasing signs of recovery and when the figure was broken into pieces and thrown into water he became completely convalescent.⁷⁹ Mention is also made of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya who also once became victim of incantation which made him sick for two months. A man who was expert in exorcism was called for. He went round the house and started smelling the earth. He dug a place where signs of magic were found (a figure which looked as if it was made out of mash-flour). The magic was discovered. The man offered to reveal the name of the magician, but the saint forbade him to do so.⁸⁰

There are numerous references to weird and mysterious beings who were believed to have hovered about persons and places and played mischievous pranks. People were afraid of *aseb-i-chashm* and *nazr-i-bad* (malignant eyes). Amir Hasan Sijzi tells us that once he took a small child with him to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. The child often felt uncomfortable and was cured by the blessing of the great saint. There was suspicion about the influence of evil spirits on the child.⁸¹ So people were haunted by the fear of evil spirits. Parents took precautionary measures to guard their children against evil spirits. They were not allowed to sleep alone in the house.⁸² Thus sometimes the evil spirits were regarded as the cause of all physical pains and diseases. Ikhtisan refers more than once to a kind of charm called *Hirz-i-Yamani* which was tied on the right hand to avert evil spirits.⁸³ Sometimes people suffered from hallucinations. Yadgar relates the story of a certain *mulla* (a learned man) named Abdullah Mumin of old Delhi who once got a lamp. When he lighted the lamp in the night, two horrifying figures emerged out of the lamp. They were taken to be the servants of the lamp.⁸⁴

People wore amulets on their arms for averting calamities. It was supposed to have the efficacy of healing diseases.⁸⁵ Pregnant women used amulets for safe and easy delivery.⁸⁶ Males and females of all classes, and religions approached the *Sufi* saints for *naqsh* (amulet) and *tawiz* (talisman). Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya gave *tawiz* at the instance of his *pir* and when questioned, he said that *naqsh* (amulet) had *Allah Kafi*, *Allah Shafi* and *Allah Wafi* (all sufficing, all healing and all comprehensive) and some other things. He used to preserve a fallen hair of his *pir* with the latter's permission and made use of it for curing the ills of some men.⁸⁷ A certain weaver suffered from melancholia. His brother, Raji, secured an amulet from the *Chishti* saint of Gangoh as a result of which, according to his belief, he was cured.⁸⁸ People wore amulets also to drive away evil spirits.⁸⁹ We also get references to professional amulet makers in Lahore.⁹⁰

We are told that when one of the sincere devotees among the Hindus died, his corpse was burnt and the ashes were taken by the people as a preventive of their illness and they got relief.⁹¹ Sometimes people kept a small piece of the skin of red-deer as a

charm against epileptic fits and also to guard against the influence of evil spirits.⁹²

Visit to the tombs was a common practice in those days. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya was asked by his mother to go to the tomb of a particular saintly martyr to offer *fatihah* (prayers for the dead) on his grave and invoke blessing of the deceased for her recovery from illness.⁹³ Ibn Batuta makes mention of the pilgrimage (*ziyarat*) undertaken by Khizr Khan to the tomb of martyrs buried at Indpat. He made a vow to walk that distance to pray for his father's recovery.⁹⁴ Once Hazrat Jalal Bokhari postponed his return from Delhi to Uch at the request of emperor Firoz Shah. The saint said to the people around him that one of the chief reasons for acceding to the Emperor's request was that he had to offer *Fatihah* to the tombs of the saintly personalities of Delhi.⁹⁵ The great Bihari saint Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri often visited the tombs of his mother and sister to offer *fatihah*.⁹⁶ Women also visited the tombs.⁹⁷ Sometimes people sought the blessings of the dead saints of their own choice by promising to offer food to bless his soul if their wishes were fulfilled.⁹⁸

After convalescing from illness, money, food and raiment were distributed among the poor and indigents.⁹⁹ Ibn Batuta informs us that once Amir Bakht entitled Sharf-ul-Mulk al Khorasani, fell ill and the emperor went to see him. The *amir* was weighed against gold. The gold was given in charity for recovery.¹⁰⁰

In times of famine, both Hindus and Muslims believed that the wrath of God was responsible for their misery. In times of drought they prayed to God for rain. Once Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri referred to a traveller, who told him of a certain famine-stricken town. There was a high hill near by, where they had built a temple and a hermitage. The traveller saw the Raja of the place riding on a horse and followed by a large multitude of people. When the Raja reached near the temple he got down from the horse. An old hermit came out from the temple to the court yard of the building, and at the Raja's request the ascetic turned his face towards the sky and uttered something in his language. The narrator said that the old ascetic would not move

away till the rains came. It so happened that after some time had elapsed, the rains came.¹⁰¹

We also get references to a special prayer called *Namaz-i-Istisqa* for the descent of rain.¹⁰² Amir Hasan Sijzi tells us that there was once a drought in Delhi. People went to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Abdul Muaiyyad (a gifted speaker of medieval India. His religious sermons very often moved the audience) to pray for the descent of rain. The Maulana entered the mosque and after offering prayer stood up on the pulpit, and, with his eyes fixed on the sky, he said: 'Oh! God if thou dost not send rain, I shall leave the human habitation.'¹⁰³

Religious Suicide or self-immolation:

Contemporary literature is full of cases of various kinds of self destruction practised by the Hindus. Alberuni and Ibn Batuta have devoted special sections to this aspect of the social life of the Hindus, and we get a graphic picture of *Sati* or immolation of the Hindu women on the funeral pyre of their husbands. The African traveller tells us also about the prevalent practice of voluntarily drowning of the devout Hindus in the Ganges on the occasion of pilgrimages. The sanctity of the Ganges has always been recognised. The Indians claimed, says Ibn Batuta, that the river had its source in Paradise. When dead, the drowned man was brought out by those present and was burnt and the ashes were thrown back into the river.¹⁰⁴ Slightly earlier than our period Alberuni records voluntary suicides committed by the Brahmanas and Ksatriyas of Benaras. He goes to the length of saying that persons intending to commit such suicides sometimes hired somebody to throw them in the Ganges and keeping them under water till they were dead.¹⁰⁵ A *mal'uz* of the Bihari saint also refers to an anchorite and a lover of God who kept an idol in his left hand. He stood all along on his legs with his eyes fixed upon the idol. This practice continued till his death. As a result of this the nails of the devotee grew so long that they became twisted and coiled. One day it so happened that the idol fell from his hand. This made him very uncomfortable. He cried out and addressed "I have kept you within my gaze for so many years and my love and devotion to you made me abandon everything. You could not

have separated yourself from me if you had considered me as your true devotee, and now it is useless for me to live," saying this he cut his throat.¹⁰⁶ Elsewhere we are told that Hindu widows dedicated their lives to the worship of idols in Rajgir. When such women came to the temple, which was surrounded by thorny trees and where taking of food was not allowed, they kept themselves standing with folded hands for ten, twenty and even forty days until they withered away and died.¹⁰⁷ Even some of them out of intense love for the idol, soaked their garments with combustible oil and asked others to set fire to it.¹⁰⁸

Interpretation of Dreams :

Dreams were interpreted. Soothsayers were consulted for this.¹⁰⁹ Sometimes people used to visit a saint for the reading of their dreams.¹¹⁰ The subject matter of a dream was often raised in the Majlis of the saints of our period. Hazrat Abdul Quddus writes in his letter which was addressed to Haibat Khan Sarwani, a Lodi noble, "If some feels interested in the subject of dream, he should seek its interpretation like that given by Ibn-i-Sirin."¹¹¹

Moral tone of the Society :

It is a difficult task to estimate with any accuracy the general moral tone of a society at any time. Sometimes one finds the problem of solving the relation between the highest virtues and lowest vices a formidable one. In every age society presents the most startling contrasts, and no definite statement can be made about the values of life. In the literature of the period we get references to prostitution, harlotry, gambling and wine drinking. These vices are noticeable in every country and in all ages. But when these vices, coupled with unnatural offences, are practised by a large section of the masses, in any age, that age has to be stigmatised. Barani condemns prostitution, tavern-keepers, harlots and gamblers. Barani was correct in suggesting that the *mukhannas* (professional eunuchs) should not be allowed to adorn themselves like women and wail like them.¹¹² More derogatory than these males were those who desired company of beardless boys. Barani says that their prices rose to 500 and sometimes were as high as 2,000 *tankas* in the time of Mobarak Shah.¹¹³ How

bad was the time of the above mentioned Sultan, who frequently adorned himself with the garments and trinkets of women, and in that guise appeared in public assemblies? He used to call dissolute women on the terrace of the *Kushk* of the thousand pillars and encouraged them to insult the great nobles of the time with obscene pleasantries and jests. They were asked to do indecent things. They came before the court nobles in a state of nudity, and used to befoul their garments.¹¹¹ No other reigning sovereign of India is known to have such a pervert mind.

Moral lapses characterised the regime of weak and feeble Sultans. A marked contrast between the conducts of Balban and his grandson, Kaiqubad, may be an illustration. Whereas Balban did not allow the singers and even jesters in his court, with the accession of Sultan Kaiqubad, musicians, singers, beautiful girls, gesters and jokers arrived from different parts of the kingdom to the latter's court. Barani gives a pen-picture of the low morality of the post-Balbani times. Dissipation and adultery became rampant. The price of wine became double. People chose to immerse themselves in pleasure and dissipation to forget sorrow and anxiety, grief and fear. Beautiful women and *gadaghazians* (rope dancers) were deep drunk in wine. Important and distinguished persons had no work, but to take wine and join in the *majlis*, listen to the music, play dice and spend their wealth. The convivial assemblies of the Sultan were filled with beautiful women and singers. Prominent *gadaghazian* and characterless people used to present their beautiful daughters well bedecked to the king. Those girls were trained in the art of coquetry and elegance. Trained in singing they could recite verses, utter sweet words, and play the game of chess. "These courtesans, everyone of whom was a danger to cities and kingdoms, were brought up with expensive care. Even before their breasts could ripen to womanhood they were taught riding, polo-playing and wielding the lance with thousands of accomplishments and graces. Every alluring art and trick that could induce the Muslim ascetics to put on the *Brahman's* thread and drag the mystic to the tavern—was taught to them. Indian boys of graceful stature and girls of remarkable looks were taught to sing in Persian and were then dressed in robes

of brocade. They were trained in the courtesies, customs and manners of the court. The ears of handsome boys were pierced for pearl ear-rings; beautiful young slave-girls were decked like brides.... the spirit distillers of Koel (Aligarh) and Meerut brought flagons of scented spirit that was two or three years old."¹¹⁵ The account of Barani leaves the impression that sensuality and drunkenness practised and encouraged at the court proved to be contagious and corrupted many lives in that age. Parasites and pimps flocked in the city under the shade of every wall, persons of both sexes were seen mingling freely, and from every house-top beautiful women exhibited their beauty. Various classes of people of the kingdom, high and low, old and young, learned and illiterate, wise and fools, Hindus and Muslims, began to demonstrate the dictum that 'subjects follow the ways of their kings.'¹¹⁶

The aristocratic classes maintained *harems*. Beautiful slave-girls fit to act as mistresses were available.¹¹⁷ Khan-i-Jahan kept beautiful maids in his *harem*. He had two thousand women of Rome and China in his *harem*.¹¹⁸ It was the practice of the nobility to take with them slave-girls whenever they moved.¹¹⁹

Stories of immoral practices of the people are also recorded. Thus we learn that some people of Multan married the wives of others without being divorced by their husbands.¹²⁰ People belonging to the *Mulahda* and *Abahatiyan* gathered at some particular night. Their women—mother, sister—all collected together. They took pork and wine and indulged in debauchery without any distinction.¹²¹

Prostitutes :

Literary evidences are overwhelming about prostitution being a prevalent practice among Hindus and Muslims. Syed Nur-ud-din Mubarak Ghaznavi, the great ecclesiastic of the time of Sultan Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, is reported to have allowed prostitutes to practise their profession in their own quarters provided they did not carry on in public. Such a practice was allowed to continue, because many wicked persons excited by their sex impulse would be prevented from attacking *harems*.¹²² However, some reforms

were undertaken by Sultan Ala-ud-din. Amir Khusrau tells us that "all prostitutes, who with their locks under their ears, had broken their chains and stretched their feet, have now been lawfully married." From the ribbon, that tied their hair, they have now turned to the ribbon that ties them in marriage. "Those whose skirts had obtained a bad reputation, because they earned their living by prostitution, have now been so reformed that they may sit in their houses".¹²³ Vidyapati who flourished in the 15th century found prostitutes at Jaunpur. He says that the prostitutes, who had no husband, used vermilion. They decorated their bodies, marking their faces with dots or variegated colours and their lips were painted. They wore rich clothes and dressed their hair. They looked at men with a smile. They bedecked their hair with flowers. Some of them were old and some young and some were fond of cutting jokes.¹²⁴ There were certain rules for the professional women.¹²⁵

The 14th century writer Ikhtisan gives us an idea of night revelry in which some soldiers participated. We are told how the delicate-bodied cup-bearers, wearing transparent garments, offered wine of pleasures and made them intoxicated.¹²⁶ This description of night revelry in which soldiers misbehaved towards weak lovely songstresses in festive assemblies casts a reflection and a flash on the darker aspect of the social life of the period. But this should not be construed as something normal.

Much more painful than this narrative of the vicious life led by men of high social order are the allusions found in *Ijaz-i-Khusraui* to people who were expected to live a chaste life. The names mentioned by Amir Khusrau may be fictitious, but there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the picture painted therein. We are told that Maulana Shams Asadi, whose life had been spent in the pursuit of learning and who was tottering to the grave, was so overpowered by his sexual lust that he felt no scruple in neglecting his obligatory prayers and running after an ugly slave woman. We are told about his obsession for sex even in his dreams and consequently suffered from night-pollution.¹²⁷ One may argue that learning and private character are not interrelated. But it is difficult to ignore the moral lapses of a drunkard *muazzin*. Amir

Khusrau refers to a *muazzin* who entered the mosque while he was dead drunk and polluted the atmosphere of the sacred place by his bad smell. His prayers were as prolonged as his stature was tall, and when he put his hands in the ears and called the Faithful for prayer, the sound coming from his voice was so bad as to make *Satan* dance. There was no one to punish him.¹²⁸ One *Qazi* Isam-ul-lah was addicted to bad habits. He took wine and did not offer the obligatory prayers.¹²⁹ Religious prayers had thus become to some a routine affair. Possibly many fell a prey to wine and women, irrespective of the position they held.

Bribery and Corruption :

A perusal of the contemporary writings suggests instances of lust, greed, official oppression, arrogance and the habit of extracting wealth from the suffering masses.

Some merchants were deceitful and hypocrites. They tyrannized over the people. They passed off the glass-beads as diamonds in order to sell them at the price of diamonds.¹³⁰ Some merchants showed to the party one thing and delivered to him something totally different, and of inferior quality.¹³¹ The traders cheated the people by tampering with weight and measures. They adulterated goods. Sometimes they even changed the commodities. They also used to make a false declaration regarding quantities and evaded the payment of dues to the customs houses.¹³² They would manipulate and cause the rise and fall of the price of the commodities.¹³³ There is an interesting reference to the cloth merchants of Lahore and Gujrat in the mystic literature of the period. The latter merchants were honest. But the merchants of Lahore used to demand almost double the price of their goods, sold it at half of the original demand.¹³⁴ References to the adulteration of medicines, oils, salts, grams, scents, molasses etc. are found.¹³⁵ Amir Khusrau refers to milkmen who diluted milk with water:¹³⁶ Amir Khusrau also speaks about a tailor who in addition to his wages for sewing stole such a portion of cloth which was sufficient for making one *izarband* (Kneepan) and breast-cover.¹³⁷ Goldsmiths did not give up their fraudulent practices.¹³⁸ We get references

to dishonest money-changer.¹³⁹ The chronicles of our period also record several cases of collection of large fortunes by *amils*, *mutasarrifs*, *karkuns* and others.¹⁴⁰ Perhaps the following instance will best illustrate the point. The total income of the kingdom of Firoz Shah was not less than six crores of *tankas* a year. When Firoz's Minister of War, Imad-ud-din Basher Sultani died, he left a fortune of about eleven crores—a fortune equal to two years income of the state.¹⁴¹ The subjects were oppressed for illegal gratification both by lower and higher officials. The tyranny of officials made the life of the people miserable.¹⁴² Sometimes people were forced to work without any wage. On refusal they were even put into prison.¹⁴³ These instances of corruption must have made the life of the people miserable. The painful allusions throw a searching light on some darker aspects of the time.

An age should be judged by its ideals of goodness rather than by its moral aberrations. There can be no doubt that many families both of the higher classes and the lower ones were motivated by higher spiritual ideas. There were many pious, virtuous and saintly people. As a matter of fact the tone of the time was religious. Many spent hours of devotion far into night. Many families trained their sons and daughters from infancy in the sacred books and in habits of devotion. Instances of families are not lacking for whom public ambition was incompatible with deep spirituality. There were also men who were inspired by their old Hindu religious ideals. There were men who were inspired by the high ideals of compassion, liberality, truth and purity and who worked to improve the moral tone of the society.

Feeding the people :

Hospitality is a virtue recognized by all and feeding the people has been sanctioned by every religion. Amir Hasan Sijzi describes the feeding of poor and hungry as a virtuous deed. Khwaja Rukn-ud-din Chishti was made captive by the Mongols. But he was set free by the great leader, Chingiz Khan, who felt gratified to learn that the father of the captive had been in the habit of feeding unknown persons. The Mongol put forward excuses for the mistake in imprisoning him and gave him a robe

of honour.¹⁴⁴ It was regarded not only as a virtuous deed, but also an obligatory duty to feed the poor and rescue the helpless and destitute ones from poverty and vagrancy.¹⁴⁵ Men in high position made display of their hospitality on special occasions and spent lavishly on feeding people. Ibn Batuta says about himself that on the occasion of great festivals, the two *Ids*, birth-day of the Prophet, the 10th of *Muharram*, the night of mid *Shaban*, and on the day of Sultan Qutb-ud-din's death he fed the poor and the indigent¹⁴⁶ ones. The *langars* of Malik Yar Parran (a *Sufi* saint) and of Rauzan Qalandar were famous in comparison with other *langars*.¹⁴⁷ Shaikh Jamali tells us that Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrezi constructed a *Khanqah* and set up a *langar* in Bengal. To meet the recurring expenses of the *langar* he purchased some gardens and lands.¹⁴⁸ Abdullah tells us that Sher Shah had set up *langar khana* for feeding the people.¹⁴⁹ Abbas says that many needy soldiers, servants and *rai-yats* took meals from the royal kitchen. For the poor and indigent persons he set up kitchen in the army camp. The daily expenses amounted to five hundred *ashrafis*.¹⁵⁰ References are also found in Maithili literature to the provision of drinking water for the travellers and wayfarers. There were many *paniyashalas* (drinking places). Water was stored in big earthen pots. Scented water was also served.¹⁵¹ Thus humanitarian spirit inspired those who were in affluent circumstances or were actuated by religious motives.

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2. A call of the profession of faith. There is no God whatsoever but Allah; Mohammad is the messenger of Allah. These are the first words to strike the ear of the new-born Muslim babe.
3. *Iqibas-ul-Anwar*, p. 222.
4. *Munis-ul-Qulub*, pp. 409-410.
5. On the occasion of the circumcision of Akbar the whole market

- was decorated. Great festivities were held. *Humayun Nama* (Beveridge), p. 179.
6. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 13.
 7. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
 8. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 117.
 9. Afif, p. 287.
 10. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 136-137.
 11. *Afsana-i-Badshahan*, pp. 191-192.
 - 11a. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 15-16.
 - 11b. In these we find the beginning of modern table manners.
 - 11c. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 65-66.
 12. *Memoirs of Babar* (King), II, p. 360.
 13. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, pp. 49-50.
 14. Barani, pp. 38, 41.
 15. Afif, p. 278.
 16. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 150.
 17. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 121.
 18. *Ganj-i-la Yafna*, p. 20.
 19. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 114.
 20. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
 21. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, ff. 38 ab.
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 24. E. Haq : *Muslim Bangala Sahitya*, 1955, p. 61, as quoted in Abdul Karim : *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, p. 175.
 25. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 4, 159, 215. *Khair-ul-Majalis*; p. 113 ; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 96 ; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 55, 79, 202, 217, 280 ; *Ganj-i-Layafna*, 20 ; *Munis-ul-Qalub*, p. 149 ; *Ma'adan-ul-Maani*, pp. 113, 287.
 26. Barani, p. 32.
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
 28. Afif, pp. 160, 268 ; Barani, p. 108.
 29. Afif, pp. 267-268.
 30. *Ibid.*, pp. 290-291.
 31. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Bib. Ind.), p. 83.
 32. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
 33. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 4.
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 35. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
 36. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
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 38. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
 39. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 541.
 40. Afif, p. 70.
 41. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 157 ; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 220, 281.
 42. Afif, pp. 432-433.

43. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 146.
44. S. H. Askari : *Maina Sat* (P.U.J., 1960, Vol. XV, p. 76:)
45. *Taj-ul-Maasir*, f. 299a.
46. Vide S. H. Askari (P.U.J., 1963, Vol. 18, p. 124): In the hagiological literature also we get reference to the wearing of dark blue mourning dress (*Maktubat-i-Sadi*, Letter No. 91, p. 259).
47. Barani, p. 110. The men of the army also threw dust on their heads. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, p. 178-179.
48. *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 51.
49. Barani, pp. 122-123.
50. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 304; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 91.
51. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 43.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 121; In the religious literature of Bihar also there are references to the ceremony of *Suyum* after death when friends and relatives gathered to recite the Quran. At the close of the ceremony rose water was sprinkled and *Sharbat* and betel leaves were distributed. *Ganj-i-la Yafna*, p. 44; *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*, II, pp. 439-40; *Munis-ul-Qulub*, p. 460.
53. *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (O.P.L.), f. 11b.
54. *Khwan-i-Pur Niamat*, p. 29.
55. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 142.
56. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 113.
57. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 73; *Siyar-ul-Auliya* p. 166.
58. Afif p. 225.
59. When comes the Help of God and Victory.
60. Perish the hands of the father of flame.
61. *Rafiq-ul-Arifin*, f. 64a; *Current Studies*, No. 1, May 1953, Patna, p. 6.
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63. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 86.
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71. Barani, pp. 363-364.
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73. *Makhzan-i-Afghana*, ff. 116b; Abbas Khan, p. 127.
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76. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 115.
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79. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 116-117.
80. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 178.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
82. *Monaqib-ul-Asfia*, p. 131.
83. *Basatin-ul-Uns*, ff. 150 ab.
84. *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 44.
85. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 63; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 52; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 78, 430.
86. *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*, p. 426; They also wore amulet for the birth of a male child (*Malfuz Haz Hisam-ud-din*, f. 70 b).
87. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 63.
88. *Iqtibas-ul-Anwar*, p. 239.
89. *Munis-ul-Qulub*, p. 327.
90. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, ff. 205 ab.
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92. *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, ff. 210-28 a
93. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 59.
94. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 43.
95. *Jamai-ul-Ulum*, p. 101. The saint offered *fatihah* at the tombs of Sh. Qutb-ud-din Munawwar, Sh. Nizam-ud-din Auliya, Sh. Mahmud.
96. *Mukh-ul-Ma'ani*, p. 21; *Munis-ul-Muridin*, pp. 25-26.
97. *Fatuhai-i-Firoz Shahi* (*J.R.A.S.B.L.* Vol. VII, 1941, pp. 74-75.)
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100. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 246.
101. *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*, pp. 429-430.
102. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 154.
103. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 192.
104. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 23.
105. Sachau, II, pp. 170-171.
106. *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*, pp. 274-275.
107. *Ibid.*, p. 275.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 276. Compare Mahmud Gardizi's observation that some killed themselves by fasting. They did not drink even water. They were called *Anishiyan*. They died on the twentieth day. Some continued to live till the thirtieth day. Mahmud also refers to some who sought death in fire, and lit the fire inside the hollow space, and after smearing themselves with frankincense threw themselves into fire and then rushed out towards the river and remained there for some time awaiting his death. If death did not come, they again rushed into the fire and subsequently to the water. This process was continued till the end came (*Kitab-ul-Akhbar*, as quoted in B. P. Majumdar : *Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, pp. 364-365).
109. Yadgar, p. 17.

110. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 224; *Khwan-i-Pur Niamat*, pp. 37-38, 74-75, 114; *Mukh-ul-Ma'ani*, pp. 59-60, 66; *Ma'adan-ul-Ma'ani*, pp. 403-414
111. *Maktubat-i-Quddusi* : Letter No. 117, p. 223. Abu Bakr bin Serin, the physician of Basra, who flourished under the Umayyads, has been frequently mentioned by the saint. Allusion to dreams and interpretations are found in many places in the *Quran*.
112. *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate* (Kitab Mahal) p. 4.
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114. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pp. 179-80.
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116. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
117. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 234-235.
118. Afif pp. 388-400.
119. *Ibid* , p. 393 ; *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 106.
120. *Insha-i-Mahru*, f. 24 a.
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124. *Kirtilata* (Shastri, Calcutta), pp. 14-16.
125. *Vivada Chintamani* (G.O.S.), p. 79.
126. *Basatin-ul-Uns*, f. 124, S. H. Askari : *Historical Value of Basatin-ul-Uns*, J.B.R.S., XLVIII, 1962, p. 20.
127. *Am'r Khusrau* : *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 206.
128. *Ibid* , p. 175.
129. *Ibid* , p. 176.
130. *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 36
131. Vachaspati Mishra : *Vivada Chintamani* (G.O.S.), p. 124.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
133. *Ibid*.
134. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 116-17.
135. Vachaspati Mishra : *Vivada Chintamani* (G.O.S.), p. 120.
136. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 259.
137. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-48.
138. Afif, pp. 347-48 ; *Vivada Chintamani*, p. 123.
139. Yadgar relates that once a soldier who deposited a bag containing gold coins with his friend, a money changer. The money changer took out the gold coins and kept instead coins of lesser value. *Tarikh-i-Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 42-43.
140. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 292, 385 ; Afif, pp. 23-24, 195, 346, 347, 472, 477, 479; Ibn Batuta, p. 135.
141. Afif, pp. 439-41.
142. *Insha-i-Mahro*, ff. 6b, 52a ; See also *Munis-ul-Muridin*, pp. 8-10.

143. *Ibid.*, f. 50b.
144. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 17.
145. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 213, 219 ; *Makhzan-i-Afghana*, ff. 207-6 ;
Tarikh-i-Daudi, f. 36a.
146. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 142-143.
147. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 184-185.
148. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 171.
149. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, f. 137a.
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CHAPTER IV

PASTIMES, RECREATION AND FESTIVALS

Medieval people realised the need of relieving the tension of life by indulging in pastimes and recreation. There were various ways of enjoying life and many items of entertainments for the people.

Games :

Many of the games have a long history and originated in India. Among the outdoor games, mention may be made of the game of *chaugan* (polo) which was played on horse back with a stick or club and balls. The game of polo was very popular. Sultan Qutb-ud-din was fond of polo. Hasan Nizami says that while playing polo, owing to collision of horses, the 'auspicious' Sultan fell on the ground with fatal injuries and he died.¹ We are told that the Afghans were very fond of manly sports such as polo and hunting.² Engaging in them involved physical exertion for its own sake. Yadgar speaks of the playing of the ball (*guy*) by Sultan Bahlol Lodi, when he was of seven years of age.³ It might be football in some form. Sultan Sikandar Lodi was also fond of polo.⁴ References are found about wrestlers and the favours they enjoyed. Wrestling was an ancient Indian game.⁵ Afif refers to wrestling competition on the occasion of *Id*.⁶ Other manly games like archery and horse race were also popular.⁷ Bengali literature refers to the playing of *dhophari*, a rural hockey played with a crooked bamboo stick and ball.⁸ The other game mentioned is that of *geru*. It was played by a number of boys in which the throwing of the ball at the opponent and the catching of it by him constituted the main part of interest.⁹ There are interesting references to games for children such as *ziksar* and *gird-nay* in a sixteenth century Persian dictionary.¹⁰ In *ziksar* a child caused his mouth to swell with wind and another beat both sides of the cheek so as to bring out the wind. *Gird-nay* was a boy's top or child's go-

cart. It was also called *farlook*. *Madhumalti*, a sixteenth century love poem, refers to *patang* (kite) flown in rows.²¹

The favourite outdoor sports of the Sultans and the nobility were hunting and hawking. They were not only a source of pleasure and delight to them, but provided occupation and means of livelihood to the people. Sultans like Shams-ud-din Iltutmish,^{22a} Balban, Ala-ud-din Khalji, Mohammad Tughlaq and Firoz Shah took special interest in hunting excursions. Sultan Balban took special interest in hunting and followed it with great zest during the winter. When he was a *Khan* he was very fond of hunting excursions. He kept up his enthusiasm for this manly game when he became Sultan. He used to start early in the morning and return next day at midnight. He had a house full of falcons. He kept falcon-keepers and others. He released falcons in the air. Drums were beaten. One thousand servants who were intimately known to him since the time of his *Khani* accompanied him in hunting. They were provided with cooked and uncooked food.²³ The fame of Kishlu Khan's hunting excursion spread far and wide and even outside India as Barani tells us.²³

Amir Khusrau²⁴ in a section of *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* entitled *Nama-i-Mir Shikar* has given an interesting information about the hunting sports and excursions. The chief sportsman was called *Mir Shikar* or *Shikarbak*. There were separate places of hunting called *shikaristan* and *shikargah*, one of which was full of birds and the other of ravenous animals and wild beasts. There were *tabalbaz* (the drummers) and *kalb-i-muallam* (trained hunting dogs) and *yuzban* (keepers of panthers and leopards). Birds and fowls including ducks and doves were hunted with the help of various kinds of hawks and falcons called *charchan-i-rana*, *shahin*, *siyughchana* (also called *Basha*), *charch*, *sunquran-i-Qaraqum* and *Tughran-i-Turkistan*. The last were trained ravenous birds of foreign origin. The word *shikra* and *bahri* used in hunting have also been mentioned. The hare and deer were hunted with the help of red-coloured ravenous animals called *seyahgosh*, and hunting leopard, *kulang* (fowl of large breed or crane), *kharchal* (a species of lark), *kardant* (a long-necked sea bird), were captured or killed with the help of *shahin*. *Oqab* (hunting eagle) was also used. Among the preys of hunt mention

has been made of *palangan* (tigers), *gauzan* (a kind of elked deer, called in Hindi *Barasingha*). Lions were hunted with swords and arrows. Roes and deer also were afraid of the hunters. The word *parra* has been used for the circle drawn to entice the games in. When they saw the birds or fowls gathered in a barren place, the drum was beaten to scare and fly them in the air, then the hawk and falcon were released from the hand to prey upon them.

The names of some chief sportsmen, whether real or fictitious, mentioned by Amir Khusrau, are those of Taj-ud-din and Qiran-i-Malik.¹⁴ Amir Khusrau refers to Sultan inspecting and testing the feat of *shikra*. It was flown in the air and it brought down vultures. On another occasion, early in the morning, the Sultan came out for seeing the spectacles of a new keeper of leopard (*Yuzban*) doing his work.¹⁵ Some of the birds such as owls, *chughd* (small screeching owl), *kalmurgh* (a kind of red vulture with no feather on its head) were left at the place to become the food of wild animals.¹⁷

The hunting party was equipped with all the necessaries. All the participant grandees carried their tents. A distinction of colour was made between the royal tent and that of the grandees. Labourers were hired to carry the tents. Then another group of people called *kahars* were engaged in order to carry the kitchen utensils. Apart from these, *farrash*, that is people who pitched and carpeted the tent enclosure and loaded the camels, and torch bearers, who ran in the front were hired. These people formed an essential part of the party.¹⁸ Provisions for food and drink were also made. Every *amir* and *khan* carried water, some on camels and horse backs and some engaged *kahars* (carriers) for carrying it.¹⁹ Barani, speaking about the interest shown in hunting by Sultan Firoz Shah, says that while the previous Sultans only killed birds with the help of falcons for four months in winter, during hunting excursions Sultan Firoz hunted lions, wild beasts and birds in all the twelve months of a year.²⁰ Afif also corroborates the statement of Barani and he says that no Sultan had so much interest in hunting as Firoz. He got two big iron cooking utensils prepared, and also a stove with 10 pillars which were carried by one hundred and thirty *kahars*. Cooked

meat was distributed.²¹ Business men also accompanied the hunting party. Princes, *Khans* and *Maliks* and about five to six hundred horsemen formed the party.²² Fire was lighted and the rising smoke indicated the readiness of the lines. A circle was made, and utmost care was taken so that animals might not cross the ring.²³ When Sultan Firoz decided to break the ring and capture the animal, the participants threw a flaming arrow and caused the beating of the drums. Hearing this every one would enter the ring and start killing the animals which remained inside the ring. *Kahar* and *kawani*, who were the servants in the royal army, would rush to capture the animal. As a result of this there was such a plethora of meat for the consumption of people. Many of them, after mixing salt, carried the meat to Delhi.²⁴

Firoz hunted different kinds of animals. The result of the activities of the Sultan was seen in the large collection of tigers, which were captured, hunting dogs, falcons called *bahris*, *shaheen* and also a king of hawks called *Turmati*. Men were appointed to look after these animals and birds.²⁵ The Sultan maintained a large number of horses. Malik Delan was *Amir-i-Shikar*. A man was made in charge of the falcon house.²⁶ The falcon when released followed the animal. There were twelve thousand *bahaliyas* (the retainers armed with bows and arrows) who spread the net. They were the net-spreaders. Some of them rode on the back of the buffalo with iron made weapons in their hands.²⁷ Barani says that the master-in-charge of falcons and his special servants, the chief sportsman and all the falcon keepers passed their lives in ease and affluence. They became inflated with pride due to such patronage. All the hunters of the capital were employed as servants of the falcon house.²⁸

The jungle of Dipalpur, Surusti and Badaon were famous for wild ass, deer and wild cows (*nilgao*).²⁹

As regards indoor games the most popular one was chess. The game of chess had special fascination for the Sultans and the nobility. The author of the *Taj-ul-Ma'asir* himself appears to have had a liking for this game because he frequently gives descriptions of the game.³⁰ Amir Khusrau has devoted special section to *shatranj* and *nard*, and he in his own verbose style has thrown some light on the way they were played.³¹ As regards the

chess he ascribes its origin to an Indian, though there is a good deal of controversy about its original inventor. He says that this game originated in India and it could hardly be mastered by anyone.³² The author of *Tarikh-i-Afghani* tells us that chess was one of the favourite games of the Afghans.³³ It is clear that chess was the favourite indoor pastime of the aristocrats. Even ladies were taught this game.³⁴ Among other games played were *qamarbazi* (a game of hazard), *nard* and *girahbazi*.³⁵ Barani mentions *girahbazi* which might mean pigeon flying, for *girah kapotak* was a kind of domestic spot-necked pigeon which was reared and baited upon their flight. Though there is no clear mention of the fact, but we can presume that such games were played with stakes. We get reference to *Kabutarbazi*.³⁶

Places of relaxation :

Medieval towns were half rural. There was no rigid division between the rural and urban areas. The towns were small, and beyond the city walls lay the fields, pastures, wood and uncultivated lands. The quiet and smiling beauty of the verdant meadows gemmed with flowers and fruits attracted men who sought relaxation in the midst of nature. We learn that the *mashaikhs* of our period found relaxation in gardens and meadows. The air of the gardens was regarded as healthy. Physicians would advise persons afflicted with heart diseases to live in such places.³⁷ In summer one would like to go to the garden in order to have a mid-day nap.³⁸ In Awadh there were many mango groves. Hazrat Nasir-ud-din Chiragh often took his mid-day rest there. The all-pervading atmosphere of the natural beauty affected his thought. He used to stay there for meditation. He often took with him inkpot and paper.³⁹ Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya liked the quiet atmosphere of the gardens.⁴⁰ Maulana Fakhr-ud-din used to go for a walk along with his friends towards corn-fields, gardens, mountains and forest.⁴¹

A garden was not only a place of relaxation, but also sometimes served as a venue for *Majlis*. We are told that often Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Maneri of Bihar went to the garden of Khwaja Mahmud Iwaz and sat on a terrace under a tree and

answered questions put to him by his men.⁴² In the garden he held audition assembly. The *qawals* (singer) regaled the audience with their verses.⁴³

Public tanks and *hauz* also attracted people. These not only supplied drinking water, but were also a place of amusements and relaxation. The platform contained many seats. Pleasure seekers used to go there. Around *Hauz-i-Khas* lived the musicians.⁴⁴ Often Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya went to *Hauz-i-Qatlegh Khan* and committed to memory the *Quran*.⁴⁵ On special occasions such as the last Wednesday of the month of *Safar* there was so great a crowd that many people would not find accommodation in such places like gardens, pleasure places (*khatair*) and *hauz*. The whole atmosphere pervaded with music and dance.⁴⁶

Public Amusements :

On certain occasions the capital city and its vicinity presented the spectacle of happiness and were beautifully decorated. One such occasion was the return of the Sultan to the capital city in triumph and victory. It was celebrated with great pomp and grandeur. Domes and pavilions were constructed. Such occasions provided opportunities for public amusement. People from all parts of the domain used to come to see the show. Under every dome food, wine and betel leaf, fruits, both dry and citron, were distributed to the spectators.⁴⁷ Amir Khusrau tells us that an elaborate preparation was made to give a becoming reception to King Mobarak Shah. In every direction there were rejoicings. Jubilee and triumphal arches were arrayed. The walls were draped with embroidered clothes of various colours. The ground was covered with gold embroidered velvet. People assembled in every street. Men and women were present in every direction as spectators. The streets thronged with people who had come to watch the triumphal procession.⁴⁸

Another important occasion was the accession of a Sultan. Barani tells us that Sultan Ala-ud-din in order to commemorate the occasion of his accession made liberal gifts to the people. Pavilions were erected and wine, soft drinks, and betel leaves

were distributed. Every house held *majlis*, and *maliks* and notables became guests of one another.⁴⁹ We are told that before Mohammad Tughlaq entered Delhi for his coronation, domes were erected and streets were embellished with coloured and picturesque pieces of cloth, and drums were beaten. When the royal parasol entered the city, gold was showered in the lanes and the market places, and gold and silver were thrown on the roofs and on the spectators. Men and women, young and old, slaves and maids, Hindus and Muslims, all showered the blessings on the emperor and sang his praise. They filled their pockets and decorated their turbans with pieces of gold and silver. Every house sounded drum and in every direction men and women sang songs.⁵⁰ On the occasion of the coronation ceremony of Sher Shah the drums of rejoicings were beaten and merry-making activities continued for seven days. Afghan soldiers from every tribe assembled and according to their customs, they danced and distributed perfumes and betel leaves to the people. Scents and rose-water were sprinkled on the heads of young dancers. They were provided with pleasant (wholesome) and sweet *sharbat*.⁵¹

References are also found to the display of pomp and grandeur on the occasion of investiture ceremonies when Sultan received the robe from the Caliph. When the envoy brought robes from the *Khalifah* for Sultan Iltutmish, the latter felt immensely pleased. He conferred robes of honour on most of the nobles. In the city domes were erected and drums of joy were beaten. When the mandate of the Caliph came to Mohammad Tughlaq, he went to receive the envoy along with notables, *syeds*, *mashaikh* and *ulama*. The town was decorated and arches were erected.⁵² Ibn Batuta tells us that when Shaikh Sa'id came with the letter of investiture from the Caliph, he was given a great welcome. The city was decorated, and eleven pavilions of wood were raised, each comprising four storeys and in each storey there was a group of singers, men, women and girl dancers. The pavilions were decorated with embroidered silk clothes. *Sharbat* was distributed to the people. They were offered betel leaves.⁵³ Under Firoz a public festival was observed on this occasion.⁵⁴ It may be noted that spectators had nothing

to pay for them. They were provided by the government free of cost.

Similar public entertainments were also organised on the occasion of the birth and marriage of royal princes. Mobarak Shah celebrated the birth of his son with great eclat. Pavilions were erected and decorated with velvet and brocade curtains. The royal band played at the top of the arch. All round the palace, Persian and Indian musicians and dancers performed. A *darbar* was held and the Sultan distributed gifts.⁵⁵ Amir Khusrau tells us that on the occasion of the marriage of Khizr Khan with the daughter of Alph Khan the whole town was decorated, tents were pitched, and embroidered clothes and curtains were hung. The party of sword-wrestlers displayed their skill.⁵⁶

Exhibition of Jugglery :

A source of entertainment of the people of the time was the show given by dancers, male and female, acrobats, conjurers and jugglers. The literature of the period makes mention of the party of jugglers.⁵⁷ Babar had very high praise for Indian jugglers. Some of the rare feats exhibited by Indian jugglers were not known to the jugglers of his country.⁵⁸ They exhibited their tricks by throwing the ball in the sky, swallowing the sword and thrusting a knife up into their nostrils.⁵⁹ Ikhtisan in his book refers to rope-dancers whom he calls *gada ghazians* who displayed their skill with feats on the rope.⁶⁰ The performance of the jugglers was also accompanied with the music and dance.⁶¹

Music :

Contemporary writings furnish definite information about the cultivation of the art of music during our period. Indian music has been divided into two schools—Karnataki and Hindustani. There is some difference between the two systems. But the fundamental principles of the two are the same. Those who have closely studied the historical development of Indian music have found that northern or Hindustani music evolved due to a great admixture of the foreign and indigenous elements.

Hindus wrote a number of works on music. Parsvadeva wrote a chapter on the *ragas* in 75 verses. He is said to have

flourished in the middle of the 13th century.⁶² Another book of note belonging to the end of the thirteenth century was *Ragarnava*. The name of the author is not known.⁶³ Then mention may be made of *Varna-Ratnakara* of Jyotirisvara, a great Maithili scholar of the fourteenth century. Some portion of the book deals with music and dancing. The *Vidyavanta*, a professional singer and music master, is described. The names of *ragas*, of *srutis*, as well as 7 kinds of defects of singers, and 14 kinds of defects in singing are mentioned. Various kinds of dancing and qualifications of drum players have been mentioned in this book. Twelve kinds of drum music, have been referred to. The *patra*, the dancing girl, was well acquainted with the 32 kinds of movements and in 32 kinds of graces. *Prerana* was a male dancer. The various kinds of dances they executed are described.⁶⁴ Another important book *Sarnghadhara-Paddhati* gives the *ragas* current in North India.⁶⁵

With regard to Bengal, mention may be made of *Krishna Kirtana* (songs of Krishna) of Chandidas. It is a collection of songs set to music and musical accompaniment. Each song is set to a *raga* (melody) and *tala* (time-measure).⁶⁶ *Sangita-raga* of Rana Kumbha Karna of Malwa (1460 A.D.) is another important book on Indian music. The author invites men interested in musical study and in songs. "If they had skill in music, then they should listen, oh! Connoisseurs and learned men." The author explains the *rasa* values, their significance in arousing particular emotions.⁶⁷ Another book is *Raga-mala* of Kshema Karna.⁶⁸

As compared with this long list of works in Sanskrit, unfortunately we get very scanty information about books written by the Muslims on music. Two works, one written in the 14th, and the other in the 15th century, have come down to us. In an article Mrs. Khursheed N. Hasan has drawn our attention to a work named *Ghuryat-ul-Munya* (pleasure of desire). She has briefly noticed the rare manuscript which is unfortunately incomplete, the first and the last four *fasls* being missing. The photostat of this was procured for the Aligarh Muslim University Library from the India Office Library. She could not find the

name of the author. We are told that the work was composed in 1374-75 (776 A.H.) at the instance of Malik Shams-ud-din Ibrahim Hasan, Governor of Gujrat, under Firoz, who after a strain of hard work sought relaxation in listening to Persian *sama* and Hindi *sarod*. When his companions enquired from him the meaning of complex couplets he expatiated on the elegance and significance of the verses and he would, on occasions, dilate on the intricacies of music. He asked the author to write a book on music explaining its technicalities. The author was helped by a group of singers and musicians and players of instrumental music. He consulted the following books: *Bharata (Natya Shastra)*, *Sangit Binod*, *Sangit Mudra*, *Satanak* and *Ragar ranva*. In this book the author confines himself to an exposition of Indian music, for he had discussed the Arabo-Persian musical system in a book already written by him on the basis of an Arabic work named *Farid-ul-Zaman fil Maarefat-i-Ilham* (unique of the age regarding knowledge of melodic modes).⁶⁹

The other rare, unique and exhaustive book on Indian music of the time of Sultan Sikandar Lodi noticed first by Dr. Nazir Ahmad⁷⁰ and also examined by the present writer in the University Library, Lucknow, is *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*. An Afghan who names himself as Umar Sama Yahya came all the way from Afghanistan to India and was so fascinated with the charms of Indian music that he began to study it with the help of the indigenous connoisseurs of the art. Having gained some mastery so as to translate it into Persian, he decided to write a book on the Indian music. He wrote it under the auspices of and due to the encouragement received from, Mian Bhova, the scholarly prime minister of Sikandar Lodi and the author of *Maadan-us-Shifa*, a book on Indian medicine and drugs, and he dedicated the work to the Sultan. In this book, the author claims to have utilised some of the principal classical works still available in his time. Among his main sources he mentions *Sangit Ratnakar* (Sarang-Deo) *Sangit Matang*, *Nirit Sangarah* and *Ud Bharat* (probably Bharata's *Natya Shastra*), *Sudhanidhi Sangit Samassiya* and *Sangit Kalpataru*.

The sixth *bab* or chapter consisting of 47 *fakls* or sub-sections, deals with various aspects of dances (its kinds, quality of dances,

their equipments, their defects). It is a pity that this rare work of the fifteenth century has not received attention of modern authorities on Indian music and dance. It is too technical a book for a lay man to understand and grasp the significance of 36 melodies and scales. The section in the 5th *fasl* of the 6th *bab* (chapter) entitled *Mahasin-i-Nawazindagan* (laudable virtues and actions of the instrumentalists) especially arrests one's notice. There are different *ragas*,⁷¹ *surs*,⁷² *talas*.⁷³

The interest of the Muslims in music was not exactly the same as that of the Hindus. They did not regard music as a sacred science and of divine origin. They do not ascribe the origin of notes, scales, measures, melodic modes, methods and instruments to gods and goddesses. While Indian music is essentially religious, Muslim music may be taken as secular, a means of mirth and enjoyment. Legists, jurists and theologians repeatedly state that *Al-Raqs wal Ghina Haramun* (dancing and singing are prohibited).

In disregard of this dictum, the author of *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi* has dealt with both these prohibited pleasures. The fact is that despite the outcry of the puritans and the orthodox, the liberal sections of the Muslims did not bother themselves about the lawfulness or otherwise of listening to music and some of the *Sufis* in their ecstatic moods could not help moving their bodies and rotating on their legs, which might be taken as a sort of dancing. We shall consider the *sama* of the *Sufis* elsewhere. Muslims have been fond of popular and secular music, vocal and instrumental. The Arabs, the Turks and Persians had their musical systems and they brought them over to India. There was much in the Indian system to attract and command their respect. They studied and made themselves familiar with the intricate and difficult Indian art and they had some contributions of their own to make by synthesising the two systems.

Amir Khusrau, the celebrated courtier, a Sufi of noble Turkish extraction, and a man of versatile genius has become famous not only for his poetical effusions, but also for his attainments in music. A good deal of tradition has gathered round him to the effect that he invented the *sitar* and several new

melodies, compounded of Persian and Indian tones. It is said that he defeated in an open contest a famous musician of the Deccan, Naik Gopal by name. Mr. Gangoli⁷⁴ has given a long extract from *Sher-ul-Ajam* of Maulana Shibli, who took his stand on a book named *Rag Darpan*, a work of Indian music which is supposed to be a translation of an older work written in the time of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior. He has enumerated the new melodies which Amir Khusrau is said to have evolved. However, his competitor, if any, whom he defeated, could not have been Naik Gopal, for a famous musician of Deccan bearing this name is said to have lived in Akbar's time. But Khusrau did apparently take a keen interest and active part in music contests as he refers in the *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* to the arrival of the musicians from Bakharz and Farghana. He has mentioned Abdul Farrukhi, Daud Jabilash and Shaban Qureshi, who were experts in playing upon *nai* and *barbat* (species of flute or harp).⁷⁵ Amir Khusrau invited the progeny of Amir Kunjisq, Mohammad Shah Murghak, Mohammad Chooza and thousands of other nightingales "who were flying in the gardens of Delhi to unite under Amir-I-Tayur and strike at the talkative boastful Khorasanian musicians".⁷⁶

Amir Khusrau has made many references to music in his *masnavis*, especially in *Qiran-us-Saadain* and *Nuh Sipihri*. Among the ten instances of Indian superiority he says about the Indian music that it enkindles the fire that burns the heart and soul and is superior to the music of any country. Foreigners even after a stay of 30 or 40 years in India cannot play a single Indian tune correctly. Indian music charms not only men but beasts also. Deer has been hypnotised and hunted simply with music.⁷⁷ In *Hasht Bahisht* he refers to a skilled musician who had all the four musical instruments and the 12 melodies at the tip of his fingers. A person well-versed in philosophy, physics, mathematics knew the mysteries of all the musical modes and could make people laugh, weep and go to sleep by different musical tones. He imparted knowledge to Dilaram, a beautiful Chinese damsel, who always accompanied the King, Bahram, in his hunting trips but had temporarily lost the favour of the King. Having become extraordinarily expert in music, she came back

in *cognito* to the King's domain and was restored in his favour. The fame of her skill spread far and wide for she could charm even birds and animals with her divine melodies.⁷⁸ In *Qiran-us-Sadain* after giving a detailed poetical description of such instruments as *chang*, *rabab*, *nai*, *daff*, Amir Khusrau gives a list of the musical airs (notes) such as *Kunjishk*, *Nawa*, *Raast*, *Husaini*, *Bu Salik*, *Nahavand*, *Bakharz*, *Ushshaq*, *Iraq*, *Mukhalifs*, *Farghana*, *Tezi-i-Raast*, *Sepahan*, *Qaul*, *Fakhta*, *Zangana*, *Zir-o-Bam*, *Saz-gari*.⁷⁹ There can be no question about Amir Khusrau's thorough familiarity and knowledge of the Arabo-Persian systems of which he was a greater admirer.

In *Harf-i-Siyum* of *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*⁸⁰ which is devoted to principal and secondary principles and modes of music, he has given ample proof of his thorough knowledge of the theoretical and practical sides of the music, foreign and Indian. He makes mention of *Kunya gran* (singers and instrumentalists) of *Baakharz* and *Nehawand*, *goindagan* (musicians) and to the *Ka'anwatan-i-Hindi* (Hindi) minstrels), the Arabic theorist of the systematist school named *Abdul Momin*, the 13th century author of *Kitabul Advar*, *Nakisa*, the famous harpist of *Khusrau Parwez* of *Persia*, and *Baarbak*, the celebrated musician of *Khusrau Parwez* have also been referred to. He tells us about the four *usul* (rules) and 12 *pardahs* (modes or tones or harmonic sounds) and other semi-tones. There are many technical terms such as *sehpardah*. Besides *pardah*, three, nine, twelve, twentyfour, *sehbahri*, *do bahri*, and other terms known to and explainable by experts only are *Zir*, *Buzurg* and *Khurd* (high and low pitch or string) *Musanna*, *Musallas*, *Khafif*, *Saqil* (light and heavy implying melodic rhythmic mode) and *Juft saz*, *Nawayun*, *Shad-i-rawan*, *Marwarid*, *Chakwak*, *Busalick*, *Tana tan*; *Tantaran* and *Tarana*, *Hejaz*, *Nehawand*, *Farghana*, *Iraq*, *Baakharz* and *Sipahan* which are different varieties of sounds, song and modulations.

Among the other musical modes or notes Amir Khusrau mentions *Usul-i-Fakhta*, *Rihawi*, *Husaini* and *Sarod*. Writing about tones and semi-tones, Amir Khusrau observes⁸¹ on what scale should one weigh the *Usul-i-saqil* that it should become *Khafif* and by what should *Khafif* be weighed that it should

become heavy or solid so as to make it *Saqil*. How can one play on the *Mukhalif* so as to make it *Rast* (direct, i.e., a *Pardah*). How should they break *Zir-o-Buzurg* so as to make it *Khurd*, and in what directions should *Khurd* be stretched so as to give it *Buzurgi* (respectability). *Busaleek* and *Nawa* are similar to one another. How can the *Pardah* be lifted so as to discriminate the one from the other? *Rihawi* and *Husaini* are neighbours. What can be done to separate the one from the other? As regards the *Nihawand* which serves the purpose of, and is popular with the *Ushshaq* (lovers) how should it be brought out or uttered from the heart so that it might go down deep into the (appeal) soul? When the melody comes out from (the throat) *Mutrib* (minstrel) why should the *Chang* (harp) and *Rabab* be not objected to. When *Barbat* has an exalted head why do they beat the *Duff* (Tamborin) on its back? Verse: How one knows what is hidden in the folds of my sleeves (*Pardah-i-Raaz*). It may be so if he talks to me on the subject in private.

No less interesting is the list of the musical instruments that we find in this book.⁸² They are *Chang* (harp), *Rabab*, *Nai* (flute), *Daff* (small tamborin), *Shahnai* (a clarion or hotbuoy), *Bablak Shahnai*, *Babgak*, *Muskik* (an instrument which is blown by mouth), *Udd* (lute), *Damsurfi*, *Damdama-i-Nai*, *Dohal-i-Ghazi*, *Dohal-i-Hindi* (drum) *Dholak-i-Zanan*, *Barbat* (species of lute or harp), *Qanun* (Dulcimer), *Raud*, *Ajab Raud*, *Tabal* (drum), *Jalajil* (grelots or clinkel), *Buq* (horn). *Dastak-i-Qawwal* (clapping of the hands by singers) and *Dastak-i-Khisti* have been also included in the *saaz* (instruments). He also mentions *Tabira-i-Hindi*, which comprised *Tabal*, *Kus* and *Dohal* and the Hindustani *Kingara-i-zan* or Indians who played on *Kingra*. This was an Indian instrument which was once a favourite thing in Persia and was known to the 9th and 10th century Arabic authors like Al Hafiz (d. 869) and Al Masudi (d. 957). They described the instrument as having one string stretched over a frame, the sound-chest of which was a gourd.

In *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* we find interesting but very complicated details not only about 12 *Maquams* or *Pardah* and 24 *Shoaba* or secondary modes, tones or sounds and musical instruments, but

also about contemporary musicians such as Mohammad Shah, popularly known as *Amir-i-Kunjishk*, Mahmud Chooza and Khalifa Hussaini Ikhlāq, the deceased, and Marufak-i-Rababi. Mention has already been made of one picturesquely styled as *Amir-ul-Tuyur*, the chief of the singing birds. A high dignitary interested in music was Badr-ud-din. The letter containing the chapter on Music which is dated 7th Shawwal, 716, was written at the instance of Ulugh Naib-i-Azam Barbak Malik-ul-Umara Taj-ud-din Qatlagh, the chief chamberlain of the royal citadel.

But the important personality occupying a considerable position in the Court was Turmati or Trimati Khatoon. Tributes have been paid to her many-sided skill. Many laudable epithets have been attributed to her, and much praise has been showered on her many-sided skill in the art of music, both as minstrel and an instrumentalist. She was introduced to the royal court through the influence of Amir Khusrau and was subsequently placed in charge of all the Iranian and Indian court musicians. She played upon the *Chang* so skilfully and sang so beautifully that she extorted the admiration of the minstrels of Bakhraz and Nehawand, and instrumentalists of Arab and Ajam. She is said to have trained her followers so well that they were able to overwhelm the reed-players of *Bala* and *Farod* (East and West or of high or low pitch) with all their compositions and she inspired the *Hindi Kalawantans* (musicians) who were themselves so perfect in their art as to make Abdul Momin wear the sacred thread of the Hindus. Every time even in one sitting of the assembly they infused the Hindustani notes of mirth and joy in the heart of those who were bewailing and mourning the death of an old person (this refers to an age-old practice of the Hindu mourners).⁸³

Amir Khusrau speaks of *Jashn-i-Sultan*, (the festive assemblies of the king) and *Majlis-i-Nihaniyana ke Parwaz Gahi-Nawasarayani Alawi* and (our private assemblies which are the places for the flight of our celestial singers and songstress). He enjoins upon all those who were concerned with musical entertainments to observe the etiquette and follow the leader of the musicians and be very scrupulous in matters of tips and gifts.

They should meet their expenses from their skilful use of instruments, *Rabab, Chang, Barbat, Nai*, etc. They should not make these as 'a valet' for the receipt of money from the royal assembly.⁸⁴

Basatin-ul-Uns, a rare book of story supposed to be a translation of a Hindi work and composed in elegant Persian prose in 726 by the 26 years old Ikhtisan Hindi of Delhi contains of good deal of information about the convivial and festive assembly held by the kings and nobles. We find very fine poetic but also graphic and realistic description in the book of the musical instruments, which were the favourites of the time such as *Chang, Rabab, Nai, Daff, Ud, Jalajil, Kamancha*. We get a glimpse of love affairs, wine bibing and indulgence in music both vocal and instrumental, which formed a feature of the 14th century life in high Muslim circles.

Unfortunately all that we get about the instruments, songs, sounds, melodies, modes and tones are essentially foreign rather than Indian. Some instruments such as *Nai, Kamancha, Chang* and *Daff* etc. are very similar to and not easily distinguishable from their Indian counterparts. But it is the notes of Hejaz and Bakharz, Nehawand, Isfahan, Baghdad, Iraq, etc. and not any Indian which come to our notice. Such notes as *Busalik, Rihawi, Basit, Juft-saz, Tarana, Pardah-i-Ras*, have been mentioned by Amir Khusrau also. Ikhtisan also refers to seven *Pardah*. A new melodic mode of *Sabz-ander-sabz* has also come in. The foundation of Indian musical modes are also the seven primary modes or *suars* (seven harmonic sounds) and there are other five intervals which bring the Indian system in line with the Persian one which has 12 *Pardahs*. Ikhtisan does not refer to Indian modes or tones. He mentions Nakisa, the celebrated musician and instrumentalist of Khusrau Parwez of Persia, and also the nine musical notes of the former called *sabz-ander-sabz*.⁸⁵

Before concluding the section it is worthwhile to give a short historical review of the interest taken in and the patronage extended to by the Sultan and nobles of our period. Hasan Nizami⁸⁶ refers to many musical instruments like *Arghanun* (organ-instrument), *Duhal* (drum), *Damama* (a small drum or trumpet), *Kus-i-Harbi* (a war drum), *Chang* (a harp), *Chughan* (an instrument), *Tas*

(drum), *Rabab* (a four-stringed instrument in the form of a short-necked guitar), *Daff* (a kind of drum), *Naye* (a bowstring of a musical instrument), *Jalajil* (a small drum also globular bells round the rims of Arabian drums or cymbal), *Kamancha* (a species of violin, lute or harp), *Autar* (bow-string), *Karannaye* (the large brass trumpets which sound in the bass), *Qanun* (a species of Dulcimer, harp, the strings of which from fifty to sixty in number rest upon two bridges and are touched with both hands, without making use of any kind of plectrum or bow).

There are also many musical terms concerning sound, notes and melodies of the song, and form and function of the instrument. A few of these are *sarod* (song), *zir* (the smallest string of a lute), *bam* (the brass string of a lute), *mizrab* (an instrument for striking; also a musical bow), *zakhma* (plectrum or beater), *zamzama* (a musical manner of readings; a chant) *autar* (chords, bow-string), *tar* (string of a musical instrument), *lahn*, *naghma*, *mizmar* and *pardah*. Then there are references to *mutrib*, *mughanni*, *qana musiqar*, *khunyagar* and *ramishgar*, meaning musicians and minstrels. The names of musical instruments given by Hasan Nizami are both stringed, wind, vibrating, and of sonorous substance, but they are all Arabo-Iranian. It is quite evident that the early Turks were interested in music, both vocal and instrumental. The introduction of the Arab-Iranian musical instruments was the positive contribution of the early Turkish rulers in the domain of music and musical instruments. But it was difficult to escape the environmental influence. The new rulers could not but gradually develop a taste for the old Indian music.

It is said that Muslim music in India was largely *Darbari* rather than religious. Kings, nobles and men of upper classes extended their patronage to music. There was hardly any festive occasion in which music did not play its part. It was indulged in and cultivated because of its charm and aesthetic values. References are made to chamber music and public concerts. Poets composed and recited verses. We are told about the convivial assemblies which were embellished by the presence of the sweet-voiced singers. In those assemblies music was played and poets recited panegyric poems.⁸⁷ Hasan Nizami tells us that:

when Sultan Iltutmish felt the need of relief after strenuous work of government, he called a convivial assembly. The courtiers participated in these festivities.⁸⁸ According to the author of *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi* when Sultan Balban recovered from illness, drum of joy was beaten and amusements were held.⁸⁹ Ferishta⁹⁰ says that in his court the man in-charge of entertainments received stipends. Parties of musical entertainers participated in the assemblies held on the occasion of *Nauroz*. We learn that poets and musicians came from the farthest corner of the country to Kishlu Khan, the nephew of Sultan Balban, who was famed for and wide for his generosity and munificence. They were patronised and liberally awarded.⁹¹ Music was subordinated to poetry, because there was no music without poetry. Sometimes poetry and music were written by the same person. The Poets sang the praises of their patrons and enlivened their assemblies with ready wit and pleasant humour. Poems were recited in the drinking party amidst the music and blandishment of graceful beauty and dancing of fair girls.

Kaiqubad possessed a taste for poetry and music. Under him, according to Barani, in every alley there were musicians and from every quarter a bard raised his head.⁹² Singers sang Hindi mixed Persian songs, in praise of the Sultan. "*Qaul, Ghazal, Holi and Kilani*" were sung.⁹³ Barani refers to songstress with blooming countenances whose music, as the historian says exaggeratingly, brought down birds from the air and caused walls to dance. Their alluring beauty and their movements of infinite grace held people spell-bound.⁹⁴ Barani heaves a sigh while recalling the past memories of the Jalali *darbar* in which Mohammad Shah Changi, Fatuha, Nusrat Khatun and Mehr Afrooz played and displayed their skill. Their sweet and melodious voices caused birds to come down from the air. Mahr Afrooz, and daughter of Nusrat Bibi, whose excessive beauty and charms captivated whichever part of the audience they chose to glance at, danced to the accompaniment of music. Their movements were so graceful that the onlookers felt like sacrificing their lives for them, and never raised their eyes off from the captivating movements of their feet. The

Saqi invited the audience to drink amidst the music and blandishments of graceful beauties and dancing of the fair girls.⁹⁵ References are also found to Sultan Jalal-ud-din listening eagerly to Amir Khusrau's verses and becoming intoxicated with the charm of the melodious song sung by Mohammad Shah.⁹⁶

Ala-ud-din's court throbbled with a galaxy of expert musicians who possessed melodious voice. Barani says that singers and players of *Chang*, *Rabab*, *Kamancha* and *Naubat* were all present in the time of Ala-ud-din.⁹⁷ We have already considered Amir Khusrau in this connection, the alleged vanquisher of Gopal Naik and the alleged inventor of *Sitar* or *Sehtar*. There is no contemporary evidence and no reference in his own books to either of these two events.

Mobarak Shah, son and successor of Ala-ud-din, also did not neglect music. He was a pleasure-loving and voluptuous person. It is in his time and at his instance that Amir Khusrau wrote his famous *masnavi Nuh Sipihr*, in which he refers among other things to a *jashn* held at the birth of the heir-apparent in which beautiful Iranian and Indian dancing girls displayed their skill.⁹⁸ Such a *jashn*, perhaps of greater magnitude was held also on the occasion of Khizr Khan's marriage. In his *masnavi* Amir Khusrau tells us about the fairly looking enchanting Hindi songstress-cum-dancer, wearing very fine thin Deogiri costumes, holding a cup of wine in a hand dancing and singing sweet melodies from her lips in keeping with the movements of her body.⁹⁹

The founder of the Tughlaq dynasty was an orthodox Muslim and like all puritans he considered music as irreligious and profane. His relationship with Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, a great lover of mystic music, was not good, and he was not prepared to permit even the restricted music which the *Sufis* favoured. But the situation changed with the accession of Mohammad Tughlaq. Ibn Batuta tells us about the singing and dancing of the musicians in the court on the occasion of *Id* celebration.¹⁰⁰ The author of the *Masalik* mentions the employment of 1,000 musicians in the court of Mohammad Tughlaq.¹⁰¹ Ibn Batuta writes about the musicians, both male and female, singing from the wooden pavilions, on special occasions.¹⁰² References are also found about musicians

under Sultan Firoz Shah. Afif tells us about the lavish award which the Sultan gave to the musicians.¹⁰³

Among the Syed Kings of Delhi, Mobarak Shah was a great lover of music.¹⁰⁴ Husain Sharqi of Jaunpur was a noted musician and is said to have invented *Khayal*. The court of Sultan Sikandar Lodi patronised music and singing. There was a galaxy of musical stars. Every night entertainment was held in which they participated. Sultan Sikandar had purchased four slaves at 1,500 *dinars*. One of them played on *Chang*, the other on *Qanun*, the third on the *Tambur*, and the fourth *Vina*. Yadgar is very lavish in his praise for their skill. He goes so far as to say that they produced such a melodious tune that even dead persons came to life. There were also four *Surna-nawaz* (clarion). They started playing *Surna* from mid-night. First they played *Kedar*, then *Azana*, *Husaini* and lastly *Ram Kali*.¹⁰⁵ *Surnay* was an wood-wind instrument like flute or reed pipe. The other terms suggest the different kinds of notes. According to Abdullah¹⁰⁶ *Malkaus*, *Kalyan*, and *Hussaini* were the favourite tunes of the Sultan. We learn something about the recruitment of the musicians for the court of the Sultan. Two notables named Miran Syed Ruhulla and Syed Ibn-Rasul were specially deputed for it. The singers who came from the different parts of the kingdom, gave their musical performance which was also heard by the Sultan. The performers of *Shahnai* attended the court every night.¹⁰⁷ References are also found to the maintenance of dancing girls by Sultan Ibrahim.¹⁰⁸

Under the Sur Sultans music was not neglected.¹⁰⁹ Sur Das flourished at the court of Islam Shah. Ramdas was another noted musician of the time of Islam Shah.¹¹⁰ Swami Haridas was the famous musician of the period. Mohammad Adil Shah Sur was one of the noted musicians of the time and Baz Bahadur and Miyan Tansen were his disciples. Adil Shah played on *Pakhawaj* (drum) of the size of a man with both hands and feet. His love for music made him appoint a *Bhagat* boy as a commander of 5,000 for his musical talent. Baz Bahadur, himself a musician, patronised musicians and songstresses. He is given the credit of introducing a new style of singing known as *Baz Khani*. He

improved melodies. He was equally expert in dancing. He danced in the company of his female troops, about nine hundred in number, imagining himself as a Krishna dancing with the Gopies in the Vrindaban.¹¹¹

Sometimes musicians used to accompany the Amir in his journey. Ibn Batuta mentions about the party of musicians and their performances when Amir Ala-ul-Mulk undertook the Indus voyage. The boat contained musical instruments like drums, flutes and trumpets. The party of singers sang in chorus. When the Amir took his meal an orchestra-like music was played at intervals. Ibn Batuta himself took singers with him who entertained him with music on the way from Amroha to Delhi.¹¹²

Literary works of the period refer to public concerts. We are told about the party of musicians who entertained crowds at the market places.¹¹³ Mahuan tells us that every morning a party of musicians went to the houses of the high officials and the rich and entertained them with instrumental music. They visited every house. At meal time also they used to go and receive food and money. Army people on the occasion of their feasts and parties, sang their native songs and also danced together.¹¹⁴ References are also found to *Tarabad*, that is, the house of music and enjoyment. The houses of the musicians were situated around the *Hauz-i-Khas*. They had a market which was one of the largest in the world.¹¹⁵ Barani suggests the demolition of the public music halls.¹¹⁶ From this we can reasonably infer the existence of public music house for the entertainment of the people. We also learn about the cultural level of the musicians. Ibn Batuta tells us that female singers residing around the *Hauz-i-Khas* recited the congregational prayers of the month of *Ramazan*. A larger number of both male and female attended the prayers. The musicians who participated in the festivities of Amir Said-ud-din Ghadda's marriage had also prayer mats with them. When they heard the call to prayer they stood up, and made their ablution and offered prayer.¹¹⁷

Thus it is clear that the coming of the Muslims did not mean a break in the continuity of the music. Music occupied a distinct place in the social life of the Muslims. The Sultans and

the aristocracy through the extension of their liberal patronage not only caused the art of music to survive, but also made positive contribution for the enrichment of the Indian Music.

Muslim Festivals :

Muharram is the first month of the Islamic calendar. This month is of special significance to the Muslims. The first ten days of *Muharram* are observed as days of mourning by the Muslims in commemoration of the martyrdom of Hazrat Imam Husain, the second grandson of Prophet Mohammad. A perusal of the literature of the period shows that it was observed with due solemnity. We are told by Minhaj that during the first ten days of *Muharram* a discourse (*Tazkir*) was delivered daily.¹¹⁸ The great Bihari saint Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri used to hold *majlis* on the *Ashura* day. People crowded his place.¹¹⁹ Hazrat Ashraf Jahangir of Kachocha (U.P.) observed mourning for ten days.¹²⁰ People fasted on the *Ashura* day.¹²¹ The fast of the 10th of *Ashura* and the use of collyrium on that day have been referred to in several places by Amir Khusrau. He received a casket containing collyrium for his use on the *Ashura* day from a certain friend.¹²² This practice was confined to the orthodox Sunni Muslims and is observed by some of them even now. References to the use of collyrium on the *Ashura* day are also found in the religious literature of Bihar.¹²³ The author of *Basatin-ul-Urs* tells that on the 10th of *Muharram* people celebrated the mourning anniversary of the martyred grandson of the Prophet by throwing black dust on their heads and putting on robes of mourning on the body.¹²⁴ Ibn Batuta says that on the 10th of *Muharram* he distributed a hundred maunds of flour and an equal amount of meat to the poor and indigent.¹²⁵ Food was offered to bless the soul of Hazrat Imam Husain.¹²⁶ The Bihari saint Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri refers to the cooking in certain quarters among the Muslims as *hafta-dana* food (seven cereals) on the *Ashura* day.¹²⁷

Another important month of the Muslim calendar is *Rabi I*. Prophet Mohammad is believed by a large section of the Muslims to have been born on the 12th of *Rabi I*. Ibn Batuta seriously refers to the birthday of the prophet, and does not give

the actual date or day which are controversial. The first 12 days of *Rabi I* and especially the 12th provided the occasion for holding *milad-un-nabi* and celebrating that as Prophet's birthday. On this occasion poor and indigent persons were fed.¹²⁸

Shab-i-Barat or *Lailat-ul-Barat* (night of forgiveness of sins) is an important festival. The night of the 14th *Shaban* is called *Shab-i-Barat*. It is believed by the Muslims as a night in which one's fortune for the coming year is fixed by God. Muslims are supposed to pass this night in prayer and vigil. The whole of the 15th *Shaban* was passed without a wink of sleep in prayers and meditation, people all the time expecting a response from God.¹²⁹ Fireworks were also displayed by children. Amir Khusrau tells us about the display of fireworks by the children of Delhi, converting the city into "a virtual blazing *Gulnar* of the Abraham Legend. Everybody spent a few wick-lamps to illuminate the local mosque."¹³⁰ We are told that Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri visited the graveyard.¹³¹ Sultan Firoz Tughlaq celebrated the festival with éclat. Crackers and fire-works were collected. Four temporary structures (*Alang*) were erected in the neighbourhood of *Kushk Nuzul* under the names of *Alang-i-Khas*, *Alang-i-Malik Naib Barbak*, *Alang-i-Malik Ali*, and *Alang-i-Malik-i-Yaqub*. The members of the royal family and aristocracy visited the city. People of Delhi and its neighbourhood used to go to see the illumination. Thirty ass-loads of drums; trumpets and other musical instruments were mustered. There was display of fire-works, and light and torches were kindled. Boat race was held. Boats were decorated with lights and torches. The fire-works lasted for three days.¹³²

The most celebrated and popular festival was *Id* which marked the end of the fast of the month of *Ramazan*. Minhaj tells us that when the month of *Ramazan* came a discourse was delivered daily.¹³³ Ibn Batuta gives a vivid description of the celebration of *Id* by Mohammad Tughlaq. The Sultan used to send robes to his *amirs*, courtiers, notables, officials and slaves in the night preceding the *Id*. On the morning of *Id* elephants were adorned with silk, gold and jewels. He rode on such elephants. The *amirs* with their special detachment holding their trumpets and flags

stood in attendance. All in procession went for the thanks-giving prayer.¹³⁴ The whole palace was magnificently decorated.¹³⁵ Sultan Firoz Shah was also particular about the celebration of *Id*. Most of the part of the night preceding *Id* he kept himself awake and all the time enquired about the preparations. The whole palace with all its seven spacious yards was decorated with the foliage of the mango tree. In the courtyard a large pavilion was constructed in front of the audience hall for the accommodation of the public. Rows of artificial and natural plants of variegated colours supported on tripods were put on two sides of the pavilion. The walls of the pavilion were draped with silk and beautiful clothes. Flags designed like butterflies were brought into the hall and kept in front of the throne. They fluttered in the breeze before the throne.¹³⁶

To the Muslims *Id* was the day of rejoicing.¹³⁷ On the *Id* day drum was beaten. People sent bread and *halwa* (sweets) from house to house. They used scent.¹³⁸ But its celebration depended upon their pecuniary condition.¹³⁹ After the prayer people used to visit the houses of saints.¹⁴⁰ They were served *halwa* (sweets).¹⁴¹ People also visited tombs.¹⁴² On this occasion poems were recited.¹⁴³ It was usual to make presents called *Idi* on the day of this solemn festival.¹⁴⁴ We are informed by Abdullah that on *Id* day, the 10th day of *Muharram* and anniversary of the Prophet's death, there was a standing order of Sultan Sikandar Lodi to draw up a list of the names of the prisoners and deliver it to the Sultan. He wrote with his own hand the orders of release against the names of the persons confined on the score of revenue transactions.¹⁴⁵

Id-ul Azha, falling on the 10th of *Zil-Hijjah*, the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar has always been an important festival of the Muslims. It is a festival held in commemoration of Prophet Abraham offering his second son Ismail who miraculously escaped the atonement through a *dumba* (a kind of sheep with a thick tail). The Holy *Quran* says "it is not their meat nor their blood that reaches God, it is your piety that reaches Him. He has made them (animals) subject to you that you may glorify God for His guidance and proclaim the good

news to all who do right." We are told of the killing of animals by Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq.¹⁴⁶ References are also found to fasting in the month of *Rajab*¹⁴⁷ and "*Maryam ka Roza*."¹⁴⁸

Nauroz

Nauroz, as the new year's day according to the Persian calendar, was one of the most celebrated festivals of the Persians. The Indian Turks also celebrated it by giving feasts and liberating prisoners. Amir Khusrau has made mention of the celebration of the spring season in rose garden.¹⁴⁹ There was an element of gaiety and mirth about this spring festival. *Khans* and *Maliks* participated in it. Pavilion was erected and singers and poets participated.¹⁵⁰ We get a vivid picture of the decoration of the royal palace under Kaiqubad in Amir Khusrau's *Qiran-us-Sadain*. Brocade curtains were hung in the arches. There were five *chatr* of different colours. Some of them were studded with pearls. The walls were draped with costly clothes.¹⁵¹ According to Afif great care was taken for the celebration of *Nauroz*.¹⁵²

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45. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 141.
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When Humayun returned from his Bihar campaign, his mother organised a grand reception in his honour. The soldiers and the market people were asked to decorate their houses and shops (Gulbadan Begum: *Humayun Nama* p. 113).
49. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 347; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 138.
50. Barani, pp. 456-457. For Firoz Shah see Afif, pp. 47, 88-89.
51. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (K.P.J.R.I.), pp. 127-128.

52. Barani, p. 492.
53. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 243-244.
54. Afif, p. 275.
55. *Kulliyat-i-Khusrau*, pp. 768-772, quoted in K. M. Ashraf: *Life and conditions of the People of Hindustan*, p. 195, Fn.
56. *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan*, pp. 38-40, 42-43.
57. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, II, p. 131; IV, pp. 251, 258-259; *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan*, pp. 39-40; *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 129; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 356; *Maadan-ul-Ma'ani*, pp. 276-77.
58. *Memoirs of Babar* (King), II, pp. 360-61.
59. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, II, p. 131; IV, pp. 251, 258-59; *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan*, pp. 39-40.
60. *Basatin-ul-Uns*, ff. 47-48; J.B.R.S., 1962, II, p. 22.
61. Abbas Khan, p. 167.
62. O. C. Gangoly: *Ragas and Raginis* (Nalanda Publication), pp. 31-33.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 36-37; *Varna-Ratnakara*, Ed. by S. K. Chatterjee pp. XXIX-XX.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-48.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
69. *Pr. I. H. Congress*, 1961, pp. 177-179.
70. *Ibid.*, 1953, pp. 219-225.
71. *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*. f. 50b.
72. *Ibid.*, f. 79a.
73. *Ibid.*, ff. 101b.
74. O. C. Ganguly: *Ragas and Raginis*, pp. 38-40.
75. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, II, pp. 284-285.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 290.
77. *Nuh Sipih*, p. 171.
78. *Hasht Bahist*, p. 34.
79. *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*, pp. 177-182.
80. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, Vol. II, pp. 275-291.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-288.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
83. *Hinduana Surai dar del-i-ashab-i-shaiwan risanand*, *Ibid.*, p. 280.
84. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-282.
85. For a detailed description see S. H. Askari: *Historical Values of Basatin-ul-Uns*, J.B.R.S., Vol. XLVIII, 1962, pp. 21-29.
86. *Vide P.U.J.*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1963, pp. 121-122.
87. Barani, p. 46.
88. *Taj-ul-Ma'asir*, ff. 263a, 269a.
89. Yahiya Sirhindi, p. 41.

90. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, p. 78.
91. Barani, p. 113.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 161.
95. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200 ; *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate* pp. 163-164.
96. *Miftah-ul-Futuh* (Alig.), p. 24.
97. Barani, p. 365.
98. *Nuh Sipahr*, pp. 379-382.
99. *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan* (Alig.), p. 158.
100. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 63.
101. Shahab-ud-din Ahmad (E & D), III., p. 579.
102. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 64, 243-244.
103. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 363-368.
104. *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 211.
105. *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 48.
106. *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (O.P.L.), f. 39b.
107. *Ibid.*, ff. 39 ab.
108. *Humayun Nama* (Beveridge), p. 96.
109. Abbas Khan, p. 128.
110. M. A. Rahim : *History of the Afghans in India* (Karachi), p. 151.
111. *Ibid.*
112. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 9-10.
113. *Abbas Khan*, p. 167.
114. *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, pp. 532-533.
115. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 28. Ibn Batuta mentions the market place for male and female singers in Daulatabad. The bazar had numerous shops. A shop was decorated with carpets and in the middle of it there was something like a big cradle on which the female singers sat. She decked out all kinds of finery and her female attendants swung her cradle. In the middle of the market place there was a large cupola in which the chief of the musicians came every Thursday after past mid-day prayer (*Asar*). The female singers, came in large numbers, and sang before him and danced until dusk. Both Hindu and Muslim rulers visited the market place and the female singers used to sing for them. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
116. *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 4.
117. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 28-29.
118. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Bid. Ind.), p. 175 ; It is significant that Amir Khusrau mentions a book called *Maqal-i-Husain*, an elegic work on the tragedy of Karbala (*Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 328).
119. *Rahat-ul-Qulub*, p. 16 ; *Mukh-ul-Ma'ani*, p. 107.
120. *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*, p. 269.

121. *Rahat-ul-Qulub*, p. 16.
122. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 328.
123. *Mukh-ul-Ma'ani*, pp. 79, 103, 705.
124. Ikhtisan, f. 144 b ; J.B.R.S., 1962, p. 7.
125. *Mukh-ul-Ma'ani*, p. 79.
126. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 143.
127. *Mukh-ul-Ma'ani*, p. 79.
128. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 143.
129. J.B.R.S., Vol. XLVIII, 1962, p. 7.
130. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 324.
131. *Munis-ul-Muridan*, p. 125 ; See for the importune of this night, *Khwan-i-Pur Niamat*, p. 114.
132. Afif, pp. 365-367.
133. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Bib. Ind.), p. 175.
134. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 60-61.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
136. Afif, pp. 361-62.
137. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 113.
138. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, pp. 305, 326-27.
139. We are told that once a certain traveller came to the house of Shaikh Najib-ud-din Mutawakkil on the day of *Id*. The sons of the latter were starving that day. The traveller was served only with a pot of water (*Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 75-76).
140. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 213 ; *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 250, *Khwan-i-Pur-Nimat*, p. 118.
141. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 213.
142. *Rafiq-ul-Arifin* (Phulwari Khanqah), f. 48a.
143. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 127.
144. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
145. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, ff. 38b—39a.
146. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 61-62.
147. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 71.
148. *Mukh-ul-Ma'ani*, p. 15. The Firdausi saint Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri told one of his disciples that a certain woman named Maryam after the release of her son from the prison observed fast as a token of thanks-giving to God on the 15th of the month of *Rajab* at the command of the saint whom she had approached (*Khwan-i-Pur-Niamat*, pp. 84-85).
149. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, pp. 329-330.
150. Barani, pp. 113-114.
151. *Qiran-us-Sa'dain*, pp. 73, 82-109.
152. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 360.

CHAPTER V

THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN SOCIETY

Unfortunately we know little about the women of our period. The available information regarding the position and influence of women in society is scanty. But very often something incidentally mentioned about them provides us with some data about their position and status in the social and cultural life of the period.

The existing evidences reveal that different views were held about women. Some averred that women were inferior by nature, and were not fit to be entrusted with any responsible work.¹ Even a lady of talented ability was made to understand her limitations. She was to accept a status of dependence on man because of her physical disabilities.² Perhaps Jaisi reflects the impression of the people when he says: "You are women and deficient in sense. That man is a fool who takes the advice of women folk at home." We find the corroboration of this view in *Manusmriti*: "Day and night women must be kept in dependence by the males of their families, and if they attach themselves to sensual enjoyments, they must be kept under one's control.

- (2) Her father protects her in childhood, her husband protects her in youth, and her sons protect her in old age ; a woman is never fit for independence.
- (3) No man can completely guard women by force ; but they can be guarded by the employment of certain expedients.
- (4) Let the husband employ his wife in the collection and expenditure of his wealth ; in keeping everything clean ; in the fulfilment of religious duties ; in the preparation of his food, and in looking after the house-hold utensils.
- (5) Women, confined to the house under trustworthy and obedient servants, are not (well) guarded but those who of their own accord keep guard over themselves, are well guarded.⁴

Rights of women are a key to the level of civilisation. Muslim women received far more liberal treatment in matters of inheritance than their Hindu counterparts. This can be illustrated by the mode of division of property after the father's death, a daughter receiving half of that of her brother. However, under the Muslims the disabilities arising from the male tutelage of unmarried and married women remained in force. The author of the *Adab-ul-Harb* suggests that a wife was not to be trusted in matters of consequences, and if it was unavoidable to consult her, the best course was to act contrary to her advice.⁵ The Muslims showed no disregard for the social conventionalities. She was regarded mentally weak and deficient in wisdom.⁶

Men acted as custodians of the honour and chastity of women. Dr. Ashraf rightly points out : "With the growth of general sensuality and sexual indulgence, an unhealthy attitude developed on all sides. People began to put a very exaggerated value on the chastity of women, exactly in the same measure as they encouraged its absence among man."⁷ Women were to remain chaste not only in conduct but also in their thought. The spirit of the age with regard to the chastity of women is reflected in Amir Khusrau's *Matla-ul-Anwar* : "A girl on whom reflections were cast regarding her chastity could never expect to find any respectable person to marry her even though the accusations were proved to be absolutely groundless."⁸ A pious and chaste lady was called *Rabia* of the time.⁹ Such a lady even belonging to the lower scale of society was respected. We are told that Shaikh Jamal-ud-din of Hansi had a maid servant. She was a modest and virtuous lady. She used to relay messages between Shaikh Jamal-ud-din and Baba Farid. The latter called her as 'mother of the *Momins*.'¹⁰

The women of the age were sorted out into various categories. We get a full description of the various types of women in Jaisi's *Padmavat*. The intention of this *Sufi* author in giving a description of the various types of women like *Hastini*, *Sankhini*, *Chitrini* and *Padmini*¹¹ is not to provide a sensual diversion, but to sing the praise of *Padmavat* who symbolised the virtues of Hindu womanhood.

Marriage :

The position and influence of women can be fairly well discerned from the nature and problem of marriage. The first thing that strikes our attention is the worry of the parents to settle the marriage of their daughters. Afif tells us that the worries of the parents increased when their daughters reached the stage of puberty. They passed sleepless nights and restless days. Many of them had no money for the marriage of their daughters. Sometimes on account of the bounty of a Sultan like Firoz Shah thousands of girls were married.¹³ As a result of this indigent Muslims and widows came from all sides and got the names of their daughters registered in the *Diwan-i-Khairat* and got large provisions for the marriage of their daughters.¹³ It is quite evident that marriage was a great social problem which involved the economic means of the parents. Performance of the marriage of a poor man's daughter depended much upon the generosity of those who were economically well off.¹⁴ There are references to the collection of garments, bedstead and other articles from the houses of nobility for the dowry of the daughters of poor parents.¹⁵

The dowry formed an important item of marriage expenditure. Every poor families could not hope to escape from it. References are found to the practice of fixing dower money for the bride in the religious literature of Bihar. When *Sepahsalar* Ali Usman referred to 40,000 *tankas* accepted by his newly married son, the saint exclaimed "God be praised ! Matters have reached to this extent !" There should be no idea of 'Nam-o-Nang' (name and prestige). The saint smilingly said to the *Sepahsalar* that when his son would have a daughter they would say that her mother fetched 40,000 *tankas*.¹⁶

The parents of the girls were under moral obligation to give away their daughters in marriage just at the right age of puberty. But it all depended upon the availability of suitable match and the economic position of the guardians. It is quite evident from the statement of Afif that early marriage was encouraged.¹⁷ The *Smritis*¹⁸ enjoined the Hindu guardians to marry their daughters before puberty extending from seven to twelve years. The

relative ages of the bridegroom and the bride were fixed as 30 and 12, 28 and 8, 30 and 10, 21 and 7. The author of *Madanaparijata* enjoined upon guardians, the bestowal of a *nagnika* (one too young to have any sense of shame in the presence of males, and as one who had not attained the age of puberty) even upon a worthless husband, rather than keeping the girl unmarried beyond her puberty.¹⁹

As for the marriage negotiation we can infer from contemporary works that the bride and the bridegroom of the Indian Muslims had no voice in the selection of a match. In respectable families the opinion of the girls, to be married, in their marriage negotiation, was regarded as something indecent and approbrious. In negotiating marriage great consideration was given to the lineage of the family. We are told of one Syed Wajeeh-ud-din Mohammad Mashhadi, the *darogha* of Tamli, had a daughter. She was chaste and pious. She had passed her marriageable age because her parents were particular about the purity of blood. She was given in marriage to Moin-ud-din Sanjari, although there was a great disparity of age between them.²⁰ Ibn Batuta informs us that the Samira people did not marry among other than their own and no one of the other classes married in their fold.²¹ The Afghans usually married within their own tribe. They also took into consideration the purity of blood, and did not allow their daughters' marriage with royal princes. When Sikandar proposed Miyan Khwaja Ismail Jalwani for the marriage of his daughter with himself, Jalwani reminded the Sultan that he was the son of a goldsmith's daughter.²² Mobarak Khan Sur, a nephew of Sher Shah, being enamoured by the beauty of Allahdad Khan Neyazi's daughter, sent his proposal of marriage. Allahdad Khan, conscious of the aristocratic blood of his tribe, refused the offer to marry his daughter with a member of the reigning Sur family.²³ Mobarak Khan tried to force him. This resulted in a bloody dispute and consequently the death of Mobarak Khan.²⁴ But the custom of family exclusiveness was not uniformly followed. We learn of Syeds marrying their daughters in families other than Syeds. Abbas tells us that when Allahdad Khan Neyazi refused to

marry his daughter with Mobarak Khan Sur, the brothers of former offered their daughters to the latter.²⁵

Though love was not the normal basis of marriage instances are found when parents yielded to their children's choice. Jaisi's *Padmavat* is a beautiful story of a love-marriage. Reference to such marriage is found in Barbosa's account of Vijayanagar.²⁶

Marriage Ceremonial :

When the day of the wedding arrived the bride was adorned from head to foot.²⁷ A perusal of the contemporary writings shows that the performance of the marriage ceremonies was dominated by women. Ibn Batuta says that two nights before the consummation of the marriage the ladies decorated the palace of Amir Saif-ud-din. They applied *henna* to his hands and feet. Some entertained him with dance and music. The courtyard where the bride was seated on a raised dais was packed with women. The female musicians chanted songs, the bride gave betel leaf to the bridegroom with her own hand. Then the Amir rose and caught hold of bride's hand. The bride sat in the palanquin. Ladies on horseback preceded her, while other ladies went on foot.²⁸

Another important point to be noted in connection with the marriage ceremony is the bridal show called *jalwa* amidst the chanting of music by the ladies.²⁹ At the time of *jalwa* some sweets (*reori*) were strewn over the head of bridegroom.³⁰

Relations between husband and wife :

A careful study of the marriage ceremonial shows the dignified position of the married woman. The entrance of the bride into the household and family life of the bridegroom opened a new chapter of her life's career. She had to share with her husband the duties of the household. She had to nurse her children and bring them up. She was expected not to leave the house without the knowledge of her husband or without an escort. She was not to violate the tradition of her husband's house. The observance of these rules and the corresponding type of husband's character determined their happy relations.³¹ From one of the letters of *Likhnavali* we learn of a mother writing to

her married daughter to bear patiently the ill-treatment meted out to her by her husband. She also sent vermilion, perfumed oil, clothes, coloured in the *kusumbhi* colour and assured her to bring her back after the rains were over. This letter also reveals to us that the relation of the new bride was sometimes not happy with *nanad* (husband's sister).³³ References are also found about the use of charms in Bengal by women to exercise control over their husbands.³³

In the mystic literature of the period we get reference to a story of an ideal conjugal life of a Hindu woman. The husband of the woman was engaged in agriculture. She developed spiritual power and could predict future events. She told about the impending Muslim invasion. As a result of the Muslim invasion she fell captive along with her husband. But they were released when the Muslims knew the story of her devotion and sincerity towards her husband.³⁴ Literature of the period also mentions the highest aspiration of Hindu women to become a faithful wife.³⁵

Divorce :

The practice of divorce prevailed among the Muslims with whom marriage was a social contract rather than a sacrament of divine origin as amongst the Hindus. If a man repeated the word divorce thrice, the divorce became complete and there was no way of getting back the divorced wife except through a long process. Her marriage with some body else and consummation with somebody else might be followed by a second divorce, and then only she could be married by her first husband. In a particular case cited by Jamali, Qadr Khan, Governor of Multan, in an excited state of mind, divorced his wife. The *Qazi* advised him to allow the divorced wife to be married with a Suhrawardy saint to facilitate her restoration to him, but the latter refused to divorce his new wife.³⁶ We are told that some people of Multan took as wives women who were not divorced by their previous husbands.³⁷ Widow re-marriage was prevalent.³⁸ But amongst the upper class Hindus, widow re-marriage was not allowed. They were not allowed to participate in social functions

such as marriage, as their appearance was considered inauspicious.³⁹ A maiden was re-married if she was not deflowered.⁴⁰

Level of Culture and Political activities :

Status of women may enable us to form an idea of culture and civilization of a country. Islam has brought a considerable amelioration in the condition of women, has removed the prejudices against the birth of a female, and the *Quran* has declared that women have as many rights as duties. A woman in Islam was not a mere play thing for man. Both in India and elsewhere, in many respects, such as inheritance, contract of marriage dowry, divorce and rights of children wrung from marriage, etc. instead of inferiority and abject subjection, there was a good deal of social equality between men and women.

The long poetical discourse of Amir Khusrau in *Hasht Bahisht* and *Matta-ul-Anwar* containing his counsels to his daughter, Mastura, contain much that was not merely idealistic but practical. He could not remain unaffected by his environment and by his Indian lineage from the mother's side and, therefore, we find him commencing his address thus : "Would to God that you should have been in the well of non-existence, or you could have been a male child or were born in the eighth month (so as to die)". He, however, restrained himself and wrote : "But you are a gift of God and it is sin to quarrel with such a God-given thing." He goes further : "My father also came out of a mother, and my mother was also a daughter. Without a father or by the grace of God, the chaste Maryam gave birth to Masih, but nobody has said about any child having been born without mother."⁴¹

This is followed by what a man of his position and of his time expected a very young daughter to do on attaining puberty. "Though you are still very young and without understanding, one day you would become an elderly woman. When you attain wedlock and wealth, I would wish for you, first, purity and chastity, and then good fortune. "He counselled her to be a constant and devoted worshipper of God, to be a seeker of good name, to be abstinent and virtuous, to remain indoors, and to keep

her face bright within the four curtains (walls). She should never feel any shame in handling the iron spindle and needle, whether she has much or less money she should practise thrift and avoid extravagance. She is not to be harsh and sour tempered and not to imitate the quarrelsome brides, who apply too much of white paints and make themselves black in face for the judgment-day. She is to be a devoted companion of her husband and make the best use of her earnings. "Although your brothers are good and lucky ones like you, yet in my eyes you are better than them." "Live your life in such a way that by your behaviour and conduct you may be able to bring life to your kindred and relations. It is better that for the sake of good name, fame, purity and chastity, you should tie your leg with the chain of your skirt (and do not go out). "A woman who goes easily out of the house is mightily afraid of every inmate of the house, lest they might defame her." So she had the real choice as to *pardah*. She could discard *pardah* if she had the courage to do. Here our author uses many similes, and metaphors to strengthen his advice about observing *pardah* and dilates on the harm of mixing with strangers (*Namahraman*). He deprecates the excessive use of "*ghaza* and *gulguna*" (red and white colours with which the women used to paint their faces) and says that a really good *jilwah* (splendour, a bridal trousseau) is not that of the customary bridal bed, but that out of modesty and fear a woman collects and covers her limbs together so that she should be known and spoken as such among her relatives. This discourse of 109 verses concludes with the line "the woman who enjoys the grace of God considers it preferable to give up her head rather than surrender her body."⁴³

While acquainting his daughter with an ideal code of conduct Amir Khusrau condemns some of the vices of women prevalent in his age. He tells us of 'sugar-lipped' women encircled by 'flies' (lovers). He stigmatises women who strutted out in lanes as bitches. He predicts the defamation or fall of that woman who constantly peeped out of the holes and windows. He considers the swing (*badpach* or *jhola*) and the small tamburine (*daff*) on which the women played as a rope to hang her and the pillory

for pelting and ridiculing her. Her song though simple at first would eventually invite the use of drinking wine. A woman who was poor and indigent was more exposed to the evil intentioned neighbouring thieves. This does not mean that women of the poorest section and of the lower classes were not as pure and virtuous as others. Muslim society placed a high value on chastity and married state and the moral code of the time did not permit free mixing of man and woman. Amir Khusrau would have us believe that not to speak of dancing, even music and playing on musical instruments by upper and middle class Muslim women were tabooed. The case was different with the courtesans of the court and of the bazars. Many women enjoyed a high position in society because of their political and aristocratic and religious connection, attitude and outlook. They were accomplished and those in religious circles were well known for their saintly virtues.

Contemporary writings show that women sometimes exercised a potent influence on the administration of the State. Some of them were adept in court intrigues like Shah Turken, mother of Rukn-ud-din Firoz. After the death of Sultan Iltutmish she got her son Firoz crowned as king. For all practical purposes she ruled on behalf of her son. Raziah formed a conspiracy against the rule of Rukn-ud-din Firoz. She exploited the discontent against the rule of the arrogant Queen Dowager. The conspiracy succeeded in dethroning Rukn-ud-din. We are told that she appealed to the people to give her an opportunity so that she might prove her worth and ability.⁴³ Raziah was acclaimed as the rightful Sultan and successor to the throne of Iltutmish.^{43a} Sultana Raziah was the first and the last crowned Muslim queen who occupied the throne in India. But the ladies of the harem played, sometimes most conspicuous part, in the drama of succession to the throne. After the assassination of Sultan Jalal-ud-din, Malka-i-Jahan proclaimed her youngest son Qadr Khan as king. She began to rule in his name.⁴⁴ Khodawand Zada, daughter of Tughlaq Shah and sister of Sultan Mohammad, opposed the candidature of Sultan Firoz for the throne in favour of her son,

Davar Malik.⁴⁵ Bibi Raji, the wife of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi was a prudent and intelligent woman. When Mahmud Sharqi died in the army, the illustrious queen, Bibi Raji, with the consent of the notables placed Prince Bhikan, under the title of Mohammad Shah, on the throne.⁴⁶ Abdullah tells us that a group of historians attributed the cause of Sultan Mahmud Sharqi's march towards Delhi to Bibi Raji. She argued that the kingdom of Delhi belonged to her father and as such Bahlol had no right to occupy the throne. She further proposed that if her husband did not proceed to Delhi, she herself with bows and arrows would go against Bahlol.⁴⁷

The wives of officials also wielded control over the working of day-to-day administration. During the time of Sultan Kaiqubad, the wife of Malik Nizam-ud-din, who was the daughter of Fakhr-ud-din, the *Korwal* of Delhi, assumed full control of the Sultan's *harem*. The Sultan was completely under her control and refused to listen to any complaint against Nizam-ud-din.⁴⁸

The Afghan women were famous for courage. When Sultan Mahmud Sharqi attacked Delhi, the Afghans with their wives and children took shelter in the fort. Bibi Mahto and other Afghan ladies wore the male dress and went to the rampart and faced constant showers of arrows from the enemies.⁴⁹

The women of our period were not only famous for political dexterity but also for generosity, piety, religiousity and affable temperament. Bibi Zulaikha, mother of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, Bibi Fatima, Bibi Saira, Sister of Hazrat Syed Nur-ud-din, Khadija, wife of Shaikh Hamid Nagouri and mother of Shaikh Kabir, are some of the revered names of our period who represented the best traditions of Indian Muslim womanhood. Bibi Zulaikha was a very pious and saintly lady of her time. Often Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, along with his mother and sister, used to go without food. 'We are the guests of God today', my mother used to say, 'when we had no food in the house.'⁵⁰

Bibi Fatima was another saintly lady of the time. She often used to send food to the starving family of Shaikh Najib-ud-din Mutawakkil.⁵¹ Khadiji, wife of Shaikh Hamid-ud-din Nagauri, was a lady of piety and of affable temperament. She spent her

time in cooking and spinning.⁵² Shaikh Hamid Nagouri, who was so poor that a single prayer carpet was used alternately by him and his wife at the time of prayer, did not accept *futih* and other gifts. Once the *muqtai* of Nagour offered a plot of land with some cash. The saint apologised saying that none of the elder saints of his order had accepted a gift or stipend from government. When the Sultan sent 500 silver *tankas* with a *farman* conferring upon him a village, his wife reacted and said: "Oh Khwaja! Do you want to disgrace years of spiritual devotion and penitence by accepting this gift? Do not worry. I have spun two *seers* of yarn. It would suffice for preparing a loin cloth for you and a *dopatta* for me."⁵³

Bibi Sharifa was one of the daughters of Baba Farid. She was pious and saintly. She became a widow while young. Once Baba Farid observed that he would have made her his successor if it was permissible for a woman to become a spiritual guide.⁵⁴ In *Maktubat-i-Quddusi*, we find a letter addressed to a highly accomplished and pious Afghan lady, Bubu Islam Khatun, about the ineligibility of women to initiate the novices and appoint a successor, although they attained perfection equal to those of men. Addressing her as "chaste and modest sister, one whose head was bent down in reverence and prayers, the pride of women of the two worlds", the great Gangohi saint, Hazrat Abdul Quddus, admonished her to continue her religious and spiritual devotions. He wrote, "You, my sister, have had the courage to put your steps along with the men of God, the Most High, and are worthy of running the stream of spiritual preceptorship. But as this is a missionary work and women have not done this, the *jama* (robe) of the *pirs* has not been sent to you and the spiritual and the special robe (*khirqā*) of the *Shaikh* has not been made over to you, and you have not been authorised to initiate the novices and appoint a successor. But if any sincere woman or man feels inclined towards you, you may give to women, either in presence or absence, and to men only in absence, the cap and skirt (*Daman*) as an agent for your spiritual guide. You may get *shajra* (genealogical list of saints or holy predecessors) written

out and give it and make her or him as the disciple of your *pir*.”⁵⁵

Mention may be made of Bibi Hafiza Jamal and Bibi Rani as the pride of the women of the time. Bibi Hafiza, so called because she had memorized the *Quran*, was a lady of great mystic learning.⁵⁶ Bibi Rani,⁵⁷ daughter of Syed Ahmad, a mint officer at Multan, was married to Syed Mahmud, a leading business man of Kirman. Her husband left his business and came with his wife and began to live in the *Jamaat Khana* at Ajodhan. Bibi Rani looked after the comforts of the inmates of the *Jamaat Khana*. Once she asked Maulana Badr-ud-din Ishaq: “Brother! If you stop your weeping for a while, I will put collyrium in your eyes.” The Maulana replied: “What am I to do, sister? My tears are not under my control.” One day she was so much moved on seeing torn cloths of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya that she gave him a sheet of cloth to cover his body and then she washed his clothes and repaired them.

Amir Khusrau informs us about the participation of women in the *tazkir* meetings. All sorts of people, learned and pious and free men, ignorant and mean-minded persons, and also Indian women (*jewari-i-Hindi*), veiled ladies (*mukhaddirat*) and those of the seraglio (*mahal*) assembled to hear the *tazkir* (admonition) of *Malik-ul-Muzakkirin* Khwaja Afzal. But women were kept separate. When Sharasa Khatoon, the songstress (*mutriba*) was detected among women she was turned out by the learned speaker, for he would not allow the presence of such woman.⁵⁸ Mention is also made of ladies’ galleries in the mosque of Gaur.⁵⁹ We learn that the pious old mother of Shaikh Najib-ud-din was anxious to see Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Shaikh Rukn-ud-din, the well known saint of Delhi, on the occasion of *Urs* invited Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya who had recently arrived at Ghiyaspur, to attend the *majlis*. He was pointed out from behind and the saintly lady (mother of Shaikh Najib-ud-din) predicted the future greatness of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya.⁶⁰ Here also we find an oblique reference to the participation of the women in the *majlis*.

Some of the ladies had many accomplishments. In travels and hunting and military expeditions ladies accompanied the kings and nobles, and some of them rode on horses, garbed in manly dress. Gulbadan Banu, sister of Humayun, and authoress of *Humayun Nama*, refers to Mehr Angez Begum, daughter of Muzaffar Husain Mirza, as an expert archer, a polo player and musician. A sister of Humayun rode behind him when he was on way to Iran. Babar's daughter, Gulrukh Begum, by Sabiha Sultan Begum, was a poetess. Almost all the women relatives of Babar appear to have been educated and accomplished.^{60a}

Pardah :

With regard to the institution of *Pardah* during the early Medieval times, the following remarks of Dr. B. P. Mazumdar deserve to be noted: "The use of veil was customary with the ladies of northern India. The Edilpur copper plate of Kasavasena tells us that as Kasavasena passed through the city, the ladies saw him and behaved in a coquettish way casting amorous glances. They gazed at him from the tops of the sky-scraping houses. Slightly earlier than our period we find the ladies of the harem of Mahabhavagupta I Janamejaya observing *pardah* in Orissa. The *Kathasaritsagara* also tells us that when Udayana entered Kausambi with Vasavadatta and Padmavati, some ladies peeped out at them from the windows, some with their long-lashed eyes closely applied to the lattice of the windows."⁶¹ But Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha advocates the theory of the absence of the *pardah* system before the coming of the Muslims. He says: "At the time under review there was no *Pardah* system, and the women of the royal household attended the court. Hiuen Tsang writes that after the defeat and capture of the Huna Rajah, Mihirkul, his mother used to associate with the courtiers. It is stated in Banabhatta's *Kadambari* that Vilaswati used to interview the priests, the astrologers and Brahmanas and heard the *Mahabharata* in a temple of Mihirkula. Rajashri herself met Hiuen Tsang. The dramas of the time reveal no trace of the *pardah*. The Arab traveller, Abu Zaid, states that women used to appear before

Indian or foreigners, and accompany their men folk in social gatherings and amusements. The *Kama Sutra* mentions that women served in the army, and accompanied the Rajahs in their *darbars*, campaigns, pleasure parties, etc. They rode on horses. It is true, however, that common people were not allowed to enter the Rajah's palace. It was after the advent of the Muslims that the *pardah* system was established in India. As the Musalmans became predominant in Northern India, the system of *pardah* and veil (*gunghat*) grew there rapidly. Where the influence of the Musalmans was less, the *pardah* and the veil were not so well established. Even to this day, no such system exists from Rajputana to the Deccan, or only nominally.⁶²

In the light of Manu's verdict on the unreliable character of women and his exhorting men to make a most strenuous effort to guard them, and also of Dr. Mazumdar's reading of the Hindu sources in the post-Harsa period, it is difficult to believe that the institution of *pardah* was unknown before the Muslims. Isolated instances can be cited in all the ages. Some form of veil was prevalent among our Hindu women. We are told by Barbosa that Brahmins of the kingdom of Calicut kept their wives well guarded.⁶³ There was segregation of sex varying from community to community. It is amply proved by a study of the *Manusmriti* which lays down some important precepts on this matter.⁶⁴ Of course, the low class and wage-earning Muslim woman could not afford the luxury of *pardah*. There are also isolated cases of Muslim ladies of high status discarding *pardah*. We are told that Raziah discarded veil and female attire and appeared in public on horse and elephant. She showed herself to the people assembled for the Friday prayers and appealed for help. Afghan ladies gave lending hands at times of crisis. But these facts do not explain the absence of veil with the ladies of our period. It might be that the Muslims introduced certain rigidity in the observance of *pardah*, which existed in some form in the early medieval period.

Amir Khusrau's counsels to his daughter enjoining upon women to observe *pardah* which we find in his two *Masnavis*, *Hasht Bahisht* and *Matla-ul-Anwar*, have already been considered.

Barani tells us that whenever Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq entered the palace, he sent information through eunuchs so that *Pardahnashin* women might hide themselves from the sight of the emperor.⁶⁶ Afif refers to the seclusionist Muslim women of the fortress of Delhi.⁶⁶ We learn that women who were in the fortress of Ikdalla came out of the fort. In order to see Firoz they uncovered their heads. In their mental anxiety they started wailing.⁶⁷ Tatar Khan carried his slave girls in a covered cart. This he got prepared for the sake of *pardah*.⁶⁸ Firoz Shah insisted upon the observance of *pardah*. Women visited the mausoleum of the saints in *Palki* and *Dola*. The congregation and mixed gathering on special occasions of men and women provided an opportunity for undesirable elements. Sultan Firoz prohibited this practice.⁶⁹ The system of keeping the ladies in seclusion or carrying them in litters was convenient only to the aristocratic class of people. Barbosa tells us that the aristocratic Moors of Bengal kept their wives carefully shut up.⁷⁰ The underlying idea of keeping the females segregated was to avoid contact with men of opposite sex lest they should bring disgrace to the family.

The common women folk did not lead a secluded life. Many of them had to help their husbands in cultivation. They had to draw water from the well.⁷¹ They went to the river for their bath.⁷² They collected cow-dung for making cakes for fuel.⁷³ All these and many more things they did in addition to the management of the household affairs and bringing up of the children. They could not afford to remain indoors and their innate modesty would not allow them to gaze at aliens and strangers. Dr. Ashraf rightly says that they "moved the lapel of their *sari* or other head-dress slightly over their faces when they passed by a stranger."⁷⁴

Education :

Though ladies in medieval India did not attain to that degree of literary education as Muslim ladies of Baghdad and Spain, yet with such luminaries as Raziah Sultana, Gulbadan Begum, Mehr

Angez, Islam Khatun, etc. Muslim women in India had no reason to fear comparison with contemporary Muslim women in other parts of the world. A study of contemporary literature, religious or otherwise, tells us much about the inner life and thoughts of the people, and also of the state of learning, acquired by women who flourished in religious circles and courts of kings. We do not get any evidence of the existence of separate institution for education of girls and women, and we do not know exactly how elementary and higher education was imparted to the fair sex. Perhaps the Muslims never built any separate educational centres for their girls. Ibn Batuta's reference to *Makhtabs* for girls in Hinawr,⁷⁵ in south-west coastal region of India, and the women memorisers of *Quran* may be exceptional. A woman as memoriser of Quran is found in a contemporary *malfuz* of a great *Suhrwardi* saint.⁷⁶

Women must have been educated at home by their elderly and learned relations. Ratnawali, the wife of Puran Mal, possessed great poetic gifts.⁷⁷ Mira Bai, one of the best representatives of Hindu culture, wrote '*Narayana Mohra, Geeta Govind's Tika* or commentary, *Raj Govind, Mira Ka Pad, and Garba Geet*.⁷⁸ Gulbadan Begum wrote the *Humayun Nama*.⁷⁹

Sati :

A study of the women of our period would be incomplete without a reference to the custom of *Sati*. The heroic spirit shown by Hindu women who practised *Sati* was admired by the then Muslims as something noble. Amir Khusrau, describing the burning of the woman on the funeral pyre of her husband, observes : "Though this is not allowed in Islam, yet what a great achievement it is If this practice is made lawful amongst us, pious devotees might surrender their lives."⁸⁰ Malik Mohammad Jaisi had great praise for such types of women. He says : "*Sati* who burns for truth to her lord, if there is truth in her heart then the fire is cooled."⁸¹ Ibn Batuta gives a detailed account of it. It was considered as a praiseworthy act. It gave glory to her kinsmen. If the lady failed to burn herself, she put on coarse clothes and lived with her relatives. A widow who had agreed to burn herself passed three days in eating and

drinking amidst music and joys before entering the pyre. Women came from all parts to see her. The Brahmans stood around her, and her relatives accompanied her. Every Hindu requested her to convey respects to their deceased father or brother or mother. The fire was hidden from her face by a blanket held by men, so that the woman should not be afraid. The woman tore the blanket and putting her hands together over her head threw herself in the fire.⁸²

REFERENCES

1. Abbas Khan, p. 33.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
There is a significant passage in Ikhtisan's *Basatin-ul-Uns* about the newly wedded queen of Sarandip and the prince of Kalyan who in the meeting of the notables and grandees of the kingdom announced the transfer of the crown from the wife to the husband. Enough of wisdom and learning find their place only in the male members of the humanity (*Basatin-ul-Uns J.B.R.S.*, 1962, pp. 18-19).
3. *Padmavat* (A. G. Shirreff), p. 91.
4. Vide M. Habib : *Indian Culture and Social Life at the time of the Turkish Invasions* (*J.A.H.R.I.*, Nos., 2, 3, 1941, pp. 105-106).
5. Fakhre Modabbir, p. 67, quoted in Ashraf : *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, p. 135.
Compare Tusi's observation : The purpose of woman was the continuation of the family lineage. The more chaste their bearing the more admirable and acceptable they were . . . in all ages nothing but disgrace, infamy, discord and corruption had resulted when kings had been dominated by their wives. *Siyasat Nama* (H. Darke), p. 143.
6. Barani, p. 245.
7. *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindusthan*, pp. 135-36.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 136 Fn. For a contrast compare Nayare woman of Malabar. Barbosa, II, pp. 53-54.
9. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 140.
10. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 180-81.
11. *Padmavat* (A. G. Shirreff), pp. 273-75.
12. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 349-51.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 350-51.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 447-48.
15. Barani, p. 117.

16. *Bahr-ul-Ma'ani*, pp. 88-89. The Bihari saint disliked the way of some people who went to extremes in marriage ceremonies. The saint related how Caliph Harun-al-Rashid ordered his daughter's dower money to be fixed 100 *dirhams* or silver pieces less than that fixed by the Prophet on the occasion of his daughter's marriage with Hazrat Ali.
17. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 292.
18. *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan). p. 586.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 16.
21. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 6.
22. *Afsana-i-Badshahan*, f. 40 ab.
23. *Abbas Khan*, pp. 202-3.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6.
25. *Abbas Khan*, pp. 204-5.
26. If any maiden would marry a youth on whom she had set her fancy, she made a vow to her God that if He would arrange for her marriage she would do Him a great service before giving herself to her husband. Barbosa, I, pp. 221-22.
27. *Padmavat*, pp. 182, 184.
28. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 78-79.
29. *Dawal Rani Khizr Khan*, p. 44. Compare the singing of the song by the girls in the name of both bride and bridegroom (*Padmavat*, pp. 176-177). Hazrat Abdul Quddus Gangohi, the Chishti saint, was taken inside the bride house for the *jalwa*, and the ladies began to sing the Hindi song: *Ghunghat Re Khol Dhanya Shah Dekhay Toray-Ghunghat Re Karane Shah Banh Maroray* (*Lataif-i-Quddusi*, p. 13).
30. *Fatawa-i-Firoz Shahi* (O.P.L.), f. 259a.
31. Yadgar tells us about a married Hindu woman of the village Palam who loved her husband intensely. Her husband equally loved her. *Tarikh-i-Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), p. 107.
For a contrast compare the wife of a certain merchant of Gujrat, who used to entertain in her house a stranger in the absence of her husband (*Ibid.*, pp. 99-101). The story of an unfaithful wife does not indicate the tendency of the married women giving way to passion and excitement. Some times men themselves were equally to blame. Abbas informs us that Taj Khan, the Commander of the fort of Chunar, was in love with Lada Malika. Everything was done according to her wishes. Taj Khan had his wife and sons. But owing to his lady-love, the latter were neglected (*Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, p. 73).
32. Vidyapati, letter No. 36.
33. *Aspects of Bengali Society, Journal of the Department of letters*. Vol. XIV. 1927, p. 6.
34. *Munis-ul-Qulub*, pp. 424-5.

35. Yadgar, pp. 44-45, 107.
36. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 135.
37. *Insha-i-Mahru* (A.S.L.), ff. 24 ab.
38. Yadgar, p. 107 ; Vijay Gupta : *Padma Purana*, p. 56, quoted in Abdul Karim : *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, p. 194.
39. *Aspects of Bengali Society* (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XIV. 1927, p. 4).
40. *Vivad Chintamani* (G.O.S.), p. 34.
41. *Kash Mah-i-Tu-Ham Bacha Bude—Dar Raham Tifl-i-Hasht Mah Bude Laik chun Dada-i-Khudai Rawast—Ba Khudadadgan Sabza Khataast. Hast Bahisht*, p. 22.
42. *Matla-ul-Anwar*, pp. 192-198.
43. *Futuh-us-Salatin* (Agra), pp. 126-27.
- 43a. Compare the Islamic Political Theory with regard to eligibility of women to the throne : Al Mawardi, quoted by Arnold in *The Caliphate*, pp. 30-31 ; Fakhre Mudir, *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mobarak Shah*, ed. by Ross, pp. 12-13.
In Egypt Shaharat-ul-Durr, a beautiful girl of Mamluke Sultan Ayub, who, on her master's death in 1299 was accepted as the occupant of the throne (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, pp. 249-50). Ala-ud-din Mahmud of Khwarizm (1200-1220 A.D.) often left her mother in charge of the administration whenever he went on military expeditions (*I.H.Q.*, XVI, 1940, p. 753).
44. Barani, p. 238.
45. Afif, pp. 45-48 ; 100-104.
46. *Makhzan-i-Afghani*, F. 105.
47. *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (O.P.L.), f. 13a.
48. Barani, p. 134.
49. *Tarikh-i-Daudi* ff. 13 ab., 15b.
50. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 113. The women used to weave clothes which sufficed for the family requirements. We are told that when Maulana Ala-ud-din Usuli asked his pupil, Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, to arrange for his *dastar* ceremony, it worried him. His mother wove a sheet of cloth for his *dastar* (*Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 91).
51. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 245 ; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, pp. 101-102 ; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 168.
52. *Sarur-us-Sudur* (MS), p. 9, quoted in K. A. Nizami : *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, p. 186.
53. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 156-158 ; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 13.
54. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 191.
55. Letter No. 66, p. 91 ; S. H. Askari : *Hazrat Abdul Quddus Gangohi* (P.U.J.), 1957, p. 16.
56. *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 114.
57. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 207, 115 ; 171.

58. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, p. 245. Though it is not safe always to base generalisation on what may be the imagination of the author, yet sometimes we do get a glimpse into the social habits and customs of the time from this work. Indeed, all that Amir Khusrau says should not necessarily be taken to be mere figment of his imagination.
59. *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, p. 47.
60. *Khwan-i-Pur Niamat*, pp. 103-104.
- 60a. *Humayun Nama* (Beveridge), pp. 113, 118; 120-121.
61. *The Socio-Economic History of Northern India*, p. 141.
62. *History of Medieval Civilization*, pp. 77-78, Tr. M. Habib : Indian Culture and social life at the time of the Turkish Invasion, pp. 109-110. *Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute*, 1941.
63. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II, p. 35.
64. M. Habib : Indian Culture and Social Life at the time of the Turkish Invasion, pp. 101-105, *Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute*, 1941.
65. *Tarikhi-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 506.
66. *Tarikhi-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 69-70.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 393-394.
69. *Fatuhah-i-Firoz Shahi* (*J.R.A.S.B.*, 1941), pp. 74-75.
70. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, II, pp. 147-148.
71. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 178 ; *Khwan-i-Pur Niamat*, p. 13.
72. Yadgar, p. 104.
73. *Munis-ul-Qulub*, p. 96.
74. *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, p. 139.
75. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 179.
76. *Jami-ul-Ulum*, p. 100.
77. *Abbas Khan*, p. 167.
78. Dr. Sabitri Sinha : *Madhya Kaleen Hindi Kavitriyan*, pp. 131-132.
79. *Gulbadan Begum*, pp. 113, 120.
80. *Nuh Sipih*, p. 195.
81. *Padmavat*, p. 112.
82. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 22-23. Compare the system of *Sati* in Vijayanagar. When a king died four to five hundred women burnt themselves with him. *Barbosa*, I, pp. 213-216. See also p. 219.—How women buried themselves alive.)

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

In Islamic lands education beyond the elementary stage was largely in the hands of theologians, jurists, philosophers or mystics. There was no organized system of education from the primary stage to the University level, as we find in modern times. Ruling and wealthy families recognising the value of education made special arrangements of tutors for their children. Some well-to-do families allowed the children of the neighbours to get elementary education along with their own children. Elementary schools called *Maktabs* were situated either in private houses or in mosques. Those who did not want to stop at the first stage of education entered the *madrasahs* where they pursued different and higher courses of study under recognised *alims* and scholars, especially in language, grammar, literature, rhetoric, commentaries on the *Qur'an*, tradition, jurisprudence, scholastic subjects, logic, philosophy, mathematics, etc. There were cases of scholars travelling from one part of the country to another in quest of learning.

Contemporary historians do not seem to have given any special attention to the condition and progress of learning and the system of education that was followed in their time. They were interested only in matters of politics, wars and conquests, and casual references are made to education while eulogizing their patrons. Contemporary literature refers to poets, litterateurs, theologians, legists, historians, sermonisers, physicians, astronomers and mathematicians. Some of the kings and rulers were also highly accomplished and educated persons. From this one can presume that there were deep and wide convictions about the Prophet's injunction that acquisition of knowledge was a religious obligation; and the people had developed a taste for learning.

Aims and objects of Education :

The main aim of education was the removal of illiteracy and advancement of knowledge. But a large number of people treated

education as a preparation for service in the state. They wanted to earn their bread and also to acquire name, status, and reputation. Such an attitude was not appreciated in saintly circles.¹ Education in medieval times being largely in the hands of theologians and mystics, they naturally placed emphasis on religious education.² Hazrat Abdul Quddus Gangohi emphasised and extolled the acquisition of knowledge.³ He observed; "Considering the acquisition of knowledge as leading to the felicitous life in both the worlds you should leave no stone unturned in having knowledge and learning and be never free for any day from perusing the books of *Suluk* (Paths or procedure for reaching God). It is a lamp without which there is no light and without light you cannot attain *Huzur* (the presence of God). There is no escape or remedy (*chara*) without knowledge and without knowledge there is no action, no fruits. You should not spare yourself in this." He writes: "Oh my son, you should strive your utmost for teaching and imparting knowledge, for, without knowledge one cannot have real faith in Islam." "You should exert yourself to the utmost, night and day, in acquiring knowledge, for this is the time for doing so. The aim of gaining knowledge is the action of which you will be asked tomorrow and the ultimate aim of all knowledge and action is the love of God".⁴

Mundane motives in acquiring knowledge were also condemned by other saintly personages. The fruits of education consisted not in achieving status among the people, and issuing *fatwas* (precepts and mandate of the *ulama*) or in becoming the *Qazi* but in developing saintly habits and in controlling one's carnal desires.⁵

Formal education of the child began at home. When a boy had attained the age of four years, four months, and four days, there began the '*Bismillah*' ceremony. Amir Hasan Sijzi tells us that he took his small child, who was to start the first letter, to Sultan-ul-Mashaikh. The great Shaikh (Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya) wrote on a white sheet of paper '*Bismillah*' and '*Alif*, '*Be*', '*Te*', '*Se*', '*Jim*'.⁶ Qazi Ashraf-ud-din brought his sister's son to Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri and requested the great saint to bless the boy by imparting the first instruction.

The saint wrote on the board with his own hand: '*Alif, Be, Te, Se* and then made the boy first utter *Bismillah hir Rahmanir Rahim* and then made him repeat it. Then he prayed to God to make the boy a learned man. Cakes and sweetmeats which had been brought were distributed among people present there.⁷

After the *Bismillah* ceremony the question would arise in most families whether he should remain at home or go to a primary school (*maktab*) which was an adjunct of the mosque. Of course, the determining factor was the means at the command of the parents. A wealthy father might see his son through his whole education at home by providing a tutor, and more advanced teachers as they were needed. Royal princes were kept under *ataliqs*.⁸ Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria was particular about the education of his sons. He paid handsome salaries to the tutors of his sons.⁹ Maulana Razi-ud-din was engaged as teacher to a son of the *Wali* of Koel.¹⁰ Sometimes wealthy people employed students at their house for the education of their children.

The curriculum adopted in the elementary stage was very simple. The novice had to learn the alphabets, and then to read the words, simple and compound correctly. He was also taught to write the word in short sentences. Books on *Tashrih-ul-Huruf* and *Masadir* were followed by the holy *Quran*. Some portions specially the thirtieth section of the *Quran* were memorised by the boys. Simple arithmetic and signs of accounts were also taught. And then began the elementary books of Arabic grammar like *Mizan* and *Panj-Ganj* all of which have been mentioned by Amir Khusrau.¹¹ We are told that Prince Kaiqubad received instructions in calligraphy, literature, archery and spear-manship.¹² Boghra Khan and his elder brother, Prince Mohammad, read *Mufradat-i-Loghat* (uncompounded words of the books of glossary) and learnt writing. After that the *ataliqs* suggested to the Sultan that the Prince should be given lessons in grammar, syntax and *fiqh*.¹³ The great Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya read *loghat* at the age of twelve.¹⁴ According to Abbas, Farid went to Jaunpur and started reading *Kafja* commentaries, *Gulistan*, *Bostan* and *Sikandar Nama*.¹⁵

An idea of the books and subjects of study in the higher circles of intellectuals or in seats of higher learning called *madrasah* or *jamia* can be had from the stray references in many places in *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*. The list should not be taken as exhaustive and the learned scholar does not say that the books mentioned by him were included in the course of instruction or formed the curricular during his time. But one can venture to presume that some of them were favourite textbooks. He has made mention of *Hariri*,¹⁶ by which is meant the famous textbook on literature called *Maqamat-i-Hariri* by Abu Muhammad al Qasim bin Mohammad bin Osman Hariri of Basra (d. 516 H/1122 A.D.). This widely read and translated book of prose in Arabic was studied by Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya (d. 725 H/1324 A.D.) under his teacher Shams-ud-din Khawarizmi called also Shams-ul-Mulk. Other books on literature mentioned by him in this work include¹⁷ *Miftah-u-Ulum* on rhetoric by Siraj-ud-din Abu Yaqub Yusuf bin Ali bin Mohammad Sakkaki (d. 626 H/1228 A.D.), *Kalilah-Dimna*, translated by Bahai-i-Baghdadi, *Sharaf-i-Adab* (rhetoric and literature) *Gulsitan*, *Bostan* of Saadi Shirazi have also been hinted at but not mentioned by name. The works on Arabic grammar and etymology noticed by Amir Khusrau, which formed the chief textbooks for beginners include, as has been said above, *Panj Ganj*, *Mizan*, *Masadir*. On the subject of *Ilmun-Nehv* was *Sarf* (syntax and etymology), we find mention of *Misbah-i-Zariri*, *Asluba-Zawahir-i-Azhari*, *Lataif-i-Zemashkhari* under the heading of *Nahv* (syntax). The work on *Hadis* or traditions referred to are *Mashariq-ul-Anwar* by Hasan bin Mohammad Umari alias Razi-ud-din of Lahore (b. 777/1181), *Masabih* (us-Sunnah) by Abu Mohammad al Husaini bin Masud al Baghawi (d. 516/1122 A.D.). The most important text books on Tafsir or commentary on the *Quran* referred to here are *Tafsir-i-Zahid*, *Madarik* (ul Tanzil) by Abdullah bin Ahmad Hafiz-ud-din an-Nasafi (d. 701/1310 A.D.), *Kashshaf* by Abdul Qasim Mohammad bin Omar al Zamashkhari, the great scholar, theologian and physiologist (d. 538/1144), *Baizavi* by Abdullah bin Umar al Baizavi (d. 716/1316). *Manahij* by Mulla Fathullah. The last work was a great treasure-house of Islamic learning.

We get frequent references to a fairly large number of books on *Fiqh* or Islamic law or jurisprudence. These are *Qaduri* (Makhtasar), *Bazdavi* by Ali bin Mohammad al Bazdavi (d. 397/1006), *Hedayya* by Shaikh Burhan-ud-din Abul Hasan al Marghinani (d. 593/1197), *Faraiz-i-Husami*, *Manar* (ul-Anwar) by Hafiz-ud-din Abul Barakat-un-Nasafi (d. 701/1301), *Muhit*, *Mabsut*, *Kanz*, *Tariqa-i-Nasafi*, *Fatawa-i-Siraji*, *Fatawa-i-Khani*. Other works on jurisprudence mentioned are *Mutawwal* and *Makhtasar* by Sadr-ud-din Masud bin Omar Taftazani, *Jami-i-Saghir* and *Jami-i-Kabir* by Shaibani, and a book on *Fiqh* by Imam Hawi.

The other books to which references are found in the *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* include *Qanun* and *Kitub-us-Shafa* of Abul Ali Sena (Avicenna) and *Mujaz* (on medicine), *Ihya-ul-U'um* by Imam Mohammad Ghazzali, *Suluk-ul-Muridin*, a translation of *Ihya* by Majd-ud-din Jurjani, *Kalimat-i-Ainul Quzzat* (on mysticism), *Kitab-ul-Ghayat*, *Qasida-i-Shatibi* (on *Tajwid* or correct recitation of the Quran), *Ikhbar-ul-Nayyarain*, *Maqal-i-Husain*. The last is perhaps the first to be mentioned in Indian literature in connection with the works on *Maqatil*. At the higher stage of the Madrasah we are told by Barani, subjects like *Tafsir* (exegesis), *Hadis* (Tradition of the Prophet), *Fiqh* (Islamic law), *Usul-i-Fiqh* (Principles of Islamic law), *Tasawwuf* (mysticism), *Adab* (literature), *Nahv* (grammar), *Tib* (medicine), *Riyazi* (mathematics), *Najum* (astronomy), *Akhlaqiat* (ethics), *Fal'sofa* (philosophy), *Kalam* (scholasticism), *Mantiq* (logical) were taught.¹⁸

A regular ceremony of conferring academic distinctions called *Dastarbandi* was held after the completion of education. A *dastar* (turban) was tied round the graduate's head. The author of *Khair-ul-Majalis* tells us that the *dastar-band*i of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya was held when he completed the study under his teacher, Maulana Ala-ud-din Usuli. A feast on small scale was held on this occasion. After the feast, Maulana Ala-ud-din Usuli tied the *dastar* (turban) round the head of his learned pupil. Ali Maula, a distinguished *darvesh*, was present there on the occasion.¹⁹

A large number of specialist scholars, taught either a single subject or only a book. Those who wanted to take lessons in a certain branch of knowledge had to seek the assistance of scholars who had specialised themselves in the subjects of their choice. The *Sanad-i-Fazilat* (degree of excellence or efficiency) was given to a student after he had attained perfection in a particular branch of knowledge of his choice such as theology, literature, logic, philosophy, etc. The certificate which was granted to shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya by his teacher, Maulana Kamal-ud-din Zahid, reads thus Be it known after the praise of God and His Prophet that God provided an opportunity to the great Shaikh and the *Imam* of the world, Nizam-ud-din Mohammad Ahmad Ali, who is endowed with great erudition and profound learning and is the beloved of divines to study the entire text of *Mashariq-ul-Anwar*—which contains a gist of the *Sahih Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim* with the writer of these lines He studied it as critically and with such diligence, effort and perseverance as the book deserves to be read. The writer of these lines has studied this book with two great scholars: the author of *Sharh Asrar-al-Nayyarain Fi Akhbar al-Sahihain* and Mahmud Abdul Hasan Asaad al-Balkhi I have received both oral and written permission from these scholars (to teach the book). Both these scholars had studied this book with its author. I have permitted *Sultan-ul-Mashaikh* to narrate the traditions of the Prophet on my authority as is laid down in the *Ilm-i-Hadis* . . . I request *Sultan-ul-Mashaikh* not to forget me and my descendants in his prayers He studied this book in a mosque known after the name of Najm-ud-din Abu Bakr al-Ta'wasi. May God protect this city from all calamities and misfortunes These words are in the hand writing of Mohammad b Ahmad b Mohammad al-Marikali, known as Kamal Zahid and were written on *Rabi-al-Awwal* 21, 679 A.H.²⁰

Construction of Madrasah :

Among the first institutions established in any newly occupied place was a *madrasah*.²¹ Both literary and epigraphic records of the period under consideration, reveal the existence of widely patronised *madrasah* establishments. Shaikh Jamali tells us

that when Maulana Qutb-ud-din Kashani, a venerable divine on the time of Qubacha, arrived in Multan, Qubacha established a *madrasah* for him.²²

Minhaj Siraj has made mention of two *madrasahs*, Muizzi and Nasiri, in connection with the reign of Sultana Raziah and of the intrusion of the Qarmathians. The *madrasah* was taken by them as a congregational mosque.²³ Minhaj Siraj was appointed principal of the Nasiri *madrasah* for a number of years.²⁴ *Madrasah* Muizzi may have been established by Iltutmish and named after Shihab-ud-din Ghori who was also known as Muizz-ud-din Mohammad Ghori. As for the other Nasiri *madrasah* it was also established by Iltutmish to commemorate the name of his beloved eldest son, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud.

Minhaj writes about the establishment of *madrasahs* by Mohammad Bakhtiyar Khalji in Bengal.²⁵ Epigraphic evidence reveals the interest taken by one Qazi al Nasir Mohammad towards promotion of learning. The inscription reads: "You should acquire knowledge, for its acquisition is verily submission, its secret is devotion, its discussion is glorification."²⁶ The *Qazi* gave stipends to men of learning for the inculcation of the Muslim law and to manifest the divine faith among the haughty.²⁷ Another *madrasah* was built by one Zafar Khan in the time of Shams-ud-din Firoz Shah.²⁸ Another inscription refers to the construction of *madrasah* in the reign of Husain Shah and it mentions a tradition of the Prophet, "Search after knowledge, even if it be in China." The inscription reads: "This excellent *madrasah* was ordered to be built by . . . the Sultan al-Husaini . . . for the teaching of the sciences of religion, and for the instruction in the principles which lead to certainty . . ."²⁹ Between Mahdipur and Ferozpur there was a plot of land which people called *Darasbari* (the lecture room, or *madrasah*) probably because a well known *madrasah* was attached to the mosque.³⁰

Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji built a *madrasah* attached to the *Hauz-i-Khas* which was repaired later on by Sultan Firoz Shah. An inscription on the "Alai *Darwazah* describes Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji" as the upholder of the pulpits of learning and religion and the strengthener of the rules of college and places

of worship.³¹ That Sultan Ala-ud-din patronized education is evident from the instructions issued to the *Qazi* of the capital city. The foundation of the *madrrasah* was "to be laid on gems of knowledge rather than on mere stony walls." The students were to be looked after so that they might do good deeds and become zealous for the acquisition of knowledge instead of becoming apathetic towards learning.³² Under the Tughlaqs, according to Al Qalqashandi there were one thousand educational institutions in the capital city of Delhi.³³ This appears to be an exaggerated figure, but we can take it that the number was fairly large.

Barani says that Sultan Firoz Shah constructed a *madrrasah* by the side of *Hauz-i-Alai*. Maulana Jalal-ud-din Roomi, a great versatile scholar, was engaged in imparting lessons on theological subjects.³⁴ The poet, Mutahhar, speaking about Maulana Jalal-ud-din Roomi tells us that he was the head of that institution and from head to foot appeared as a personification of wisdom and dignity. He was an authority on the seven types of the recital of the *Quran* and on 14 branches of learning. The poet Mutahhar himself listened to his talks, and derived benefit from him about *Tafsir* (Quranic commentaries), *Usul* (principles of jurisprudence) and *Akhbar* (History).³⁵

Barani has devoted much space to the description of this *madrrasah* building which was situated near *Hauz-i-Alai*. He says that the building on account of the height of its domes, beauty of its architectural style, well-measured uniform character of its courtyard, pleasant sitting spaces, apartments, and the attractive rows, had surpassed the well known buildings of the world.³⁶ Mutahhar also refers to this *madrrasah*. He speaks about the garden of the *madrrasah*, its flowers, fruit bearing trees, dome, roof, towers, etc.³⁷

Barani refers to another *madrrasah* built by Sultan Firoz Shah at Siri. Maulana Syed Najm-ul-Millat Waddin Samarqandi was the principal of that *madrrasah*.³⁸ For the upkeep of the educational institutions Sultan Firoz Shah made grants of lands.³⁹ Barani tells us that the old and new *madrrasahs* and mosques which had become vacant and damaged, had again become full

of teachers, preachers and students. Learning and education were again in a flourishing condition.⁴⁰ The noteworthy feature of the period was the learning of Persian by the Hindus. Nawahun was a Hindu Persian scribe.⁴¹

Sultan Sikandar Lodi was a great lover of learning. He established *madrasahs* in different parts of his kingdom. Learning was cultivated with great enthusiasm. The sons of the nobilities and soldiers applied themselves to the acquisition of knowledge. Sultan Sikandar was a lover of Persian poetry and recited it beautifully. He had the pen-name of *Gul-Rukhi* (Rose-faced).⁴² Everywhere we are told, the pursuit of learning was practised; the craftsmen were highly skilled; meritorious persons received stipends; subjects like etymology, syntax and *Fiqh* were encouraged.⁴³ Shaikh Abdullah and Shaikh Azizullah were great specialists in the rational sciences.⁴⁴ Shaikh Azizullah was made incharge of the Sambhal *madrasah*. Sultan Sikandar often attended the lectures of Shaikh Abdullah. Shaikh Abdullah and Shaikh Azizullah introduced the systematic study of the intellectual sciences (*maqulat*). Shaikh Abdullah taught more than forty students who later on became specialists in rational sciences. One of the poets of Sultan Sikandar was a certain *Brahmana* who used to give instructions on science.⁴⁵

Jaunpur where Sher Shah completed his education⁴⁶ was deservedly described later by Shah Jahan as "*Shiraz-i-Hind*". He used to say: "The East is the Shiraz of our Kingdom." The period of its greatest intellectual glory commenced with the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi. Malik-ul-Ulama Shihab-ud-din Daulatabadi,⁴⁷ for whom a special golden chair had been provided in the court, used to impart lessons on theological and philosophical subjects from his place in the famous Atala Mosque. The cells around the main prayer chamber in the mosque served as residential hostels for students. Qazi Shihab-ud-din was the author of numerous standard books. Another man of note was Ashraf Jahangir Simnani.⁴⁸ He was a learned doctor of unitarianism. Shaikh Abul Fath⁴⁹ was a great writer of Arabic and Persian. Maulana Iahdad who bore the title of *Azam-i-Ulama-i-Jaunpur* was a scholar of great repute.⁵⁰ He was the

author of commentaries on the *Kafiyah*, *Hidayah* and *Hawashi-i-Hindia*. Shortly after the death of Ibrahim Sharqi Bibi Raj Begum established a *madrasah* after her own name.⁵¹

The Sur Sultans also patronised learning. Their role presaged the intellectual renaissance that took place under the great Emperor Akbar. Maulana Abdullah Sultanpuri⁵² was one of the learned men of the age. He compiled several works like *Ismat-i-Ambiya* and *Shamail-i-Nabi*. Mir Saiyid Rafi-ud-din, Mulla Jalal Bin Danishmand, Shaikh Mubarak and Shaikh Badh, Jalil Danishmand were some of the celebrated men of the time. Sher Shah had so great respect for Shaikh Badh Taiyyib Danishmand⁵³ that he often helped the Shaikh in putting on his shoes. Mohammad Kabir tells us that Islam Shah held scholars in high esteem. Islam Shah extended his liberal patronage to men of letters.⁵⁴ Badaoni gives the names of some Persian poets who flourished in the Sur court. They are Mir Syed Nimatullah, one of the learned men and a close friend of Islam Shah, Shaikh Abd-ul-Hai, a jurist, and others.⁵⁴

Khanqah :

A *Khanqah* or hospice of the mystics was also a centre of education. Perhaps the oldest *Khanqah* in Bihar was the one established by Khwaja Khizr, a tent-maker of saintly habit where there was provision for imparting education to the sons of the slaves of Khwaja Khizr.⁵⁵ Khwaja Khizr was the elder contemporary of Sultan-ul-Mashaikh Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Hazrat Jalal went to Multan for acquiring knowledge in the *Khanqah* of Rukn-ud-din.⁵⁶ Shaikh Najm-ud-din took lessons from Makhdum Jahanian.⁵⁷ Not only mysticism but also *Hadis*, *Tafsir*, *Fiqh*, *Usul*, *Mantiq* and Grammar were taught in *Khanqah*.

There are numerous examples of saintly mystics whose occupation was teaching and who ran *madrasahs*. Mention has already been made of Qazi Qutb-ud-din Kashani and the lessons he delivered in the *madrasah* of Multan. The celebrated Suhrawardi saint, Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria, used to come from some distance and offer prayer behind him. A *Danishmand* named Zia-ud-din imparted education specially on jurisprudence

and grammar near Qutb Minar.⁵⁸ Maulana Shihab-ud-din Aushi for years delivered sermons near the Minar of Juma Mosque of Delhi.⁵⁹ Maulana Ilm-ud-din Sharaf Jahan laid the foundation of an ecclesiastical institution at Mandu in the time of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din, son of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa.⁶⁰ Shaikh Mohammad Ghaus, the famous *Shuttari* saint of Gwalior spent about forty years of his life in imparting instruction to the people of his *Khanqah*.⁶¹ We are further told by the author of *Gulzar-i-Abrar* of many *Sufi* saints and scholars whose life long occupation was teaching. Their hospices served as *madrasahs* and curriculum was not confined to mystic subjects. *Khanqah* had also residential arrangement for the students. At Sonargaon Shaikh Sharf-ud-din Abu Tawwama maintained a *madrasah*. Hazrat Ahmad Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri completed his education under Shaikh Sharf-ud-din Tawwama, who had been forced to migrate owing to his growing influence and increasing following at Delhi. He was such a wise and learned man that his fame had spread through out Hindustan and nobody doubted his scholarship.⁶²

Relation between Teacher and Pupil :

Education played a very important role in the social set up of the people, both Hindus and Muslims, in Medieval India. But the principal features of the education system of the two communities were not the same. One of the striking features of the Hindu system was the close and constant association of the teachers and the taught, and the compulsory residence and training of the pupils in the teachers' house. The period of training was a period of service, discipline and self restraint. The Brahmins were the chief custodians and conservators of the Hindu learning, but they did not act as professional and business-like teachers selling their knowledge for profits to themselves. There were certain limitations and restrictions which the students had to observe. A Hindu student had to observe Brahmacharya. He had to shun all pleasures and luxuries, had to lead a life of celibacy and live on alms obtained by begging. The teachers who were to be obeyed implicitly were responsible not only for

intellectual, but also for the moral development of the pupils getting training under them. Hindu students studied Sanskrit and the favourite subjects of their studies were the *Vedas*, *Dharma*, *Sastras*, *Vyakarana* *Nyaya*, philosophy, astronomy and astrology.

Begging and *Brahmacharya* were repugnant to Islam, but obedience to, and respect for, the teachers were the ruling principles of the Muslim students also. No fee was charged by the teacher for what he did for the taught. Good character and good behaviour on the part of the students was as much necessary and insisted upon as elsewhere. The *muallim* or the teacher gave due weight to the question of character and culture of those receiving lessons from them, and they saw to it that their students were well-disciplined and attentive to their main duty which was the acquisition and advancement of knowledge. It was not necessary that students should live beneath the same roof as that of the teacher. He could come from his house and take lessons regularly from a teacher of his choice. There are cases of teachers picking up bright and promising students, keeping them with themselves, and even marrying them in their families. The case of Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri and his teacher, Maulana Tawwama, is an instance in point.

Now we may consider the scanty information available with regard to the relation between teacher and students in matter of fees, discipline, respect and other matters. Hamid Qalandar speaks about Maulana Ala-ud-din Usuli, a resident of Badaon, who imparted free education to the students who came to him. Though living under conditions of appalling poverty, he accepted only that much which he required for his immediate need. One day when starving, he was so torn by pangs of hunger that he began to chew the remains of oil seeds. When a barber came, he concealed them in his turban. In an unguarded moment he took off his turban from his head, and the chaffs of the seeds fell on the ground. His state of poverty deeply moved the barber, who related the whole incident to a well-to-do person of Badaon. When the rich man sent a few maunds of flour, *ghi*, and some coins, the Maulana refused to accept the gift. He expressed his displeasure to the barber at his disclosure.⁶⁶

Khawaja Shams-ul-Mulk was a scholar of Delhi. He used to teach his students from a balcony. He did not like that his students should miss any of his lectures. Whenever any student absented himself or came late, he would ask him "What wrong I have done to you that you do not come regularly?"⁶⁴ Maulana Burhan-ud-din Nasafi, another great scholar of Delhi, agreed to teach a student provided he agreed to fulfil three promises: First, he would take his food only once a day, secondly, that he would not be irregular in attending his lectures, thirdly, that he would simply wish him with the words *As-Salam alaikum* and would not kiss his hands or touch his feet.⁶⁵ Maulana Siraj-ud-din got the garments of Sultan-ul-Mashaikh buried out of respect for him, and when he himself died he left a will to be buried at the place where the garments had been buried.⁶⁶

Amir Khusrau advised one of his sons: 'If you want to be happy in your manhood, you should serve well your teacher. What use is it to grasp the axe in your hand without the guidance of a teacher.'⁶⁷ Barani tells us that Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq paid the greatest respect to Katlugh Khan, his teacher.⁶⁸

We are informed of old students sending presents to their teachers after they had settled in life. Maulana Badr-ud-din once sent a ring to his venerable teacher.⁶⁹ Some students made daily offering of something, however trifling, to their teachers.⁷⁰ Another instance of affectionate relation between teacher and student can be gleaned from the life of the great Bihari saint Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri. He lived at Sonargaon for many years and read under Shaikh Sharf-ud-din Tawwama. The *Kanduri* (table cloth) of Sharf-ud-din Tawwama was open to all students, guests and visitors. On account of the great number of people taking their meal from the *Kanduri* it took time to finish one's food. The Bihari saint was so much engrossed in his studies night and day, that a separate arrangement had to be made for his meals so that his time might not be wasted.⁷¹

These pleasant glimpses, from biographical allusions of the saints, of the dedicated life of the saintly teachers and the taught and the affectionate and fatherly attitude of the former towards the latter, find a parallel in the old traditional system of

the Hindus. In the old system, both of the Hindus and Muslims, there was no provision for holding the periodical examination such as obtains today. Bright and industrious students were allowed to go higher up in the class-ladder when the character and behaviour, devotion and industry, intellectual capacity and academic attainments caught the discerning eyes of the teacher who was the sole authority for assessing the relative merit of his pupils. When the teacher was satisfied that all that he knew and taught, had been completely assimilated by his pupil, he conferred upon him the academic distinction.

Economic Condition of Students and Teachers :

Teachers and the institutions run by them were often patronised and subsidised by the state. Both the teachers and the taught received stipends and rewards from kings and munificent members of the Muslim aristocracy. We are told that Maulana Razi-ud-din Hasan received hundred *tankas* as salary from the *Wali* of Koel.⁷² Barani tells us that under Firoz teachers, students, *Ulama* etc. received stipends. Teachers of the villages received stipends in thousands, and their dignity and respect increased. *Ulama* and students, young and old, became wealthy. They were relieved of starvation. Some of those who could not even afford to buy shoes, started wearing good clothes owing to the bounty of Firoz. They rode on choicest horses.⁷³ *Ulama*, teachers and Calligraphists received their salary from the royal treasury.⁷⁴

In spite of the liberal grants by some sultans, teachers and scholars as a whole remained wedded to poverty. Though education was free, and some starving students received help from the charitably disposed persons, yet students had usually to look after themselves, and to do their work with their own hands. They had to wash their clothes, cook their food, gather fuel and sweep the floor. When they were in the hospices of the Sufi saints, they had to undergo severe discipline and were tested by manual and menial works. Dignity of labour was inculcated upon the students by their teachers. Though some poor struggling students received help, and encouragement

from the well-to-do personages, yet they did not forget their position, nor did they do anything which was unbecoming on their part. While he was a student Maulana Burhan-ud-din went to *Sepahsalar* Jamal-ud-din Nishapuri, the *Kotwal* of Delhi. *Halwa* (sweets) prepared out of *Gajra* (carrot) was served on the dining cloth. The *Kotwal* asked him to eat the sweetmeat but he excused himself saying that as a student he had to remain content with dry pieces of bread.⁷⁵ Amir Khurd tells us that Maulana Shams-ud-din and Maulana Sadr-ud-din, the two cousins (from mother's side), during their students' life, used to go to Ghiyaspur during holidays to wash their clothes in the water of river Jamuna.⁷⁶ The students also cooked their own food.⁷⁷ Such references reveal the pinching want from which students belonging to poor and average families were suffering. Many who were enthusiastically eager for learning maintained themselves on their earning. Amir Hasan Sijzi tells us about a student who worked as an *Imam* of a certain mosque.⁷⁸

Many of the saintly scholars preferred to lead the life of poverty and refused to accept gifts or aid from the high and the mighty. They were too much conscious of their self-respect. Maulana Kamal-ud-din Zahid, an erudite scholar, when called to the court of Balban and offered the job of *Imam*, replied "Our prayer is all that is left to us. Does the Sultan want to take that also from us?"⁷⁹ Maulana Nur Turk struck the gold coins with his stick, which Sultana Raziah once sent to him.⁸⁰ Hazrat Najib-ud-din Mutawakkil, brother of the celebrated Chishti saint, Baba Farid, had no money to purchase the paper and pay the scribe for copying *Jami-ul-Hikayat* of Awfi. Fortunately a scribe who was his disciple accepted a paltry amount from the saintly scholar purchased a few sheets of paper, and started the work of transcription. In course of time the voluminous work was completely transcribed, and the *Shaikh* had the satisfaction of reading the whole book.⁸¹

A Survey of Literature:

The glory of the period under review is reflected in the proficiency achieved in the various branches of human knowledge.

Men of letters exhibited a vigorous and creative spirit. Those were the days of encyclopaedic knowledge and there was no dearth of such people well-versed in many branches of learning. The writings of the contemporary chroniclers show a galaxy of scholars and savants that gave the age a distinct position in the history of human thought. Barani speaking about the reign of Ala-ud-din says that in the capital of Delhi thronged masters of every art. In his view presence of peerless men of extraordinary talent made the capital city the envy of Baghdad, the rival of Cairo, and equal of Constantinople.⁵² Such galaxy of scholars was not found in Bokhara, Baghdad, Egypt, Khwarism, Damascus, Tabriz, Isfahan, Rum. They were well versed in all branches of learning such as *Maqulat*, *Manqoolat*, *Tafsir*, (Commentary), *Figh* (Jurisprudence), *Usul-i-din* (Principles of religion), *Nehv-o-Lafz* (syntax and expression) and *Lughat-wa-maani* (lexicon and rhetoric), Criticism, *Kalam* (scholasticism), *Mantiq* (logic) and philosophy. Every year they taught such students who later on gained repute for their scholarship. Some of them even reached the height of Ghazzali and Razi in scholarship.⁵³ One has to make some allowance for the rhapsodic statements of Barani. But the extraordinary progress of learning that took place in the time of the illiterate Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji was a fact which cannot be denied. This was the result of the influx of the people from Central Asia. Their efforts were not confined to theology, jurisprudence and poetic literature. An important branch of theology and *Hadis* or tradition was introduced in this period. Aesthetic arts, specially Music, received great stimulation, and the knowledge of rational subjects and practical Sciences had also their beginning in the Khalji and Tughlaq periods.

Barani tells us about distinguished physicians and astronomers. In the domain of medicine, the names of Badr-ud-din Damishqi and Husam-ud-din Marigla are conspicuous. Maulana Hamid-ud-din Mutriz, called Buqrat and Galenus of the time, was well versed in the art of healing.⁵⁴ Maulana Badr-ud-din of Damascus diagnosed the diseases by feeling the pulse. After Maulana Hamid-ud-din Mutriz there was none to match Maulana Badr-ud-din. Another great physician was Maulana

Sadr-ud-din, son of Maulana Hisam-ud-din. He could diagnose the disease by looking at the face of the sick.⁸⁵ Barani also mentions the names of Alim-ud-din and Maulana Aiz-ud-din Badaoni as among the notable physicians. Nagorian Brahmans and Jayoteyans were the prominent physicians of the city. Mahchandra, the physician, Joga, the surgeon were renowned. Men of the time of Ala-ud-din were expert in preparing collyrium.⁸⁶

The author of *Masalik-ul-Absar* refers to 1,200 physicians at the court of Mohammad Tughlaq.⁸⁷ *Ikhtisan* refers to the great physician Mohammad Khujandi who cured the author when all other treatments had failed.⁸⁸

It was under the influence of Greek, Persian and Indian systems that the *Unani* system was evolved. Books on this subject were written. *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* refers to *Tib-i-Firoz Shahi*, which was written under the direction of Sultan Firoz Shahi. This also gives proof of his proficiency in the science of medicine. The book gives the names of the various diseases and their cure.⁸⁹ Reference to another book named *Shikar Nama-i-Firoz Shahi* shows that Sultan Firoz Shah was equally expert of animal diseases.⁹⁰ We are told of men who were well-versed and proficient in various branches such as pharmacy (*Davasazi*), Surgery (*Jarrah*), physiology (*marifat-ul-Aaza*), anatomy (*Tashrith-ul-Aaza*) of the human body, therapeutics (*Tashkhis-o-mualijat*) etc. There were also physicians, *Kuhhal* (oculist), *Fassad* (phlebotamist) and bone-setters (*shikastband*). In those days knowledge of the science of medicine was a part of the intellectual attainments of the educated people.⁹¹ Sultan Mohammad had studied the science of medicine. He attended patients. We hear from the author of *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* that Sultan Firoz Shah was also a great physician. His knowledge of the science of anatomy is evident from his expositions on the skeleton of the human body, its arteries, nerves, muscles, bones, etc. He prepared a kind of collyrium called *Kuhhal-i-Firoz Shahi*. Its ingredients consisted of the skin of the black cobra. Firoz Shah took interest in the treatment of those who suffered from cataract and in surgery.

of bones of hands and legs. Persons suffering from lunacy were kept under supervision and treated with suitable medicines.⁹²

Miyan Bhowa, the prime minister of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, was responsible for the voluminous work on medicine called *Ma'adan-us-Shifa* or *Tib-i-Sikandari*. It was compiled largely from the indigenous sources. The learned physician Shaikh Badh, in whom Sher Shah had great confidence, was also a great jurist and he wrote an authoritative commentary upon '*Irshad-i-Qazi*'.⁹³ It is said that during the time of Islam Shah two Syeds came from Iraq—Amir Abu Talib and Mir Mohammad. Abu Talib was skilled in medicine and most of his patients became free from diseases.⁹⁴

Amir Khusrau speaks about the learning of the Brahmins. They were the representatives of what is called the Aristotolian sciences, Physics, mathematics and divination of the past were known to them. They were great astrologers. The numerical system specially *zero* originated in India.⁹⁵

Literature

The most illustrious name in the domain of letters was that of Amir Khusrau. Apart from his well known *diwans* and *masnavis*, he has left for us his monumental prose work, the *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, and other works like the *Tarikh-i-Alai* or *Khazain-ul-Futuh*. Mention is made of poets like Amir Hasan Sanjari or Sijzi, Sadr-ud-din Ali, Fakhr-ud-din Qawam, Hamid-ud-din Raja, Maulana Arif, Sadr Basti.⁹⁶ Shams Dabir, who became the secretary of the son of Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, was a mystic poet and a personal friend of Amir Khusrau. It was he who put in black and white the instructions of Balban to his sons after the affairs of Tughril. Amir Khusrau mentions him in his works and wrote a *Qasida* in his praise and considered his judgment to be the true criterion for the excellence of his verses. Mutahhar of Kara was another reputed poet of the time of Firoz. The poet in his *Qasida* writes about the accession of Firoz, his virtues, and his solicitude for the welfare of the people.⁹⁷ Mention may be made of Shaikh Jamali Kanboh of Delhi, the famous poet of the time of Sikandar Lodi. Sultan Sikandar used to ask the opinion of that poet on his poetic composition.⁹⁸

History :

Barani refers to the four following authors as true historians— Khwaja Sadr Nizami, the author of *Taj-ul-Ma' asir*, Maulana Sadr-ud-din Awfi, the author of *Jawami-ul-Hikayat*, Minhaj-ud-din Jurjani, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Kabir-ud-din Iraqi, son of Taj-ud-din Iraqi who wrote the *Fath Nama* (books of victories of Sultan Ala-ud-din during his time.)⁹⁹ But there were other historical works like *Qiran-us-Sadain*, *Miftahul Futuh*, *Ashiqqa*, *Nuh Sipih* and *Tughluq Nama* of Amir Khusrau. (1) *Sana-i-Mohammadi*, (2) *Salat-i-Kabir*, (3) *Inayat Nama-i-Ilahi*, (4) *Ma' asir-i-Sadaat*, (5) *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, (6) *Lubbatut-Tarikh*, (7) *Tarikh-i-Baramakah*, (8) *Hasrat Nama*, (9) *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* are also ascribed to Barani.¹⁰⁰

Minhaj Siraj was an official in the state department of justice and education. He was an eye witness of, and a participant in, some of the events that he had recorded, and he has given reliable sources of his information. *Taj-ul-Ma' asir* is a voluminous work, more literary than historical in character. But still it gives some new facts which have not been noted by Minhaj Siraj. Another historian of repute was Shams Siraj Afif.¹⁰¹ Apart from his famous *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, he wrote four other books, namely *Manaqib-i-Alai*, *Manaqib-i-Sultan Mohammad* and *Dhikr-i-Kharabi-i-Delhi* which are now extinct. The *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi* is an anonymous work written during the time of Firoz Shah.¹⁰² The concluding chapter of Afif's history dealing with the Mongols have become extinct. Another noted historian was Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindi. He wrote his *Tarikh-i-Mobarak Shahi* during the reign of Mobarak Shah. These historians provided materials for the later historians of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Other branches of learning like *Tafsir*, *Hadis*, jurisprudence, *Tasawwuf* and *Kalam* evoked the intellectual activities of the people. Maulana Razi-ud-din Hasan, born and brought up in Badaon, was a profound scholar of *Hadis*. He had no equal. When he went to Nagour eminent scholars like Qazi Hamid-ud-din and Qazi Rahmat-ud-din took lessons on *Hadis* from him.¹⁰³ *Mashariq* was held in high esteem. We are told that Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq placed it side by side with the holy *Quran*

while taking oath of allegiance from his officers.¹⁶⁴ Maulana Badr-ud-din Ishaq wrote an Arabic grammar.¹⁶⁵

The period under review also saw the compilation of books on Islamic mysticism. The *Sufis* left behind a considerable literature in the form of *malfuzat*, *maktubat*, *isharat* and *aurad* which throw valuable light on the socio-religious conditions of the time. We get some biographical sketches. Many of the *Sufis* were not only men of piety and austere habits, but were also profound scholars. We are told that Baba Farid had prepared a commentary on the *Awarif-ul-Maarif*.^{166a} Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Maneri was a great scholar and a man of vast erudition. He was equally proficient in secular learning and esoteric knowledge. He was the first and the greatest of the Persian prose writer of Eastern India. Of the large number of his works which he wrote or caused to be written only a few have come down to us. The best known and most widely used work of his is *Maktubat-i-Sadi*. It is a collection of letters on mystic doctrine and the basic principles of Islamic mysticism. It was compiled in 747/1346 by Zain-ud-din Badr-i-Arabi, the chief attendant of the saint. Zain Badr Arabi is also the compiler of many of the well known *malfuzat* such as *Ma'adan-ul-Maani*, *Khwan-i-Pur Niamat*, *Mukhul-Ma'ani*, *Tuhfa-i-Ghaibi*, *Wafat Nama Munis-ul-Muridin*, *Ganj-i-la-yafna*, *Fawaid-ul-Ruki*, etc. There are other less known *malfuzat* and small tracts like *Ajwaba*, *Mirat-ul-Muhaqqiqin* of the celebrated Bihar saint Hazr Almad Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri. But his magnum opus was *Sharh-i-Adab-ul-Muridin*, a voluminous work, on principle of Islamic mysticism.¹⁶⁶ The second collection of letters compiled by the same Zain Badr-i-Arabi, is the *Maktubat-i-Do Sadi*. The third collection of letters on Sufistic topic is called *Maktubat-i-Sch Sadi*. The fourth collection is called *Maktubat-i-Bist-o-Hasht*.

Ma'adan-ul-Maani is said to be the earliest collection work on sufism. In it mystic philosophy, sufistic doctrines, ethical principles, and social precepts were explained in the assemblies which people, high and low, attended. *Lataif Maani* is an abridged version of *Ma'adan-ul-Maani*. *Khwan-i-Pur Niamat* contains the

discourses between 15 Shaban, 749/November 9, 1348 and the end of Shawal 751/December 1350. *Ganj-i-la-Yafna* and *Tuhfa-i-Ghaibi* contain the discourse of the year AH 760/1358 and 770 AH/1368A.D. *Mukhul Ma'ani*, compiled by Syed Shihab-ud-din, contains discourses of 51 *majlises* (sittings). Syed Shihab-ud-din, also compiled *Maghz-ul-Muani* or *Bahr-ul-Maani* covering the period between Shaban 757/July, 1356 and Safar 760/January 1358. *Malfuz-us-Safar* of 762/1360-61 was compiled by Zain Badr Arabi. *Munis-ul-Muridin* containing the discourses of 21 assemblies from *Muharram* to *Shaaban* 775/June, to December 1373 was compiled by Salah Mukhlis Daud Khani.

The writings of Haz Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri show that he was acquainted with the works of other thinkers and theorists. He has frequently made mention of, and given extracts from, the works of such celebrated mystics writers as Khwaja Zia-ud-din Abu Najib (*Adab-ul-Muridin*) Shaikh-us-Sheyukh Shihab-ud-din (*Awarif*), Abu Talib Makki (*Quwwat-ul-Qulub*), Hujjat-ul-Islam Imam Ghazzali (*Ihya-ul-Ulum, Wasaya*), Abul Quasim-al-Qushairi (*Risala*), Ainul-Quzzat Hamadani (*Tamhidat, Maktubat*, etc.), Shaikh Abu Nasra-as-Sarraji (*Allama*), Mohi-ud-din Ibn-ul-Arabi (*Fassul-Hikam* and *Fatuhah-i-Makkia*) etc. He had also drawn upon the mystic poems of Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi (*Masnavi*), Khwaja Farid-ud-din Attar (*Asrar Nama*), Khwaja Abu Sayeed and Abul Khair etc. The author of the *Manqaib-ul-Asfia* tells us that the works on the Divine Unity and Knowledge of one Reality as conceived by men like Imam Ahmad and Mohammad Ghazzali, Ainul-Quzzat, Ibn Arabi, Attar, Iraqi and Rumi etc. were expounded by him in India as none had done before.¹¹⁷

Maulana Muzaffar Shams-Balkhi's *Sharh-i-Mashariq-ul-Anwar* was a standard work on tradition in his time. Maulana Shams Balkhi gave up his professional job in Firoz Shah Tughlaq College in order to become the disciple of Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri. Maulana Balkhi's other works included *Sharh-i-Aqaid-i-Hafizia* and a small *Diwan* of mystic poems besides his voluminous *Maktubat*. His learned disciple and also nephew named Hazrat Husain Muiz had to his credit books like

Risala-e-Khair-o-Shar, Qaza-o-Qadra, Risala-i-Mohammad, Aurad-i-Dah Fas'i, Risala-i-Tauhid. His most famous works are *Ganj-i-la-Yakhja, Maktubat* and *Diwan*. His son named Shaikh Hasan Balkhi, the compiler of *Lataif-ul-Mu'ani*, was also a scholar and a poet with a *diwan* to his credit. He is well known because of his *malfuz*. *Munis-ul-Qulub* compiled by his son, Ahmad Langar Darya.

In discussing the *Quranic* commentaries mention may be made of the *Tafsir-i-Tatar Khani*. Tatar Khan got the compilation of the *Quranic* commentaries prepared. Various commentaries on each *Quranic* verse were collected (the difference of opinion was noted), and they were finally compiled by a Syndicate of the *Ulama* who met at the instance of Tatar Khan. He also got a book on *Fatawa* compiled. He gave reference to different doctors of learning. It was compiled into 30 volumes.¹⁰⁸ *Fatawa-i-Firoz Shahi* and *Fawaid-i-Firoz Shahi*¹⁰⁹ are also other valuable works compiled during the reign of Firoz Shah.

Oratory :

The importance of the art of rhetoric is well reflected in Amir Khusrau's observation that an *alim* should have eloquence. It was deemed necessary because it provided an excellent means for diffusion of ideas. The art of public speaking in some form or other was cultivated. Though reading and writing were encouraged, yet a great proportion of people were uneducated. This as well as the unavailability of books all combined to give greater importance to sermons. There were many learned and eloquent speakers. Barani tells us that the age of Ala-ud-din was adorned with the presence of *Muzakkirs* who had no equals. Maulana Imad-ud-din, well known for his eloquence, exposition, delivery and philosophical approach, was unrivalled. His *tazkirs* were attentively listened to by scholars, artists, poets and others.¹¹⁰ Maulana Nizam-ud-din Abul Muawayyid was another great gifted orator of his time. His ethical oration moved the audience into loud wailing and tears.¹¹¹ Other noted sermon preachers of the time were Shaikh Badr-ud-din Ghaznavi, Maulana Fakhr-ud-din Zarradi, Qazi Kamal-ud-din, Maulana Neli and Qazi Minhaj.¹¹² An *alim* in delivering an effective sermon before the people must

have gone through an elaborate training in this art. Our authorities are silent on this point. One thing is clear that the people appreciated both wisdom and eloquence. Wisdom and eloquence went side by side.

Calligraphy :

The art of calligraphy was prized high. It was a part of the curriculum. Amir Khusrau tells us how his teacher Saduddin Mohammad tried to train him up in calligraphy.¹¹³ We are told by Barani that instruction in the science of calligraphy was given to princes.¹¹⁴ Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq was himself a great calligraphist.

Translation :

Translation from Hindi works occupied a prominent place in the intellectual activities of the time. The earliest translation, though with the assistance of learned Pandits, was of 32 stories from Hindi into Persian during the time of Iltutmish and it was named *Nama-i-Khirad Afza*.¹¹⁵ Zain-ud-din Nakshabi wrote in 1330 fifty-two short stories under the title of *Tuti Nama* (book of the parrot). It was an adaptation of tales from Sanskrit.¹¹⁶ *Lataif-ul-Tawaiif* was compiled in 939/1533. It contains anecdotes about princes, *amirs*, saints and people belonging to different professions and classes of society.¹¹⁷ Sultan Firoz Shah summoned learned Brahmans and ordered some of his translators to translate some of the books of the olden times which were found in the temple of Jawalamukhi into Persian. A treatise on Hindu astronomy and astrology was translated into Persian and was named *Dalail-i-Firozi*.¹¹⁸ By the order of Malik Nasir-ud-din, the *muqta* of Bihar, Taj-ud-din bin Moin-ud-din translated the *Hitopadesa* into Persian and named it *Mufarrih-ul-Qulub* (heart exhilarating).¹¹⁹ Another book of the period is *Basatin-ul-Uns* (flower garden of love) which Reiu regards as a Hindu tale.¹²⁰ *Madan-ush-Shifa* by Mian Bhawa is an important contribution to Indian medicine. In the preparation of the book ancient Indian works on medicine were consulted. Abdullah informs us that it was the translation of a Sanskrit work called *Aiyur Mahavaidak*.¹²¹ Qazi Rukn-ud-din translated *Amrita Kunda*, a Sanskrit work on Yogic system

into Persian and later on into Arabic.¹²² From the perusal of these it is clear that the study of Sanskrit was encouraged. Poets and scholars well versed in Sanskrit language adorned the court of the Muslim rulers.¹²³

Libraries :

From the perusal of the different sources it appears that certain places served as repositories for books. *Madrassah*, mosques and *Khanqahs* housed collections on different subjects. Many of the *Khanqahs* today contain old treasures of manuscripts. We are told about private collections. Minhaj tells us that Malik Taj-ud-din Sanjar-i-Kikluk, the *mufti* of Baran, showed him two chests of books.¹²⁴ Baba Farid had a library of standard works on religion and mysticism.¹²⁵ Amir Khusrau refers to *Kitab Khana* (library) which was equipped and decorated with calligraphic inscriptions.¹²⁶ Probably it was difficult for readers of slender means to purchase books. They were borrowed. Poetry, history and religious books were popular.

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40. Barani, p. 559.
41. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 159.
42. *Badaoni*, I, p. 323.
43. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, f. 41a.
44. *Badaoni*, I, pp. 323-325.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
46. Abbas Khan, pp. 10-11. Abbas says that there were many *ulamas* in Jaunpur who imparted education.
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He is the author of notes on the *Kafiyah* (an Arabic grammar), *Kitab-i-Irshad* (syntax), *Badi-al-Mizan* (a treatise on the science of eloquence), *Bahr-i-Mawwaj* (commentary on the Quran), *Risalat-i-Ibrahim-Shahi* (treatise on jurisprudence), *Manaqib-al-Sadat* (a book vindicating the pre-eminence of the members of the Prophet's family), *Usul-i-Bazdawī* (on jurisprudence), *Sharh-i-Tawil* (commentary on the Qasidah of Banat Sa'd). J.P.H.S. III, Part I, January 1955, p. 13.

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56. *Jami-ul-Ulum*, p. 333.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
58. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 89.
59. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 180.
60. *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (Ur. tr.), p. 130.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 290-302.
62. *Manaqib-ul-Asfia*, pp. 131-132.
On his way to Bengal he stopped at Maner where he saw the young Sharf-ud-din and was so impressed by his ability, eagerness for learning and pious habits, that he took him to Sunargaon with the consent of his parents (*Maktubat-i-Sadi*, p. 340; *Khwan-i-Pur-Niamat*, p. 15. See also J.S.C. No. 1, 1951, Calcutta Review, Vol. 71, p. 197).
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104. Barani, p. 495.
105. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 59-74 ; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 162-78 ; *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 116-30, 137; 224 ; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*; pp. 42; 85.
- 105a. *Gulzar-i-Abbar* as quoted in K. A. Nizami ; *The Life and time of Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar* (Aligarh), p. 82.
106. Fatuha Khanqah Library, Patna, contains all these books.
107. Shah Shaib, p. 127.
108. Afif, p. 392.
109. O. P. L., Patna (MSS).
110. Barani, p. 356.
111. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 192.
112. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 164-65, 221, 251, 275, 50.
113. Vide M. W. Mirza : *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, p. 20.
114. Barani, p. 128.
115. Badaoni, p. 95.
116. Badaoni, p. 95.
117. A. S. L. No. 297.
118. Badaoni (Ranking), p. 332.
119. *Ibid.*
120. K. P. J. R. I., Patna ; See S. H: Askari : *Historical value of Basatin-ul-Uns. J. B. R. S., XLVIII, 1962.*
121. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, f. 44.
122. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, I, 1953; pp. 46-52.
123. J. B. Chaudhary : *Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning*; pp. 2; 10-13.
124. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 256.
125. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 187.
126. *Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, V, pp. 87-89.

CHAPTER VII

ROLE OF THE SUFIS IN SOCIETY

Sufism or mysticism is traced by the Mosalmans who believe in it, directly to the *Quran*: 'Allah is the light of the heavens and earth. . . . Allah guides to His light whom He pleases, and Allah sets forth parables for men, and Allah is cognizant of all things'.¹ 'And certainly We created men, and We know what his mind suggests to him, and We are nearer to him than his life vein.'² 'And in your own souls (too); will you not then see.'

The beginning of the thirteenth century or probably, a century earlier, saw the establishment in India of the mystic *silsilah* (order) and the expansion worked a social and cultural revolution. The *Sufis* found a fruitful soil to thrive in India. The Muslims in their thirst of knowledge had already translated a large number of Hindu works, literary or scientific, and it is probable that they had become acquainted with the mystic philosophy and mystic discipline of the Hindus. At any rate one can easily detect many points which were in common between the Hindu system and the Muslim mysticism as it developed in India. In both, the elements of intellectuality went hand in hand with that of devotion, and in both ritualism and ceremonialism were not as important as the search of and love for One Supreme Reality. Love and liberalism were the key notes of the mystic movements in Islam and Hinduism. Mystic discipline in both were canalised towards the moral advancement of the individuals and society by making them rise above the barriers of colour and creed, wealth, power and position.

The mystic saints made many contributions in their own way to the social and cultural life of the period under consideration. They were a group of latitudinarians, men of wide sympathies, broad minded, liberal and tolerant. They played an important part in moulding the attitude and activities of the people. They were free from lust and pride. Fearless and yet

humble, strong and yet they were tender to all classes of people. The *Sufis*, by their examples, by words, and conduct set an ethical standard. They attempted to bridge the gulf between orthodoxy and religion of faith and devotions. They spoke the language of the masses and gave impetus to linguistic assimilation and to a cultural synthesis. They played a silent but important part in the propagation of their faith more by their example and services than any efforts at importunate persuasion. They imparted education and emphasised the need of acquiring it. Some of the *Sufis* were scholars and men of vast erudition and acted as teachers. They won the hearts of the people by their love and liberalism, sincerity of purpose, charity, piety and social services. They exercised considerable influence on kings, officials and nobles for the good of the people. They shunned wealth and power and kept themselves aloof from the din and bustle of worldly life. Though generally liberal and broadminded in outlook yet some of the *Sufi* saints who were noted for their piety and learning were puritanical in their attitude and uncompromising on questions of strict adherence to *shariat*. The pseudo-*Sufis*, and miracle mongering pretenders to saintliness and dabblers were also not unknown in the period under survey. These people were strongly condemned by genuine *Sufis* of outstanding personality in Bihar, Oudh and Delhi like Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, Qazi O!a Shuttari of Baniya Basarh (Vaisali), Hazrat Nasir-ud-din and Hazrat Nizam-ud-din.

The *Sufi* saints were organised into various orders or *silsilahs*. Of the various orders largely founded outside our country only two—the *Suhrwardi* and the *Chishtis* were the first to succeed in establishing themselves firmly on Indian soil. Two sub-orders, the *Firdausi* and the *Shuttaries*, the offsets of the *Suhrwardi* order, were active in Bihar and Bengal. Sindh and Multan had become the centres of the spiritual activities of the saints of *Suhrwardi* order. The chief centres of the *Chishti Silsilah*, the most popular of all the orders, were Ajmere, Narnaul, Sarwal, Nagaur, Hansi, Ajodhyan, Badaon and other towns of U.P. and a good number of the followers of the order could be found in Bengal, Assam and the Deccan. Many other parts of India were

within the orbit of the other orders like *Qadri*, *Madari*. The *Naqshbandis* came later and they became strongly entrenched in Indian soil in about the 16th century. The *Chishti* order was very popular and it achieved extraordinary success due to the liberal and catholic outlook of many of its saints of outstanding personality and long period of their spiritual activity in India. Many of their practices were akin to those of the Hindus and they, more than the members of other *silsilahs*, adapted themselves to the non-Muslim environment. It is one of the eternal glories of the *Chishti* order that it produced great spiritual luminaries like Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti, Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, Khwaja Farid-ud-din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and Shaikh Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-i-Delhi, Shaikh Alaul Haq, Shaikh Akhi Seraj and Nur Qutb Alam of Pandua, Hazrat Ashraf Jahangir of Kachchucha (Faizabad), Shaikh Husam-ud-din Manikpuri and Burhan-ud-din Gharib and Hazrat Gesu Daraz of the Deccan.

The *Sufis*, especially of the *Chishti* and *Firdausi* orders, identified themselves with the common mass, their weal and woes, their grinding poverty and distress. It was a part of their discipline to serve the needy and the oppressed. There was many references to the saints who tried to render help and encouragement. Amir Khurd tells us that Shaikh Nasir-ud-din, who lived in Awadh, did not get enough time for his spiritual contemplation on account of too many visitors. He wanted to retire to a desert or mountain. But he was advised by his spiritual guide Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya to live in the midst of the people and bear their blows and buffets.⁴ 'Devotion to God,' did not mean detachment from the world. The highest form of devotion to God was removal of misery of those in distress, the extension of a helping hand to the needs of the helpless and the feeding of the hungry.⁵

'Devotion to God', said Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, "is of two kinds—*lazmi* (obligatory) and *Muta'addi* (communicable). The first consisted in prayer, fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca, and spiritual exercises. The second brought solace and comfort to others and

consisted in helping others with money and showing affection to people.⁶

The popularity and success of the *Chishti* order was on account of these high ethical ideals. The saints of this order fulfilled the great ideals as laid down by its preceptor, Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti. As recorded by Amir Khurd, Khwaja Moin-ud-din Chishti once observed: "River like generosity, sun-like affection and earth-like hospitality are the three qualities which endear a man to God."⁷ Such over flowing piety was bound to excite the admiration of the people.

All types of people thronged in the *Chishti Jama'at Khana*, each with different aims and objects. A certain poet came to Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki from Mawaraun Nahr. He indicated his expectations of generous reward for his *qasidah* (laudatory poem) in honour of Sultan Iltutmish. Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki blessed the poet and he was lavishly rewarded. The rise of Shams-ud-din Dabir to position of trust and responsibility in the Sultan's court was due to the recommendation of Baba Farid. A tax Collector requested Baba Farid to plead on his behalf before the Governor of Ajodhan. The saint sent a message to the *Wali* entreating him to forgive the faults of the tax-collector. But the *Wali* did not respond. The saint asked the tax-collector to make repentance for his past misdeeds.⁸

Baba Farid never relaxed till he had met and listened to every visitor. He asked his visitors to come one by one so that he might attend to their problems individually.⁹ Once Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya observed that no one in the world was so much aggrieved like him. People used to come and tell their worries to him.¹⁰ A disciple of Baba Farid went to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and asked him to recommend him to some one for the marriage of his un-married daughter. The saint kept his request.¹¹ Speaking about the aims and objects of those who came to him, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya observed that everybody wanted wealth and prosperity. A grain merchant wanted prosperity in business and a farmer was interested in agriculture, seeds, cattle and goods.¹² One of the Awadhi saints referring to the types of visitors observed that they were either

mystics or worldly men. The heart of the worldly man was naturally filled with mundane desires. These people made him gloomy. Some visitors came and asked him to do the work quickly. If he failed to do the work, they abused him.¹³

Patience and tolerance were practised by the saints. Once an old man accompanied by his son came to Baba Farid. He entered into acrimonious discussion with the Shaikh and began to shout loudly. The Shaikh asked his son to satisfy the visitor with some cloth and money. They left the place happy and satisfied.¹⁴

The saints taught their disciples to cultivate the virtues of humility, good disposition, tolerance and forgiveness. It was part of discipline to bear torture and oppression without showing any sign of retaliation.¹⁵ If any man placed thorn in the way, one was not to retaliate by doing the same. In that case there would be thorn everywhere.¹⁶ We are told that some people spoke insolent words to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. The venerable saint bore no ill will against them. One Chachu of Inderpet always spoke against him. But when Chachu died, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya went to his grave and offered prayer for him.¹⁷ These moral virtues were quite enough to attract people towards them.

The great *Firdausi* saint of Bihar also considered services to humanity as an essential duty. It destroys pride and vanity, breeds kindness and humanity, banishes impurity and conceit, quickens the soul, and illumines the inner feelings and outer attitude of man. The great *Firdausi* saint Shaikh Sharf-ud-din Yahye Maneri observed that people in charge of endowed properties should serve as custodians and fulfil the wants of the needy. The wealthy should serve the poor, the learned should impart knowledge to students. A disinterested and unasked for service will bear fruit.¹⁸

The Sufis played an important part in shaping the character of the people. Barani speaks of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, Hazrat Ala-ud-din, and Hazrat Rukh-ud-din who adorned the age by their noble presence. They exercised immense influence upon the people and on account of them many became righteous.

Thousands of people were put on the road to righteousness and started devotional prayers. They were engrossed in religious talks and works. Prayer became part and parcel of their life. Love and greed of the world, which lead man astray from the path of rectitude and righteousness had no attraction for them.¹⁹ Barani illustrates how the great Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya moulded the character of the people. He tells us that Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya had many disciples and they belonged to different sections of the society. His disciples offered *Namaz-i-Ishraq* (prayer offered about half an hour after Sunrise). At different places from Delhi to Ghiyaspur people got platforms constructed. Each platform was roofed. Wells were dug, and jars filled with water and earthen pots were kept. Prayer mats were provided with. At every platform a *hafiz* (memorizer) and a servant were employed, so that his disciples while going to the Shaikh might not experience difficulty in offering prayer. Each platform was full of people offering their prayers. Sin was not committed and there were no talks on sinful matters. Generally people asked each other about *Namaz-i-Chasht* (offered at noon) and *ishraq*. People enquired about the prayers of *Chasht*, *Awabin* (twilight prayer), *Tahajjud* (offered after mid-night). All the time people thought as to how many *rakats* (genuflections) they should offer at a particular time, and which *ayat* of the *Quran* to recite in every *rakat* and which particular *doa* (invocation) was to be followed. After reaching Ghiyaspur, the new disciples used to ask the old disciples as to how many *rakats* the Shaikh offered and what he read in every *rakat*. What Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakkar and Shaikh Bakhtiyar Kaki Jid? People started committing the *Quran* to memory. The new disciples kept the company of the old disciples. The old disciples had no other engagement than those of prayers, and devotional exercises, and reading of religious literature. On account of the blessings of the Shaikh a large number of people started offering prayer. They fasted on the 10th of Zil Hijjah and on 13th, 14th and 15th of every luner month (*Ayyam-i-Biz*). There was not a single *mahalla* left in the city in which religious minded men had not gathered. Every month, or after every

twenty days, *Sufis* held *Sama*. Some offered *namaz-i-tarawih* (extra prayers offered at night during the month of *Ramazan*) in the mosque and some in their own houses. Some among the disciples offered prayer during the month of *Ramazan* and throughout the whole night on Friday till the break of the day²⁰ This long appraisal of Barani, whatever might be its nature, objective or subjective, indicates the profound change brought about by Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya in the social and moral life of the people.

The charge that the *Sufis* took little or no notice of what was going on around them is only partially true. There are evidences to show that they did not remain indifferent to the actual conditions of the time. They had their own view about rulers and statecraft. They were guided in their attitude by the *Quranic* injunctions: Obey God and the Prophet and those who are in command over you. The *Adab-ul-Muridin* of Shaikh Najib-ud-din Abdul Qahir and its voluminous *Sharh-i-Adab-ul-Muridin* by Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Ahmad Maneri give us an idea of the extent to which the *Suhrawardy* and the *Firdausi* saints were prepared to give interpretation of the last clause of the *Quranic* verse.²¹ They were not responsible for the policy of the medieval states, and shunned the use of force, conflict and civil war. Unlike the *Chishtis*, *Suhrawardy* were not averse to contacts with rulers and latter associated themselves with government for giving correct guidance and securing the good of the people. They would not countenance disobedience and disrespect to the rulers but they would not hesitate to expressing their disapprobation of some of their practices. Even the *Chishti* saints, despite their studied aloofness, made silent protests. "Entrust the country to a God-fearing Wazir"²² was the advice given to the reigning king by Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who also made an observation relevant to this subject: "The Prophet says that if an old woman goes to bed hungry in any town of a kingdom, she would hold the collar of the ruler on the day of Judgment which is sure to come."²³

The *Sufi* saints generally kept themselves aloof from kings and aristocrats. But they did not abstain from expressing their

views. There is an interesting observation in the *Munis-ul-Muridin* on the qualifications which a ruler was expected to possess. When one asked about the qualification of a king, the Bihari saint in reply cited the instance of Sultan Shams-ud-din (Firoz) of Sanargaon who was told by his Wazir, Arsalan, that neither of his two sons, Hatim Khan, the ruler of Bihar, (709-715) and Ghiyas-ud-din (Bahadur Shah), the ruler of Kamrup (Assam), would prove successful as rulers because the one was too kind and liberal and the other was haughty and over bearing. Hatim Khan was a man of affable nature, lacking force and severity. Bahadur Khan was violent, vain, arrogant and lacking mildness and affability. This was fully illustrated by the events that happened after the death of Sultan Shams-ud-din. Both of them fell from power.²⁴

Some *Sufis* incurred the wrath of the Sultans for speaking out the truth. Hazrat Baha-ud-din Zakaria and the Qazi of Multan wrote confidential letters to Iltutmish against Qubacha. The intrigue leaked out and both were called and shown their letters. They accepted the genuineness of their letters. The *Qazi* was put to death. But no action was taken against Hazrat Baha-ud-din Zakaria on account of the fear of a revolt.²⁵ It is difficult to say whether they were motivated by their personal or the general grievances of the people.

When Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri recommended a case for redress of grievances, he addressed Sultan Firoz Shah as "the refuge of the oppressed and the distressed ones".²⁶ But at the same time the saint referred to the hardships of the time of the reigning Sultan Firoz Tughlaq. He remarked on the scarcity of articles, and of rising prices.²⁷ Hazrat Samaullah, a saint of the Suhrawardy order, severely criticised the powerful Afghan, Ahmad Khan Jalwani, for betraying a fellow Afghan and a religious-minded Sultan Bahlol Lodi.²⁸

It was believed that on the day of Judgment the kings and their agents and officials would be required to give an account of their oppressive acts and the innocent blood that might have been shed by them. Their good works might out-weigh their works of mischief.²⁹ Emphasis was laid on justice. One *Hadis* as

quoted in the religious literature reads: "One hour of justice is better than sixty years of prayers (empty) and devotion."³⁰ The great Gangohi saint Hazrat Abdul Quddus in his letter to Sultan Sikandar Lodi emphasised the importance of the office of a king and of a Judge. The letter reads: "Let the King who wears the crown understand that kingship is the highest and the noblest of occupations, and his sense of justice concerns various groups of people. Justice done by him for one moment is better than or superior to, the prayers and worship of sixty years by others. Justice brings stability in the kingdom. The king is the master of the state and the soul of the people. The kingdom gets its stability from the king. Hadis says: "The most beloved person in the eyes of God on the Day of Judgment will be the just and truthful *Imam* because the benefits of his justice cover the whole creation of God."³¹ The letter was followed by advice to look after the weak ones, the pious, learned and saintly people sympathetically and never to be neglectful of them, for the prosperity of two worlds and eternal felicity lay in sincere devotion to God and service to His creatures.³² He ended with a wish for prosperity of the kingdom.³³

The Gangohi saint made efforts to make the new ruler Babar interested in the welfare of the people. Babar was also enjoined to establish justice in such a way as no one could do harm to the other. Efficient and honest officials were to be appointed.³⁴ Men of position like Ibrahim Khan Sarwani and Haibat Khan Sarwani, Amir Tardi Mughal and Khawas Khan were advised to help the weak, the indigent and the needy persons.³⁵

The gratuitous advice of the *Sufi* saint to rulers, officials and nobles lead us to another aspect of their lives. They served as medium of contact between the rulers and the masses.³⁶ The *Sufis* were expected to call upon the king only when they realised the necessity of securing some thing for others.³⁷

The *Chishti* saints avoided the court of the Sultans and rulers, but sometimes they had to yield to the exigency of the situation. Amir Khurd tells us that once a man requested Baba Farid to write a letter of recommendation to Sultan Balban. Though it was not his practice to write such letters to kings and

officials, yet he had to yield. The letter, however, proved to be effective.³⁸ The saints of the *Suhrawardi silsilah* adopted a different attitude. They argued that their personal visit to the court was not without advantages. They got an opportunity to secure the redress of the grievances of the poor and indigent people.³⁹ We are told that whenever Shaikh Rukn-ud-din used to go to the royal court many indigent persons thronged round him in large numbers, and put their petitions in his *dolah* (palanquin) which were placed before the Sultan for his consideration.⁴⁰ Once when asked about his visit to Delhi, Syed Jala'ud-din Bukhari said: "I do not undertake this journey to Delhi for the sake of fame or worldly fortunes. The son of a teacher of mine told me that my teacher had died leaving behind seven daughters. The Sultan of Delhi and the dignitaries of the State had faith in me. I should go there and collect from those people something for him so that through my help he might arrange for their marriages. I have come to Delhi with this purpose, otherwise, what has a *darvesh* got to do with the society of rich people and nobles."⁴¹

Sufism was not to be made a means of livelihood. They stressed the importance of earning. Religious literature tells us about many saintly people who earned their livelihood by their professional pursuits and recognised the dignity of labour. Shaikh Ain-ud-din Qassab (butcher), a disciple of Hazrat Hamid-ud-din Nagori, was a saintly man. He sold meat in the corner of Nauhatta Bazar in Delhi.⁴² Shaikh Abdul Ishaq Gazroni was a weaver.⁴³ We are told that many saintly personages were farmers and cultivated fields.⁴⁴ Shaikh Qasim Juzri was an agriculturist. His strength was derived from agriculture.⁴⁵ Hazrat Hamid Nagori had a small plot of land which he ploughed and tilled with his own hands. He grew vegetables and also cotton which provided him with food and cloth.⁴⁶ Maulana Abdul Karim Sherwani was a pious man of the time. He eked out his existence with the produce of the land.⁴⁷ Khwaja Nasir-ud-din, the eldest son of Baba Farid, was a saintly man. His means of livelihood was agriculture.⁴⁸ Khwaja Khizr of Bihar was a tent-maker.⁴⁹ Maulana Yamani Khattat, a disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, earned his bread by practising the art of a calligraphist.⁵⁰

Shaikh Ahmad Naharwani was a professional weaver.⁵¹ Shaikh Hasan was a *rasan-tab* (twister of cords)⁵² and Shaikh Mahmud was a *muindo*z (maker of leather garments).⁵³ Shaikh Abdullah Wahhab Afghani, a disciple of Fazl-ul-lah Chishti Multani, brought fire wood from jungles and sold it in towns.⁵⁴ Ala-ud-din Majzub alias Alawar Belawal of Rudauli did the work of digging and plastering.⁵⁵ Shaikh Ibrahim Qazi Shuttari was a fine calligraphist and also a wood-cutter.⁵⁶ Shaikh Jalal-ud-din, grandfather of Hazrat Hisham-ud-din Manikpuri, earned his living by selling transcribed copies of the *Quran*.⁵⁷ Maulana Fakhr-ud-din Marozi was a *Hafiz* of the *Quran* which he copied and subsisted upon the income from its sale. He refused the offer of more than four *jitals* for a copy.⁵⁸

Some saints chose to beg in order to crush their ego. It gave them peace of mind which helped them concentrate on God. It also made them realise that everything belonged to God and the people were the custodians.⁵⁹

The *Sufis* did not encourage celibacy and complete renunciation of the world for attainment of spiritual personality. Their moral precepts and idea's of love of God did not mean complete abandonment of family life.⁶⁰ Excepting a few outstanding saints the *Sufis* were all married, and did not shun the life of a house-holder. The typical materialistic approach was discouraged, but the necessities of life had to be worked for. One was not to sit idle after putting on a loin cloth.⁶¹ But one should not devote all the time for earning one's bread.

The *Sufi* saints, unlike the worldly *ulama*, never cared to please and gratify men in power. Poverty and starvation was much better than the disgrace and indignities which were heaped upon those *ulama* who had established some relations with the rulers and the nobles.⁶² Shaikh Hamid-ud-din Suwali was the owner of one *bigha* of land. He himself cultivated the land. He wrapped one piece of cloth round his waist and kept another piece on his body. Being informed of his indigent circumstances, the *muqta*i of Nagour, went to him with some cash and requested him to accept some pieces of land. Shaikh Hamid-ud-din did not accept the offer as it was against

the spirit of the *Chishtis*. He replied that the one *bigha* of land was quite enough for him. His reply was conveyed to the reigning Sultan who sent him 500 silver *tankas* and a *farman* of one village in the name of the Shaikh. The *muqtai* was directed to go personally to the saint and present the cash and the *farman* to him on his behalf. The *muqtai* did likewise. At that time the Shaikh's wife had no cloth to cover her head. Even the Shaikh's apron had become old and torn out. His wife urged the Shaikh not to allow his years of spiritual devotion to become futile by accepting the gift of the Sultan. She assured him that she had already spun two seers of yarn. That would suffice for both of them.⁶³

The saints of the *Chishti* order regarded money as carrion.⁶⁴ They subsisted on *futih* and *nazur* (unasked for money and presents). Very often they had to starve. Once when the wife of Baba Farid reported that her son was about to die on account of starvation, he replied that he was helpless. God had so decreed and he was dying.⁶⁵ Baba Farid wore worn out and patched garments.⁶⁶ When he died there was nothing in his house for the purchase of his shroud, and the door of his house was demolished to provide unbaked bricks for his grave.⁶⁷ Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya once remarked that even when melon was sold at two *jitals* per maund during the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, the whole season passed away without his being able to take a slice of it. Once he went without food for a night and a day, and half of the second night, when two *seers* of bread were available for a *jital*. When there was no food in his house, his mother would remark: "We are the guests of God today."⁶⁸

Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki did not use any bedding.⁶⁹ Baba Farid had only one blanket on which he sat during day time and that blanket was spread on the cot during the night. It did not cover even the whole body. He had no pillow and he used his *asa* (stick) for it.⁷⁰ Once a friend of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya expressed surprise to see him in shabby and tattered garments. He said that if he had taken to the teaching profession at Delhi, he would have passed a happy and contented life.⁷¹

The religious literature of the period tells us that in spite of their leading a life of starvation they were not allured by the grant of royal *jagir* and emoluments. During the time of Sultan Nasir-ud-din, Ulugh Khan (later on known as Ghiyas-ud-din Balban) went to Baba Farid in order to pay his respect. He placed before the saint the royal gifts which consisted of some cash and grant of four villages. The cash was for the *darvesh* of the *Khanqah* and the land for his maintenance. The saint accepted the money and distributed it among the *darveshes* but refused to accept the grant of four villages. Ulugh Khan was asked to give it to one who desired for it.⁷³ The disciples were enjoined upon not to accept village or stipends from kings and officials. Even if the *Chishti* saint accepted anything, they immediately distributed that among the needy and indigent persons. We are told that visitors used to bring some presents in cash and sweetmeats to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. But those were distributed among those present.⁷³ Once a certain *malik* sent a document pertaining to land and gardens to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. But the Shaikh rejected the offer. If he accepted the offer the people would say that the Shaikh was inclined towards the ownership of land and gardens.⁷⁴

The saints of the *Suhrawardy* and *Shuttari silsilah* were not so rigid in their attitude and some of them even accepted land and gifts from kings and nobles not only for the poor and the needy but also for themselves. Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria, the founder of *Suhrawardy* order in India, accumulated great wealth. The *futuh* that came into *Khanqah* was spent with care.⁷⁵ Once a box containing 5,000 gold *tankas* was found missing from the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria.⁷⁶ We are told that once the stock of corn of the *Wali* of Multan ran short. The *Wali* took corn on loan from him. When the corn was being taken out from the granaries, pitchers containing silver *tankas* were found. The pitchers were returned to Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria, but the saint said that he had given the pitchers also to the *Wali*.⁷⁷ Once, on being asked about the accumulation of wealth, Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria replied: Wealth is a poisonous serpent. But one who knows the antidote to the

poison the serpent will not harm. He was subjected to the question as to why at all he should keep a poisonous creature and then depend on an antidote for safety. Shaikh Baha-ud-din replied: "wealth serves the purpose of black dot in order to avert the evil eyes."⁷⁸ Shaikh Rukn-ud-din was the recipient of 100 villages from Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq.⁷⁹

The *Suhrawardy* saints felt no scruple in accepting government offices. There are many instances of some having accepted offices in the state.⁸⁰ They accepted the post of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* and *Sadr-i-Wilayat*. Syed Nur-ud-din Mobarak Ghaznavi, an eminent Khalifah of Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardy, accepted the post of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* after the dismissal of Najm-ud-din Soghra.⁸¹ From the time of Shaikh Rukn-ud-din a close contact with the State was established. Ibn Batuta tells us that no one was allowed to stay in the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Rukn-ud-din unless he got permission from the *Wali* of Multan.⁸² The struggle for the spiritual seat, after the death of Shaikh Rukn-ud-din was decided by the State. The Sultan favoured Shaikh Hud who was sent to Multan to take charge of *Suhrawardy sajjadah*. His installation was celebrated.⁸³ Later on matrimonial relationship was established between the *Suhrawardy* saints and the ruling dynasty.

Despite the close contact of the *Suhrawardy* saints with the kings and nobles, some of them were critical of the court manners and customs. Shaikh Sadr-ud-din Arif, who succeeded his father, Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria, remained indifferent to government service. He considered that money might lead him astray.⁸⁴

The *Firdausi* saints received grant of lands and villages not for themselves but for their *Khanqah*. Of course they received gifts and presents from the disciples. These were largely spent on the poor and the needy, visitors and way-farers. Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq wrote to Majd-ul-Mulk, the *muqta'i* of Bihar, to construct a *Khanqah* for the saint of Bihar and grant some lands of Raigir for its upkeep. The Sultan also wrote in the *farman* that if he did not accept the gifts, he should be compelled to do so. It was reluctantly accepted for the time

being on the request of the *muqtai* to save the latter from the wrath of the Sultan. But after the death of the Sultan the Bihari saint had the occasion of meeting Sultan Firoz. The saint returned the document regarding the *jagir* of Rajgir. He had kept the papers relating to the *jagirs* of Rajgir issued on behalf of Mohammad Tughlaq only to save the position of the *muqtai* of Bihar and returned it after fifteen years to Firoz Shah.⁸⁵ It was after a good deal of reluctance that he accepted the offer of a small piece of land out of the *Pargana-i-Haveli* of Bihar, but he made it over to his disciples.⁸⁶ They substantially agreed with the *Chishtis*.

The *Sufis* were usually broad-minded enough to recognise the truths in other faiths, and emphasised on love and devotion to, and union with God. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, once observed: "Every nation has its own way, its own faith, its own *qibla* (place turned to when at prayer)". Hazrat Ahmad Chiramposh, the 14th century *Sufi* saint of Amber (Bihar), composed many verses which emphasised the essential oneness of faiths. In one of the *ghazals* he wrote: "Regard all the faiths as one and the same. . . . Divinity is in reality limitless." "To me faith and infidelity are the same. What have I to do with any community or religion or sect?" "In the religion of the wise and intoxicated holymen—I swear by God, that faith and infidelity are of the same hue." "In the path of firm faith or reality the Kaaba and the idol temple became one and the same—take it from me, I am not one of those who are either chastised or rewarded." "The *Magi* or fire-worshipper and Christian paganism or Islam—I regard them all today as beyond price." "In my estimation what is infidelity and faith—what is the religion of the believers and what are the ways of the Christians."⁸⁷ Malik Mohammad Jaisi, the 15th century Awadhi poet in his *Akhrawat* has nicely expressed the attitude of the *Sufis*: "*Bidhna ke marg hain tete sarag nakhat rowan jete.*" (Various are the ways of reaching God—they are as numerous as the stars in the sky or the hair on the head).⁸⁸

In extending their help to others the *Sufis* made no distinction of creed or colour. Once on the occasion of the

annual *Urs* (death anniversary) a Hindu sought the blessings of Hazrat Husain Balkhi. In the meeting Badh Kotwal and others were present. The saint told Badh Kotwal to persuade the officials of the *Diwani* not to charge *marsum* (fees or taxes) from which that Hindu had been exempted. When the Hindu had gone away, the saint observed, "Infidelity and faith, orthodoxy and heresy are all technical terms of differentiation, for, after all, there is no such thing as an absolute opposition or antagonism; these are relative terms. All are God's creatures."⁸⁸ Once Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri was asked about his views about Muslim employees of Hindus addressing them as *Khudawand*. The saint smiled and said that there was no harm if a servant who got food, cloth and money from his master addressing the latter as his lord and master and *Khudawand* as *Khundkar* were terms quite different in meaning from that of *Khoda*.⁹⁰

There is nothing surprising if the *Sufis* commanded universal respect. Ibn Batuta speaking about Shaikh Jalal-ud-din Tabrezi observes that both Hindu and Muslim inhabitants of Sylhat went to visit the Shaikh along with presents and gifts.⁹¹ The mystic saints exhibited spirit of accommodation and compromise. They believed in peaceful persuasion and scrupulously acted on the *Quranic* injunction: "There is no compulsion in religion". Islam is a proselytising religion and the *Sufi* mystics who said that there are many paths and different ways of reaching God, believed that the path they followed was the shortest and the easiest. It is by their example and by their teaching and good deeds that they won the hearts of the native population. One amongst the audience of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya said: "there is a Hindu who utters the *Kalma* and speaks about the unity of the prophet but when the Muslims come to him he keeps silent." The Shaikh replied: "His affairs are in the hands of God who can pardon or punish him. He added that some Hindus know that Islam is a true religion, but they do not turn into Muslim."⁹² Sometime circumstances stood in the way of open declaration of Islam. The catholicity of Khawaja Hamid-ud-din Sawali is quite evident when he repeatedly said about a Hindu

of Nagoure as 'here is a *Wali* (friend) of God.'⁹³ They spoke of sincere Hindu devotees with reverence. Once Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya spoke about a certain Brahmin who possessed great wealth. The *Wali* of the place took all his wealth and reduced him to a pauper. Once the Brahmin met his friend who enquired about his welfare. The friend observed: "You have been forced to part with all your belongings and effects. How are you happy then?" The Brahmin replied, "My Brahminical thread is with me."⁹⁴ Obviously the saint appreciated constancy in faith even of non-Muslims.

The *Sufi* saints showed interest in the teaching of *Yogis* and felt no scruple in appreciating the good thing in others. Hindu *Yogis* and *Siddhas* frequently visited the *Khanqahs* of the *Sufi* saints. Once when Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya met a *Yogi* in the *Jamaat Khanah* of Baba Farid, he asked him the secrets of his discipline. The *Yogi* replied: "Our science says that there are two worlds (*alam*) - *alam-i-ulwi* and *alam-i-sifli*. From head to navel it is *alam-i-ulwi* and from navel to feet it is *alam-i-sifli*. In the *alam-i-ulwi* there is all sincerity, purity, good disposition and good dealings. In *alam-i-sifli* there is purity (holiness) and chastity." This exposition by the *Yogi* was liked by him.⁹⁵ On another occasion a *Yogi* came and observed that the nature of the child depends upon the timings of copulation. People do not know the timing of copulation. He explained that every day had its own peculiar nature and character. The Shaikh heard him minutely and appreciated the *Yogis* explanation.⁹⁶ Once the Bihari saint Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri was questioned whether the *Yogis* and Hindu ascetics possessed the power of flight. The saint observed that they were capable of it because of their severe austere practices, and in this a believer and infidel were on equal footing.⁹⁷ These instances clearly demonstrate the attitude of understanding and appreciation by the mystic saints towards the members of other cults and creeds. The primary aim of the *Sufis* in discussing such topics in their *majlis* was to enjoin upon their disciples to learn the good points of the Hindus.

It was due to their magnetic personality, exemplary character, principles of equality and brotherhood, their linguistic attain-

ments and their magical charms and incantation that the mystic saints won the hearts of people. These factors caused the peaceful penetration of Islam. References are found to the voluntary conversion. A Hindu of 81 years of age came to Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri and embraced Islam.⁹⁸ Once a *Yogi* arrived in Bihar (town) and met some of the disciples of the great Bihari saint. The *Yogi* had acquired internal purity. He asked some disciples of the saint if they had any *guru* (spiritual teacher). The disciples named the *Makhdum* and spoke about his qualities. The *Yogi* requested them to take him to the *sufi* saint. At the very first sight of the saint the *Yogi* turned back saying "He looks like '*Kartar Rup*' and I dare not go before him." The saint asked his disciples to bring him. The *Yogi* came and sat in the *majlis* for long and accepted Islam.⁹⁹

We are told that the place in Gangoh where the tomb of Hazrat Abdul Quddus lies was once inhabited by a Hindu *Yogi*. One day the Gangohi saint while walking saw a number of disciples of the *Yogi*. The disciples said that their *Guru* had undertaken a spiritual exercise. He had entered a cave since a year back and having got it blocked was engaged in meditation by restraining his breath. Hazrat Abdul Quddus managed to enter the cave. The *Yogi* was roused from his meditation. He was so much impressed by the saint that he along with his followers accepted Islam.¹⁰⁰

There are many more instances of the influence of *Sufi* saints on others. Once a thief entered in the house of Shaikh Ahmad Nahrawani at night, but he found nothing. The saint did not like that the thief should go disappointed. The saint administered an oath to the thief to take a bundle of yarn that he had spun. Next morning the thief and his parents came in a repentant mood and they became changed men.¹⁰¹ A certain curd-seller who was so impressed by Hazrat Jalal-ud-din that he voluntarily embraced Islam.¹⁰² Instances of conversion are few in *Sufi* literature for the saints or their disciples did not parade the effects of the silent preaching. *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* also makes mention of a *Yogi* who embraced Islam.¹⁰³ The author of

Manaqib-i-Mohammadi tells us about the peaceful penetration of Islam and to Muslim settlements at an early date in Kol-infested Aurangabad sub-division of Gaya, (Bihar) which consisted of hills and jungles, and was full of wild beasts and animals. Syed Mohammad, the founder of the *Qadris Khanqah* in Amjhar, a village in that sub-division, during his stay in the jungle won the heart of a cowherd chief who became a convert, and was named Sadiq.¹⁰⁴

Piri Muridi :

Before considering the contribution of the *sufi* mystics to the use and cultivation of a common language and the system of audition and mystic music, it appears to be worthwhile to write something about the system of *Piri Muridi* and self-seeking insincere imposters.

The practice of spiritual preceptorship known as *Piri Muridi* was prevalent during our period. Those who entered into a particular fraternity of *sufi* saints were called *murids* (disciple). The *murid* had to pledge absolute submission and devotion to his spiritual guide called *Pir*. According to Hujwiri a spiritual person must be a man of rectitude who has traversed all the hills and dales of the Path, and experienced the severity of the Divine majesty and clemency of the Divine beauty. The *murshid* was under obligation to examine the state of his disciple, and judge and assess what points he had ultimately reached.¹⁰⁵ From the *mal'uzat* and *maktubat* of the *sufi* saints of the period we get a true picture of the relation that existed between *pir* and *murid*. The *pir* must be a man of insight and spiritual attainment and should possess vast knowledge of the mysteries of God.¹⁰⁶ The *murid* was expected to undergo a course of discipline under the guidance of his *murshid*. The *pir* was to prepare and qualify his *murids* so that they might get nearness to God.

Generally speaking two types of persons entered the fraternity of a particular order—one for the attainment of the ultimate goal and the other for the development of spiritual personality. The disciple of the second category was to perform religious duties. The disciple of the first category had to undergo a long course

of austere and exacting discipline prescribed by his spiritual guide, called *pir*. The rules and the methods of devotion inculcated by the *pir* and followed by the disciples constituted the *tariqah* (way) of the *sufi*. He had to fight against the temptations of the flesh and practise abstinence from all worldly pleasures and enjoyment. Repentance (*tauba*), firm faith (*yaqeen*), trust in God (*tawakkul*), contentment (*qanaat*), control of ego (*inkesar-i-nafs*), fear and hope (*khauf-o-reja*), concealment of poverty (*sirr-i-faqr*), patience, fortitude and humility (*tahamm-ul-o-tawazu*), civility to creatures (*madarat-i-khalq*), charity (*sadaqua*), resignation and satisfaction, intimacy (*uns*), and decent manners (*a'dat*) are the virtues he had to cultivate. It was only through the cultivation of these virtues that a disciple could keep his heart pure. We need not discuss here the devotional exercises of the various orders and the question of the appointment of *Khalifah*.

In discussing the *Piri Muridi* system mention may be made of certain social practices prevalent during the period. Among the *Chishtis* the popular practice was to shave head at the time of entering into its fold.¹⁰⁷ Religious literature refers to the practice of becoming *murid* (disciple) of a dead saint after shaving the head and wearing a cap at his grave. Once a son of Baba Farid went to the grave of Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, shaved his head and declared himself as a disciple of the deceased saint. Baba Farid did not approve of it. The disciple was to grasp the hand of a living *murshid*.¹⁰⁸

False Darvesh :

Literature of the *sufi* saints also contains warnings against the acceptance of false *Darvesh* as preceptor. A pen picture of a pseudo-sufi has been drawn by the 15th century saint of Bania Basarh, Hazrat Qazim Ola Shuttari, a disciple of Hazrat Abd-ul-lah Shuttari of Mandu, in his book *Maadan-ul-Asrar*. They were always careful so that people might not detect their faults. They would never dare go to the bazar without the long vest, turban and cap on, nor would they ever disgrace themselves by going personally to a weaver or cobbler. They would sit in a corner in order to show that they were men of rectitude, and living a retired

life. To impress people they put on sad countenance, heaved sighs, crying 'Ah'. They spoke in a subdued voice in order to make people understand that the shaikh's strength was exhausted, his face had become pale on account of reduced dietary, austerities and self-mortifications. If they joined a feast, they lifted their morsels with only two fingers and observed absolute silence to make people think that the Shaikh was engaged in deep contemplation and meditation. Day and night they were found with rosary in hands and with a copy of *Quran* on the *rehal* (support) and with few books on mysticism all round them. They were seen seated on a tiger skin or an extended prayer carpet, garbed in mystic dress. *pairahan hazar mekhi* (a *darvesh's* dress closely stitched), *mushdan-dani* (a garment of shreds and patches) and a blanket, a big *dastar* (turban) on his 'auspicious' head in such a way as to look like a spiritual leader. Men of ordinary run and even the gentry kissed the head of the false Shaikh. This gave him immense pleasure because the concourse of people around him was a sign of his greatness, perfection and nearness to God.¹⁰⁰

Contribution of the Sufis towards the evolution of Hindustani :

The Islamic mystic saints played a very important part towards the evolution of a common language, known as *Khariboli* or Hindustani. We get genuine specimens and authentic evidence of the linguistic assimilation in the religious literature of the period under consideration. This is evident in Indian names like Bibi Bua, Bibi Lahari (sisters of Hazrat Nasir-ud-din Awadhi), Bibi Rani (wife of Syed Mahmud Kirmani), Maulana Laddhu Shah, Shaikh Langan Lukan, Shaikh Chulahi, Syed Chajju Gardezi, Maulana Nathan, Shaikh Badh Nur, Bhikan Peyara, and numerous others. We get numerous Hindustani words like *khat*, *Bhat*, *Thakkar* (for Thakur), *Chappar*, *Dochapra*, *Dola*, *Langoti*, *Palki*, *Badhera*, *Siddha*, *Kartar Roop*, *Hal* (plough), *Dhakka*, *Jolaha*, *Chuna*, *Supari*, etc. More important than these are the words used in conversation. From the very beginning the *sufis* realised the need of learning the regional languages of the people so as to converse with them freely in their own tongue. Hindi expressions

and exclamations occasionally and incidentally occur in the *Malfuzat and Maktubat*.

Some mystic literature makes references to the conversation which went on in Hindi, but we do not get the actual words. A few instances may do. Sufi Bodhan said something in *Hindavi* which has not been quoted.¹¹⁰ A Hindu child who came out unhurt from the fire was asked about his experience and he said in *Hindavi* which meant that he had been sitting in a garden.¹¹¹ Once Shaikh Ahmad spoke in *Hindavi* that Qazi Hisam-ud-din Nagauri broke his hand and went away. The Hindi expression used by Shaikh Ahmad has not been given.¹¹² Unfortunately, the writers refer to but do not give all the talks in the regional languages. Still the little that we get is very valuable for those interested in linguistic studies.

We may cite an important case. Once Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji sent Amir Khusrau to Baba Sharf-ud-din Bu Ali Qalandar. The latter addressed Amir Khusrau in Punjabi: *Khusru Pheri Kotra* (What have you come for?). Then he asked him to recite some verses of his composition. When he did so, the Panipat saint who was a good poet began to recite extempore verses of his own at which Amir Khusrau was visibly moved. This occasioned another observation of the saint also in the Punjabi: "*Rounda Hunh, Kuch Bujhanda Hun*" (You are weeping, do you understand anything?)¹¹³

The following *Hindavi* expressions and their occasions have been mentioned by Hamid Qalandar. Rashid Pandit (Banadat?) a merchant was busy in his shop. When the slave girl brought his meal from his residential house, which was nearby, he said to her in *Hindavi*: *Rah Rah* (wait a little).¹¹⁴ An idolater being stricken with fever placed his head on the idol which he had worshipped for many years and made his supplications: *Tu Mera Gosain, Tun Mera Kartar, mujh is tap Thehin chada* (Thou art my Lord and Master, let me get rid of this fever).¹¹⁵ On the occasion of the *Dastarbandi* ceremony of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, Ali Maula exclaimed in *Hindavi* language: *Are Maulana* (Ala-ud-din) *Yah Bada Hose* (Oh Maulana, he will be a great man). Maulana also said in Hindi: *Jo Munda so Bandha So paen na pare* (one who has the turban bound on his

head cannot stoop low). The Persian meanings of the Hindi sentences have also been given.¹¹⁶ After the death of Shaikh Jamal-ud-din, his maid servant, called *Umm-ul-Mominin* for her saintly character, took Maulana Burhan-ud-din, son of Shaikh Jamal-ud-din, to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya. The maid servant said in Hindi: *Khwaja Burhan Bala Hai* (Khwaja Burhan is a minor). Thereupon Baba Farid replied: *Ponon ka chand Bhi Bala Hai*. (The full moon of the 14th is also small on the first of the month).¹¹⁷

Lataif Ashrafi, a *malfuz* of the 14th century of Kachaucha saint, Hazrat Ashraf Jahangir Simani, contains many Hindi sentences. Once a man of piety and austerity refused to dine with a saint named Ibrahim Majzub on the ground that he was not particular about performing daily obligatory prayers. When the Kachaucha saint questioned him about it, he uttered a Hindi sentence: *Liyo Prakhryo Apan—Waison Kahna Aison Kahna* (Lo! how strange is the test for they say this thing and that thing in the same breath).¹¹⁸ These stray Hindi sentences of the Sufi saints show the debt the modern *lingua franca* owes to the mystics of India. The saint of Kachauchha was known throughout for his God-given power to cure both body and mind of those who approached him, and the *Lataif* contains many charms in Hindi jargon.

The celebrated 15th century *Chishti* saint of Manikpur Hazrat Hisam-ud-din directed his favourite disciple, Hazrat Syed Hamid Raja to go to Jaunpur. When the latter referred to the presence of the great *Chishti* saint Hazrat Mohammad Isa Taj, the *Pir* predicted in Hindi: *Tohar Bisar onhka Niksar* (Your arrival would coincide with his exit).¹¹⁹ Syed Hamid Raja was not an educated man. The *ulama* were critical about him. Once a talk arose on the omission of the obligatory prayers. Hazrat Syed Hamid Raja said in Hindi: *Hawas Baur Howe to Kahe Pachon na Kare* (If the five vital breaths are bad why should not one perform all the 5 daily prayers).¹²⁰ Hazrat Syed Hamid Raja often used to speak about Shaikh Hasan bin Tahir as *Hasan Mor Pandit*.¹²¹ Once during the life time of Khwaja Mohammad, Syed Hamid Raja went to Jaunpur, and

had discussion on certain *Quranic* lines. When the latter went back, his spiritual teacher Hazrat Hisam-ud-din asked about Khwaja Mohammad Isa. He replied in Hindi: *Jas Tad Nagar Tas Tad Thakur* (As the city so is its leader).¹²² He often used to speak about his *Pir* in Hindi: *Ham Kon Bal Makhdum Ko Sumeran Ghaus Hisam-Aur Ki Dhan Hee Dhan Sain Karhun Kam. Mera Dhan Hee Ghaus Hisam* (His strength consists in the strength of his *Pir* Makhdum saint Hisam. Others become rich by worldly possessions but his wealth lies in the saint Hisam.)¹²³ Hazrat Syed Hamid Raja insisted on the correct pronunciation of words. When he told some one to repeat *Ya Ajijo* for his recital, the man corrected it as *Ya Azizo* and started reciting this. But the correction was disallowed and the saint observed: *Masala Janab Farz hee Mu Konhio Boli Parey Qabul* (The important thing is to know the point of law. In whatever language you utter it, it will be acceptable).¹²⁴

Zain-ud-din Badre Arabi, the chief attendant of the great Bihari saint Shaikh Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, tells us that during the course of a conversation about the religious belief of the Muslims, one Jalal-ud-din Multani said that a Hindi poet had put a similar idea, *Bat Bhali Par Sankri* (The path is good, but it is narrow). To this the Bihari saint replied *Des Bhala Par Door*. (The country, or destination, is good but it is far off).¹²⁵ Once the *Firdausi* saint Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri during the course of his usual wandering had to pass a chilly night by hiding himself beneath a heap of straw lying in the outskirt of a village where a theft had taken place. The night was dark but the torch in the hands of the villagers showed a part of the leg of the hiding saint. They caught hold of the leg and dragged him out and were about to belabour him. The saint said in Hindi: *Matho Nak Chatto Na Phate; Do Manho Tark Channo Na Bhati* (See, my forehead, nose and chest are not broken. Leave me, I do not like to be disturbed).¹²⁶ Once Shams Muzaffar Balkhi, the distinguished disciple of the Bihari saint, saw him in dream after his death, saying, *Ayeen Raat Sohayeen Jin Karan Dhiyan Khayean* (The pleasant nights have come for which I had suffered so many kicks).¹²⁷

We get a clear specimen of Hindustani language in Hazrat Qasim Ola Shuttari's book *Madan-ul-Asrar*. We are told that once Makhdum Jahanian, the great saint of Uch, when asked by some one as to why his prayer was not effective he replied in Hindi: *Khanda Hai Phanda Kahan* (The pit is there, but where is the net).¹²⁸ The word *Hai* is of great significance. It appears that throughout northern India this auxiliary verb was widely used by the mystic saints. A beautiful illustration of the word *Hai* is found in the utterances of Makhdum Qutb-i-Alam. In the early hour of morning when he tumbled against some hard substance, he exclaimed: *Loh Hai Lakkar Pathar Hai Kiya Hai*¹²⁹ (What is this iron piece, wood or stone).

The *Malfuzat* and *Maktubat* of the Sufi saints contain not only conversational Hindi sentences but also Hindi *Dohas*. The language of those *dohas* is largely Apabhramshaic, and, therefore, difficult to understand for one with an average knowledge of Hindi. It is doubtful if the scribes, presumably not familiar with the archaic language, have written them down correctly. One very important thing to note in connection with these *dohas* is that the saintly personages have referred to them in their books. Some of these *dohas* are very difficult to understand, but parts thereof are clear enough to get at their meaning. At any rate we are in a position to say that it is the Sufi saints who were the real progenitors of the *Khariboli* or *Hindustani*, and their acquaintance with both *Persian* and *Hindavi* of the time was a factor which helped the rise and growth of a common language.

To support our contention that the early *Sufi* saints were familiar with, and made use of the regional language, we may quote some of these *dohas* as they occur in the *malfuzat* and *maktubat* of the saints of Bihar and elsewhere. In the *maktubat* of Shams Muzaffar Balkhi some Hindi *dohas* are mentioned. While discoursing on the subject of the control of passions certain *dohas* were mentioned.¹³⁰ (1) *Ayee Kaun Tan Pankharwa Jangal Karan Udas—Kankar Chunn jal Binh Dhani Na Cho'o Na pass.*¹³¹ (2) *Jaith Asadh Na Ayian Pataan Bharhhar Banh—Ti Bheri Bisardhan Thakayi Jalthal Nanh.*¹³² A *Doha* sung on a

Kamancha (a one-stringed instrument) by a roving *Yogi* moved the heart of the celebrated saint Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri. Tears came into the eyes of the saint when *Kamanchi* (fiddler) began to tune a *Doha*.¹³³ : *Ekat Kandi Bedha Bhootar Bhar ki Kayen—Chinta Heen Man Ichcha Maran Tatahi Nahaven*.¹³⁴ In another letter we get the following *Dohas* :¹³⁵ *Bat Bhali Par Sankri, Nagar Bhala Par Dur—Nanh Bhala par Patla, Mare Kar Har Chur*¹³⁶—*Sankar Kuan Patal Pani, Lakhanh Bund Bikayai—Bajar Paro Tehi Mathura Nagari, Kanha Piyase Jayai*;¹³⁷ *Kaha Pawn Apan Ghar Thathar, Kaha Puwan Nisar Tohar—Beech Palendiya Ghar Chuway Bund Parey Bhimbari* ;¹³⁸ *Jalun Tore Chakkain, Jalun Bakat Katar Jaheen Karat so Tas ain, Tehu Bhayo Bhinsar*.¹³⁹ The linguistic importance of these *Dohas* cannot be minimised. Apart from their linguistic importance, their occurrence in the religious literature of the 14th century *Sufi* saint speak eloquently of the interaction of thought and culture.

The *mafuzats* of Hazrat Hisam-ud-din, the fifteenth century saint of Manikpur also contain not only Hindi words but also Hindi *Dohas* like : (1) *Tan Man Ojhar Tujh bin Kaisu Kahyai Malana Tai Ghar Abain Ajar Na Jinh Ghar Sayeen Nana*.¹⁴⁰ (2) *Nit Nain Lohu Nadi Bahay Tas Sayeen kerī Chayee—Saij Hosay Koi Dewe Har Jab Milay Ayeē*.¹⁴¹ (3) *Kahina Pandit Bawla Kahina Bari Kahina Meet Kahina Hansay Kohin Roway Bahahi Hamari Jeet*.¹⁴² (4) *Sayeen Teri Birah Chil Doyee Meri Deh—Janoon Kalar Bon Hee Kalkal Hasay Keh*.¹⁴³ The copy of *Rafiq-ul-Arifin*, consulted by the present writer, contains eight *dohas*.¹⁴⁴

The Gangohi saint Hazrat Abd-ul-Quddus also showed a great appreciation of Indian language. In spite of his conservative conception of spiritual and political offices, he made a distinct contribution to the composite character of Indian culture. He lived at a time which saw the disintegration and collapse of the Turko-Afghan power. A new and fresh wave of cultural synthesis was sweeping the whole country. The great Gangohi saint frequently mentioned Hindu gods, deities and seers. *Maktubat-i-Quddusia* and *Murshid Nama* contain many specimen

of *Dohas* and *Shlokas*. We may here quote some of them. (1) *Kar Parbat Bach Baso Hamare Meet*.¹⁴⁵ (2) *Pandit At-Buddhu Nasik, Potha Banch Puran—Parh Bhakha Be Bhakhe Dusar Bhakhya Najan*.¹⁴⁶ (3) *Jiska Guru Devata Chela Kayan Tarayen—Andhi Andha Thal Liya—Dono Koyi Prayen*.¹⁴⁷ (4) *Wah Khail Na Jani Khail Ton, Sir Daih Na Pawah Mail Kon*.¹⁴⁸ (5) *Ayon Gossayyan Paiso Sang Lag Ri-Kar Jor Sar Dhar Payai Sanehar Lagri*.¹⁴⁹ (6) *Jalti Jalti Jal Gayee, Jal Bhi Uthi Akh-kas Pukarun Kas Kahun Thandhi Lagi Ag*.¹⁵⁰ (7) *Ekan Chad Bin Rang Na Haye—Chahu Rang Hoye—Oat Mar Soye*.¹⁵¹ (8) *Yah Jag Wah Jag Deyon, Tas Man Arth Bhandar—Sayeen Ke Ri Sis Ka, Jo Dekhraway Bar*. (9) *Moyon Pyasan Nanak Lah Pani—Peon Son Rand Suhagan Nanun*.¹⁵² (10) *Je Pieu Saij To Neend Kas, Je Pardes To Yon—Birah Birodhi Kamni, Na Sakh Yon Na Yon*. (11) *Banka Bakati—Je Suni Suni Sar Par Leon—Ankha Choraon Apndi Okar Peeh Mileon*.¹⁵³ (12) *Hose Koi Deohara, Pujay Ki As—Hun Bhi Sis Kandha Kar, Baithoon Saayeen Pas*.¹⁵⁴ (13) *Nissowah Bar Bar Machayin—Matura Kar Dhayen Sayeen*.¹⁵⁵

From the point of view of poetical effusion of the Gangohi saint in Hindi, *Murshid Nama* is more important than the *Maktubat*. A few specimen are as follows: (1) *Ek Tain Ham Anant Bha, yi, Ap Hi Ap Biyahe—Sahaj Kennaya Sambhu Barwana Uppam Sasura Janwayai*. (2) *Jan Ajan Sabh Khaile Lo, i, Bin Pih Khail Na Khaila Ho, i, Jan Ajan Jag Khaile Re-Hu Hu Hu Holi Re—Sabh Khailanh O Sakhi Man Mah Jan—Sarab Nirantar Peeh Parwan; Jan Ajan Jag Khaile Phag—Kant Bola Leon Hirday Lag; Alkhuddas Akha Sun Nanhan—Ham Tum Khailanh Dai Kar Banhan*. (3) *Anchal Kanth Jo Utpat Dini—To Ham Peeh Son Maja Keeni; Hun Tenh Bolan Rahun Lobhayai—Lakh Preet Khin Chodi Na Jayai: Teen Trilok Aik Kar Jan—Sarab Nirantar Ap Parwan*. (4) *Jage Gorakh Jag Sowe, Sowe Achinti Nar—Soni Damak Ji Ma Parote Yogi Uddhar*. (5) *Jag Re, Bhayi Jag Re, Jaram Na Soway Ko, i-Ahnis Beri O Milain, Laka Mosat Par Na Hoi*. (6) *Pahli Bhuli Awa Na Jaye—Kanse Ka Sabad Kanse Samaye*. (7) *Jal Tain Ophan, Bulbula, Jalhen, Manh Bilaye—Taisa Yah Sansar Sabh, Mula Ja Yai Suma, Ye*. (8) *Meerat Meerat Hai Sakhi, Hun Dhan*

Gayi Marayai—Parya Boond Samund Manh, Kah Keon Mari Jayi. (9) *Gur Heera Kar Gheera Kudar—Khodai Niksay Hira Saar.* (10) *Jal Thal Mahel Atr Akas—Peeh Sarab Nirantar Tora Pas—Tu Chad Piya Kha Kahan Re Ja un—Jahan Re Ja, un, Tahan Tora Tha, un; Bahar Bheetar Kaha Na Ja, Yai—Sarab Nirantar Eki Kaysi; Alkhuddas Akhe Mora Kant—Donon jag Sakhi Reeti Basant.* (11) *Jaiso lahar Samundr ki Bahar Nagri Mayee—Soda Enh Samund Wah Samundah Nesthi Jayee.* (12) *Sat Sarir Na, ji Basey, Daye Eti Rudh—Kant Subhao Na Chodyai, jab Sans Jab Sudh; Nehchal Rakho Ap Seon, Dhar Ki Nehchal Layai—Paithe Sabh Pisayai Ke Kanji Keonker Hoyai.* (13) *Royai Sati Gyan Lagayai—Rat Kahe Din Bisar Jayai.* (14) *Kanan Mundra Gale Rudra Rakh—Phir Phir Par Manh Bholi Sakhi; Bolat Gorakh Sun Ho Loyee—Par Tain Hoyu Pi Jog Na Hoyee, Sakhi Sabad Nanheen Chok—Phir Phir Dekhanh Gaon ka log.*¹⁵⁶

The Sufis, despite their strict adherence to the laws of *Shariat* and practices of orthodoxy, instead of criticising the religion, mythology and folklore of the Hindus, were broad-minded enough to study them in their *Hindavi* verses. Some went to the extent of quoting verses from Hindi poems while delivering religious sermons from the pulpits. Badaoni tells us that Makhdum Shaikh Taqi-ud-din Waiz Rabbani used to read occasionally verses from *Chandain* of Mulla Daud relating to the love of Lorik and Chanda. Once when a certain person asked the Shaikh the reason of choosing to recite Hindi verses in his religious sermons, the saint replied that the whole thing is full of divine and pleasing subject.¹⁵⁷ Jaisi, though an orthodox Muslim, was also a good *sufi* and yet has mentioned Hindu gods and goddesses and has shown his familiarity with *Vedanta*, *Yoga* and *Nath* cults. The Muslim author of the *Mrigavat* and *Madhumalati*, of *Mana sat*, and other Hindi Poems had already paved the way for Jaisi. The *sufi* poet Qutban not only wrote in the language of the people of the locality, but was also fully conversant with the Hindu mythology. He had neither contempt nor prejudice for the Hindu scriptures and mythology. While discussing the religious conviction and sense of generosity of Husain Shah Sharqi, Qutban wrote about Hindu mythological heroes. In the *Mrigavat* we get references to *Janamejaya*, son of

Raja Pariksit, Sudama, Vikram, Bhoja, Bhairon, Bhartrhari, Beyog and Gorakhnath Panth. Speaking about the roaming ascetic he makes mention of *Mekhala Kantha, Jatta, chakra, Danda, Dhandhor, Khappar, Kesar, Chola, Bhasmo, Trisul* etc. Qutban gives evidence of his acquaintance with Hindu manners and customs when he says that *Mrigavat* was a religious lady and observed *Ekadasi* vow and abstained from water during her fast.¹⁵⁸

It is significant that all earliest extant copies of *Prem Kathas* of Muslim poets are found in Persian scripts and belong to *Sufi Khanqahs*. Another thing well worth attention about them is the introductory pieces containing the praises of God, Prophet of Islam, the spiritual ancestors of the author, and of the reigning king. The themes of all, the personalities mentioned, and the scenes and objects are all Indian and one finds scrupulous avoidance of Persian words and expressions in the main text. The *Nath* cult figures prominently in the books. The Muslim authors wrote in the language in which they spoke, and the Persian text may be taken to be photographic representation of their regional speech. The fact that they composed their works in Hindi, but wrote them in Persian script show that they were meant for the Muslims. The *Sufis*' were the real pioneers of the movement of national integration which had suffered a set back, but now is again a force to reckon with.

Sama and Raqs (Audition and Duncing) :

Despite the opposition of the more orthodox and severely puritanical doctors, many liberal *sufis* especially of the *Chishti* and of the *Suhrawardy* orders, did not consider the use of certain kinds of music actually sinful or unlawful. They did not sanction any and every kind of music. *Majlis-i-Sama* which they sanctioned was totally different from the *Majlis-i-Tarab* or that for the musical entertainment. To the *sufis* music was a means to an end. *Sama* exhilarated their spiritual spirit and lifted the veil between them and God, and helped them in attaining the supreme stage of ecstatic swoon which at times proved fatal. A case in point is that of Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki, the most respected successor of Khwaja Moin-ud-din Ajmeri, the pioneer

of the *Chishti Sufi* saint of India. When the singers (*Qawwals*) recited verses; *Kushtagan-i-Khanjar-i-Taslim ra, Har zaman az ghaib jane digar ast* (For those who have been killed by the dagger of submission, there comes new life every moment from the unseen world), a thrill of spiritual emotion seized the heart of Hazrat Bakhtiyar Kaki. He fell into a swoon. Whenever he recovered he asked the *Qawwals* to repeat the same line, and on the fifth night he breathed his last.¹⁵⁹

The mystic saints of the *Chishti* order patronised *Sama*. Qazi Hamid-ud-din Nagauri of the *Suhrawardi* order introduced *Sama* in Delhi.¹⁶⁰ The saints of the *Shuttari* order did not allow it. References are found to the assemblies of *Sama* held in Bihar.¹⁶¹ The mystic literature of the period gives us the name of some eminent musicians who participated in the audition parties of the *Sufi* saints. Often musicians went from one *Khanqah* to another and sang ecstatic songs. Amir Hasan Sijzi tells us that one day a musician named Abdullah came to Hazrat Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria and told that he had participated in the audition assembly of Hazrat Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Omar Suhrawardy. After the *Isha* prayer the door of the *Hujra* was closed and Abdullah was asked to recite poems. Hazrat Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria was enraptured with his songs.¹⁶² Abdullah possessed a melodious voice. He was employed by Hazrat Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria, who though an eminent *Sufi*, was a man of great affluence.¹⁶³ Abdullah often came to Ajodhyan also. The names of other musicians mentioned in the *Sufi* literature are Junaid Aqwwal, Mohammad Bairam, Samat Qawwal, Chakri Qauwal, Husain Behdi. Chakri Qauwal was a reputed musician. He remained long in attendance in the *Khanqah* of Maulana Wajeeh-ud-din. Once he started singing in a melodious voice the Hindi couplet, *Bina bin Bhaje Aisa Sukh sen Basnon*. This couplet produced ecstatic movement in Maulana Wajeeh-ud-din.¹⁶⁴

Throughout our period there was dispute among the *ulama* as to the lawfulness of *Sama*. Some *ulama* of the time declared the audition assembly as illegal.¹⁶⁵ They objected to the hearing of song or hymn and in their opposition displayed the utmost zeal. Maulana Rukn-ud-din Samarqandi was one of the great opponents of *Sama*. Once with the help of his followers he

physically tried to stop the audition party in which the great *Chishti* saint, Hazrat Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki was one of the participants. But the Maulana failed.¹⁶⁵ Another attempt was made by the Qazi of Ajodhyan. He convened a meeting of the theologians of Multan for their legal verdict against Baba Farid, who listened to songs. But they replied: "You have referred to a saint against whom no *mujtahid* (ecclesiastical dignitary) can dare raise his finger.¹⁶⁶ Once the *ulama* of Delhi dragged the great saint Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya to the court of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq and there was a heated debate on the question of *Sama*. But the great Shaikh stuck to his view, and Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq was silenced by the support of the grandson of Hazrat Baha-ud-din Zakaria.

Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya grades *Sama* into four categories—*halal* (lawful), *haram* (unlawful), *mobah* (permissible), and *makrooh* (undesirable). If one is inclined towards Divine love, *Sama* is permissible, if he is absorbed in ecstasy during the audition and if he is not acting under the sexual impulse, it is lawful; but if it is full of mundane objects, it is detestable.¹⁶⁷ He prescribed rules of audition, firstly, the singer should be a perfect man. He should neither be a boy nor a woman. Secondly, the hearer should all the time be absorbed in the remembrance of God. Thirdly, the contents of a song should not be offending against the prescribed rules of moral conduct. Lastly, there should be no musical instruments.¹⁶⁸ The three requisite conditions of *zaman* (time), *makan* (place), and *akhwan* were also to be fulfilled. Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya emphasised that participants of *Sama* should be free from anxieties. The place where *Sama* is held should be beautiful and exhilarating. The participants of *Sama* should be lovers of *Sama*. The auditors should sit after applying scent. They should wear neat and clean clothes.¹⁶⁹

Hujwiri with regard to rules of audition spoke about the necessity for the presence of spiritual teacher during the performance. The place was to be cleared of common people, and the singer was to be a respectable person free from worldly thoughts.¹⁷⁰ Maulana Fakhr-ud-din Zararadi also laid down certain rules with regard to *Sama*. The auditors were expected

to hear with rapt attention. They were to concentrate and desist from looking towards the listeners. Yawning was to be controlled so long they sat in the audition party. They were to keep their heads bent and remain seriously in contemplative mood. Movement of body and clapping of hands were to be avoided. If a listener stood up in ecstasy, all participants were to stand in sympathetic ecstasy.¹⁷¹ Hazrat Jahangir Simnani, the great saint of Kachauchha, favoured the recitation of the *Quran* in the beginning and at the end of the audition assembly.¹⁷²

The rules prescribed for the audition assembly were sometimes not rigidly followed. References are found to its deviation. We are told of an audition assembly in which *Hyderi* and *Qalandari* saints participated. They danced and musicians and *Darveshs* beat *daf*.¹⁷³ The author of *Manaqib-ul-Asfia* tells us that in the audition party of Khwaja Badr-ud-din Samarqandi musical instruments were played. Once a saintly person was present in the audition assembly. He in order to avoid the hearing of musical instruments got up from the assembly and went into a corner.¹⁷⁴

Majlis-i-Sama kindled the flame of Divine love in their hearts.¹⁷⁵ Amir Hasan himself once said that under influence of mystic song he soared above all the mundane desires.¹⁷⁶

The *Sufi* saints gained spiritual advantages from audition. According to Al Ghazali the saints, by means of *Sama*, stir up in themselves greater love towards God, and by means of music, often obtain spiritual vision and ecstasies. Their hearts become in this condition as clean as silver in the flames of a furnace, and attaining a degree of purity which could never be attained by any amount of mere outward austerities. The *Sufi* then becomes so keenly aware of his relationship to the spiritual world that he loses all consciousness of this world and often falls down senseless.¹⁷⁷

Sometimes mere words and phrases or the chirping of birds threw the saint into ecstatic mood. We are told about the state of *Wajd* (a state of ecstasy as a result of intense divine love—or spiritual grief) in audition party. When a *darvesh* hears a song the spiritual reality comes before his eyes. Man's

temperament plays an important part. A spiritual interpretation is given to what is said in connection with the beloved. We are told that when after the *nikah* ceremony Hazrat Abdus Quddus Gangohi was taken inside the bride house, the female singers began to sing the Hindi song "*Ghunghat ri khol dhaniya shah dekhay toray, is ghunghat re karane shah banh maroray*" (Oh lady, lift up your veil so that the bridegroom may see your face. It is on account of this veil that he will twist your arms), he was stirred with divine love and fell from the bridal platform and started tearing off his garments into pieces.¹⁷⁸ Once Baba Farid wanted to hear a mystic song. The singer was not present there. He asked Maulana Badr-ud-din Ishaq to take out the *maktub* which was sent by Qazi Hamid-ud-din Nagaori from Nagour. Maulana Badr-ud-din Ishaq was asked to read what was written in the *maktub*. When he read: *Faqir wa haqir zaef wa naheef Mohammad Ata Ke Bandad Darweshan ast* (This poor, humble and lean Maulana who is the servant of *Darvesh*). This resulted in ecstasy.¹⁷⁹ We learn that the great Bihari saint Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri on his return from Panipat heard the voice of an ostrich in the way which threw him into an estatic mood and this led to his disappearance in the jungle of Behea in Shahabad district, Bihar.¹⁸⁰ Hujwiri writes that when a man's temperament is evil, that which he will hear will be evil too. One singer when he made the audience of an audition assembly ecstatic, Hazrat Sharf-ud-din, the Bihar saint suddenly ordered the assembly to disperse. When questioned by Sikandar, his chief attendant, the saint said that when the singer had switched on to some Hindi songs which were usually sung by women, and were liable to excite passion, he saw young men who were unable to appreciate the true purpose of *Sama*.¹⁸¹

The mystic saints were conscious of nothing except the Divine love. *Sama* delighted the ear. It reminded them of God. It was the spiritual interpretation of a line of poetry that made them ecstatic. The listeners of *Sama* were more in perfect state than the musicians or the recitors of poetry. The musician might sing with or without true feelings, whereas the listeners felt truly, because the spiritual reality appeared before

their vision. The frenzied love bordering on insanity was aggravated when the *Sufi* saints heard a line of poetry. Some went into rapturous ecstasy and gave a loud moan and departed from the world. Still some stirred with emotion began to shake their arms and legs. Under the influence of trance they thumped their hands on the ground.¹⁸² Shaikh Badr-ud-din on account of his very old age was unable to move, but in the audition assembly he danced like a youth. References are also found to the tearing of the garments in the state of rapture in the audition assembly.¹⁸³ With regard to the tearing of the garments, Hujwiri says that although it has no foundation in Sufism, but sometime the auditor is so overpowered that his sense of discrimination is lost and becomes unconscious.¹⁸⁴

REFERENCES

1. S. XXIV, 35.
2. S.L. : 15.
3. S.L.I. : 21-22.
4. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 237. Ali Maula was asked by Shaikh Jalal Tabrezi to stay in Badaon in order to look after the welfare of the people (*Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 192-93).
5. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 46.
6. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 13-14; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 411.
7. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 46.
8. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, P. 147; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 38-39.
9. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 68.
10. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 105.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-6.
14. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 160.
15. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 554.
16. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 86-87.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
18. *Maktubat*—Letter No. 71, p. 202.
19. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 341-342.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 343-345.
21. *Sharh-i-Adab-ul-Muridin*, ff. 45ab.

- The rationalists held that when the sultan was tyrannical he was liable to be deposed and the subjects were freed from the obligation of obedience. But the Sunnis do not agree and will not permit disobedience and revolt against an oppressive sultan.
22. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 77.
 23. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
 24. *Munis-ul-Muridin*, pp. 17-18; See also S. H. Askari : *The Correspondence of two 14th Century Sufi Saints of Bihar with the Contemporary Sovereigns of Delhi and Bengal, J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XLVII, Part 2, 1956, pp. 1-19.
 25. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 119-120; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 113.
 26. *Maktubat-i-Do-Sadi*, Letter No. 95, p. 492.
 27. *Ganj-i-la-Yafna*, p. 65.
 28. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 177.
 29. *Ganj-i-la-Yafna*, p. 58.
 30. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
 31. *Maktubat-i-Quddusia*, pp. 44-45; S. H. Askari : *Hazrat Abdul Quddus Gangohi*, p. 18, *P.U.J.*, Vol. XI, 1957.
 32. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
 34. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 169, pp. 335-337.
 35. *Ibid.*, Letter Nos. 10-11, pp. 15-16; *Ibid.*, 48, pp. 63-64 ; *Ibid.*, 119, p. 224-225 ; *P.U.J.*, XI, 1957, pp. 21-22.
 36. *Ganj-i-la-Yafna*, pp. 74-75 ; *Maktubat-i-Do-Sadi*, Letter No. 47, p. 417 ; *Ibid.*, Letter No. 72, pp. 458-460.
 37. *Sharh Abab-ul-Muridin*, ff. 428 ab.
 38. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 72.
 39. *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, p. 48.
 40. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 138-139. Rukn-ud-din on his way to Multan from Delhi court went to Ajodhyan. Shaikh Ala-ud-din, grandson of Shaikh Farid-ud-din would neither ask him to stay nor offer hospitality to him. Once Shaikh Rukn-ud-din caught hold of Shaikh Ala-ud-din. The latter had no alternative but to embrace him. On his return to his house, he bathed and changed his clothes. This man, he said, has brought to my *Khanqah* the stench of the court. Vide M. Habib. *Islamic Culture*, 1946, p. 138.
 41. Vide *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics*, p. 248.
 42. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 242.
 43. *Ibid.*, p. 256 ; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 411.
 44. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 156.
 45. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-43.
 46. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 156-157 ; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 13 ; *Khair-ul-Majalis*, pp. 141-143.
 47. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 92.
 48. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 186 ; *Iqtibas-ul-Anwar*, p. 181.
 49. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 112.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 480-481.
51. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, pp. 150-151.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
53. *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 49 ; *Iqtibas-ul-Anwar*, p. 172.
54. *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (Urdu), p. 356.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 254-255.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 359.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
58. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 298 ; *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 92.
59. *Maktubat-i-Sadi*, Letter No. 69 ; *Sharh Adab-ul-Muridin*, ff. 420 ; P.U.J., XII, 1958, p. 86.
60. *Maktubat*, Letter Nos. 113, 132.
61. When once the Bihari saint was asked if the Sufis used medicine, he replied that even the Prophets made use of medicines for the cure of illness. When once Prophet Moses did not accept the suggestion of the Israilites to use a particular herb for the cure of his physical ailment, then immediately came the warning from God : "You want that by your *Tawakkul* (contentment), you should not make my *Hikmat* (mystery) futile. So long as you do not take the herb, I would never grant you cure." *Bahr-ul-Ma'ani*, p. 82.
62. *Ganj-i-La-Yafna*, p. 81.
63. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 156-157.
64. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 251.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
66. Once in Delhi he attended the *majlis* of Shaikh Badr-ud-din Ghaznavi. No one in the meeting recognised him on account of his tattered clothes. When the saint returned home, some one presented him a new cloth. The present of cloth was accepted and he wore the cloth but soon he gave the new cloth to Shaikh Najib-ud-din Mutawakkil with the remark that he felt great pleasure in wearing the tattered garments. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 60.
67. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 212.
68. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 113.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
70. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 51-52 ; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 65.
71. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 238.
72. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 99 ; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 79-80.
73. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 131.
74. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 98-99.
75. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, pp. 106, 129.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
77. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 223-224 ; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 114.
78. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 14.
79. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 90.
80. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 169 ; *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 28.

81. *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, pp. 28-29.
82. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), p. 14.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.
84. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 129.
85. *Manaqib-ul-Asfia*, pp. 133-135.
86. *Rahat-ul-Qulub*, p. 20.
87. *Diwan-i-Ahmad Chiramposh*, pp. 37-38 ; English translation of the excerpt by S. H. Askari, *P.U.J.*, VIII, 1958, p. 18.
88. *J.B.R.S.*, XXXIX, 1953, p. 12.
89. *Ganj-i-la-Yakhfa*, pp. 34-35. The saint related the story of Prophet Moses and Abraham who received warning and rebuke from God, one for not responding to the call of help from Pharaoh, the enemy of God, and the other refusing to accept as his guest an unbeliever.
90. *Bahr-ul-Ma'ani*, p. 78.
91. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 238-39.
92. *Fawa'id-ul-Fuwad*, p. 135.
93. *Fawa'id-ul-Fuwad*, p. 70.
94. *Fawa'id-ul-Fuwad*, p. 65. See also S.A.A. Rizvi : *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*, p. 20.
95. *Fawa'id-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 84-85.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
97. *Khwan-i-Pur-Niamat*, p. 110.
98. *Maadan-ul-Maani*, pp. 8-9.
99. *Monaqib-ul-Asfia*, pp. 138-39.
100. *Iqtibas-ul-Anwar*, p. 237.
101. *Fawa'id-ul-Fuwad*, p. 254.
102. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 170.
103. *Hazrat Ashraf Jahangir Semnani*, (II) p. 117.
104. Ali Sher, *Manaqib-i-Mohammadi*, p. 56 (MSS. P.U. Library); S. H. Askari : *Contemporary Biography of a Fifteenth Century Sufi saint of Bihar (I.H.R.C. XXVII, Part II, Nagpur, 1950)*.
105. *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* (tr. Nicholson), p. 55.
106. *Maadan-ul-Maani*, p. 158.
107. *Fawa'id-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 161-62.
108. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 326; *Fawa'id-ul-Fuwad*, p. 78.
109. *Maadan-ul-Asrar* (Maner MS), ff. 73b-74ab; *Pr. I. H. Congress*, 1950, pp. 155-56.
110. Hamid Qalandar, *Khair-ul-Majalis*; p. 158.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 276.
113. *Iqtibas-ul-Anwar*, pp. 192-93.
114. *Khair-ul-Majalis*, p. 93.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
117. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 182-83.

118. *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*, I, p. 409.
119. *Ganj-i-Arshadi* vide *Current Studies*, No. 2, Aug., 1953 p. 89.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
124. *Ibid.*
125. *Ma'adan-ul-Maani*, I, pp. 202-03, *Maktubat-i-Shaikh Muzaffar Shams Balkhi*, Letter No. 172, f. 193a.
126. Vide *J.B.R.S.*, XXXIII, 1948, p. 103.
127. *Munis-ul-Qulub*, p. 80. See also *J.B.R.S.*, 1948, p. 102.
128. *Maadan-ul-Asrar* as quoted in *P.U.J.*, XII, 1958, p. 92; *Historical Miscellany*, p. 63.
129. Vide *P.U.J.*, XII, 1958, p. 92.
130. *Maktubat Shaikh Muzaffar Shams Balkhi*, Letter No. 173 f. 193 a.
131. What sort of bird (only) has entered the body, making its old jungle (habitation) lone and desolate? The bird (soul) picks up the pebble and drinks the water which is free from dirt or bad smell or does not feel agitated and has no desire to dwell in it permanently (Eng. tr. *P.U.J.*, XII, 1958, p. 95).
132. Although the month of *Jaith* and *Asarh* have not come, still the leaves have grown up to the length of a man's arms (You have prematurely attached to worldly things). You have, oh lady (soul)! forgotten yourself. You were one that did not feel tired on land and water (Eng. tr. *Ibid.*, p. 96).
133. *Maktubat Shaikh Muzaffar Shams Balkhi*, Letter No. 121, f. 141 b.
134. The one perfume seller pervades all the universe. If one loves and meditates upon Him he is freed from worries, meets his death according to his desires, and the soul becomes absorbed in love (Eng. tr., *Ibid.*, p. 95).
135. *Maktubat-i-Shams Balkhi*, Letter No. 172; f. 193 a.
136. God's way is good but it is narrow (difficult); the city (of God) is excellent, but it is far off. The Lord is good but subtle and, therefore, the body (soul) becomes extremely tired in attempting to attain Him (Eng. tr. *P.U.J.*, XII, 1958, p. 96).
137. What is deep down in the narrow well but still lakhs of drop of it are sold by those who strive for it. Fie upon the city of Mathura (where Jamuna flows) whence *Krishna* has gone away thirsty (Eng. tr. *Ibid.*). The line about Lord Krishna going thirsty without water in Mathura is very significant. Through such utterances the mystic saints found an entrance into the heart of the teeming population of India.
138. Not to speak of my house which is but a weak structure of mere bamboo frames, and yours too is without a strong support? The house is leaking right in the centre of the above and drops are

- falling in great numbers, i.e., our body is frail and life is transitory, death can destroy it, at any moment (Eng. tr. *Ibid.*).
139. I wish to burn the net of deception as well as your curved scimitar. When you do what you say, the dawn will show you the life (Eng. tr. *Ibid.*).
 140. *Anis-ul-Ashiqin*, f. 55a.
 141. *Ibid.*, f. 58 b.
 142. *Ibid.*, f. 65 a.
 143. *Ibid.*, f. 66a.
 144. *Rafiq-ul-Arifin*, ff. 9b, 11a, 12b, 13b, 15a, 16a, 26b, 28b.
 145. *Maktubat-i-Quddusia*, Letter No. 35, pp. 47-50.
 146. *Ibid.*, No. 72, p. 100.
 147. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 83, p. 124.
 148. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 99, p. 165.
 149. *Ibid.*
 150. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 72, p. 101.
 151. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 99, p. 166.
 152. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 159, p. 309.
 153. *Ibid.*, pp. 312-13.
 154. *Ibid.*, Letter No. 187, p. 351.
 155. *Ibid.*, p. 352.
 156. *Murshid Nama Vide P.U.J.*, XI, 1957, p. 29.
 157. *Mantakhab-ul-Tawarikh* (Ranking), p. 333. The extant pieces of Mulla Daud's *Chandain* have been published in book form with a learned introduction by P. L. Gupta of Patna Museum, Mulla Daud, a disciple of Hazrat Nisam-ud-din, the sister's son of Hazrat Nasir-ud-din Awadhi, refers to him and also to Firoz Shah and his Wazir.
 158. See S. H. Askari: *Qutban's Mrigavat*, *J.B.R.S.*, 1955, p. 458).
 159. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 144-45; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 55, *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 31.
 160. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 239-40; *Siyar-ul-Auliya*; pp. 520-24.
 161. *Mukh-ul-Maani*, p. 124, 154; *Munis-ul-Qulub*; p. 89; *Ma'adan-ul-Maani*, p. 196.
 162. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 137.
 163. *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 114.
 164. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 512.
 165. *Sharh Adab-ul-Muridin*, ff. 95a-106b, 361a-368b.
 - 165a. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 239-40.
 166. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
 167. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 491.
 168. *Ibid.*, pp. 491-93.
 169. *Ibid.*
 170. *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* (tr. Nicholson), p. 419.
 171. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 493.
 172. *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*, pp. 70-71.

173. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 227-28.
174. Abdus Samad, pp. 122-23.
175. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, pp. 63-64; *Ganj-i-la-Yakhfa*; pp. 122-23; *Bahr-ul-Ma'ani*, p. 12.
176. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114. Audition is a Divine influence which stirs the heart to seek God, those who listen to it spiritually attain unto God, and those who listen to it sensually fall into heresy. (*Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, p. 404).
177. Field: Ghazali's *The Alchemy of Happiness*, p. 67; Quoted in Tara Chand: *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, pp. 82-83.
178. *Iqtibas-ul-Anwar*, p. 222; *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, p. 13.
179. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 150.
180. *Manaqib-ul-Asfia*, p. 133.
181. *Bahr-ul-Ma'ani*, pp. 5-6; *Ganj-i-la-Yafna*, pp. 1-2.
182. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, pp. 205, 270, 505; *Ganj-i-la-Yafna*, p. 13. With regard to foot play Hujwiri observes that when the heart starts throbbing with exhilaration and rapture becomes intense and the agitation of ecstasy is manifested, then all conventional forms vanish. In that state the agitation is neither dancing nor foot play nor bodily indulgence, but a dissolution of the soul (*Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, tr. Nicholson, p. 416).
183. *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, p. 503.
184. *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* (tr. Nicholson), p. 417.

CHAPTER VIII

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS AND FUSION OF HINDU- MUSLIM IDEAS AND PRACTICES

Elliot,¹ in his preface (1849) to his *History of India as told by its own Historians*, spoke of "the few glimpses we have, even among the short extracts of this single volume, of Hindus slain for disputing with Mohammadans, of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed, of forcible conversion and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders and massacres, and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoyed them." He drew the picture, as he himself says, "from out of the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who seem to sympathise with no virtues, and to abhor no vices." The purpose of the learned scholar was "to make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule." It is a pity that some scholars of our country in their neonational consciousness, have taken their cue from the representatives of those who claimed to have given "the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation." Thus the Muslim period is described as one of long crusade against Hindu religion and Hindu culture and civilisation. Mr. K. M. Munshi, a distinguished scholar, writes: "It was one of ceaseless resistance offered with one relentless heroism; or men, from boys in teens to men with one foot in the grave, flinging away their lives for freedom; of warriors defying the invaders from fortress for months.... of women in thousands courting fire to save their honour; of children whose bodies were flung into the wells by their parents so that they might escape slavery; of fresh heroes springing up to take the place of the dead and to break the volume and momentum of the onrushing tide of invasion."²

Another eminent historian, Dr. A. L. Srivastava in his article *Hindu-Muslim Relations (1206-1526)* says: "Throughout the Sultanate period (1206-1526) a wide gulf separated the two communities and that, to say nothing of enjoyment of any kind of rights and privileges, the very lives and properties of the Hindus were in perpetual danger. If they could not be converted to Islam *en masse* or butchered in cold blood, it was because of their great numerical superiority and physical strength."³ In other words Islam has been interpreted as a religion of war out for extermination of people of another faith, a religion where there is no scope for catholicity and toleration.

Medieval chroniclers are responsible for the attitude of some modern scholars towards the problem of Hindu-Muslim relations. Hasan Nizami of the century opens his book: "Know that the decree of the canon law and the sanction of reason and intellect have made wars against the enemies of the faith inevitable, obligatory and indispensable; the virtues of *jihad* or the holy war are clearly made manifest by the Quranic text. Men of wisdom and sagacity have realised and known with conviction that the support of the church and state and the permanency of the glories of *Shariat* (the holy laws) are the inevitable results and the consequences of *jihad*. State and faith always gain freshness, lustre and splendour from the holy wars. Subjection and control of affairs are not possible without taking recourse to the sword. Perpetuation of the rules and regulations of the faith and the establishment of the foundations of the state go together."⁴ He further makes us believe that in all the cities and places the Muslims conquered, hardly an idol temple or religious sanctuary of the Hindus was left unmolested and not converted into Muslim institutions. Thus about the conquest of Ajmere he writes: "The foundations of the pillar of the idol temple were damaged and uprooted; and the places of worship with the images and statues were destroyed and their places were taken by mosques and *madrasahs*; and the rules and precepts of Islamic canon law were spread and given stability."⁵ Hasan Nizami was, however, not a sober historian and has misrepresented the historical facts. He was a great panegyrist. Speaking about the virtues of Qutb-ud-din, he writes: "You

can realise the position and stature of a head of the state who had washed out the filth or infidelity of the Indian earth by the water of his sword and had cleansed the whole of this country of prickly thorns of polytheism and the impurity of the idol worship and by his majestic power and valour he left not a single temple standing in the realm."⁶ He tells us that the idol temples of the places like Delhi, Merat, Benares, Kol, Gwalior, etc. and their vicinity were converted into places of Muslim worship and education.⁷ We are told that 1,000 temples were destroyed and mosques were raised on their foundation in Benares.⁸

The chroniclers would have us believe that the Muslim conquerors were good Muslims because their primary aims and motives in the wars and conquests were religious rather than political. The first encounter of Muizz-ud-din was directed not against a Hindu king, but a Muslim monarch.⁹ Even Muizz-ud-din entered into alliance with the Hindu ruler of Jammu against Khusrau Mali.¹⁰ The continuance of Hindu rule was tolerated in Ajmere, Gwalior and Delhi.¹¹ The instances of Hindu magnanimity even at the initial stage cannot be ruled out. We are told that when Qutlugh Khan sought protection in the Santur mountains, the Hindu chief, Rana Ranpal gave protection and assistance.¹² Dr. Habibullah rightly says that the description of the destruction of temples and construction of mosques had a propaganda value. It facilitated recruitment in Central Asia, and gave prospects both of religious glory and of wealth.¹³ We are told that *Fath Namah* or written accounts of victories and of the captives and destruction of forts and strongholds was sent to Ghazna.¹⁴

We get frequent references to *jihad*. The Quranic text *Jahidu fi Sabilillah* (Fight in the way or for the sake of God) has been quoted. But it does not sanction war of aggression. It is in defence of religion. Judged in the light of what the Muslims believe to be a Divine Command, it is difficult to justify the wars fought by the Muslims in India. Aggressive wars fought for territorial possessions and economic exploitation could not have the sanction of the Quranic law. Prof. Mohammad Habib has rightly characterised the wars of Mahmud as 'secular

exploits for the greed of glory and gold.¹⁵ Historical facts can be twisted to suit one's conscience. It is one of the tragedies of history that religion has been dragged for the gratification of mundane motives. "Islam's worst enemies have ever been its own fanatical followers."¹⁶ Discussing the nature of the various wars which the Muslim rulers fought, Dr. P. Saran writes: "We hardly know of any period or any region under Muslim domination in which very large number of Hindus did not fight in the armies of their Muslim sovereign. We can hardly find an example of a war which was fought by Muslim rulers purely on a religious basis and for a religious cause. Most, if not all, wars fought by them were actuated by political motives and worldly ambitions."¹⁷

In the time of Sultan Iltutmish there lived a great ecclesiastic named Syed Nur-ud-din Mobarak Ghaznavi. He is said to have propounded the State laws (*zawabit*) for the guidance of the rulers. According to him, "the kings should protect the religion of Islam with sincere faith; they should utilise the power, dignity and prestige of their kingship . . . in enforcing the commands of the *shariat* . . . and kings will not be able to perform the duty of protecting the faith unless, for the sake of God and the Prophet's creed, they overthrow and uproot *kufr* and *kafiri* (infidelity), *shirk* (setting partners to God) and the worship of idols. But if the total uprooting of idolatry is not possible owing to the firm roots of *kufr* and the large number of *kafirs* and *mushriks*, the kings should at least strive to insult, disgrace, dishonour and defame the *mushrik* and idol-worshipping Hindus, who are the worst enemies of God and the Prophet. The symptom of the kings being the protectors of religion is this. When they see a Hindu their eyes grow red and they wish to bury him alive; they also desire to completely uproot the Brahmans, who are the leaders of *kufr* and *shirk* and owing to whom *kufr* and *shirk* are spread . . . owing to the fear and terror of the kings of Islam, not a single enemy of God and the Prophet can drink water that is sweet or stretch his legs on his bed and go to sleep in peace."¹⁸

The ideas put forward by Syed Nur-ud-din Mobarak Ghaznavi for consideration if enforced were to affect the Hindus.

But it was considered as impracticable. Barani writes : "Balban repeated these precepts which he had himself heard ; again and again, before his sons, nephews and officers and wept bitterly. 'I cannot fulfil the duties of protecting the faith and how can I entertain such an ambition when my masters¹⁹ themselves were unable to protect the faith. But I can at least come to the rescue of the oppressed and have no regard for any man in the enforcement of Justice.'²⁰ Obviously in looking into the grievances of the oppressed no distinction of creed or colour was shown. In performing the duties of the king, they set a high standard of justice. It is quite evident from the observation of Barani which he puts in the mouth of Bughra Khan. Only that ruler can in truth and justice be called and deemed a king in whose territory no man goes to sleep naked and hungry, and who makes laws (*zawabit*) and frames measures (*mawazins*) owing to which no subject of his has to face any material distress (*darmandgi*) from which there is a danger to his life.²¹ Thus nothing more could be expected than this. And probably he meant what he said.

The State laws, so far as the Hindus are concerned, were best illustrated by Barani when he records the conversation between Sultan Ala-ud-din and Qazi Mughis-ud-din of Bayana. The Sultan asked four questions. One of the questions related to the position of the Hindus as tax-payers.²² Though Barani gives a communal colour to the matter,²³ Sultan Ala-ud-din was really worried about *chaudharis*, *khots* and *moqaddams*, who were the Hindu chiefs and evaded the payment of tax. They, according to Sultan Ala-ud-din, used to ride on fine horses, wear handsome clothes, shoot with the Persian bow and went for hunting and yet never paid the taxes.²⁴ Ala-ud-din decided that much wealth should not be left in hands of Hindus.²⁵ This attitude of the Sultan made him bigot in the eyes of posterity. But Dr. K. S. Lal aptly remarks : "A thorough study of the Sultans' character clearly shows that religious considerations did not prompt him to oppress the Hindus in any way . . . if the bulk of the population of the country as well as most of the landlords and cultivators were Hindus, it was but natural that the Hindus would suffer most from his teriff and revenue regulations

. . . . There is no instance to prove that Ala-ud-din oppressed some people simply because they were Hindus and favoured some because they were Musalmans."²⁶

Barani was in favour of an all-out war against the Hindus. Thus he observes: "The Muslim king will not be able to establish the honour of theism (*tauhid*) and the supremacy of Islam unless he strives with all his courage to overthrow infidelity and to slaughter its leaders (*imams*), who in India are the Brahmans. He should make a firm resolve to over-power, capture, enslave and degrade the infidels."²⁷ Barani was intolerant and an obscurant. He had his own narrow notions and ideas. He interpreted both religion and politics in terms of aristocratic privileges. He did not like that the low-born Muslims should enjoy privileges. He believed 'Piety is the privilege of good birth.'²⁸ He was even a great sectarian. When he was not prepared to accommodate his co-religionists it is natural that he would pour invectives against Hindus. So long he lived he suffered from this mental torture.

We get a vivid picture of the condition of the Hindus under Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq. Ibn Batuta tells us that a certain Hindu filed a suit against Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq that the latter had killed his brother without any cause. The *qazi* gave his verdict against the emperor and asked the emperor to pay compensation to the brother of the deceased.²⁹ Elsewhere we are told that one *Amir* revolted against the Sultan. Shaikh Shams-ud-din, a saintly and pious man, and his sons as well as the *Qazi* and the *Muhtasib* of Koel were arrested for alleged conspiracy. It was reported that the rebellious Hindus had also associated with them. The *qazi* was asked to give the names of those who concurred with the views of the rebellious *Amir*. The *qazi* dictated the names of many infidels. But when it was brought before the Sultan he declared: "This man desires the destruction of the country. Cut off his head."³⁰ Thus the emperor killed the *Qazi* in order to save the lives of the Hindus.

As regards the position of the Hindus under Sultan Firoz Shah, who is known to have acted according to the dictates of Divine law as interpreted and developed by jurists, the following extracts from *Fatawa-i-Firoz Shahi* throw considerable light on

the position of the *Zimmis* (non-Muslim subjects of the empire).
 Q. 'If the Muslim soldiers take some people captive in *Dar-ul-Harb*' (a country where Islam does not prevail) and want to cut off their ears and nose and then kill them, would it be conformable to law? A. No. Q. If a Muslim had non-Muslim *zimmis* parents, is he allowed to turn them out of his house? A. No. Q. If a *zimmi* falls ill, and a Musalman goes out to visit the sick, is he allowed to do so? A. Yes. Q. If a Muslim commits the murder of a *zimmi*, what would be the amount of the *Diyat* (fine for the blood) of that *zimmi*? A. It would be equal to the *Diyat* of a Muslim. Q. If an old idol temple has fallen in ruins and the *zimmis* want to re-erect the building there, will the *shara* allow them to do so? A. Yes. If the *zimmis* have an ancient idol temple in certain villages, does the *shara* permit the Musalmans to damage or demolish those temples. A. No. Q. If a Muslim is indebted to a *zimmi*, say to the effect of 100 *dirhams*, and that Muslim practises procrastination in the payment of his debts, does the *shara* permit the creditor *zimmi* to imprison the debtor Muslim. A. Yes. Q. If Zainab, a Muslim woman, suckles the child of an infidal, will the law allow that? A. Yes. Q. In case Zaid, a Muslim sells, according to law, a part of his building to Bakr, another Muslim, and a *zimmi* has got a redemption interest in that house, is that *zimmi* entitled by *shara* to claim that part by virtue of his right of redemption? A. Yes. Q. If an infidal prays to God for blessing, is it permissible for the Muslims to say *Amen* to it? A. Yes. Q. If a *zimmi* invites a Muslim, whose intercourse with him is only through commercial dealings and not because of friendship, to become his guest, is it justifiable for that Muslim to go to that *zimmi* and become his guest? A. Yes. Q. If a *zimmi* salutes a Muslim and says 'Peace be with you' and the Muslim returns the salutation by saying 'be that with you,' is it allowed? A. Yes. Q. Does the *shara* allow a Muslim to offer *salam* (salutation) to a *zimmi*? A. Yes. Q. If a Muslim is in need of something from a *zimmi* and saluting him says, 'Peace be with you,' will the *shara* allow it. A. There is no harm. Q. If a Musalman had an infidal slave,

is it obligatory on him to pay *fitra* (alms given on Id-ul-Fitr) for him. A. Yes. Q. If a *zimmi* has Muslim relatives who are in need of expenses for living, does the law permit pressure upon that *zimmi* to give *nafaqa* (food, clothes and lodging). A. No. Q. If a *zimmi* brings a waste land into cultivation would he, in law, become the owner? A. Yes. Q. Is it obligatory on the *zimmis* to pay the *Khiraj* on their residential houses? A. No.³¹

These instructions relating to the position of the *zimmi* show that the Hindus were not "relegated to an inferior position without any civil rights in the land of their birth,"³² as it is being interpreted today.

Instances of religious intolerance are also found in the writings of the period. One such case was that of Nawahun, a Hindu *Darogha*. He was a favourite of Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Nawahun made a courtesy call on Makhdum Jahanian of Uch when he was on his death bed and observed: "Your pious self is the last of the Auliya as Mohammad, peace be on him, was the last of the apostles of God." Syed Sadr-ud-din was intolerant enough to take these words as a formal declaration of Islam. Nawahun fled to Firoz Shah and told him that he would never be a Musalman. The Sultan consulted two or three distinguished divines of the town about the way of rescuing Nawahun. Shaikh Mohammad son of Qazi Abdul Mujtadi argued that Nawahun should neither be forced to accept Islam nor punished for his supposed apostacy.³³ From this it is clear that Sultan Firoz Shah was not a hater of the Hindus. This also shows that tyranny of religion is more dangerous than the tyranny of kings, and a Hindu could have the courage of his conviction and was prepared to face martyrdom for his faith. And there were also some liberal-minded *ulama* to back such men of faith.

Some chroniclers would have us believe that the glory of Sultan Sikandar Lodi consisted in the wanton destruction of Hindu temples. He is said to have destroyed all the temples in Mathura and other places.³⁴ As prince Nizam Khan he wanted to stop the religious practice of the Hindus where they assembled at Kurukshetra for a holy dip. Hindus refused to act

in accordance with the order of that prince. The *ulama* were consulted. Mian Abdullah, the leader to the *ulama*, gave his ruling against the interference of the Sultan in the old and ancient customs of the Hindus. This enraged Sikandar Lodi and he threatened to kill him. Mian Abdullah protested that his legal opinion should not have been taken when he did not mean to follow it. This silenced Sikandar.³⁵ This provides another instance of liberal minded *ulama*. Other instances of religious intolerance of Sultan Sikandar Lodi are well known, and there can be no doubt about his narrow outlook.

Dr. A. L. Srivastava tells us that as a result of the Muslim conquest lakhs of Hindus were killed and lakhs were massacred after the war, and lakhs of women and children were made slaves. Timur in one day killed one lakh of Hindu prisoners.³⁶ Dr. Srivastava has fallen in line with the rhapsodic Muslim chronicler. Moreover, we hardly know of any battle of Indian history from time immemorial when the conquering army have not behaved in a ruthless manner towards the vanquished. "To advance the misdeeds of others", says Dr. P. Saran, "in justification of one's own wrong conduct, is to betray sheer bankruptcy of positive ideals. Such attempts may mislead some, but can serve no useful purpose The naked truth is that all such kings did more injustice to the creed which they professed to serve than even to the victim of their aggression."³⁷

Reviewing the wars in the eleventh-twelfth century A.D. Mr. K. M. Munshi writes: "The Indian kings, all of whom accepted, at any rate in theory, the law of *Dharmasastras* as inalienable, waged wars according to certain human rules. Whatever the provocation, the shrine, the Brahmanas and the law were sacrosanct to them. War being a special privilege of the martial classes, harassment of the civil population during military operations was considered a serious lapse from the code of honour."³⁸ As against this Dr. B. P. Mazumdar tells us: "The insane craze for glory which actuated the princes to undertake frequent expeditions added to the misery of the people. Sacking of cities was very common. Paramars Bhoja's general Kulachandra sacked Anahilapataka. Somesvara I of Kalyana

avenged the invasion of the Chaulykya Kingdom by plundering Dhara, Ujjain and Mandu in the middle of the eleventh century In Kashmir several times rebels burnt and pillaged cities and villages In the city (Srinagara) which was reduced to a heap of earth there remained visible and aloft only the single great Buddha (statue) which, blackened by smoke and without its abode, resembles a burnt tree. The people crossed at that time the bridges over the streams holding their noses, on account of the stench produced by the decomposing corpses, which had swollen in the water The invading army seldom respected the private ownership of the crops standing Life and property lay at the mercy of conquerors."³⁹ Thus the deaths in battle fields or consequences of wars should not be construed as an indication of Hindu-Muslim antagonism.

Sultans of our period did not cause the death of Hindus alone. They did not abstain from shedding blood of their own co-religionists in political affairs. Murders, separation, calamities, exiles and punishment visited the supporters of the rebels against the ruling sultan, or unsuccessful aspirant to the throne. A few examples may be cited. Sultan Balban got Tughril killed along with his wife, his children, supporters and dependants.⁴⁰ Barani tells us about the killings of Ilyas' men of Ikdala by the army of Sultan Firoz Shah, as a result of which there cropped up heap of corpses.⁴¹ We are told that Hazrat Abdul Quddus was taken captive along with many saintly and scholarly personages, by the Mughal soldiers of Babar and an old man of 72 was marched on foot with a load on his head from Panipat towards Delhi.⁴² The ruthlessness of Islam Shah in dealing with the rebel Niyazi is best illustrated in the accounts of the chroniclers. When the Niyazis were defeated, some of their women were taken captive. Islam Shah disgraced them and made them over to the harlots in his camp. Once a week, on Thursday, for two weeks, Islam Shah exposed the Niyazi women in the Common Hall of Audience and the heralds and chamberlain used to call out aloud the names of the Niyazi chiefs as rebels. This used to annoy the Afghans.⁴³

We may close the controversy of the desecration of the temples and the massacre and killing of the Hindus with the

sensible and thought provoking observation of Prof. Mohammad Habib on the ravages of Mongols: The inhabitants of the great centres of Muslim civilisation—Samarqand, Bokhara, Tirmiz, Khwarazm, Naishapur, Merv and others were so carefully slaughtered (by the Mongols) that only a few beggars were left The mongols must have killed at least eight million men and women in cold blood for the establishment of their political authority It may be said with confidence that no Musalman bears them any ill will. Past wrongs, however great, must be forgotten."⁴⁴

Religious liberty:

A perusal of the writings of the period shows that the Hindus enjoyed a large measure of liberty with regard to their religious rites and ceremonies. Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji as recorded by Barani once said: "Every day the Hindus pass below my palace beating cymbals and blowing conchshells to perform idol worship on the banks of the Jamuna While my name is being read in the *Khutba* as the defender of Islam, these enemies of God and His Prophet, under my very eyes, are proudly displaying their riches and live ostentatiously among the Muslims of my capital. They beat their drums and other musical instruments and perpetuate their pagan practices."⁴⁵ This clearly reveals the personal attitude of a Sultan as well as religious freedom enjoyed by the Hindus. They were allowed to follow the dictates of their faith. Elsewhere, also Barani tells us, of course, with ill-concealed feelings of disgust, about the religious freedom enjoyed by the Hindus after the first ten years of the rule of Sultan Firoz Shah. In the capital (Delhi) and 'in the cities of the Musalmans the customs of infidelity are openly practised, idols are publicly worshipped, and the traditions of infidelity are adhered to with greater insistence than before openly and without fear, the infidels continue their rejoicings during their festivals with the beat of drums and *dhols* and with singing and dancing. By paying merely a few *tankas* and the *jizya*, they are able to continue the traditions of infidelity. The desire for overthrowing infidels and knocking down idolators does not fill the hearts of the Muslim kings (of India)."⁴⁶

Archaeological records show the existence of old temples and also the construction of new temples during the period under review. Cunningham mentions an old temple on the Bareilly-Mathura road. We are told of pilgrimages dated between the years 1241-1290.⁴⁷ The Aditya (sun) temple in Multan was re-erected when it was destroyed by the *Qaramitah* rulers.⁴⁸ It should be noted that Multan was an important cultural centre and was called *Qubbatul Islam* (dome of Islam). An inscription found in the Purana Qila of Delhi and written both in Persian and Sanskrit records the endowment of 12 *bighas* of land to Sri Krishna temple.⁴⁹ We learn from the *Fatuhah-i-Firoz Shahi* about the erection of new temples in the environs of Delhi. "The Hindus and idol worshippers . . . had erected new temples in the city and environs." "In the village of Maliah there is a tank where they had built idol-temple, and on certain days the Hindus were accustomed to proceed on horse back, wearing arms . . . They assembled in thousand and performed idol-worship. This abuse had been so over-looked that the *bazar* people took out all sorts of provisions, set up stalls, and sold their gods."⁵⁰ References are also found to the worship of idol in the villages of Salihpura and Kohana.⁵¹ Epigraphic evidences also show that Hindu gods were publicly worshipped. The Naraina inscription, shows the worship of Hindu gods in and around the capital city of Delhi.⁵² An inscription from Batihagarh tells us about the construction of a *gow-math* (cow-temple), a well together with gardening under the personal orders of Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq.⁵³

The author of *Tarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi* tells us that the Hindus were granted *waqf* by the government for the maintenance of their institutions. The *waqf* was under the management of five Hindus. They were also authorised to control and manage their own schools, so that they might properly make their students perfect in the arts.⁵⁴

These instances of religious tolerance and broad-mindedness should not lead one to suggest that it was uniformly followed by all the sultans, and all of them maintained impartial attitude towards the Hindus. But it would not be an overstatement to

suggest that the state was not influenced by religious consideration in framing its policy towards the non-Muslims. They were conscious of the injunction of the Prophet: "He who torments the *zimmis* torments me."

Employment of the Hindus :

Contemporary chronicles suggest the employment of the Hindus in the administration. We get many Hindu names in the annals of our period who held important posts. The employment of Hindus was deemed necessary. "When Qutb-uddin Aibak decided," Says Dr. Tarachand, "to stay in Hindustan, he had no other choice but to retain the Hindu staff which was familiar with the civil administration, for without it all government including the collection of revenue would have fallen into utter chaos. The Muslims did not bring with them from beyond the Indian frontiers artisans, accountants and clerks Brahman legists advised the king on the administration of Hindu law and Brahman astronomers helped in the performances of their general functions."⁵⁵

During the period of the Mamluke Sultans on account of their racial policy, it was not possible for the Hindus to get higher administrative posts. But a change occurred with the coming of the Khaljis. Amir Khusrau refers to one high Hindu official named Deochand, who in conspiracy with the Governor of Manikpur, had misappropriated the revenue.⁵⁶ Elsewhere Amir Khusrau tells us that Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji 'sent his confidential officer, Malik Naik,⁵⁷ *Akhur-bek-Maisarah*, with thirty thousand powerful horsemen (against the Mongols), and directed him to slaughter without stint and to shoot such an arrow at the accursed mark as might create a fearful rent in their work (strategy).⁵⁸ Barani speaks bitterly against the appointment of Hindus and men of low-birth to high offices.⁵⁹ Epigraphic evidence dated *Samvat* 1390/1333 reveals that Sultan Mohammad Tughlaq appointed a Hindu named Sri Raj as his *Wazir*.⁶⁰ Barani, without giving his usual comment, says: A *mehta* (Hindu administrative officer) was appointed in Karnal and its Rana, Kankhar, was brought captive before the court.⁶¹

"The Hindus," says Mr. Munshi, "remained in the sphere of trade, commerce and banking. The Muslims, however, in-

tolerant, had to treat the Hindu mercantile community with consideration, though it was inspired by self-interest and often grudgingly.⁶² Prof. M. Habib rightly analyses the causes of the prosperity of the Hindus in trade. He comments: "The establishment of the empire of Delhi—the growth of the towns and their industries, the securities of roads, the elimination of internal taxes—greatly contributed to the growth of the Hindu mercantile community. Under the old regime the Hindu merchants—a non-warlike community—was not a part of the governing class. It got no government jobs under the new government either. But it got the government contracts it wanted and could undertake. Ala-ud-din Khalji, when organising his economic reforms, had to depend upon the Hindu *nayaks* for grain and the Hindu merchants of Multan for cloth."⁶³

Barani refers to the economic affluence of the Hindus. During the reign of Kaiqubad the Hindu wine brewers of Koel and Meerut enjoyed a great profitable business.⁶⁴ Almost every Muslim noble was debtor of the Multani money-lenders.⁶⁵ In the Muslim State of Jaunpur the Hindus suffered from no social disability. Vidyapati says, "Many Brahmans, many Kayasthas and many Rajputs of various denominations, in fact, various castes live in their wealthy mansions. All are good men, all are wealthy and the governor of this city (Jaunpur) is above them all."⁶⁶ From these it is quite clear that while a certain section of the Muslim community dominated the administrative machinery, the Hindus had the monopolistic control of the economic life of the country. Barani complains that the Hindus are honoured, favoured and made eminent. They are given drums, banners, ornaments, cloaks of brocade and caprisoned horse. They live in palaces, and wear clothes of brocade. They employ Muslims in their service. Muslims beg at their doors. They are addressed in honourable terms as *Rais*, *Ranas*, *Thakur*, *Shah*, *Mehta* and *Pundit*.⁶⁷

Social intercourse :

'The Muslims,' says Dr. Tarachand, "who came into India made it their home, They lived surrounded by the Hindu people and a state of perennial hostility with them was impossible. Mutual intercourse led to mutual understanding."⁶⁸ As against

this Dr. R. C. Majumdar comments: "While the political status of the Hindus was not such as to inspire their love or good will towards the Muslims, the social and religious differences were so acute and fundamental that they raised a Chinese wall between the two communities."⁶⁹ But evidences are not lacking which show political cooperation, social cohesion and cultural collaboration between Hindus and Muslims. The period of clash and conflicts, mutual jealousy and antagonism for which political and economic reasons were as much as, and perhaps more, responsible than the religious factor, was a temporary phase, and a process of mutual assimilation and interaction of thought and culture took place. It was not possible for the two communities, however, alien in race, religion, traditions and culture to remain always segregated. Humanity, which constitutes one great family has the same desires and aspirations and the same impulse. Geographical proximity, neighbourliness in residence, and social conditions, needs and requirements helped not only the 'Chinese wall' to topple down but also helped the process of fusion and intermingling. The Muslim intellectuals and religious leaders were profoundly impressed by the Vedantic and the Yogic systems. Islamic mysticism in its Indian environment was not quite the same as the *Sufis* of the Islamic lands. The general Muslim mass could not remain immune from the beliefs and practices of their Hindu neighbours.

In course of time the Hindus and Muslims learnt to tolerate and cooperate with each other. We get references to Muslims freely mixing with Hindus. Once a *murid* (disciple) came to Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya with a Hindu and said: "This Hindu is my brother."⁷⁰ Elsewhere we are told that Khwaja Hamid-ud-din Sawali used to say about a Hindu of Nagore 'he is a *wali* (friend and favourite) of God.'⁷¹ A study of the hagiological literature reveals the meeting of the Hindu Jogis with the Sufi saints. We get an account of their discussion also. Evidences of social intercourse are found in the incident recorded by Afif about the visit of the Muslim men and women to the house of a certain Hindu of Delhi, indulging in "pagan religious practices."⁷² There are many instances which prove the impact of Hinduism on Islam and *vice-versa*. "Not only did Hindu religion, Hindu art, Hindu literature and Hindu science," says

Dr. Tara Chand, "absorb Muslim elements, but the very spirit of Hindu culture and the very stuff of Hindu mind were also altered, and the Muslim reciprocated by responding to the change in every department of life."⁷³ Khawjgi Khujandi, a pious and honest trader of Awadh, was a disciple of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya. He was a good Muslim but as an Indian he could not help being unconsciously influenced by the Hindus, especially the Jainas. His habit was that when he came out of his house he had the unrefined sugar (*Qand-i-Siyah*) in one of his sleeves and *Til* (an oily seed) and *Shakkar* (sugar) in another. He gave pieces of *Gur* to the *fakirs* who met him and carried *Shakkar* and *Til* to the graveyards and threw them in the holes of ants.⁷⁴ People paid visit to the tomb of the saints and tied strings on their mausoleum for attaining the desires. This was an age-old practice of the Buddhists and the Hindus. The Bodhi peepal tree still looks to be picturesque by such knots. We get references to two types of *Qalandars*⁷⁵—the *Jawaliqs* and the *Hyderis*, who wrapped blankets round their body. They wore collars and iron bracelets (*dastaklak*), round their necks and arms. The iron-clad *fakirs* have no *Khirqa* (patched frock) nor any garment on their body except a *langoti* round their loins and carry a blanket under their arm-pits. They had strange manners and practices such as walking on burning faggots, shaving their heads, beards, eyebrows, moustaches, and practising celibacy.

There is little doubt about the influence of Hindu and Buddhist Sadhus and Bhikshus on the vagrant begging Muslim *fakirs*. We get epigraphic evidence of pillar in honour of *Visnu* on Mount Visnupada (Visnu's foot).⁷⁶ We are told that a fallen hair of one's *Pir* (spiritual guide) was preserved.⁷⁷ Perhaps we get here the genesis of the practice of showing *Mue-i-Mobarak* still current among *Sufis*. A Suhrawardy saint of the Uch family claimed to have brought to India the so-called 'foot-prints of the Prophet.'⁷⁸ Stately buildings sprang up in later times on what was called *Qadam-i-Rasul*.⁷⁹ Credit should go to the Hindus and the Jainas for this. The *Qadam-i-Rasul* building of Gaur shows that the foot-print of the Prophet was an object of great veneration to the Muslims. It was formerly kept at Pandus in the *Chilla Khana* (a place of seclusion for the

saint) of Shah Jalal-ud-din Tabrezi. From there it was removed to Gaur by Hasan Shah in a beautiful wooden box-table, inlaid with gold and silver. It is still preserved in this building.⁸⁰ We are told that Hindus used to worship *Dharma Paduka* (foot-wear of Dharma).⁸¹ Among the Muslim families of Bengal, the younger brother when offering his salutation to his elder brother touched his feet.⁸² The *Mullahs*, like the Hindu priestly class, were considered necessary on various occasions. Mukundarama comments: "The *Mullas* perform the ceremony of the *nika* (Arabic word *nikah*) and get a reward of four annas and bless the couple by reading the *Kalimah*. He (*mulla*) takes a sharp knife, kills the fowl and gets a reward of ten *gandas* (ten *gandas* of *cowri* are equivalent to 1/3 of a pice) for butchering a she-goat, the *mulla* gets six *guris* of *cowri* (six *guris* of *cowri* are equivalent to about a pice).⁸³

We get many instances of pagan practices prevalent among the Muslims. Offerings were made to some imaginary *Pirs* like *Manik Pir*, *Ghora Pir*, *Kumbhira Pir*, and *Madari Pir* for the fulfilment of one's desire. Milk and fruits were offered to *Manik Pir*.⁸⁴ To *Ghora Pir* the offerings of clay horses were made so that the lame babies might get cure on account of the blessings of *Pir*.⁸⁵ *Kumbhira* (crocodiles) were given some eatables and meat.⁸⁶ We learn that Khan Jahan's tank at Bagerhat (Bengal) was full of crocodiles. People of the neighbourhood believed that those animals (crocodiles) were the attendants of a saint, and some, especially old women, believed that the largest crocodile was the *Pir Sahib* himself. The people believed that the crocodiles could bless ladies and their blessings were sure to be fruitful. Thus young women took bath in the water of the tank. Flesh of a goat or a cock was given as an offering. They painted a human figure on a stone pillar in the neighbourhood, and after embracing it, they took vow to give the first of their blessing to the crocodile. Thus the first born child was brought to the tank and thrown on the water's edge. But it was immediately lifted and taken home.⁸⁷ In Bengal also *Satya Pir* was worshipped by Muslims and Hindus.⁸⁸ Probably, the worship of *Satya Pir* (Hindus called it *Satya Narayana*) originated through the interpretation of the Muslim idea of a *Pir* and the Hindu notion of deities. These syncretic practices were the results of

interaction of Islam and Hinduism. The intercourse of the Muslims with the Hindu population and *vice versa* was bound to produce such results. 'The Hindus', comments Dr. Tara Chand, "offered sweets at Muslim shrines, consulted the *Quran* as an oracle, kept its copies to ward off evil influences, and celebrated Muslim feasts, and the Musalman responded with similar acts."⁸⁹

The process of social cohesion was not lacking. The Muslims imbibed many social practices of the Hindus. In course of time the Hindus and Muslims demonstrated that the two could meet and coalesce with each other. Once the Bihari saint Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Ahmad was asked whether the Muslim women were justified in using the vermilion on their foreheads in the fashion of the Hindu ladies. The saint replied in affirmative.⁹⁰ Ibn Batuta refers to some of Indian marriage customs while describing the marriage of a sister of Mohammad Tughlaq with an Arab named Saif-ud-din. The hands and feet of bride and bridegroom were dyed with *henna*. The bridegroom was taken on a horse in a procession for the wedding, and his party was not allowed to enter the house of the bride unless they forced open the gate of the birde after a mock fight. When the bridegroom entered the court-yard, he was taken to a pulpit where the bride was sitting. The moment he reached the first step of the pulpit, the bride rose up and stood till the bridegroom had mounted the pulpit. The bride gave him the betel-leaf with her hand, then gold *dinars* were scattered over the heads of those present there.⁹¹ We also get references to the *Jalwa* (bride and bridegroom exchanging glances from behind the hanging tassels of flowered wreaths) ceremony practised by the Muslims.⁹² We are also told about fixing the dowry. These are characteristically Indian practices which are still observed in Northern India by many Muslims.

Contact meant reciprocity of ideas and influences. Intermixture of ideas and practices were inevitable and could not be avoided. A great annual fair has been held for the last 456 years at the ruined Basarh stupas near Vaisali (Muzzaffarpur district, Bihar) which is the site of the tomb of Hazrat Qazin Shuttari, a great Sufi saint of Bihar. Garrick saw men of all

ages dancing round the holy spot with switches and fans in their hands chanting a dirge of some kind. He rightly thought these fairs to be a pre-Muslim festival as the occurrence of it is regulated by solar reckoning of the Hindus and not by the lunar year of the Muslims.⁵³ One might also refer to the annual festival associated with the cult of Ghazi Mian⁵⁴ which was celebrated by both Hindus and Muslims, particularly by mendicant beggars in Bengal. They sing and dance round a long bamboo pole wrapped in coloured rags and with horse's hair tied to its top. It is held not only at the tomb of Salar Masud, at Bahraich (U.P.) but also at Maner (near Patna) and other places in Bihar on the first day of *Jaith* (May and June). It was noticed by a Dutch traveller named Von Graag at Maner. Sultan Sikandar Lodi tried in vain to stop the annual procession of Salar Masud because of its being contrary to orthodox Islamic belief.

Islamic mysticism was one of the many streams of cultural influences that watered the Indian soil, and one should see the possibility of cultural contact with, and permeation of, Indian ideas in their thoughts, experiences and action. No deliberate attempt was made towards the spiritual synthesis of Islam and Hinduism. The Muslim mystics helped to shorten the distance between those who emphasised the ethical or metaphysical aspects of their faiths. It was due to certain points of resemblance between the Indian systems and Islamic mysticism. The ecstatic utterances of Mansur Hallaj and Bayazid Bistami as *Anal Haq* (I am the Truth) "I went from God to God, until He cried, from me to me," "Oh thou I, glory to me." "How great is my Majesty," find its parallel in the Vedantic and Upanishadic expressions like *Tat Twam Asi* (Thou art), *Ekam Advaitam* (one without the second), *Aham Brahma Asmi* (I am the supreme spirit). These philosophical concepts helped to bridge the gulf between the two communities. One day when Sheikh Rizq-ul-lah Mushtaqi asked his father whether Kabir was a Muslim or a *kafir*, his father, Shaikh Sad-ul-lah, replied "He was *Muwahhid* (monist)". Thereupon Rizq-ul-lah further asked, "Is a *Muwahhid* different from a *Kafir* or a Muslim?"

Shaikh Sad-ul-lah replied : "It is difficult to understand. You will (gradually) follow it."⁶⁵

The executions of Nawahun during the time of Sultan Firoz Shah, and of Lodhan,⁶⁶ a Brahman of Lucknow in the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, demonstrate the conflict between free thought and authority, between fanatical orthodoxy and mystic liberalism. The incident also throws light on the eclectic character of the Hindus and their responsiveness to new ideas.

In all periods of human history centrifugal tendencies have worked together with centripetal forces. Diversity is necessary for a further development of thought and culture. It is through the intellectual and spiritual frictions that new ideas can be generated and new directions can be given to thoughts and feelings, modes and behaviours. Attempts were made to evolve an integrated social structure, and the efforts to bring about the unity of the two communities were commendable, and there are reasons to differ from Prof. Qureshi's view who regarded the Delhi Sultanate as a "Muslim Empire" where the Muslims constituted as rulers and the Hindus the ruled.⁶⁷

The new conditions and ideas introduced by the coming of the Muslims produced a corresponding evolution in the domain of language and literature. They showed no linguistic prejudices, and took the credit for skilful imitation. The linguistic assimilation was hastened by various circumstances—social and political, which combined to produce the blending of the tongues of the two communities and laid the foundation of a new vehicle of expression. As a result of increasing association between the Hindus and the Muslims there was an exchange of new ideas, words and expressions. These gained wide acceptance in speech and literary works of the period. Muslims did not feel insult in referring to and almost glorifying the old lore and heritage of India. The new comers did not exhibit arrogance in the intellectual supremacy of their race.

Evidences available in Persian literature show that even before the establishment of the Turkish power the domiciled Muslims in India were familiar with the regional languages, and they made themselves so proficient in the Indian tongue that

they composed verses in Hindustani form of Persian prosody. Awfi tells us that the mosque and the minaret of the city of Cambay were destroyed and 80 of the Muslims residing there were killed by some Hindus at the instigation of the Parsi immigrants. Ali, the *Katib* and *Imam* of the mosque who had managed to escape, approached Jai Simha Sidha Raja (1093-1143) the tolerant and just ruler of Nahrwala. While the king was on his hunting excursion, the former submitted a *Qasida* in Hindavi,⁹⁸ stating the complaints. The Raja went in disguise to enquire into the matter and was satisfied with the veracity of that *imam's* grievances.

The impact of Persian language is perceptible in Hindi writings of the period. Chand Bardai,⁹⁹ the court poet of Prithviraj, in his *Prithvi Raj Raso*, used words like *Amir, Hazar, Zar, Haq, Sharm, Chashm, Firman, Shahr, Khabar, Ruz, Aqal, Pesh, Kuch, Aib, Fauj, Mahal, Saheb, Dil, Azmaish, Qubul, Lashkar, Darya, Nazar, Bakhshish, Zarf, Pesh Kash, Taslim, Asal, Naubat, Haram, Salam, Khalq, Qurbat, Khairat, Jang, Dast, Baghal, Bagh*, etc. In his *Kirtilata Vidya-pati* mentions words like *vandi (bandi), Vanda (bandah), Tir, Kaman, Dukandar, Shurafa, Ghulam, Mir Wali, Salar, Kalima, Khas, Par, Darbar, Firman, Taji (Tazi), Tez, Fauj*, etc.

Amir Khusrau felt proud of his Indian origin. He says: *Turke Hindustaniyan man Hindawi Goyam jawab, Shakkare Misri Nadaram Kaz Arab Goyam Sukhan* (I am an Indian Turk and I speak Hindawi tongue. I have no Egyptian sugar so that I may talk in Arabic). One feels thrilled on going through these verses of Amir Khusrau, who may justly be considered the first national poet of India. He felt himself as the true representative of Indo-Muslim culture of the time. Thus there were tendencies towards religious and social synthesis and linguistic assimilation which could not but pave the way for the evolution of a homogeneous nation. In these days of national integration one need not enter into the controversial questions. We should also avoid playing too much upon the records of clash and conflicts, mutual jealousy and antagonism.

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49. A.S.R., 1909-10, p. 131.
50. *Fatahat-i-Firoz Shahi*, (J.R.A.S.B.), VII, 1941, pp. 75-77.
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52. Dr. Mahdi Husain : *Tughluq Dynasty* p. 324.
53. *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in Central Provinces and Berar* by Hira Lal, 1916, p. 50, quoted in Dr. M. Hussain : *Tughluq Dynasty*; p. 334.
54. Hasan Ali Khan, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. I, 1950, p. 63.
55. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 137.
56. *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*, II, p. 46.
57. He is declared to be a Hindu servant. *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 150, F. N.
58. *Khaza'in-ul-Futuh*, (tr. M. Habib : *Campaigns of Ala-ud-din Khalji*, p. 26).
59. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, pp. 504-05.
60. *J.A.S.B.*, 1836, pp. 342-45, M. Husain. *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 335.
61. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 523.
62. *Struggle for Empire*, p. XVIII.
63. *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India*, Introduction p. XXI.
64. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, p. 157.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
66. *Kirtilata* (Calcutta), p. 14.
67. *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 48.
68. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 137.
69. *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan), VI, p. 624.

70. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, p. 182.
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72. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 380-81.
73. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 137.
74. *Khair-ul-Majalis*; p. 184.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 131 ; *Siyar-ul-Arifin*, p. 108 ; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
76. Mehrauli Pillar inscription of Chandra, *J.R.A.S.*, London, 1897, pp. 6-7.
77. *Fawaid-ul-Fuwad*, 6. 63.
78. Abid Ali Khan: *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua* (edited by Stapleton, Calcutta, 1931), p. 64. Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht is said to have brought it from Arabia.
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84. E. Haq: *Bange Sufi Prabhava*, Calcutta, 1935, p. 240; quoted in Abdul Karim: *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal*, p. 169.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 239.
87. *J.A.S.B.*, 1876, pp. 128-30 ; *Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua*, pp. 87-88.
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89. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 217.
90. *Munis-ul-Muridin*, p. 24 ; *J.B.R.S.* XXXIV, 1948, p. 100.
91. *Rehla* (G.O.S.), pp. 78-79.
92. *Lataif-i-Quddusi*, p. 13.
93. *A.S.R.*, XVI, p. 90 ff.
94. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, II Part I, p. 152, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, IX, p. 600-01.
95. *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p. 300 (tr. of the excerpt by S. A. Abbas Rizvi: *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India*), p. 60.
96. He said that Islam was as a true religion as his own.
97. Vide Pr. *I.H.C.*, 1961, p. 352.
98. *Jawami-ul-Hikayat*, f. 88.
99. *Chand Bardai aur unka Kavya*.

CHAPTER IX

BHAKTI AS A SOCIAL FORCE

The *Bhakti* movement has had a long history in India. As far back as the times of the *Katha* and *Svetasvatara Upanisads* believers in God looked upon the Supreme as personal god who bestows grace.¹ In the *Bhagavad Gita* too there is emphasis on love and devotion to God. The attitude of love to the Supreme Continued to be recommended in the *Bhagavata Purana* and even in late medieval commentaries on the *Brahma Sutra*. In the *Bhagavata*² there is a prayer 'Lord may our speech be engaged in recounting your qualities, our ears in learning your stories, our hands in doing service for you. Our mind in the remembrance of your feet, our head in bowing to this world which is your dwelling place and our eyes in gazing at the saints who are your living images on earth.' In spite of devotion to personal God, the philosophical outlook of the *Bhagavad Gita* and the *Bhagavata* is different. If the *Bhagavata* was a work of the sixth century A.D., it may be assumed that the *Bhagavata* marks a departure in the nature of *bhakti* which prevailed in the *Upanisads* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. In the early medieval period there is hardly any place for *Jnana* and *Karma* in *bhakti* in the orthodox sense. Among the followers of the *bhakti* form of worship, highest bliss centres round the attainment of grace of the personal God. In the *Bhagavata* and post-*Bhagavata* period there is emotion of awe in the devotee. It is the passionate devotion for personal God which becomes characteristics of *bhakti* in Indian religious thought since the age of the Alvar and Nayanmara saints. By the tenth century A.D. Radha appears in the north Indian inscriptions. Her emergence carries further the idea of a personal God as well as the concept of the intrinsic energy. Vaisnava devotees gained the satisfaction of blissful enjoyment of the divine spots. The Saivites too expressed the unqualified devotion for Siva.

During the period under review a few dominant characteristics of *bhakti* in India religious thought may be noted. The

Brahma Sutra was commented upon by all the four schools of Vaisnavas founded by Ramanuja, Madhva, Nimbarka and Visnusvamin (Vallabhacharya) to expound the philosophy of love and piety or *bhakti*. Vigorous efforts were directed against the idealistic monism of Sankara, who postulated the sole reality of an attributeless and unconditioned Brahman. It was, therefore, essential for the above mentioned Vaisnava adherents of *bhakti* to introduce dualism. In their efforts they succeeded in making a distinction between the devotee and the deity, and implying an emotional realisation of a personal God in the individual consciousness. None of the four schools of Vaisnavas advocated an attributeless deity. All of them believed in the *Saguna* of Brahman. The logic of Madhva can be followed from his statement in the *Karma-nirnaya*. He says, "Reason also be adduced to show that Brahman should be conceived as *Saguna*. It should possess attributes like omniscience in so far as it is creator of everything in the universe. Creatorship pre-supposes full knowledge of the effect to be, its accessories, nature of effort, the expected result, and the putting forth of necessary will and effort to accomplish the word. It follows that the all-Creator must be all-knowing, all powerful and capable of accomplishing whatever He wills. This is what "*Saguna*" stands for." Vaisnavas of north and south India held *Jnana* as a constituent of *bhakti*. They also were not in favour of the caste system. Devotion, and not caste, was necessary for earning the love of God. *Bhakti* egalitarianism is the characteristic of Saivites, Vaisnavites, Nath-Yogis and the non-Smarta followers of northern India.

Dr. S. K. De indicates the following characteristic of the Bengal School of Vaisnavism as presented by Jiva Gosvamin power of counteracting sinful acts, power of removal of nescience, causation of all merit like *Jnana* and *Vairagya*, *nirguna-bhakti*, identity with the supreme bliss, its bestowal of attachment towards the *Bhagavat*, and its power of producing the exclusive pleasure of the Lord towards the devotees.⁴

The cult of *bhakti* was followed by a host of saints of northern India. The moving spirits were Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and others. The leaders of the *bhakti*

movement of the early period were mostly of southern extractions. The *bhakti* movement associated with the earlier group was more scholastic rather than popular as was the case with the northern group. The *bhaktas* of the latter group did not ponder over the subtle questions of metaphysics. They were essentially eclectic, broad minded and latitudinarian in their views and outlook. Caste was not a factor in the new *bhakti* movement. Many of the *bhakti* poets rose from lower caste. Their message was both for the rich and poor, high caste and low, educated and illiterate of the humbler rank.

The *Bhagavad-Gita* says: "In the sight of God all devotees are equal whether they are born in sin or not, and to whatever caste or sect they may belong." Alberuni records the observation of Vasudeva on *mukti* (salvation): "In the judgment of the intelligent mass, the Brahman and Chandala are equal, the friend and the foe, the faithful and the deceitful, nay even the serpent and weasel. If to the eyes of the intelligent all things are equal, to ignorance they appear as separated and different".⁶ Elsewhere Alberuni refers to the speech of Vasudeva, who addressing Arjun, said: "God distributes recompense without injustice and without partiality. He reckons the good as bad if people in doing good forget him; he reckons the bad as good if people in doing bad remember him and do not forget him, whether those people be Vaisya or Sudra or Women. How much will this be the case when they are Brahmana or Kshatriya." Despite these injunctions, the common people were denied social prestige. Brahmins were usually the law givers. They assumed greater privileges and denied equal facility to the low caste ones. "Every action," says Alberuni, "which is considered the privileges of a Brahman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda and offering sacrifice to the fire, is forbidden to him to such a degree that when, e.g., a Sudra or Vaisya is proved to have recited the Veda, he is accused by the Brahman before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off."⁸ Manu prescribes: "A Chandala, a village pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and even eunuch must not look at the Brahman while they eat. The privileges of the twice-born caste were apprehended by the outcastes who were denied access to the sacred books. It is difficult to say

whether the members of the depressed class resented their degrading status.

Ramananda did away the insular social behaviour of the Hindus by throwing his spiritual door wide open for members of all castes. The observance of Caste rule was not necessary for devotion to God. Religion now became a question of faith, emotion and devotion. As a result of his teaching a member of the despised class could reach his God without an intermediary. Ramananda called his disciples *avadhuts* (the emancipated ones), as they had liberated themselves from the fetters of social discipline. He had many disciples. But Anantananda, Kabir, Pipa, Bhavananda, Sukha, Sursura, Padmavati, Narahari, Ravidas, Dhanna, Sadhna and the wife of Sursura were the famous twelve disciples.

Some of his disciples belonged to lower castes. Dhanna was a jat peasant of Rajputana. Sadhna was a barbar at the court of the King of Bandhangarh, modern Rewa. Ravidas was a *chamar* (shoe-maker). Ramananda broadened the intellect of the depressed class. The Sudras were awakened. Ravidas condemned caste inequality.¹⁰ He counted among his disciples a Rajput queen. The origin of the Nagas, who were ascetics and practised seclusion, and the Samyogis, who married and led domestic life, has been traced to the four disciples of Ramananda. They could dine together. They mostly belonged to the Sudra caste, but some wore the tripple cord of the high class Hindu, and styled themselves as Gour Brahmans.¹¹

According to the *Bhavishya Purana*, Ramananda took back into the Hindu fold many people who were converted to Islam. These re-converts were called *Samyogis* (the reunited).¹² Some historians hold that Ramananda did give up caste-distinctions altogether. But others opine that "It was only certain of the religious restrictions of caste that were relaxed."¹³ P. D. Barthwal is of the opinion that Ramanand's orthodox training did not permit him to go far enough to meet the aspirations of the Sudras. Ramananda in his *Ananda Bhashya* does not recognise the right of a Sudra to read the Vedas. "And in matters of social concern, he could not be expected to cast off the sense of superiority of a Hindu over a Mohammadan

and of one belonging to the regenerate classes (*dwijas*) over a Sudra. It was left to Kabir, a Muslim disciple of Ramananda, in whom the new thought found its full expression."¹⁴

It is difficult to accept the traditional accounts relating to Ramananda. From one of the hymns, preserved in the Sikh scripture *Granth Saheb*, it is clear that Ramananda rejected the ritualistic side of the religion. When he was invited to attend a religious service to Vishnu, Ramananda replied:

Whither shall I go. Sir? I am happy at home.
 My heart will not go with me,
 it hath become a cripple.
 One day I did have an inclination to go ;
 I ground sandal, took distilled aloe
 Wood and many perfumes,
 And was proceeding to worship God in a temple,
 When my spiritual guide showed me God in my heart.
 Wherever I go I find only water or stones,
 But Thou, O God, art equally contained
 in every thing.
 The Veds and Puranas all have I seen and searched.
 Go thou thither, if God be not here.
 O, true, Guru, I am a sacrifice unto thee
 Who hast cut away all my perplexities
 and doubts.
 Ramananda's Lord is the all

pervading God ;

The Guru's world cutteth away millions of sins.¹⁵

The hymn clearly indicates that Ramananda believed in the reality of one personal God. The emphasis is not on a formal belief but on the direct experience of God attained through the practice of *bhakti*.

Kabir :

The teachings of Ramananda gave rise to two schools of thought, the orthodox and the liberal. The orthodox school is represented by Nabhadasa, the author of *Bhakta mala*, and Tulāsidas, the author of the famous epic poem *Rama Charita*

Manas. The liberal school is represented by Kabir, Nanak and others.

Kabir, the most radical disciple of Ramananda, gave a positive shape to the social philosophy of his illustrious teacher. In his tunchant arguments against the barrier of castes, Ramananda prepared the way for Kabir. The latter made a sincere attempt at a religious and national synthesis out of conflicting creeds. Kabir was neither a theologian, nor a philosopher. He appears before us as a teacher. He had the courage to condemn what he considered to be sham and counterfeit in both Hinduism and Islam.

The central theme of Kabir's teaching is *bhakti*. According to Nabhaji: "Kabir refused to acknowledge caste distinction or to recognise the authority of the six schools of Hindu philosophy, or the four divisions of life prescribed by the Brahmanas. He held that religion without *bhakti* was no religion at all, and that asceticism, fasting and alm-giving had no value if unaccompanied by *bhajan* (devotional worship). By means of *Ramaini*, *Shakhas* and *Sakhis* he imparted religious instruction to Hindus and Mosalmans alike. He had no preference for either religion. He thought aloud and never made it his object merely to please his hearers."¹⁶

He thoroughly scrutinised the bases of ritualism. He incessantly fought to remove the ritualistic superstitions like visiting places of pilgrimage. He observed:

"What abode is that which is called secure,
Where fear is dispelled, and one
 abideth without fear?
The heart is not satisfied with pilgrimage
 to the banks of sacred stream;
Man remaineth entangled with good and bad acts.¹⁷
Nothing is gained by pleasing men; God is
 not a simpleton.
Worship the Lord, the only God;
 serving the Guru is the true oblation.
If salvation be obtained by bathing in
 water,

The frogs which are continually
bathing will obtain it."¹⁸

What advantage is it to both the body

If there is filth in the heart ?

If the gourd be washed at the sixty-
eight places of pilgrimages,

Even then its bitterness will not depart.¹⁹

Kabir equally rejected the Muslim ritual of prayer and
hajj to Mekka.

'It is not by fasting and repeating prayers
and the creed that one goeth to heaven.

The inner veil of the temple of Mekka is in man's
heart, if the truth be known.

Just decision should be thy prayers, knowledge
of God, the inscrutable One, thy creed,

The subjugation of thine evil passions the
spreading of the prayer carpet; then

shouldst thou know what
religion is.

Recognise thy Master and fear Him
in thy heart ;

despise and destroy thy mental pride.²⁰

He remonstrated the Muslims for slaughter of cows and the
Brahmanas for performing animal sacrifice.²¹ He ridiculed the
Muslim practice of circumcision and the Brahmanas for wearing
the sacred thread. One cannot become a true Muslim only by
being circumcised or a true Brahmana by only wearing the
sacred thread.²²

He was also vehemently against the system of giving feast
after death. Criticising the *sraddha* ceremony, he observed :

Nobody obeyeth his parents when alive, yet
he giveth them feast when dead ;

Say how shall the poor parents obtain
what the ravens and the dogs have eaten.²³

People of his time believed in lucky or unlucky days and
hours. People avoided taking meal in the evening. He advised
them to remove such false delusions.

Kabir was a great satirist and ridiculed all the institutions of his time. He opposed the popular belief in the institution of *sati*.²⁴ He was equally against the veiling of women.²⁵ Kabir refused to recognise the superiority of Brahmanas as a class. He refused to believe that birth in a particular caste was due to the deeds in a previous life. He advocated perfect equality of Sudras and Brahmanas. Both Sudras and Brahmanas were born in the same way. He wrote :

“While dwelling in the womb man hath
 no family or caste ;
 All men have sprung from the seed of Brahm.
 Say, O Pandit, since when hast thou
 been a Brahman ;
 Waste not thy life in calling thyself a
 Brahman.
 If thou art a Brahman born of a Brahman
 mother,
 why hast thou not come by some other way ?
 How art thou not come by some other way ?
 How art thou a Brahman ? How am I Sudra ?
 How am I of blood and you of milk ?
 Saith Kabir, only he who meditateth on God.
 Is a Brahman in my estimation.²⁶

Kabir provides us with a code of ethics. He condemned pride and selfishness. One should cultivate the quality of humility. Kabir was a spokesman for the poor and down trodden section of the society. He commended the sense of humility and simplicity of the poor, and condemned the vanity and pride of the rich. By such condemnations, Kabir preached the common brotherhood of man. He observed :

’ Nobody respecteth the poor man ;
 He may make hundreds of thousands of efforts,
 but no one will heed him.
 If a poor man go to a rich man, the latter,
 though opposite him, will turn his back,
 If a rich man go to a poor man,

the latter respecteth, yea, inviteth him,
yet the poor man and the rich man
are brothers.²⁷

He thought that the economic inequality was due to one's own actions. He says :

To one man God hath given silks and
satins and a *niwar* bed,
Others have not even ragged coat or
draw in their houses to lie on.
Indulge not in envy and bickering, O my soul,
Do good deeds and gain their reward
Out of the same earth, the potter mouldeth
vessels, but painteth different designs
on them ;
Into one vessel is put string of pearl and
into another filth.²⁸

The above-mentioned hymn repeatedly refers to the dignity of labour, on value of work and vocation. One should not earn only to hoard. Kabir spurned the miser. He says : Adding *Kauri* to *Kauri* he amasses lakhs and crores. At the time of departure from this earth he cannot take any thing, even *Langoti* is removed from his body.²⁹ Hoarding is despised by him, because "Hands closed he comes and hands open he goes. King like Bali, Vikramaditya, Bhoje and Visaldeva are witness of the fact.³⁰ He advised the rich to be generous and benevolent to the needy. This earned him the title of *Dayal*, the tender hearted.

Kabir sought to remove the distinction between Hindus and the Muslims. "He rejected," says Tara Chand, "those features of Hinduism and Islam which were against this spirit ; and which were of no importance for the real spiritual welfare of the individual."³¹ Kabir believed in the unity of Hindus and Muslims.

The Hindu resorts to the temple and the Mosalman to the mosque, but Kabir goes to the place where both are known. The two religions are like two branches in the middle of which there is a sprout surpassing them. Kabir has taken the higher

path abandoning the customs of the two. "If you say that I am a Hindu then it is not true, nor am I a Mosalman, I am a body made of five elements where the unknown (*ghaibi*) plays. Mekka has verily become Kasi and Rama has become Rahim."³³ The points of similarity as brought by Kabir may be disputed by the theologians but it speaks of his genuine attempt to bridge the gulf between the two communities. He was one of the best symbols of cultural fusion. Kabir despised the frivolous distinction drawn between *Kafir* (infidelity) and Islam. In the contemporary *Sufi* circle he was regarded as a monist.³³ He claimed to have known the secrets of the two religions, "I have examined the religious doctrines of Mohammadans and Hindus. They do not lay aside their bigotry for the sake of relish for their tongue."³⁴

The spirit of *bhakti* as manifested by Ramananda and Kabir brought the eternal virtue of love of humanity to the foreground. The main theme of Kabir's social philosophy was that humanity is a sacred trust of the Almighty. He possessed a very humane outlook. Naturally, his disciples swelled in number. "But it is not," says Tara Chand, "the number of his followers which is so important, it is the influence which extends to the Punjab, Gujrat and Bengal and which continued to spread under the Moghal rule, till a wise sovereign correctly estimating its value attempted to make it a religion approved by the State."³⁵ Students of history should take note of the views of Sarmad, Dara Shukoh's principle of "peace with all" and others.* Sarmad in his *Rubias* ridiculed the formal prayers. He sang :

Talk not about the Kaba and the
 temple with every one,
 And in the valley of doubts walk not
 like deviated one,
 Learn the form of worship from Satan himself !
 Take only one as the object of worship ;
 bend not before any other.³⁶
 He does not live only in the temple and the mosque,
 But all the heavens and the earth are
 His abode.

The whole universe is gone made about His name.
Yes. Wise is one who is lost in Him.^{36a}

Such verses added strength to the torrent of emotional integration which started with the medieval north Indian saints. The tangible result of Kabir teaching was that it widened the outlook of people and opened avenues for mutual adjustments between Hindus and Muslims.

Guru Nanak :

The *bhakti* movement in northern India, which had been gathering strength ever since the time of Ramananda, got another ardent *bhakta* in Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak was preceded by an evolution of ideas and he followed the path blazed by his illustrious predecessors. He founded a new religion which has survived as a permanent element in the Indian society.

Guru Nanak, sharing to the full the eclectic spirit of his time, sought for a creed capable of expressing Hindu and Muslim devotion alike. He used both Hindu and Muslim nomenclatures for God, Rama, Govinda, Hari, Murari, Rab and Rahim. He wanted to demolish the wall that stood in the way of the two communities and unite them together. He says : "When one remains and is removed then alone is it possible to live with ease ; but as long as the two remains established there is struggle and confusion. The two had failed, then God gave orders : for many had gone taking with them the *Furquan* (Quran) in order to unite, but they had failed to unite. Thou art my son, go into the world, all have gone astray from the path. Go then into the world, and make them all repeat the one name ; Nanak, go then as the third over the head of both. Establish the religion of truth and remove evil, whoever comes to you from the two receive him, let not life be taken unnecessarily, protect the poor, remember that God pervades the eight four lakhs of species."³⁷ Nanak regards himself as the prophet of God, who received from His door step the signs (*aitan*), the chapters (*surahs*) and the traditions (*hadithi*) of the prophet.³⁸ He drew to himself followers and lovers of both Hindus and Muslims.

Inapprehensible God is not subject to
death or destiny.

He is of no caste, unborn, self-existent, without fear
and doubt.

He hath no form, or colour, or outline ;

He becometh manifest by the true Word.

He hath no mother, father, son or kinsmen ;

He feeleth not lust, and hath no wife

Or family ;

He is pure, endless, and infinite, all
light is thine, O Lord.⁴⁵

God is exalted above all. "The Hindu and Muslim saints are the *diwans* in attendance upon the Preserver (*parvardigar*), the greater *Pirs* are magistrates (*siqdars*) and Collector (*karoris*), the angles are accountants and treasurers (*fotedars*). The gentleman trooper (*ahadi*) Izrail binds and arrests and degrades the ignorant and leastly men."⁴⁶ Guru Nanak was undoubtedly the great cementing force. "There is no Hindu and no Mosalman," said Nanak.

He conceived of God as *nirakara* (formless). He discarded the worship of images and repudiated idolatry.⁴⁶ Being a man of deep and strong conviction he defined explicitly the ethics, norms and usages of public life. He resented the survival of superstition which seemed to be a mark of cultural backwardness. He educated people to distinguish superstitions from religious values. The superstitious and formalism of both Hinduism and Islam were condemned.

"Cooking places of gold, vessels of gold,

Lines of silver far extended,

Ganges water, fire wood of the *Karanta* tree,

Eating rice boiled in mill—

O! my soul, these things are of no account.

Until thou art saturated with the

true Name,

Hadst thou the eighteen *Puranas* with thee,

Couldst thou recite the four *Vedas*.

Didst thou bathe on holy days and

give alms according to
man's castes.

Didst thou fast and perform religious
ceremonies day and night,

Wast thou a *qazi*, a *mulla*, or a *shaikh*

A *Jogi*, a *Janjam*, didst, those wear
an ochre—coloured dress,

or didst then perform the duties of a house holder

Without knowing God, Death would bind
and take all men away.⁴⁷

To the Musalman he said :

Make kindness thy mosque, sincerity thy prayer carpet,
what is just and lawful thy *Quran*,

Modesty thy circumcision, civility thy fasting,
so shalt thou be a Musalman ;

Make right conduct thy kaabah, truth thy
spiritual guide, goods works thy
creed and thy prayer,

The will of God thy rosary and God will
preserve thine honour, O Nanak.⁴⁸

Guru Nanak spoke against the prevailing Hindu customs of keeping a burning lamp for several days in order to light the soul of the deceased. That lamp was then floated on water.⁴⁹

He was not in favour of retirement from active life. The devotee of God was not to lead idle and passive life. He praised the agricultural labourer. He described them as cultivating the field with his plough while sweat trickled down his cheeks and body. Guru Nanak said :

“The oxen are disciples, the ploughman is
their *shaikh* ;

The earth is a book, the furrow the
writing

The sweat of the plough man's brow felleth
to his heals,

And everyone eateth of his earning.”⁵⁰

The agricultural labourer earned his livelihood by lawful means. In contrast Nanak refers to traders who traded in

counterfeit goods. Accumulation of wealth was condemned. The miser was reviled and Guru Nanak spoke against the habit of amassing wealth. What after all is the good of hoarding? "The miser wept at his departure from the wealth he had amassed."⁵¹

A man is the maker of his own fortune. There is nothing like predestination. "Whatever all may desire, a man's fate is decided by his own acts."⁵² One should live by honest labour. The system of begging was discouraged. In the eyes of Nanak they were the best persons, who earned their bread by labour.⁵³

Hindu Nibandhakaras considered women as impure. But Guru Nanak had no words of condemnation for them as such. He remonstrated one who reviled the female sex. He said :

In a vessel man is conceived,
 from a vessel he is born
 with a vessel he is betrothed
 and married

.....
 "why call her bad from whom are
 born kings."⁵⁴

Guru Nanak counselled women to be devoted worshipper of God, to be seeker of good name, to be virtuous and chaste and devoted companion of their husband. A virtuous woman is blazoned abroad. The virtue of a woman is not in decorating of her body but in showing love and affection for her husband. But while singing the praise of women, Guru Nanak is not silent about the vices of those widows who offered their bodies to strangers out of the lust for money.⁵⁵

Guru Nanak has become subject of controversy, so far as the question of Hindu-Muslim elements in his teachings are concerned. Be that as it may, it is certain that his teachings give unmistakable evidence of a happy blending of fusion of Hindu and Islamic ideas.

Chaitanya :

He was a great exponent of Krishnite form of Vaishanism. He adored Krishna and Radha and attempted to spiritualise their lives in Vrinda Vana. The love dalliance of Krishna with

Radha in the eternal land of Vrinda Vana flashed in his inward vision and produced rapturous ecstasy. Radha was conceived as eternal enjoyed and Krishna as the eternal enjoyer. Chaitanya's attitude towards God symbolised in *Radha bhava* (attitude of Radha was not that of a wife but of the beloved of Krishna). The *lila* of Radha Krishna sung by Vaishnava poets headed by Jayadeva, the author of *Gita Govinda*, Chandidasa and Vidyapati in their lyrical poems powerfully influenced Chaitanya in arousing love for Krishna.

Chaitanya introduced devotional music called Kirtan where the name of *Krishna* was recited in chorus. It has been said that when Chaitanya participated in such *Kirtan*, the participants felt as if they were in a sea of divine *bhakti*. Everyone present was spite of himself, carried away by the torrent of religious excitement.⁵⁶ In the *Kirtan* party, which was a congregational prayer, all, irrespective of temporal status, functions and wealth, participated. *Kirtan* provided opportunity where Chaitanya's Brahmana and lowcaste followers freely mingled in fellowship. It was indeed a great social revolution. He recognised that Sudras are equally capable of developing spiritual personality.

The Kirtan developed into *nagar-kirtana* (processional *Kirtan*) and it paraded the streets of Navadwip. Through the medium of *Kirtana* the Vaisnava devotional songs were sung in every house. In Gaudiya Vaisnava gatherings *Kirtanas* were sung. *Kirtans* cemented the bond of unity amongst different castes.

"The Chaitanya movement" says Melville T. Kennedy, "in the days of its first exuberance came near being a social revolution. It created a new spirit within the lower ranks of society that threatened the spiritual supremacy of the Brahman priesthood and their vested interests. In proclaiming the faith that in common worship and devotion men were bound together in a relationship that transcended caste and family distinction."⁵⁷ It is argued that although Chaitanya accepted different castes of Hindus as well as Muslims, but he failed to unite them socially. Chaitanya is said to have accepted the traditional Hindu caste system. Yavana Haridas could not enter even the precinct of

a temple. The attendants of the temple were not allowed to come near him. "I am a worthless low-caste", he said, "I have no right to go near the temple."⁵⁸

Chaitanya was himself not an organiser. He left the work of organisation in the hands of Nityananda. "Nityanand," says Dr. Sen, "was appointed by him to stay in Bengal with the sole charge of social reformation; Chaitanya had found the caste system eating into the vitals of our social fabric, and he and his followers were determined to root out the evil from the land."⁵⁹ "Thus we see that he was behind the great machinery of social reformation set on foot." Nityananda organised the community and admitted many so-called lower elements of society. Chaitanya is said to have remarked to Nityananda: "According to your own sweet will you have in you different kinds of *bhakti*; all people who are depressed, fallen, and of low caste have been freed because of you. The *bhakti* which you have given to the Baniks is desired even by God, by the perfect, the *munis* and *jogis*."⁶⁰ Raghunath Das Bhagavatacharya was one of the six Gosvamis of Gadiya Vaisanism. As a result of removal of caste distinction, many non-Brahmanas gave spiritual initiation even to Brahmanas in the post-Chaitanya age.

Women and Bhakti:

The *bhakti* movement also brought the spiritual enfranchisement of women. Redemption was not confined only to males ones. Lalla of Kashmir, Sita, the queen of Pipa, Janabai of Maharashtra, Mira Bai of Rajasthan are shining examples of women saints of medieval India. The history of Lalla popularly known as Laldeo, a Shaivite yogi woman roamed about in the scantiest dress, dancing and singing rapturous songs is well known. Her sayings are still looked upon in Kashmir as being the words of holy women imbued with mixed sentiments and spirits of Hinduism and Islam. Sita,⁶¹ the youngest queen of Pipa, after putting on the coarse garment of a mendicant, accompanied her husband. There are references to her spiritual achievements. The love and devotion of the saintly lady impressed many. Kabir's mother and wife were saintly ladies

of their time. Jhali, the queen of Chitaur became one of the disciples of Ravidas.⁶²

The hymns of Mira reveal her deep sincerity, rapturous devotion and passionate yearning for Krishna. Her agonising longing for Krishna whom she loved as Girdhar Gopal will continue to inspire love and respect for her at all times.

"I have the God Girdhar and no other ;
He is my spouse on whose head is a crown of
peacock feathers.
Who carrieth a shell, discus, mace and lotus, and
who wareth a necklace.
I have forfeited the respect of the world
by ever sitting near holy men.⁶³
Radha and Krishna dwell in my heart.
Some say that Mira is insane, others
that she hath disgraced her family.
Opening her veil and baring her breast,
she danceth with delight before her God,
In the bower of Vrindavan, Krishna
with the *tilak* on his forehead gladdeneth my heart.⁶⁴

Bhakti and Tantricism :

The *bhakti* saints showed great aversion for the immoral acts of the Tantriks, who prescribed the use of wine, women and flesh as essential feature of *Shakti* worship. Kabir called *Shaktas* as sleeping dogs.

"The *Shaktas* and dog are both brothers.
the one is asleep while the other barks."⁶⁵

To Kabir a swine is better than a *Shakta*. "The swine is better than a *Shakta* ; for it at least keeps the village clean. But a *Shakta* drowns himself by taking his seat in an overloaded boat (of acts)". Some aspects of Tantrik religion were unacceptable to the Vaishnavas. The conditions of religious life required reformation. In the *Chaitanya Charitamrta* the Yaksas were worshipped with wine and flesh when Chaitanya was a young boy. But criticism of Tantrika religion do not mean that Vaisnavas had nothing to do with Tantras. In India all Hindu religions have connections with Tantric *mantras*. The

essentials of Yoga are recognised by all those who follow the spiritual path. Vaisnava authors have repeatedly quoted from the Tantra literature.

As in all religious movements, the concrete social results of the teachings of the *bhaktas* can be determined by its impact on the actual historical environment. Dr. R. C. Majumdar rightly remarks that "at a time when religious ideas tended to become dry, lifeless, and static, and rituals and ceremonialism took the place of spiritual enlightenment, the teachings and personalities of the saints (*bhaktas*) galvanised the inert masses."

The teachings of these *bhakti* saints, at some places, resulted in removal of distinction between the higher and lower castes and outcasts in religious sphere. Chandalas and so-called Mixed Castes were admitted in temples. Women were allowed to give spiritual initiation. Hard words were said against formalities of religion and an attempt was made towards the Hindu-Muslim approachment. The contemporary Hindu society undoubtedly derived nourishment from the teaching of these medieval mystic saints. A new urban society consisting of Muslims and Hindus came into existence. The saints did not attempt to destroy the old Hindu religion and society but to remould the social institutions and inner spirit of the Hindu religion.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

| Page | Line | For | Read |
|------|------|-----------------|------------------|
| 8 | 38 | A distinguished | As distinguished |
| 19 | 26 | Hisan-ud-din | Husan-ud-din. |
| 20 | 4 | murshid | murid. |
| 21 | | Ulamas | Ulama |
| 26 | 6-7 | Nagpur | Nagaur. |
| 46 | 26 | rastl. | ratl |
| 57 | 30 | Patiala | Patiyali |
| 83 | 15 | Dukhil | Dukhit |
| 92 | 34 | (after) -Add- | |

Even a stern ruler like Ala-ud-din failed to root out corruption from the public life of the people. Amir Khusrau forcefully describes the corrupt practices of business people, revenue officials, judges, scribes and tax-gatherers. The cloth merchant kept false measuring rod, and at times cheated the people by causing the bar of the balance to lean on one side. The money-changers adopted various means to circulate the counterfeit coins. (*Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, I, p. 174). But Amir Khusrau refers to the up right character of the weaver class. The grain merchant hoarded the corn. They concealed the corn in pits in order to enhance the price. Amir Khusrau complains that barley has gone out of the market. This caused great hardship to horses. (*Ibid*, V, p-65). The agents of big stockist exploited the honest grain dealers. The former would force the latter to hoard wheat. (*Ibid*, IV, pp. 334-35). The *Khots* did not discharge their duties honestly with regard to the collection and assessment of revenue of the government. Amir Khusrau records the complaint of a *shahna* about a certain village official who wanted to get the sugar plantation of a certain lady for himself. (*Ibid*, II, pp. 247-49). Most of scribes made false entry in the register of the produce of the grains given by the peasants. They kept a good portion of the grain with themselves. (*Ibid*, V, p. 65). Even the official of the revenue department was not immune from the corrupt practices. The auditor of the revenue department kept and patronised some skilful writers who would help auditor in manipulating the accounts (*Ibid*, II, 46-47).

| | | | |
|-----|-------|-----------------|----------------|
| 101 | 32 | revenous | ravenous |
| 117 | 10-11 | for | far |
| 123 | 27 | tht | the |
| 141 | 33 | Rajashri | Rajyashri |
| 152 | 14 | Khawarizmi | Khwarizmi |
| 153 | 26 | logical | logic |
| 165 | 23-24 | <i>Tashrith</i> | <i>Tashrih</i> |

| Page | Line | For | Read |
|------|------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 168 | 22 | <i>Wafat Nama</i> | <i>Wafat Nama,</i> |
| 177 | 24 | Qazi | Qazin. |
| 185 | 2 | <i>Sils'i'ah</i> | Silsilah |
| 192 | 17 | <i>alam-i-u'wi</i> | <i>alam-i-ulwi</i> |
| 218 | 18 | or | of |
| 218 | 18 | Mali | Malik. |
| 221 | 3 | (after) -Add- | |

Sultan Ala-ud-din promised to give justice and protection to the royal *Zemmis* (*Ijaz-i-Khusravi*, IV, pp. 104-09). As recorded by Amir Khusrau, Sultan Ala-ud-din himself observed that in giving protection to the non-Muslims he followed scrupulously each and every letter of the holy book which says—"God Commands you to be Just, Kind and Charitable towards those who come under your protection." "Be loyal to the Command of Allah and be kind. Kind to the creature of God." (Ibid, II, p. 7) Ala-ud-din looked after the economic welfare of the loyal *Zemmis*. He took care that the *Zemmis* were gainfully employed. But at the same time they were directed not to be hostile and antagonistic towards the government officials. (Ibid, IV, pp. 112, 139-140). He gave positive instructions to the Chief of the victorious army to see that the army should not tread upon the cultivated field during an expedition (Ibid, II, p. 7). It is obvious that he did not discriminate between the Muslim and non-Muslim cultivators.

| | | | |
|-----|----|----------|-----------|
| 231 | 39 | Pandus | Pandua |
| 245 | 5 | tunchant | trunchant |
| 250 | 1 | made | mad |
| 252 | 13 | leastly | beastly |
| 253 | 5 | wast | wert |

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