



**SOCIO-CULTURAL HISTORY OF SUBAH OF  
ALLAHABAD UNDER THE MUGHALS**

**ABSTRACT**

OF THE

**THESIS**

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

**Doctor of Philosophy**

IN

**HISTORY**

BY

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ALIGARH (INDIA)

**2008**

## ABSTRACT

The Mughal Subah of Allahabad has a rich and varied cultural heritage. It occupied a prominent place in the history of the Mughal Empire. The Subah was an immense help to keep the eastern provinces, Bihar, Bengal, Malwa, Awadh well served in times of emergency and quell any rebellion. It was a great strategic point as arsenal and supplier of timely military succors to the operation areas in the east. A number of works on society and culture of Mughal India have been composed but no such study has been attempted on any Subah of the Mughal empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Hence, the present study discusses the socio-cultural history of the region (1580-1707AD.) under review is an humble attempt to fill this obvious void. It seeks the study of the political, economic, social life, Bhakti movement, Sufi movement, educational progress, Mughal extension of Architecture and paintings, Few documents related to *Madad-i-Maash* grant to temples or Mathas in the Subah are of great importance.

**Chapter-I** Discusses the major political events of the Subah; Uzbek rebellions, Afghan problems, prince Salim's revolt, Mughal relations with local Chieftain/Rajas.

**Chapter-II** Deals with economic condition of the Subah; agricultural productions, the main crops of various

harvest, nature scope of crop pattern, the measured agricultural land in *bighas*, collection of revenues in various Sarkars. The revenue figures in *bighas* are the special feature, industrial and trading centers, minting places are discussed. The promotion of trade and industry through the security on roads and opening up of better routes connecting far filling areas.

**Chapter-III** Deals with social condition of the Subah, religious beliefs, caste profession in rural and urban areas, social ceremonies, horses, food is drinks, pass-time amusements, beliefs and practices important fairs and festivals.

**Chapter-IV** Deals with Bhakti movements in Subah. The Bhakti saints; Dharamdas, Malukdas, Raidas, Tulsidas etc. with their efforts bridge the gulf between the two communities as well as upper and lower classes of society

**Chapter-V** Deals with Sufi movement in the Subah, the life and works of the Sufis, ideology and theosophy of the Sufi orders particularly Suhrwardy, Chishti, Naqshbandi, Qadri had contributed to society. They established their Silsilahs and the Khanqahs in various center to guide mankind to a pure and pious life of inner felicity, contentment and seeking the maximum good of the humanity. The annual Urs of the saints were also held with great reverence and adherence.

**Chapter VI** Deals with educational development under the Mughals. The Ulema and Muslims divines contributed tremendously in this field. The Subah had Madarsa, Khanqahs, Mathas in important cities like Jaunpur, Banaras, Allahabad etc. as seat of learning. The stipend , *Madad-i-Maash* grant to individuals and institutions by the munificence of the state nobility and individuals. It was indeed in view of this stupendous literary and educational zeal and activity that the Shah Jahan used to remark that the “*Purab Shiraz Mumalkat*”( east was the Shiraz of our realm). The method of teaching growth of religious literature. The contribution of the scholars of the Subah to the development of religious sciences of Tafsir, Hadith, Fiqh, poetry, Tazkirah, Arabic and Persian literature, enormous literature on Sufism.

**Chapter-VII** deals with Mughal architectural extension in this region with the foundation & renovation of many buildings forts, gardens bridges etc.

**Chapter-VIII** Deals with paintings, prince Salims studio and its productions.

**Chapter-IX** Discusses some important Sanad and Farmans land grants in the turn of *madad-i-maash* etc. which were granted to temples, Maths and scholars of the region under review.

The customary chapter of conclusion has been dispensed with and introduction contains a detail description of

historical importance of the region and formation of the Subah under review.

The Subah Allahabad had a very significant unit of the Mughal Empire. Through out the Mughal rule it was the centre of political activities. Meanwhile, Mughal established peaceful relationship with the local chieftains/Raja. The trade & Commerce given boom to the growth of economy in the region. Due to the efforts of the rulers, local chiefs and mystics, Hindu Muslim lived together in peaceful manner, and influenced the way of life of each other the preaching of Bhakti and Sufi saints paved the way for spiritual development.

A variety of source material have been used for the preparation of present study, the historical records, foreign travelers account and particularly indigenous Bhakti, Sufi literature

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### Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Socio-Cultural History of Subah of Allahabad under the Mughals**” submitted by **Mr. Mohammad Zafar Minhaj** for the award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History under my supervision.

This is the original work of the candidate. In my opinion this work is worthy for submission for award of the Doctor of Philosophy in History.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tariq Ahmad'.

**(Prof. Tariq Ahmad)**  
Supervisor

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## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

At the outset I bow before Almighty, the Lord of the World, who has taught the use of the pen, and whose benign benediction granted me the courage, patience and strength to embark upon this work and carry it to its successful completion.

It is good fortune and a matter of pride and privilege for me to have the esteemed supervision of Dr. Tariq Ahmad, Prof. Department of History Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, whose rigorous training and constant encouragement were solely instrumental in getting the work completed. I wish to express my sincere thanks and deep sense of gratitude for his most readily accessible, intelligent, invaluable suggestions, discussions and spiritual as well as scholarly guidance, which he offered to me in the midst of his busy schedule. I was providential to get a life time opportunity to work under his knowledgeable supervision. I take this opportunity to put on record my profound indebtedness to him.

I immensely grateful to Prof. B.L.Badhani, Chairman and Coordinator, CAS, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University Aligarh, for providing me all the possible facilities available in the department in carrying out this work and encouragement in pursuit of course of study.



I cannot pay what I owe to Dr. Ali Athar (Reader, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh and Dr. Mohd. Iliyas Khan (Reader, Department of Psychology, AMU) whose helpful discussion, constructive criticism, benefited a lot during the course of this work.

My deep sense of gratitude to my teachers and well wisher Prof. Iqbal Husain, Prof.R.K. Trivedi, Prof. Afzal Husain, Prof.S.M. Azizuddin Husain, Prof. Asghar Abbas, Prof. S.N.Sinha, Prof. S.P.Verma, Prof. R.A.Alavi, Prof. Ishtiyag Ahmad Zilli, Prof. M. Zahid Prof. Abusufiyan Zilli, Dr. S.L.H.Moini, Dr. Iqbal Sabir, Dr. Malik Raihan, Mr. M.K.Zaman, Mr.Subhanullah

It is my pleasure to express my heartiest appreciation to my friends and colleagues, who have been actively involved in offering suggestion or reviewing and commenting on my thesis from time to time.

As there have been numerous direct and indirect contributions to this study, I would like to take this opportunity to express my gracious concern towards all those people. Who have helped in various ways throughout the development stages of this thesis.

I am thankful to U.G.C. and Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) New Delhi, for providing me financial assistance in the form of Junior Research Fellowship (J.R.F.) during my research program.

I am also thankful to Library Staff of the CAS, Department of History and Maulana Azad Library, AMU Aligarh who were always ready to extend their co-operation in my research work.

I feel a deep sense of gratitude to my parents, who have been dreaming for quite a long time for my success. They have done everything possible to see me at this place. They have always helped me in good and bad times alike to keep me focused towards my goal. The completion of this thesis would have been rather impossible without their whole hearted support, encouragement and sacrifice during the tough and easier phases of this project. I feel shortage of words to pay thanks to them.

Finally, I express my indebtedness to my glorious and esteemed institution, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh and my homage to its founder Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.

Date: 31/12/08

*Zafar*  
(Mohammad Zafar Minhaj)

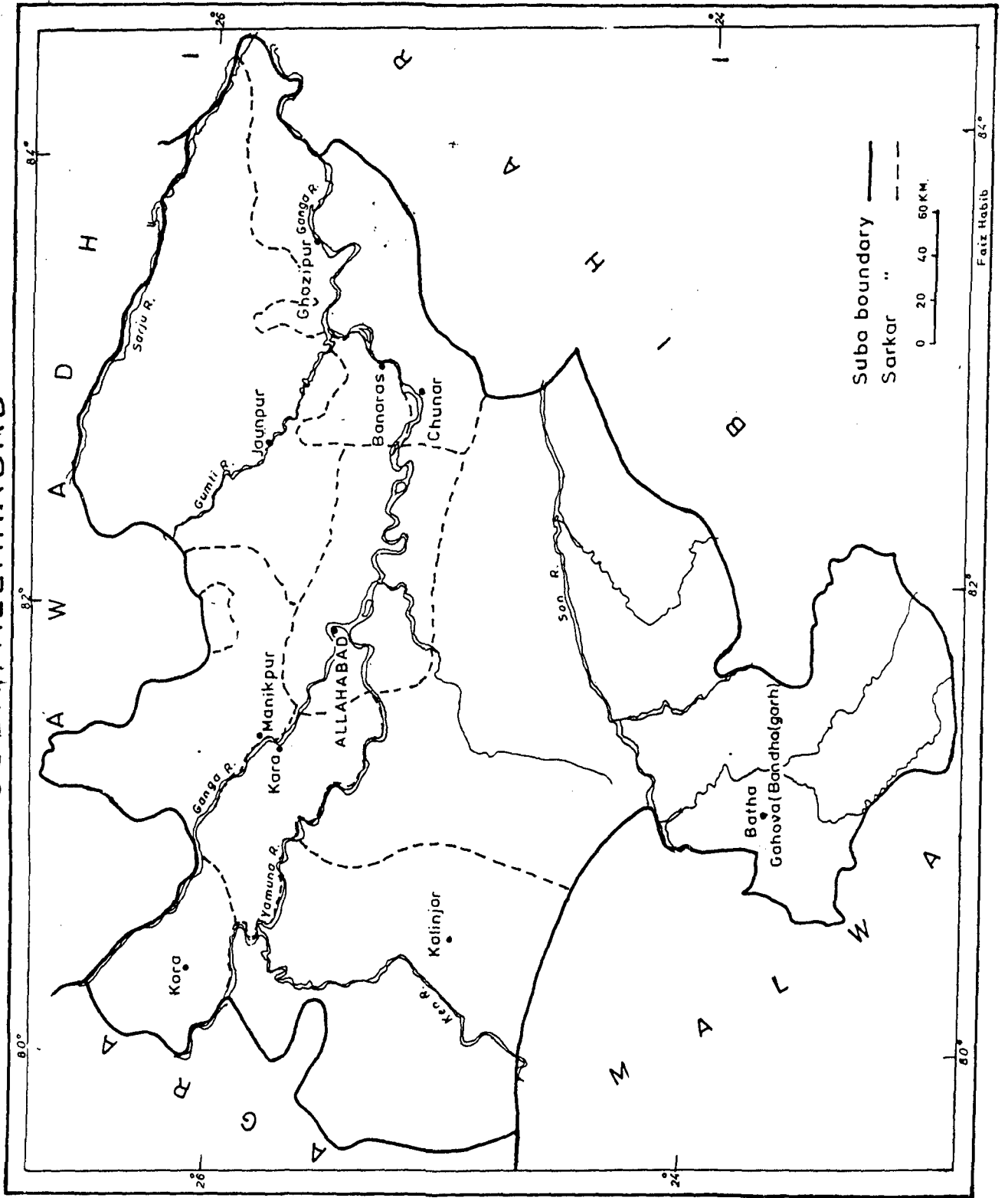
## ABBREVIATIONS

I.H.C.	=	Indian History Congress (Proceeding)
I.C.	=	Islamic Culture.
I.Q.,	=	Islamic Quarterly
J.I.H.	=	Journal of Indian History.
I.A.	=	Indian Antiquary.
S.I.	=	Studies Islamica
F.N.	=	Fikr-o-Nazar.
K.G.	=	Kabir Granthavli
S.K.	=	Sant Kabir.
Tuzuk	=	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri
Ain	=	Ain-i-Akbari
M.U.	=	Maathir-ul-Umra.
Badauni	=	Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh
Tabqat	=	Tabqat-i-Akbari.
De Laet	=	The Empire of the Great Mogol
Naqvi	=	Urban Centers and Industries in Upper India.
Tr.	=	Translation
Pub.	=	Published

## ILLUSTRATIONS

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# SUBAH ALLAHABAD



## INTRODUCTION

The region under review is an ancient land with a rich and varied cultural heritage. History and legend have contributed to lend its glory and splendour, fill its annals with spectacular facets of adventure, altruism, religious fervor, social advancement and cultural efflorescence. From times immemorial, this region has melody of balled songs and spiritual out pouring of the sages and saints, as well as epics and scriptures unfolding the wisdom and knowledge accumulated in ancient past.

Some places of the region are pride of India i.e. Kashi and Prayag (Allahabad). Kashi; the city of lord is believed that lord Shiva and his associates live invisibly in the rhythm of the city. This city also denoted by different names at different times, the two names Kashi or Varanasi are most common. It possessed the spirit of divinity, the myths and traditions have maintained the vibration of life since time immemorial. Another, Prayag, is eulogized in *Puranic* mythologies as the *Tirathraj*, the King of all sacred places among Hindu masses, situated picturesquely at the confluence of rives Ganga, Jamuna and invisible Saraswati. The tradition of Rama, sita and Lachmana are very closed to this place. The unique contributions of Malik Mohd. Jaisi, Tulsidas Dharamdas, Malukdas and Raidas whose impact on literature and folklore, popular

songs and music, growth of Rama cult and vaishnavait and Shaivait ideology has been profound and abiding.

**Historical importance of the region:**

The region under review, throughout the medieval period was the centre of political activities. In 1194, after the defeat of Jaichand of Kannauj, Muslims advanced to places like Kara, Banaras Manikpur etc. and in 1202 after the capture of Kalinjar Muslim supremacy gradually established in this region. In 1225AD. Sultan Iltutmish appointed his eldest son Nasiruddin Mahmood governor of this region who subdued local chieftens of the neighboring areas. Now Kara became the capital of region and it retained the position till the foundation of Allahabad more than three centuries later.

Ulugh Khan (later Known as Balban) proceeded on his victorious expedition against a Hindu chief, Daluki Maluki, who held the territory Jamuna & Kalinjar, the territory was handed over to Mubark Aibak (Brother of Balban) in 1253 A.D. From this time *kara* was usually combined with *Manikpur* so that the government must have extended for some distance to the north of the *Ganges* During his strong reign, no mention is made about any special event in this region. After his death, in confusion Malik Chhaju, Balban's nephew proclaimed himself Sultan at Kara and assumed the title of Mughis-uddin, marched towards Delhi but in the way, was defeated by Jalaluddin Firoz Khalji. He had appointed his

nephew Alauddin Governor of this region who later on followed Malik Chajju footsteps, collected huge force and went victorious expeditions in South, leaving Alaul Mulk incharge of Kara. Though warned as to his nephew's designs the Sultan Jalaluddin Firoz came to meet Alauddin for his success at Kara on the north bank of Ganges, was brutally murdered. Alauddin ascended the throne of Delhi.

In 1325, Muhammad bin Tughlaq led his army ravaged areas from Kannauj to Dalamau. The governor of Kara, Nizam Main raised a revolt but speedily over thrown by *Ain-ul-Mulk* who then command of Awadh. Firoz Shah Tughlaq had visited Awadh in the course of expedition of Bengal and it was during his stay of six months that he founded the city of Jaunpur. Some territorial readjustments and administrative reassignments were affected in this region.

The King granted *Iqtas* to nobles in the vicinity of Jaunpur which was made headquarter of the district. As the city population and prosperity grew, it became prominent in the eastern region.

The process of disintegration that had set in during the last decades of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign acquired dangerous dimensions after the death of Firoz Shah in 1388 A.D. Central authority collapsed. Taking the advantage of this state of flux *Khwaja Jahan* on whom Firoz Shah's Younger son Muhammad Shah had conferred the title of *Sultan-us Sharq*,



founded Sharqi kingdoms in this region in 1394 AD. five years before the invasion of Taimur.

Khwaja Jahan took possession of nearly all the eastern territories including Qannauj, Kara, Dalamau, Jaunpur etc. His successors ruled the kingdom with vigorous ability and their strong government and patronage of local cultural institutions contributed to the prosperity and happiness of the people. For hundred years *Sharqi* kingdom enjoyed independence from external authority, till it came under heavily military pressure of the lodi kings and was finally liquidated by Bahlul lodi in 1484 AD. Sultan Bahlul lodi gradually brought the whole eastern land under his direct control and appointed his own faithful officers as *Muqtas* in the annexed territories. After the death of Bahlul the confusion was accentuated by quarrels among the ladies in 1488. Although Bahlul had be-queathed the throne to his son Sikandar but Barbak, who was installed at Jaunpur considered his claim superior and attempted to establish it by force. He was defeated, and his governor Mubarak Khan driven out but was captured at the crossing from Jhusi to Prayag. Sikandar under took an expedition against Chunnar, Kantit, Kara, Panna Banaras and Bathghora all the territories brought under his sway in 1499 A.D.

On the termination of Ibrahim Lodi's rule over Delhi and Agra the whole of northern India did not come directly under the control and possession of Babar without hard and prolonged struggle. The Lohanis

and other clan reunited their forces and raised Bahadur Khan, the son of Darya Khan Lohani to the throne of Jaunpur. In 1527 Mahmud, a son of Sikandar lodi assumed the title of *Sultan* and led the confederacy of Afghan and Rajputs but were crushed by Babar. In 1528 Babur dispatched Humayon eastwards with the result Jaunpur was retaken. Babar soon realized that it is difficult to maintain vigilance over the activities of Afghans who were gathered under the command of Biyazid Bibon and Maroof Farmuli. He therefore devised the policy of conciliation with chief of the fallen dynasty by assigning them revenue on the obvious condition of their submission to his suzerainty. In pursuit of this, he granted Firoz Khan Sarangkhani one forty six Lakhs five thousands *tankas* from the revenue of Jaunpur. Like wise Shaikh Bayazid received grant of one *Karor* forty eight lakhs and forty thousands *Tankas*. Mahmood Khan ninety lakhs and thirty five thousands Tankas from Ghazipur. The administration of Jaunpur which had the total income of Forty Lacs Eight Thousands Thirty Three Hundred (400833) *Tankas* was placed in the hands of Sultan Junaid Barlas and Shah Mir.

When Babar died in 1530, Afghan forces restarted their political activities. In 1531 Mahmood Lodi enlisted his aid for the recovery of Jaunpur while Humayon was engaged in the siege of Kalinjar, on this condition Sher Khan joined Mahmood but later on treacherously withdrew his troops to Chunar, Mahmood was totally defeated. In 1535,

Humayon returned from Gujarat and laid the siege of Chunar for six months and the fortress fell into his hand. Beg Mirak was made over charge of it and Humayon halted sometime in Banaras.

Meanwhile, Sher Khan attacked the Mughal garrisons in the emperor's rear, Banaras, Jaunpur captured by Sher Khan killed Mughal Governors and marched to Agra. Humayon was defeated at Kannauj from there he fled and in 1540 Sher Khan became ruler of Hindustan.

In 1556, Humayon returned and Akbar defeated Haimu, acquired Delhi and Agra. The conquest of the east was accomplished gradually and in 1559 Ali Quli Khan drove out the Afghans from Jaunpur and Banaras and established Mughal authority over this region.

Through out the early Mughal ruler in India, the rulers always paid attention to possess this region at any cost, due to its strategic importance from here, they can control all over Awadh, Malwa, Bihar and Bengal's territories.

When Akbar conquered this territory he faced problems because Jaunpur and its adjoining areas were stronghold of Afghans and Uzbeks and time to time they create problems or raised the banner of revolt. Probably to reduce the political importance of Jaunpur, he formed a separate territorial boundary with its headquarter at Allahabad in 1580 and called it Subah Allahabad.

The geographical boundaries of the Subah extend up to the banks of river Ghagra in the north, Chausa ferry in the east, Ghatampur in the west and Kaimur hills in the South. The topography of the region can be divided into two parts as north and south. The north portion which lay between the river Ghagra, Jamuna, Ghatampur in the west was famous for its fertility and the south part of the Subah which lay between the river Jamuna in the north approaches Kaimur hills in the south. This portion of the Subah constituted Chunar, Kalinjar, Kantit, Bandogarh. There are detached rocks or hills scattered all over the area and covered with forests.

During Akbar's reign Subah comprised ten Sarkars consisting 177 Mahals. Later on it were increased as 17 Sarkar, 269 Mahals till Aurangzeb's time in 1707. A number of strong fortresses were in the region, Kara on the west, Mahoba, Kalinjar in the south-west, Bandogarh in the South and Chunar in the South-east. The Subah comprising the modern districts of Allahabad, Azamgarh, Banda, Banaras, Fatehpur, Ghazipur Hamirpur, Jaunpur Mirzapur, Rai Baraily and the Rewa State.

The purpose of present study to explore the socio-cultural environment of the Subah (1580-1707AD). A variety of sources have been used for the preparation of the present study, particularly Bhakti literature for the minute study of the region under review. The details of the works used are given in bibliography.

The study is divided into following chapters;

The first chapter deals with some major political events which had affected Mughal authority over this region under review. The Afghans and Uzbek problems due to which Akbar spent a good times in this region to consolidate the power. This Subah has seen prince Salim's revolt who established parallel independent rule against his father Akbar. The war of succession and Mughal's relations with local chieftains/Rajas, through out the Mughal rule in this region.

The second chapters deals with economic condition; Agricultural & industrial production as well trade & commerce. Textile industry especially cotton & Silk were in flourishing state. Iron and diamond mining was on moderate scale. Boats of good qualities were also made. The main trading centre Allahabad, Banaras, Jaunpur had developed land and river connections with all parts of India. A number of *Sarais* on trade routes were of great help to people as well merchants.

Due to its commercial activities there were many mints centred in the Subah like Kara, Manikpur, Jaunpur, Allahabad. Banaras.

The third chapter discusses about the social life of the Subah. In which I discussed about the nature of Hindu society, religious sects, beliefs, Muslim society, social ceremonies, position of women, important fairs and festivals, living condition of the common people and their pass-time amusements based on few Bhakti literature.

The fourth chapter deals with Emergence of development of Bhakti movement in *Subah*. Its two school *Nirguna & Sagun, Ramait & Krishnait*. Its important philosophers like Kabir, Dharamdas, Raidas Malukdas Saina. Their teachings of equality and fraternity. The fifth chapter deals with the origin and development of *Sufi* movement in this region. It's chief mystic orders, philosophers the life of important *Sufis*, like Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi, Shaikh Tahir, Shah Mohd. Afzal, Shah Abdul Jalil Shaikh Qasim Qadri etc.

The sixth chapters, development of education in Subah deals with Hindu and Muslim education. It centers, method of imparting, curriculum, important teachers like Narayna Bhatta, Trimulla Bhatta, Lakshman, Kavindra Charya Saraswati, Maulana Abdur Rashid Jaunpuri, Shaikh Mahmood, Sheikh Mubarak etc. These scholars contributed a lot in the education and literary field of the *Subah*.

The seventh chapter 'Monumental remains' deals with architectural works which have been completed during Mughal rules, like, its forts, palaces bridges. Temples and tombs of the *Subah*.

The eighth chapter deals with paintings, although the *Subah* as particular had no specialty in this field but it was Prince Salim who established his atelier during the days of rebellion and produced a number of painting here. Some of them are included in this portion.

In ninth chapter some Mughal *Farmans* and inscriptions are included, which had a great importance in the development of Social life of the *Subah*. These Mughal Emperors granted revenue free land grant to the *Jangamvadi Math* of Banaras, temple at Chitrkut and some Muslim scholars for their spiritual and educational cause.

## CHAPTER – I

### SOME MAJOR POLITICAL EVENTS OF THE SUBAH

#### 1. Uzbek Rebellion:

Akber deposed Bairam Khan in 1560, who was all in all for four years.<sup>1</sup> The new political alignment started in court. Having taken advantage to the struggle of power at court, Afghans in Bihar tried their luck again. They declared Sher Khan son of Adil Shah, their ruler and marched with twenty thousands cavalry and five thousands infantry towards Jaunpur in 1561. Sher Khan and Fatah Khan with their troops went towards the Mosque of Sultan Husain Sharqi. One detachment under the command of Yaqub Khan, Fattu Syed Sulaiman, Salim Khan Kharwar and Jauhar Khan sent off to *Lal Darwaza* and the second were dispatched towards left '*band*' under the command of Hasan Khan Bachgoti and Adam son of Fatah Khan.<sup>2</sup> The Afghans were in victorious mood, meanwhile Ali Quli Khan; *Khan-i-Zaman* assailed the enemy in the rear with arrows and destroyed the Afghan army. The enormous booty and many elephants fell into hands of *Khan-i-Zaman*.<sup>3</sup>

Akbar was passing on the way of Kalpi, the Uzbek brothers *Khan-i-Zaman* and Bahadur Khan came quickly from Jaunpur to pay their

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<sup>1</sup> Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, vol.-II, (ed., H. Beveridge), Calcutta 1912, p.142.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp.215-16.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid; R.P.Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, p.185.



respect to the emperor, brought with them elephants and valuable presents. Akbar received them with Kindness and honoured Kara as *Jagir* to him, returned back to Agra on 17<sup>th</sup> Zill Hijj 968/1560-61 AD.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, the fort of Chuner held by Fattu Khashkhail was handed over to Asaf Khan governor of Kara. Hasan Ali Khan Turkoman was appointed *Qiledar* and the Fattu Khashkhail received the rank of an Amir in court.<sup>5</sup>

Ali Quli Khan or *Khan-i-Zaman* and Bahadur Khan due to their happy fortune, acquisition of immense booty became arrogant. The crisis started, when Abdullah Khan Uzbek, imperial governor of Malwa began to assume an air of independence. Akbar went to Malwa on the pretext of hunting but in reality to bring Abdullah back to his sense. He fled away from Malwa and refused to come, even promise of pardon.<sup>6</sup> Akbar felt that Uzbeks can create problems in east, where they were posted in strong position. Sikandar Khan Uzbek's seditious attitude conformed the feeling of Emperor. He sent Ashraf Khan with conciliatory order and invited Sikandar Khan to court. Ashraf Khan come to Awadh and pursued Sikandar Khan to join the court.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Akbarnama, II, pp.216-17, Abdul Qadir Badauni,, *Mun:akhab-ut Tawarikh*, vol. II (ed. W.H.Low), pub. Idarah Adbiyat, Delhi, Delhi. p.44.

<sup>5</sup> *Akbarnama,-II*, pp.231-32.

<sup>6</sup> Rise & Fall of the Mughal *op.cit.*, p.194.

<sup>7</sup> Akbarnama-II, *op.cit.*, p.376.

Sikandar Khan, on the pretext to join the court went to Sarharpur and met Ibrahim Khan Uzbek, then after *Khan-i-Zama*. (They felt that Emperor would debarred them off from their fiefs). The whole party arose in rebellion. Ibrahim Khan and Sikandar Khan went towards Lucknow and *Khan-i-Zaman*, Bahadur Khan proceeded towards Kara-Manikpur.<sup>8</sup>

A hot engagement took place between Emperor forces and Sikandar Khan near *Nimkhar*. But the imperial forces were less in numbers, so they decided to retrieve to the fort of *Nimkhar* and wait imperial help. *Khan-i-Zaman* and Bahadur Khan started plundering & oppression in Kara, Manikpur.<sup>9</sup> Majnun Khan Qashqal Sheltered in the fort of Manikpur to avoid the rebels and sent message to Asaf Khan to join him. Asaf Khan reached Kara to assist Majnun Khan and sent swift courier about the condition of the state affairs to court.<sup>10</sup>

On 24<sup>th</sup> May 1565 AD Akbar marched against the rebel and reached Qannuj.<sup>11</sup> At this time Skiandar Khan had established himself in Lucknow. He left Munim Khan and Khwaja Jahan in camp and himself proceeded towards Lucknow, spent one night & one day on the march reached Lucknow. Sikandar Khan became confused, hearing the

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p.377.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp.378-79.

presence of Akbar at Lucknow, fled away. Akbar appointed some gallant soldiers to chase the fugitives.<sup>12</sup>

Sikandar Khan joined Ali Quli and Bahadur Khan, who were facing Asaf Khan in Manikpur. Now, they proceeded towards Jaunpur. Considering suitable moment, Akbar marched towards Jaunpur and occupied it.<sup>13</sup>

*Khan-i-Zaman* further retreated to the east entered in Subahh Bihar Emperor appointed Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani to go on to Sulaiman Karrani, governor of Bengal (who had a strong friendship with *Khan-i-Zaman*) in order to prevent any assistance to *Khan-i-Zaman*.<sup>14</sup>

Emperor sent Munim Khan as the leader of the army against the Khan-i-Zaman, who had a friendly regard for *Khan-i-Zaman*. Munim Khan negotiated for peace. No way out, taken in by false promises to remain loyal.<sup>15</sup> Munim Khan brought the matter before Akbar and the rebels were pardoned on some grounds as;

- Khan-i-Zaman sent his mother with uncle Ibrahim Khan to the Emperor.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 379.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> *Akbarnama, II*, op.cit., p.379; *Badauni- II*, op.cit., p.77.

<sup>15</sup> *Akbarnama-II*, op.cit.,pp.385-386.

- Bahadur Khan and Sikandar Khan would come to personal homage.
- Some noted elephants such as Bal Sundar and Kaf Shikan would be presented to Emperor.
- And they will not cross the river as the imperial camp remained in the place.<sup>16</sup>

They were forgiven and confirmed their respective positions on condition that they will not take possessions of their fiefs until the Emperor return to the capital.<sup>17</sup>

### **Second Uzbeks rebels:**

In these days, Akbar went to see Banaras and fortress of Chunar, where he was engaged in hunting while the camp was in Chunar. News was brought to him that Khan-i-Zaman has changed his mind and contravened of his promises, crossed the river Ganges and sent his men to occupy Ghazipur and Jaunpur.<sup>18</sup>

While emperor had not left the region, this defiant attitude of rebels made him furious. He appointed Ashraf Khan to Jaunpur withhold the mother of Khan-i-Zaman in the fort. When rebels heard the news that *Khan-i-Zama's* mother has been seized in Jaunpur by Ashraf Khan. They marched rapidly burnt the door of fort and entered in it. They

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., pp.294-388; Badauni-II, op.cit., pp.81-83.

<sup>17</sup> Akbarnama-II, op.cit., p.394; Badauni-II, p.84.

<sup>18</sup> Akbarnama-II, p.394.

plundered the city and made release Khan-i-Zama's mother. Munim Khan became confused this suddenly changed behavior of Khan-i-Zaman.<sup>19</sup>

Akbar made up mind quietly to crush the rebels and marched on feb-2, 1566, when the rebelles heard about the return of imperial army they dispersed. He marched towards Jaunpur and recaptured, rebels were chastised.<sup>20</sup>

At *Zamaniya* Bahadur Khan received information about returning of imperial army. He crossed over the Ganges and fled away to Hajipur.<sup>21</sup> Now Akbar decided to remain sometimes in the region. This news demoralized the rebels and Khan-i-Zaman again requested for pardon and sent. Mirak Razvi to Munim Khan.<sup>22</sup>

Munim Khan again interceded for mercy. Akbar realized that some imperial officials had sympathies for rebels and the real object of rebels to gain time. Yet granted amnesty and decided to return to Agra from Jaunpur on 3<sup>rd</sup> march 1566.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p.397.

<sup>20</sup> *Akbarnama-II*, pp.395-96; Badauni, -II, p.495; Shahnawaz Khan, *Maathir-ul-Umra*, vol. I, (ed., *Beni Parsad and Beveridge*), Calcutta, 1952, p.721.

<sup>21</sup> *Akbarnama-II*, p.397..

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp.397-398.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp.398-399.

During the course of time, Mirza Hakim attacked on Punjab. Akbar hurriedly marched towards Lahore. He hardly reached the Sutlaj, when the news was brought that Mirza Hakim raised the siege of Lahore and returned back to Kabul.<sup>24</sup>

### **Third Uzbek Rebellion:**

When Akbar's attention was in Punjab, rebellions broke out in Jaunpur, Sambhal, most eastern part of U.P. The third time Uzbek were in open rebellion and read the *Khutba* in the name of Mirza Hakim. They besieged governor of Kannauj and at Lucknow all the Uzbek leaders met for their future plan.<sup>25</sup>

Akbar returned back to Agra and then on 6<sup>th</sup> May 1567 left capital to crush the rebels and appointed Munim Khan to the charge of Agra, and himself proceeded towards Jaunpur.<sup>26</sup> When he was at the town of *Sakti*, news came, that *Khan-i-Zama* raised the siege of Kannauj and fled towards Manikpur to join his brother Bahadur Khan.

Mohammad Quli Khan Barha, Raja Todar Mal, and Muzaffar Khan were sent to Awadh on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1567 AD. against Sikandar Khan and Emperor marched to Kara-Manikpur. When he was at Rai Barailly, news came from Asaf Khan that *Khan-i-Zaman* and Bahadur Khan are

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p-325; Badauni-II, p.94.

<sup>25</sup> *Akbarnama-II*, p.485; Badauni-II, pp.92-94.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p.96.

intended to capture Gwalior. Akbar immediately rushed towards Manikpur and crossed the river Ganges at night, now the enemies were only one 'Koss' off. They had no information, about arrival of the imperial army very close to their camp. The whole night, they enjoyed with wine and dance party.<sup>27</sup>

On day, Akbar arrayed the battle field and drums were beaten up. Uzbeks were shocked, the presence of imperial army. A battle was fought at *Fathpur Parsoki* (7 miles S.E. of Kara) in which *Khan-i-Zaman* was crushed by a royal elephant and Bahadur Khan was beheaded. Shahab Khan with his troops were sent to Jaunpur and Qulij Khan with his forces to *Sirharpur*. Sikandar Khan was captured and later, on the request of Munim Khan was pardoned but after one year, he died.<sup>28</sup> Munim Khan was conferred all the fiefs of Uzbek brothers in Jaunpur, Benaras, Ghazipur up to the bank of Chausa.

Asadullah Khan was holding *Zamaniya*, which had been founded by *Khan-i-Zaman*, Asadullah communicated with Sulaiman Karrani of Bihar with proposal to make over *Zamaniya* to him for a suitable appointment in his court. When Munim Khan became aware of this, he forced Asadullah to hand over *Zamaniya* to him. Lodi Khan, prim minister of *Sulaiman Karrani* made negotiable arrangements between

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p.104; *Akbarnama-II* p.436.

*Sulaiman Karrani* and Munim Khan<sup>29</sup> for peace and it was decided that *Khutba* and coinage might be adorned in the name of Akbar and *Zamaniya* made over to Qasim Mashki, in return Akbar would not invade Sulaiman territory.<sup>30</sup>

Akbar stayed sometime in Allahabad and proceeded towards Agra on 18 July 1567. In town Kara, which was the fief of Farhat Khan, a great feast was held. He also spent some time in city Banaras, Jaunpur and made some administrative arrangements.<sup>31</sup>

## 2. Afghan Disturbances:

While the episode of Sher Khan (son of Adil Shah), Fattu Khashkhail and Ghazi Khan Tanver had been finished by the Emperor in 1560 and Afghan were not in position to mobilize themselves and token Sheltered in Bihar & Bengal. After the death of Sulaiman Karrani of Bihar in 1571-72 AD. His eldest son Bayazid was installed at the throne but was murdered.<sup>32</sup>

Lodi Khan one of the important officer of Sulaiman, raised up Daud, Younger son of Sulaiman to the throne. Daud disregarded to be obedient to the Mughals and behaved independently. He sent Lodi Khan to capture *Zamaniya* and himself marched towards Jaunpur. Lodi Khan

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p.478.

<sup>30</sup> De. Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogal*, tr. J.S. Hoyland & S.N. Banarji, Bombay-1965, p.147.

<sup>31</sup> Badauni-II, p.103.

<sup>32</sup> *Akbarnama-III*, p.28.



captured *Zamaniya* and was joined by Yusuf Khan with 6000 thousand men. They built up a fort near Ganges and started recruiting more army. While the Mughal forces were engaged in siege of Surat.<sup>33</sup> Munim Khan proposed for peace but they refused. Akbar's victory news about Surat demoralized the rebel Afghans. They approached for peace to Munim Khan and retreated to Bihar.<sup>34</sup>

Akbar left Agra for Patna on 20<sup>th</sup> Jun 1574 and reached Prayag (Allahabad) on 14<sup>th</sup> July 1574,<sup>35</sup> where he received latest information about Mughal victory over Afghans in Bihar. Then visited Chunar and Banaras.<sup>36</sup> Many officers came to pay homage. He reached Jaunpur on 20<sup>th</sup> July 1574<sup>37</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> July Ghazipur and made some administrative arrangements. His presence in the region completely demoralized the rebels on 26<sup>th</sup> September, 1574 from Jaunpur proceeded to capital.<sup>38</sup>

### 3. Mughal Relations with Local Chieftains/Raja:

#### Akbar - Baghela:

The most important chief of the Subahh was Baghela Raja Ram Chandr of *Bhatta* had a great reputation among Raja of Hindustan. Abul Fazl has given a detail description of his state.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp.29-30.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p.31.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.124; Badauni-II, p.179.

<sup>36</sup> *Akbarnama-II*, p.125; Badauni-II, p.179.

<sup>37</sup> *Tabqat-II*, p.438.

<sup>38</sup> *Akbarnama-III*, pp.125-26; *Tabqat-II*, p.439; Badauni-II, p.185.

“*Panna* is a populous country and had a separate ruler. This fortress (*Bandhu*) is the seat of his government. The territory extends to the east of it for sixty *Kos* and then comes the land of other Rajas. Who are to some extent submissive to him. Then comes the territories of Sarguja and Rohtas on the west it extends for twelve *Kos* and there are the lands of other *Zamindars* who are in manner subject to him. After that comes the land of *Gadha* on the north are the Ganges and the Jamuna. The territory extend in this direction for sixty *Kos* and join the province of Allahabad. On the South in extends for sixteen *kos*, and then comes the territory of *Gadha*. Between the South and east is Ranthambor after forty five *Kos*. To the north-east it extends for the seventy *kos* and then comes the province of Allahabad. To the North west it extends for fifty *kos* and join fort Kalinjar....”<sup>39</sup>

*Kant and Arail* was already come in the territory of the estate during the life of Raja Rai Bahadur grand father of Raja Rama Chandr who was contemporary of Sikandar Lodi.<sup>40</sup>

The rulers of this vast territory made their power felt to the Sharqis of Jaunpur as well as Afghans of Agra and some time joined hand with Afghans. They had soft corner for the later in 1550. When Ibrahim Khan Sur was defeated by the forces of Adali, fled to *Panna*

<sup>39</sup> *Akbarnama-III*, (ed. H. Beridge), Calcutta, 1939, pp.1088-89.

<sup>40</sup> Nimataullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani wa Nakhazin-i-Afghani* (ed. S.M.Imamuddin), vol.I, *Royal Asiatic Society*, Dhaka-1960. p.179.

took shelter, Raja Ram Chander gave him great respect and placed him on throne, stood before him.<sup>41</sup> During the early years of Akbar's reign, Ghazi Khan Tanuri, a rebelled Afghan of Kara was chastised by the Mughal forces, led by Asaf Khan. He took refuge to Raja Ram Chandr Baghela. Asaf Khan advised Raja to land over Ghazi Khan but Raja preferred the battle and was defeated, Ghazi Khan killed. Raja fled *Bandho* which was the strongest fort in this area.<sup>42</sup> Asaf Khan, then advanced on *Bandhogarh* itself but on the intercession of the Hindu chiefs at Delhi, Akbar raised the siege. Raja Ram Chandr accepted the over lordship of the Emperor.<sup>43</sup>

During the campaign against Ranthambor, Akbar issued order to capture Kalinjar in 1569-70, to Majnun Khan Qashqal and Shah Khan Jalair who had *Jagir* in eastern province, which was held by Raja Ram Chandr.<sup>44</sup>

On hearing the victory over Ranthambor, Raja surrendered the fort without further resistance to Mughals and sent splendid presents, offered congratulation on his recent victory.<sup>45</sup> He sent his son Bir Bhadra to Mughal court in expressing his loyalty to emperor. Emperor

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<sup>41</sup> Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (ed. B. De.), Vol.-II pub. Low Price Publication, Delhi-1911, pp.204-205.

<sup>42</sup> *Akbarnama-II*, pp.229-282-83. Badauni-II, p.65.

<sup>43</sup> *Akbarnama-II*, op.cit., p.499.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

through a *Farman* awarded him the *Pargana* of *Arail* (which is near to Jhusi and Piyag Known as (Ilahabas) with its dependencies as *Jagir*.<sup>46</sup>

For many years, Ram Chandr could never be persuaded to pay his respect to Akbar in person in the 28<sup>th</sup> year of his reign i.e. 1583-84 A.D. When Akbar was encamped at Allahabad. Raja Ram Chandr under the threat of military operation in his territory paid personal homage to Emperor through the intervention of his son. Raja offered a tribute of one hundred twenty elephant, precious ruby diamond of the value of fifty thousands. In return, Akbar awarded him one hundred one horses.<sup>47</sup> In 1592-93, Ram Chandr died, Emperor conferred the rulership of *Bhatta* on his son Bir Bhadr. He was at Delhi court started for *Bandhogarh* but on way died, due to accident.<sup>48</sup>

This incident created confusion about the succession among nobles and they raised a minor grand son of Ram Chandr, named Bikramajit to the throne of *Bhatta*. Intrigue and disturbance was up.<sup>49</sup>

Akbar sent Rai Patar Das to possess the territory under Mughal domination. He ran over most part of the territory of *Bhatta* and Raja Bikramjit was brought in court under the protection of Ismail Quli Khan. After the siege of ninth months of the fort, *Bandhogarh* came into

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<sup>46</sup> *Badauni-II*, p.124.

<sup>47</sup> *Akbarnama-III*-p.624; *Tabaqat-II*, pp.595-96.

<sup>48</sup> *MU-II*, p.583.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*.

control of the Mughal and was assigned to prince Daniyal in 1599. Later on handed over to Bikramajit, who was now made Raja by Emperor and commander of the fort of Bandhogarh under the tutelage of Bharti Chand.<sup>50</sup>

### **Jahangir-Baghela:**

In 1610 Vikramjit rebelled with his followers and tried to capture Bandogarh. Jahangir appointed Maha Singh, grandson of Man Singh to chastise rebels. Jahangir conferred the *Jagir* of *Baghela* territories to Maha Singh in 1612 A.D. Later on Vikramajit was pardoned on the request of Shahjahan.<sup>51</sup> Jahangir writes in his memories.

“Vikramajit, Raja of the province of *Bandhu*, whose ancestors were considerable *Zamindars* in Hindostan, through the patronage of my fortunate son Khurram obtained the blessing of paying his respects to me, and his offences were pardoned”.<sup>52</sup> Second time in 1619 Vikramajit visited the court with presents for emperor. Jahangir writes:

“Raja Bikramjit Baghela came from the fort of *Mandpur*, which is his native place, and had the good fortune to kiss threshold and presented an elephant and a jeweled plum”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp.584-5; *Akbarnama-III* p.1059.

<sup>51</sup> *Jahangir Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. (Memoirs of Jahangir). Vol.I, ed. Rogers and Beveridge, Pub low price publications, Delhi, p.176; *MU-II*, p.5.

<sup>52</sup> *Tuzuk-I*, p.325.

<sup>53</sup> *Tuzuk-II*, p.98.

### **Shahjahan, Aurangzeb-Baghela:**

Bikramajit was succeeded by his eldest son Amar Singh. In 1634 Amar Singh the ruler of *Bandhu*, helped the imperial commander Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang in suppressing the rebellious *Zamindar* of Ratanpur (in Bihar) and Jujhar Singh Bundela of Bundelkhand.<sup>54</sup>

Amar Singh died in 1640 and was succeeded by his son Anup Singh. He visited Shahjahani court and was received with great honor.<sup>55</sup> In 1650, Pahad Singh Bundela Raja of Orcha attacked on *Baghel* State. Anup Singh fled with his family due to his weak position. In 1655-56, he visited Emperor Shahjahan and was received with honor, granted the rank of 2000/3000, after his death in 1660, Bhao Singh was succeeded, he had also good relations with the Mughals.<sup>56</sup>

### **4. Prince Salim's Revolt:**

In 1597, Prince Daniyal was appointed *Subedar* of province Allahabad with a *Mansab* of 7000 *Zat* and 7000 *Sawar*, Qulij Khan, Ismail Mir Sharif Amuli were appointed to assist prince. The first was made *Ataliq* (guardian)<sup>57</sup> during the stay in province, prince Daniyal shown disinterest in governance and fell in the company of undesirable

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<sup>54</sup> *M.U.-II*, p.584, P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals (1526-1658)*, Allahabad, 1941, p.115.

<sup>55</sup> *MU-II*, p.585. Distt. Gazette, *Rewa Gazette*, Lucknow-1907, p.16.

<sup>56</sup> *Rise & Fall of the Mughal*, *op.cit.*, p.16.

<sup>57</sup> *Akbarnama-III*, p.1077.

but later on improved and civilized the province by justice and activities.<sup>58</sup>

In 1599, Prince Daniyal was appointed to conquer South and prince Salim was asked to the expedition against the *Rana* of Mewar with assistance Shahbaz Khan. When they were in Ajmer, Shahbaz Khan died in 13<sup>th</sup> November 1599 suffering from fever.<sup>59</sup> Prince took all his possessions and without finishing the campaign returned to Allahabad and unfurled the flag of independence. He expelled imperial officers and captured Kara, Manikpur, Kurrah and Ghatampur.<sup>60</sup>

Qutbuddin Khan was appointed Governor of Bihar, Lal Beg was sent to administer Jaunpur. Thirty *Lakhs* of rupees in the treasury of Bihar fell in the hands of prince. *Jagir's* and titles were granted to his principle supporters.<sup>61</sup>

Zain Khan Koka was sent with a large contingent of horses against the rebel Salim but he died on way in 1601.<sup>62</sup> Then after, Akbar dispatched a peace mission to prince back to obedience to Mohammad Sharif, a playmate & boon companion of prince. But Sharif was easily

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., pp.1121, 1133.

<sup>59</sup> *MU-II*, p.737.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p.738.

<sup>61</sup> Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad-1940, p.44.

<sup>62</sup> *MU-II*, p.1027.

won over by prince and appointed as *Wakil* (Chief Minister).<sup>63</sup> In 1602, Salim marched towards Agra, declared to pay his respects to his father, robbing plundering on the way with thirty thousands men, when he realized that situation is not in his favour, returned back to Allahabad. Here he received an order about provinces of Bengal and Orissa were made over to him but he refused to take charge. He set up a regular court. During the course of time Akbar summoned Abul Fazl from Deccan.<sup>64</sup> Salim perceived that influence of his bitter enemy convert his fathers paternal leniency. He gave order to Bir Singh Dev Bundela (who had been a high way robber, now in Salim's service) to murder Abul Fazl.<sup>65</sup>

All the hopes were over about Salims obedience. His step mother, Sultan Salima Begum whom prince respected to much, voluntarily went to Allahabad on peace and reconciliation.

She convinced him for reconciliation and Salim wrote a letter for tender apology for his recent conduct. He accompanied his mother to Agra. The affectionate father pardoned him and advised to keep him-self away from the influence of his associates.<sup>66</sup> Akbar deputed him to finish the Mewar campaign in 1603. But he had no interest to march beyond

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p.817.

<sup>64</sup> *Akbarnama-III*, p.1217.

<sup>65</sup> De Laet, *op.cit.* pp.166-67; *History of Jahangir* *op.cit.*, pp.48,49.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p.52.



Fatehpur Sikri. Later on returned to Allahabad and came on old conduct. He was indulged in excessive drinking and opium and treatment with the people on petty offences became harsh. Akbar was worried about this, moved to Allahabad.<sup>67</sup> Suddenly news came of the illness of Hamida Banu Begum (*Maryam Makand*). He gave up the journey and hastened to capital to see his mother on 29<sup>th</sup> August 1604 She died.<sup>68</sup>

Salim arrived at Agra on Nov. 9, 1604 to condole with his father and apologize for his faults, in person. Akbar received him with affection and honour.<sup>69</sup> Meanwhile, Amirs received promotions and appointments. Kalyan Das son of Raja Todar Mall got a *Mansab* of 1000 *zat* & 500 *Sawar* & the charge of fort of Kalinjar Shaikh Bayazid received a *Mansab* of 1000/5000 and was allowed to keep Allahabad. Hasan Beg Khaki was made Diwan of Jaunpur.<sup>70</sup>

### 5. Rebellion of Shahjahan:

The death of Khusro and court politics led him to rebel in Deccan<sup>71</sup> and conquered Orissa and Bengal, placed Bengal under the charge of Darab Khan son of *Khan-i-Khana* and advanced toward Patna, governed by prince Parvez's deputy, Diwan Mukhlis Khan. *Jagirdars* of

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<sup>67</sup> - Akbarnama III, p.1242.

<sup>68</sup> - Akbarnama -III, pp.1243-44, *History of Jahangir*- op.cit., p.61.

<sup>69</sup> *Akbarnama-III*, op.cit., p.1249.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> R.P.Tripathi, *Rise & Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p.395.

province submitted to him voluntarily and Surrendered the strong fort Rohtas.<sup>72</sup> Later on, he dispatched Darya Khan Afghan with an army towards Manikpur and Raja Bihar towards Allahabad<sup>73</sup> and himself marched along the river Ganges and taken possession of Jaunpur, ( 15 Sept. 1624) encamped in the forest of *Kampat*. Jahangir sent an army under prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan to check the rebel forces.<sup>74</sup>

Abdullah Khan laid siege to the fort of Allahabad unsuccessfully and retreat to Jhunsi, receiving the news about coming of Mahabat Khan & Prince Parvez. Shahjahan was well informed about the latest development at Bahadurpur.<sup>75</sup>

Abdullah Khan advised Shahajahan to retreat that it would be difficult to face Mahabat Khan (4000) Four thousands army with (1000) One thousands inexperienced men. Most of the captains had respected this advice but Raja Bhim declared Shahjahan marching against the Rajput code of war-fare.<sup>76</sup>

Shahjahan accepted later view and arranged his army for battle. On battlefield they were surrounded by the imperial army on three side.

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<sup>72</sup> *History of Jahangir, op.cit., p.350.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid., p.351; Rise & Fall of the Mughal op.cit., p.400.*

<sup>75</sup> *History of Jahangir, op.cit., p.50.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid., p.352.*

The rebels rank were broken and scattered all directions. Shahjahan was wounded but escaped with his life in 1624 AD. towards Rohtas.<sup>77</sup>

### **War of Succession:**

Due to the sudden illness of Shahjahan confusion arose among princes. Shuja marched towards Agra conquering the territories of Bihar reached eastern gate of Allahabad. Occupied most of the strategic forts like Kalinjar, Chunar, Rohtas etc.<sup>78</sup> Dara Shikoh appointed Sulaiman Shikoh assisted by Mirza Raja Jai Singh to drive out Shuja forces. In 1658AD. Jai Singh reached Banaras with his troops. Local *Zamindars* helped imperial forces to reach Bahadurpur.<sup>79</sup>

The battle of Bahadurpur was fought and Shujas army was severely defeated. "All his captains from their respective quarters had fled, without caring to ask what became of their master. Shuja some how managed to save his life & went to Bihar. Sulaiman men plundered the entire camp and Bengal troop escaped with their bare life and left everything behind."<sup>80</sup> In between, Sulaiman received news about his father's defeat at *Samugarah*. Dara wrote a letter to patch up with Shuja.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p.352-53.

<sup>78</sup> J.N.Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol.-II, Calcutta. P.467.

<sup>79</sup> *Muhammad Kazim, Alamgirnama*, Calcutta, 1866, p.30.

<sup>80</sup> *History of Aurangzeb-II*, op.cit., pp.470-71.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p.551.

Now the political ambience was completely changed after the defeat of Dara at Samugarh. Sulaiman, leaving his surplus luggage at Allahabad under the care of Qasim Barha set out to meet his father via: Subahh Awadh.<sup>82</sup>

Aurangzeb was busy in chastising Dara, Shuja marched again towards Subahh. All the forts of Rohtas (Bihar), Chunar, and Banaras, which were in possession of Dara, handed over to Shuja on instance of Dara. He collected three *lakhs* of rupees at Banaras and advanced towards Allahabad. On 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1658AD. The whole region came under his influence.<sup>83</sup> Aurangzeb appointed *Khan-i-Dauran* to march against Shuja. At that time Shuja was at Banaras, he made some arrangement proceeded towards *Khajwa* where prince Muhammad blocked the way. Aurangzeb sent a message to prince Muhammad not to start battle first till his arrival. On 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1659 battle started and continued two days in which Shuja routed and retreated to Allahabad but here he did not receive any assistance, he had no option but to leave. The victory of *Khajwa* paved the way in complete establishment of Aurangzeb's authority over the Subah.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Alamgirnama, op.cit., p.126.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p.239; History of *Aurangzeb-II*, pp.295-98.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., pp.306-07.

## **CHAPTER-II**

### **Economic Condition of the Subah:**

The region under review had a very old zone of settlement. This Gangetic plain covered with extensive forests, pastures barren as well as agricultural land. De Laet informs us that there were extensive forests on the way Jaunpur to Allahabad,<sup>1</sup> but with the time forests areas were cleared for agriculture purposes. This fertile area was also important for traders. The economy of the *Subah* depend on agricultural productions, industries and trade. There were two type of habitations rural and urban. Most of the population lived in villages their livelihood was depend on agricultural production. While urban depend on local industries a trade. The rural settlement was more or less self contained unit of habitation.

#### **1. Agrarian production**

The *Subah* was properly fertile used to produce numerous crops but they did not grow equally in whole region because agricultural efficiency differed area to area. There were two types of crops, spring harvest (*Rabi*) and autumn harvest (*Kharif*). The agricultural production was totally based on condition of climate rainfall, seed and soil.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, (Tr. J-S. Hoyland and S.N.Banarji), Bombay, 1965, p.65.

<sup>2</sup> Abdul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.-II, (ed., S and J) Calcutta 1949, p.169.; H.R.Navel, Allahabad Distt. Gazetteer, vol. .XXIII, Allahabad, 1911, p.33.

### **Autum harvest of the Subah:**

Sugar-can (*Paunda*), common sugar-can, Dark coloured rice (*Shali Mushkin*), common rice, *Munj* rice, Cotton. Pot herbs, sesame seed, moth (lentils) *Mash*, *Mung*, *Jawar*, *Lahdarah*, *Lobiya*, *Kodaram*, *Kori*, *Shamakh*, *Gal*, *Arzan*, *Mandwah*, *Indigo*, *Hemp*, *Turiya*, *Turmeric*, *Kachalu*, *Kult*, *Hina*, *Wettermelous*, *Pan*, *Singhara*, *Ashar Cytisus cajan*.<sup>3</sup>

### **Spring harvest of the Subah:**

Wheat, cabul vetches, Indian Barley Green Barley and Adas, Sun flower, pappy, patheobs, Linseed, mustard, Arzan, peas (Mashang) carrots, onions, Fenugreek, Persian Muskmelons, Indian Ditto, cumin seed, coriander, kur rice, Agwan.<sup>4</sup>

In every villages resident cultivators possessed their own land. While the lower section like; carpenters, barbers, washer men, potters etc. worked for the cultivators. The cultivator paid dues to whoever was in authority to collect from them. When life became intolerable, owing to the security or to the excessive demands left the village or either took land somewhere else and started life as robbers.<sup>5</sup> Some times defined to pay their revenue without at least one fight.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp.80-81; H.R. Nevill, pp.34-36

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.98.

<sup>5</sup> W.H.Moreland, *The revenue administration of the United Provinces, Delhi*, 1984, p.29.

<sup>6</sup> Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay*, 1965, p.398.

The following were the *Sarkars and Mahals* of the province in different periods:

1594 AD.	10 Sarkars	177 Mahals
1665 AD.	17 Sarkars	216 Parganas
1695 AD.	16 Sarkars	247 Mahals
1700 AD.	17 Sarkars	269 Mahals
1720 AD.	17 Sarkars	269 Mahals

The total area of measured land for the whole province rose from 39,68,018 *bighas* in 1594 to 1,97,03,984 *bighas* in 1720.<sup>7</sup>

Sarkar	Mahal	Area in <i>Bighas</i> in		Rev. in Rs. in	
		1594 AD.	1720 AD.	1594 AD.	1720 AD.
Allahabad	11	573,311	15,53,607	5,20,834	9,69,147
Banaras	8	36,869	4,53,354	2,21,733	1,35,750
Jaunpur	41	8,70,265	54,51,119	14,09,852	25,97,088
Manikpur	14	6,66,222	21,01,324	8,47,913	15,06,270
Chunar	13	1,06,270	7,40,687	1,45,266	87,500
Kalinjar	11	5,08,273	43,38,324	5,95,987	11,75,001
Carah	9	3,41,170	13,57,817	4,34,939	14,39,183
Ghazipur	19	2,88,770	17,33,349	3,35,782	3,63,836
Kara	12	4,47,557	14,17,127	5,67,051	9,29,140 <sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> J.N.Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, pub. Sanyal and Co. Bengal 1901, p.XIV.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

**The total provincial revenue was;**

1594 AD.	Rs.53,10,695
1648 AD.	Rs.1,00,00,000
1654 AD.	Rs.1,31,97,029
1665 AD.	Rs.94,70,000
1695 AD.	Rs.94,01,525
1696 AD.	Rs.77,38,000
1700 AD.	Rs.1,05,33,673
1707 AD.	Rs.1,14,13,581 <sup>9</sup>
Sarkar	<i>Saryughal</i> (Dams)
Allahabad	7,47,001 1½
Ghazipur	1,31,825
Banaras	3,38,184
Jaunpur	4,717, 654
Manikpur	8,446,173
Chunar	1,09,065
Kalinjar	580
Bhatkora	-----
Kurah	4,69,350
Kara	1,498, 862. <sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> *Ain-II, op.cit.*, pp.172-179.



## 2. The Industry, trade and commerce:

This vast Subahh had many industrial and commercial centers which were involved in production and trade. These centres almost grew up on the confluence of two rivers, on the highways, at a place of pilgrimage or in the vicinity of availability of raw materials. They were integrated with each other and were famous for their peculiar production. The local trade was mostly confined to the weekly '*Hat*' *Bazaars* like modern days in villages<sup>11</sup>. These villagers were self-sufficient to their basic needs of day to day life and consumption of goods for daily use in towns or cities were also fulfilled from such places. This was possible only by the help of local merchants, shopkeepers and agriculturists themselves.

The following commercial centers were famous for their peculiar production in all over India

### **Sarkar Allahabad:**

This city is situated on the confluence of the two rivers Ganga and Jamuna, a big trading and commercial waterway. W.H. Moreland says that Europeans compare with London, Paris or Constantinople.<sup>12</sup> The manufacturing of fine paper at *Shahzadpur* (near Allahabad) and *Zafarabad*

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<sup>11</sup> M.P.Singh, *Towns Market Mint in the Mughal Empire (1558-1707)*, Pub. Adam Publishers and Distributors New Delhi, 1985, pp.40-41.

<sup>12</sup> W.H.Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, London, p.8.

(Jaunpur) was quite common,<sup>13</sup> iron mines were also found at Allahabad. Being situated at the confluence of Ganga and Jamuna, became an important centre of shipping industry. Here big boats were built.<sup>14</sup>

### **Sarkar Banaras:**

This holy city of Hindus has a religious fervor for pilgrimage or salvation place from ancient days till today; Here silk, cotton, super quality of embroidery work,<sup>15</sup> and other commodities like copper pots, dishes articles, basins and numerous articles were manufactured .<sup>16</sup> There was a street, called *Katra Resham* (Silk-Bazar).<sup>17</sup> Silk cloth and *Kimkhawab* (Gold brocade), costly fabrics such as *Machivara Bafta* (A variety of cotton cloth).<sup>18</sup> Turban, girdle *Aftaba*, *Chilamchi* even brassware exported to Murshidabad<sup>19</sup> and from there Turkey, Persia, and Khusrasan.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Peter Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy in India in Europe and Asia (1608-1667)*, vol.II, Ed., R.C. Temple. Hakluyat Society, London-1914, p.98; *Ain-II*, op.cit., pp.170-192.

<sup>14</sup> Abul Fazl , *Ain-i-Akbar*, (ed. Blochman) Vol.-I, Oriental Book Reprint, New Delhi, p.280.

<sup>15</sup> J.B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*. (ed. V. Ball), Vol-I, pub. Oriental Book Reprint, New Delhi 1977; *Ain-II*, op.cit., p.169.

<sup>16</sup> *India of Aurangzeb*-op.cit., p.XLVII.

<sup>17</sup> H.K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India*, Bombay-1968. p.130.

<sup>18</sup> Ralph Fitch, *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, ed. W. Foster, Oxford-1921, p.103.

<sup>19</sup> D.N.Marshal, *Mughal in India*, A Biographical Survey Asia Publishing House, 1967, New York.

<sup>20</sup> *Ain-I*, op.cit., pp.6,17; *India of Aurangzeb*, op.cit., p.30.

### **Sarkar Jaunpur:**

The local industries of Jaunpur were woolen carpets, cotton goods, turbans, girdles, Silken goods. The carpet were attractive in their finishing and design.<sup>21</sup> A large number of sheeps were exported from Jaunpur.<sup>22</sup> Pelsaert says that it was an important centre of cotton goods turban and girdles.<sup>23</sup>

### **Sarkar Kalinjar:**

This was famous for iron ores<sup>24</sup> small bits of diamond found in this area.<sup>25</sup>

Besides above these trading centers Jalalabad (a small town near Allahabad) Mau (then a small town near of Jaunpur), Kara, Ghazipur, Mirzapur were also important.<sup>26</sup> These areas, among other thing, exported indigo, cotton, Sugar, raw cotton, Saltpeter, opium, diamonds, sat etc.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> India of Aurangzeb *op.cit.*, p.XLVII.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas Twinning, *Travel in India a Hundred Years Ago*, London-1893, p.327.

<sup>23</sup> F. Pelsaert, *Jahangirs India*, tr. W.H. Moreland and P. Geye, Cambridge 1925.

<sup>24</sup> Ain-II, *op.cit.*, pp.170-199.

<sup>25</sup> India of Aurangzeb, *op.cit.*, p.XIVII.

<sup>26</sup> K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Condition of People of Hindostan*, Pub. Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, New Delhi-1970, p.88.

<sup>27</sup> A Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies, (1688-72)* Ed. William Foster, London-1930, p.293.

**Important Mint towns of Subah under Mughal:**

	<b>Akbar</b>	<b>Jahangir</b>	<b>Shahjahan</b>	<b>Aurangzeb</b>
Allahabad	C.S.	S.	G.S.C.	G.S.
Banaras	C	C.	C.	C
Chunar	S.C.	-	-	-
Jaunpur	G.S.C.	-	-	G.S.
Manikpur	C	-	-	-

The mint had two functions, mint of bullion and re-minting of old coins. The name of the place of mint is also engraved on the coins. The coins were theoretically commercial enterprises. The in charge of the mint is called *Darogha-i-Taksal*.<sup>28</sup>

The movements of products from one place to another (local market to towns and cities) were carried out through land routs or water-ways. Besides the Imperial highways constructed by Sher Shah efficient transport system were laid out or maintained by the Mughals time to time in this region.

**3. Trade routes:**

**Land Routs:**

Whenever Emperor started on a journey, campaign or hunt, hundreds of sappers and laborers would be sent in advance by the department to

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<sup>28</sup> M.P. Singh op.cit., pp.239-251.

repair and improve the road.<sup>29</sup> From several accounts it appears that there was no dearth of laborers. *Zamindar* had to recruit a number of laborers and other works to maintain the roads and to deal with any emergency in their areas.<sup>30</sup> There were some land routs which were used frequently by merchants and travelers are as follows:

1. Agra-Firozabad-Fatehabad-Allahabad-Banaras.<sup>31</sup>
2. Banaras-Ghazipur-Buxer-Rani Sagar-Patna.<sup>32</sup>
3. Banaras-Bahadurpur-Sasseram-Arwal (Son river) Patna.<sup>33</sup>
4. Allahabad-Handia-Gopiganj-Mirza Morad-Banaras.<sup>34</sup>
5. Agra-Firozabad-Shahzadpur-Fathpur-Allahabad-Jaunpur-Banaras-Patna.<sup>35</sup>

Peter Mundy on his journey to Patna in 1632 met many carvans (*Cafila*) not far from Allahabad, near *Rampur Apohi*. He saw one going to Agra with (14000) fourteen thousand oxen laden with grain. Its member,

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<sup>29</sup> Ain-II, op.cit., pp.47-50.

<sup>30</sup> Pelsaert, op.cit., p.61.

<sup>31</sup> *India of Aurangzeb* op.cit., p.CX

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, CIX.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, CXI.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, CXI

<sup>35</sup> Banarsidas, *Ardhikathnakar*, ed. Translated Introduced and An noted by Mukund Lath, Pub. Rajasthan Prakrit Bharti Sansthan, Jaipur, 1981, Pada, 410-461, p.259.

carried their house –holds along with them.<sup>36</sup> The means of transport included, bullock carts, horses, mules *Dolis* or litters and palanquins. (*Palki*).<sup>37</sup> These were very useful in transporting goods and men in caravans. Elephants could be used only by the very rich and heavy goods. The traditional two –wheeled bullock-carts was the most common carriage used both for passengers and goods. Bulky goods (grain) were carried by *Banjaras* with pack-oxen.<sup>38</sup> They were the main supplier of grain and other commodities area to area specially to royal camp.<sup>39</sup>

The Principle roads linking every towns or cities and strategic places of *Subah* lived with shady trees and punctuated with *Serais* or *Dharamshalas*. Served the purpose of postal service. These imperial highways were posted foot runners or horsemen who carried the imperial dispatches from place to place regular and efficiently.<sup>40</sup>

### **Kos Minars:**

To compute the distance, *Kos Minars* or milestones were in use before the Mughals but it was systematically organized under them. In

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<sup>36</sup> Mundy,II, op.cit., pp.99,218.

<sup>37</sup> *Ain-I*, op.cit., pp.146,157; Tavernier-I, pp.37,38.

<sup>38</sup> Tavernier-I, p.34.

<sup>39</sup> William Crook, *Tribes and castes of North Western provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta-1896, pp.149-150.

<sup>40</sup> Tavernier-I, p.233.

1619, Jahangir ordered the erection of *Kos Minar* at intervals of two miles on the rout from Agra to Bengal.<sup>41</sup> Bernier also saw them during Aurangzeb's reign.<sup>42</sup>

### **Water Ways:**

A large volume of trade was carried on by rivers between Agra and Allahabad, Benaras, Kara-Manikpur- to Bengal (Murshidabad). It was easier and cheaper to send commodities by river than land. Akbar systematically organized river born trade and were large number of boats start to constructed to carry both passengers and goods of the government order.<sup>43</sup> Peter Mundy, saw great barges of three four or five hundred tons each, playing between Agra Etawah Allahabad Patna and Dacca. These beautiful made boat belong to nobles and carried their goods and families.<sup>44</sup> Large ships were built in Allahabad from here sailed by river to the coastal region.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir* (Memors of Jahangir) vol-II, (ed. Rogers and Beveridge). Pub:Low Price Publication Pvt., Ltd., Delhi, p.100.

<sup>42</sup> F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire (1656-68)*, (ed. V.A. Smith) Pub. Oriental Reprint, New Delhi 1983, p.284.

<sup>43</sup> Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (ed., B.De.)vol.-I, Pub Low Price Publication Delhi-1911, pp.435-436.

<sup>44</sup> Mundy-II, op.cit., p.18.

<sup>45</sup> Naqvi op.cit., p.184; Twining op.cit., p.156; Ain-I, op.cit., p.268,290.

### Bridges:

Bridges were built temporarily or fixed wherever rivers intersected the roads. Mughals were familiar with pontoons. Babar used a pontoon bridge to cross the Ganges near Qannauj on Feb. 27, 1528 AD.<sup>46</sup> His son Humayon is credited many innovations including moveable bridge made of several boats joint together with iron nails. Camel's and horses as well as men were able to cross rivers on such bridges.<sup>47</sup>

Akbar, while returning to Agra from Jaunpur, camped on the banks of Ganges at Manikpur. He ordered to officers to make boat bridge to cross the river and this was done in a day.<sup>48</sup> During the campaign and Imperial tour *Zamindars* and local officers supplied boats to the *Mir-i-Bahr*. Beside above these facilities Mughals also built stone bridges in some places. Munim Khan, in 1569 A.D./979 A.H. built a stone bridge called *Pul Gulazar* over the *Sai* river. Near *Sikrara* village *Tehsil* Jaunpur.<sup>49</sup> Consisting of 18 feet and 8 arches second one is also in Jaunpur, over the Gomti river by Munim Khan in 795 AH,<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Babar, Babarnama (Memoirs of Babar) Vol.-II, (ed. A.S. Beveridge), Pub. Oriental Book Corporation, New Delhi, 1979, p.599.

<sup>47</sup> Khwandamir, *Qanun-i-Humayoni*, Calcutta-1940, pp.63-64.

<sup>48</sup> Ain-II, op.cit., p.399.

<sup>49</sup> A. Fuhrar, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions North West Provinces and Oudh*, pub. ASI, Allahabad, 1891-p.184.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p.185.



### **Sarais (Rest houses):**

A number of Sarais or rest houses were constructed along with trade routs as well as in big villages or towns wherever possible. It was regarded as an act of public welfare. Generally, these were constructed by the princes, nobles, eminent men or rich men considering to be an important duty.<sup>51</sup> These were in two kinds first consisting 50-60 thatched huts enclosed within walls and the second for richer sections. The latter were located in big towns and were fortified, consisting spacious rooms, halls, *Verandahs* and provision shops inside. *Bhatiyaras* (a class of inn keeper) were care taker of the Serais.<sup>52</sup> Manucci says that the routs between Agra and Dacca were much frequented and full of villages and *Sarais* each accommodating about 800-1000 men besides horses, camels and carts, and the food was good and cheap.<sup>53</sup> Bernier was critical of Indian Sarais, declaring them no better than large and barns. Where hundred of human beings mingled with horses mules and camels. They were too hot in summer too cold in winter.<sup>54</sup> After the sun set, the gate was closed and at six o' clock in the morning a watchman cried in loud voice gives three

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<sup>51</sup> Ain-II, op.cit., p.44.

<sup>52</sup> Tavernier-I, p.45; Niccola Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mughal India* ed. W. Irvin, vol.I, London, 1907, p.67.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p.67.

<sup>54</sup> Bernier, op.cit., p.233.

warnings to the travelers to look after his own things, belongings before opening the gates.<sup>55</sup>

*Sarais* had played an important part in trade, and commerce as well as such communal way of life made *Sarais* more acceptable. A number of *Sarais* were scattered in important commercial places and highway of the Subah.

1. Serai Syed Razi (Benaras).<sup>56</sup>
2. Sadraza Ki Sarai (Badurpur).<sup>57</sup>
3. Mohan Ki Sarai<sup>58</sup> (8 miles away to Badurpur)
4. Aga Ki Sarai (Near Arwal/Son river 9 Kos from Patna).<sup>59</sup>
5. Sadu Sarai (Jhusi-Sydabad Allahabad)
6. Jagdish Sarai – 10 Kos Allahabad.
7. Baboo Sarai 10 Kos Banaras.<sup>60</sup>

#### **Dangers:**

The long journey was full of dangers. People formed a group or attached with *Karvans* (Kafila) for their protection. These *Carvans* had their own guards for the protection of robbers and bandits. The *Carvans* were most of the time confronted with the problem of safety on the

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<sup>55</sup> Storia I, op. cit., p.67.

<sup>56</sup> India of Aurangzeb, op.cit., p.CIX.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p.CX.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p.CXI.

highways.<sup>61</sup> Provincial governors, district officials, *Zamindars*, *Kotwals* here the responsibility to guarding the roads, and look after the comfort and safety of the travelers. If the robbery was happened on highways or in towns the concerned officials have to investigate the matter. They have power to detained all the people of the house of suspect and had severely beaten, usually guilty party confessed the crime.<sup>62</sup> In case offenders were not traced, the officials have to make up the lose of the plundered person.<sup>63</sup>

When Banarsi Das Jain started a new business and was enroot to Patna faced a group of robbers who considered him pious and religious men offered assistance and showed the way.<sup>64</sup>

The most of the business or trade run with the help of *Banjara* tribe; a traveled tribe in medieval India. They owned bullocks, bullock-carts, cows, horses camel and lived in tents, moved with their live stocks. They comprised both Hindu and Muslims. They had the reputation of being extremely reliable and honest businessmen. They had its own chief.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Early Travels, *op.cit.*, p.144; Hamilton, *op.cit.*, p.72.

<sup>62</sup> Banarasidas, *op.cit.*, pada-514, p.262. साहिब जी ठग आये घने, कोतवाल हाकिम यै गयों. Thevenat, Indian Travels of Thevenat and Carreri, (ed., S.N.Sen), New Delhi, 1949. pp.27,28.

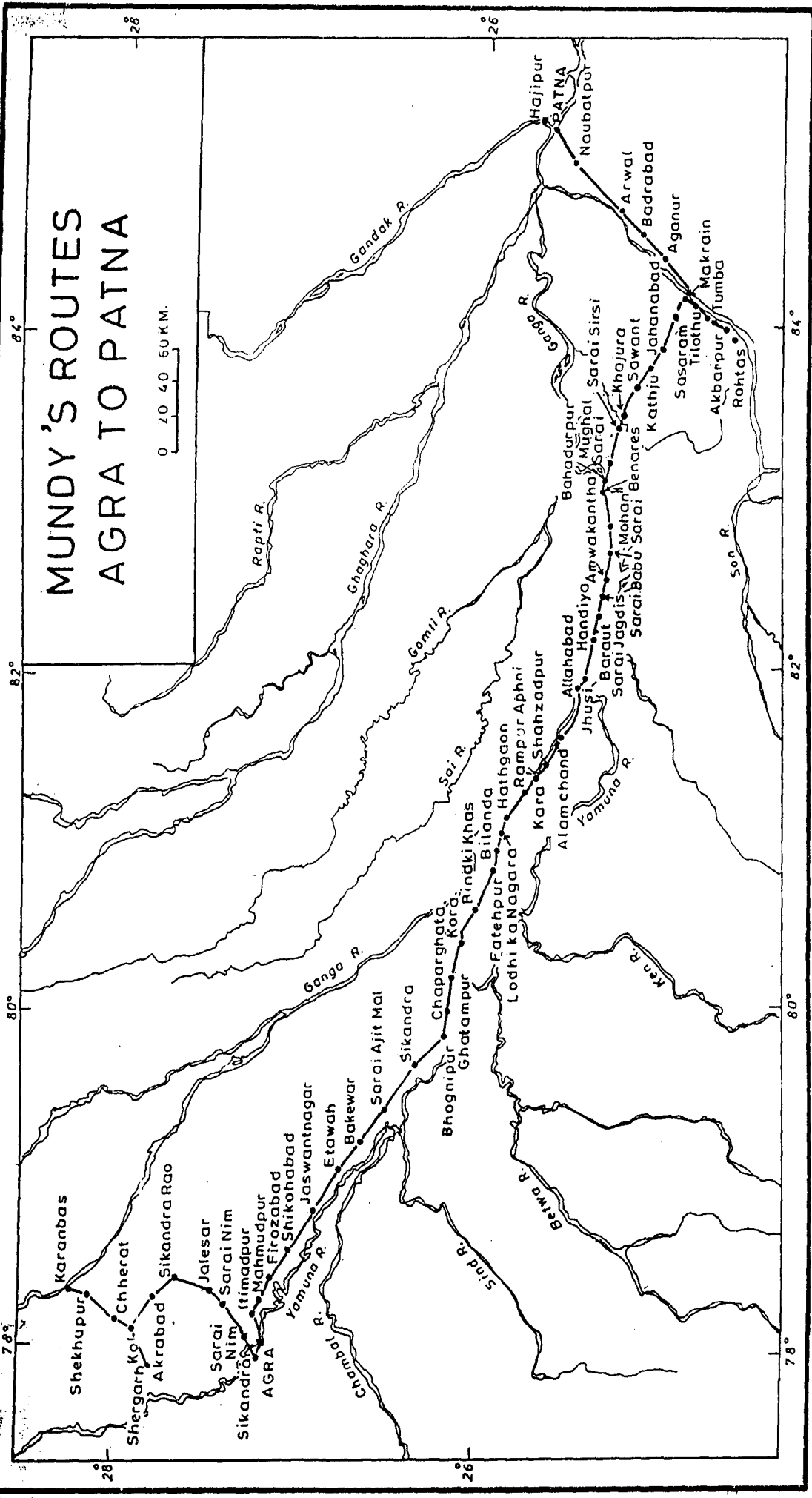
<sup>63</sup> Ain-I, *op.cit.*, p.44.

<sup>64</sup> Banarsidas *op.cit.*, p.225. हय आरूद चौधरी दक इस, आयो साय और नर बीसए पदा 423. 425.

<sup>65</sup> W.Crook, *op.cit.*, pp.149-150.

# MUNDY'S ROUTES AGRA TO PATNA

0 20 40 60 KM.



## **CHAPTER-III**

### **SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE SUBAH**

The region that constituted Subah Allahabad was a major part of the great alluvial plain of the Gangetic valley and the society was essentially agricultural in its character. It is very difficult to study about the social life and tendencies of the people of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century separately from other parts of Northern India. There were very few specific information regarding the social life of the people of Subah. One has to reconstruct the picture on the basis of indigenous sources of the region and has to comprehend on the basis of general pattern of social life of Northern India. The society was divided into two main sections as Hindu and Muslim. The two communities also influenced each other in many walk of life.

#### **1. Hindu Society:**

##### **Religious Beliefs:**

The Hindu believed in one infinite God, whom they call some places Parmeshwar or Ishwar. He is all powerful and all wise, creator of the heaven and the earth, who is omnipresent. He created also three perfect beings; one was 'Brahma' (a name which signifies penetrating

into all things) the second Vishnu (that is existing in all things) and the third Mahadeva (the mighty lord, Shiva).<sup>1</sup>

These three are mighty angels who later on became as God and transformed into an idol. The property of these three are; The Sovereign Brahma, the creator of all things, the angelic Vishnu, their preserver and Mahesh or Shiva. The destroyer of existences attained to this exalted eminence. Gradually many sect within the philosophy of Hindu religion were emerged who started believing in many super power with different name commonly called 'Devta', like sun, Moon, Stars, cow, the ape and different monsters.<sup>2</sup>

#### (a) Various religious sects

##### **Vaishnava Sect:**

There were many sects in Hindu religion the period under review. In which Vaishnava sect was one of the important and popular among masses of the region. The followers of this sect emphasized to worship

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<sup>1</sup> Dharam Das, *Dhani Dharam Das Ji Ki Shabdavli*, Velevadier Printing Works Allahabad, 1960, p.13.

ब्रह्म बिष्णु महेस न जाने  
का जाने सारद सेस हो।

H.V.S. Murthy, *Vaisnavism of Samkara deva and Ramanuja* (a comparative study), pub. Motilal Banarsidas Delhi-1973, p.3.

<sup>2</sup> F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire* (1656-68) ed., W. Irvin, Oriental Reprint New Delhi-1983, pp.328-329; David Shea & Anthony troys, *Hinduism: During the Mughal India of 17<sup>th</sup> Century*, pub. Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna, 1993, pp.43, 48.

Vishnu as God who incarnated time to time as Rama,<sup>3</sup> and Krishna.<sup>4</sup> He is also regarded being true, eternal and beautiful. He dwelt in 'Vaikuntha' along with his wife Lakshmi. The Goddess of wealth and prosperity. He was the ideal God of house holders.<sup>5</sup> The Bhakti Saints were in lived and showed toleration towards Vaishnava irrespective to any other. Kabir forbad to meet 'Shakta' Brahman in comparison to Vaishnava, even he is of the view that friendly relations can be maintained with 'Chandalas' if he is a true devotee of Vishnu,<sup>6</sup> Raidas also applauses the family in which a Vaishnava saint took birth, as fortunate.<sup>7</sup> The general conception of all the Vaishnava sects was that the Guru was entitled to 'Bhakti'. He was for more than a teacher and preceptor, regarded during the period under review.

### Shaiva Sect:

Another sect was Shaiva, the follower of this sect believed in power of God Shiva.<sup>8</sup> Who is also called Shankara, Shambhu, Rudra, Mahadeva. His characteristic is as, a powerful, wrathful and impetus God

<sup>3</sup> Shyam Sunder Das , *Kabir Granthawli*, Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Kashi Samvat-2012, हिन्दु मुहे राम कहि.....

Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot & Careri*, Ed., S.N.Sen, New Delhi-1949, p.259;

<sup>4</sup> Murthy *op.cit.*, pp.11-12.

<sup>5</sup> R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism and Shaivism: other minor religious system*. Pub. Indological Book House, Varanasi-1965, p.....

<sup>6</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.49. मेरे संगे दोई जणा, एक वैष्णौ एक राम.- पद-4  
सावत बामण मति मिलै, बैसनौ मिलै चंडाल पद-1। p.53.

<sup>7</sup> Santsudhasar , (ed.) *Viyogi Hari Varanasi*, 1953, होई पुनीत भगवन्त भजन ते। आपु तारि तारे कुल दोई।।शब्द -3, p.128.

कस्त गुप्त शिव पूज, pada-223.

<sup>8</sup> Banarsidas Jain Ardhkathanak er. And introduced & annotated by Mukund Lath Rajasthan Prakrit Bharti Sansthan Prakrit Bharti Sansthan, Jaipur, 1981. कहै सदा सिक मूरति एह, पूजै सो पावे लिव - गेह। कस्त गुप्त शिव पूज.

with generous and bountiful. Whenever a man desire for anything who was the God to be appealed for its fulfillment. He lived on the Himalaya with his wife Uma, Parwati or Durga. His vehicle is an ox.<sup>9</sup>

He is represented as having betaken himself to the process of Yoga or contemplation. It will be seen that the object of worship in Shaivism is the Linga or Phallus.<sup>10</sup> He has also a character as a healer, he appears as the lord of medicinal herbs and is called heavenly physician.<sup>11</sup>

This sect had a great impact on the people of the Subah. Kashi (Banaras) was their centre. The devotees of Shiva carried in his hand an iron lance as an emblem.<sup>12</sup>

### **Jangama:**

The Jangamas worship Shiva in the form of 'Linga. There are four sects among Shivas namely ordinary Shivas mixe Shivas, pure Shivas and vir Shivas or Lingayats. The priest of Vir Shaivas are called Jangama. The essential characteristic of which is wearing the emblem on some parts of dress. Smear their foreheads with *Vibhuti* or ashes, wear necklace, carry rosaries made of the *Rudra* seed. Generally the

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<sup>9</sup> R.G. Bhandarkar *op.cit.*, p.140.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.114.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p.103.

<sup>12</sup> Ardhkathanak *op.cit.*, p.240. अष्ट प्रकृति पुजा कठै, सिव लिव नाम जपै सौ बाट ; R.G.Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, p.103.



members of the sect stain their garments with red ochre.<sup>13</sup> Lingayata probably arose in twelfth century originated by Basawa. Who was a minister of Bijjala, a kalchuri king who ruled Kalyani from 1156-1157. It was basically a monotheistic system opposed to Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. They believed that their 5 teachers (Panchacharyas) are incarnations of each of the five faces of Lord Shiva. There are five Mathas situated at the birth place of these Acharya, Jangam Bari Math is one of them.

The Jangam Bari Math and the Kedarnath temple of Benaras are prominent seat of this sect. The Jangam Bari Math received land grants from the Mughals time to time.<sup>14</sup>( see Plates-1-10)

### **Shaktas:**

The Sensual form, in which the Shakti is object of worship was called the school of Shaktas. The worship of Goddess in various forms was the philosophy and ideology of this school who influenced the people of Subah in some extent. The Shaktas sacrifice of animals and even of human beings was fairly common in their place of worship. They use wine for the purpose of ablution, was also in practice. The Goddesses,

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<sup>13</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.43. पापी पूजा बैसि कटि , भणै मांस मद दोई।pada-13.

R.G.Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, pp.142-146.

Murthy, *op.cit.*, pp.33-35.

H.H.Wilson, *Religious Sects of Hindus*, Calcutta-1958, pp.135-137.

<sup>14</sup> M.A. Ansari, *Administrative Documents of Mughal India*, B.R. Publishing Carp., Delhi 1984, p.2.( see Plates-1-10)

whom the Shaktas worshiped were called by various names such as Karala, Kali, Chandi, Chamundi and others. The Bhakti saints forbade to people to make any relation with them.<sup>15</sup>

### **Nath panthis:**

It is regarded that the propagator of the Nath Panth sect was Adhinath Shiva.<sup>16</sup> The early history of this sect is still in the dark. We have only information that it was given a regular and systematic shape by Gorakhnath who is said to be the propagator of the Kanphata sect.<sup>17</sup> The Kanphata yogis widely traveled in north India. The most important centre of their activities in this region was Kashi (Banaras). Which attracted all those who were interested in religious pursuits.

The followers of Gorakhnath were known as yogis, Gorakhnathis, Darasnias, but commonly Kanphata yogis. They were worshipers of Shakti and Shiva. They used to gather at the temple of Kal Bhairova at Banaras which became the nucleolus of the activities.<sup>18</sup> From early medieval times onwards, Gorakhnath was a well known wonder worker and master yogi of northern and western India. They practiced control of the breath and exercised 'Hathyoga'. They claim that their sect existed even before the world came into being. Yoga was both a branch of Hindu philosophy and

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<sup>15</sup> R.G. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, pp.142-46.

<sup>16</sup> G.W. Briggs, *Gorakhnath and Kanphata Yogis*, Motilal Banarsidas Delhi, 1938, p.75.

<sup>17</sup> Parshuram Chaturvedi, *Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara, Prayag-1951*, pp.54-58.

<sup>18</sup> Briggs *op.cit.*, p.179.

system of physical and mental discipline. “a code of disciplinary practices”. It also combined with it the element of devotion based on emotion. They preferred to lived in a secluded place which was congenial to the type of religious life they wanted to lead. The yogis try for both devotion (Bhakti) and liberation (Mukti). They usually emphasized the worship of Shiva.<sup>19</sup> These Gorakhnathis worshiped also nine *Nathas* and eighty four *Sidhaas* in addition to *Shiva*. It seems that they did not have any rigid rules regarding their ‘*Hathyoga*’ nor did they have compiled their ideals and principles in the farm of religious scriptures. The only center of the followers of this sect in the Subah was Benaras.<sup>20</sup>

#### **Sidh Practice:**

Some of the saints and ascetics tried to act, claim that they claim, gaining extra ordinary power. By this they create illusion in the minds of people. It shows that people faith in miracles.<sup>21</sup>

#### **Banwari Pantl:**

Swami Ramanand, who lived at Ghazipur laid down the an off shoot traditions of saints.<sup>22</sup> Some of his followers gained popularity among the common people. One of them was Banwri Sahib, who was

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.249-50.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.136.

<sup>21</sup> K.G. , *op.cit.*, p.135. सिधा साधिक कहै हम सिधि पाई, पद-146, षट दरसन संसै पड़ाया अरु चौरासी सिध. पद-11, p.11.

<sup>22</sup> Parshuram *op.cit.*, p.476.

responsible for the establishment of Banwri panth.<sup>23</sup> The other sect of the region like Dadupanth, Nanak Panth, Kabir path etc. were attracting to people in the regions; Delhi, Rajasthan, Punjab western part of Uttar Pradesh. Haryana etc. This sect (Banwri) was fairly popular in the western part of the Subah Allahabad. Banwri Sahib (1542-1605 A.D.) shifted its activities in Delhi from Ghazipur. After a century, during the time of Yari Sahib and Biru Sahib it became strong with the help of five disciples of Yari sahib, like Keshavdas, Hast Mohammad, Shekhar Shah and Sufi Shah Faqir in Delhi region while fifth Bulla Shah established himself in *Bhurkuda* in Ghazipur, original seat of the sect and worked here till his demise in 1709 AD.<sup>24</sup>

The Saints of this sect emphasized mainly on the development of moral life of the individuals. Their utterances were the only source of guidance to the followers. The two disciples of Bulla Shah namely Jagjivandas and Gulal Jagjivan Das were very liberal in his views than others and finally separated from Sampardaya and found a new group called Satnami.<sup>25</sup>

#### **Pranami Sect:**

The Pranami sect founded by Keshav Chandra better known as Nijanand (also known as Dev Chand) who was born in Kayastha family of

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p.492-93.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, pp.379-492.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pp.549-550

Amarkot on 11<sup>th</sup> Oct 1581 AD, at the age of 16 years and seven months had studied thoroughly various religious books at Kacheh. He was a disciple of Hari Das Gosain who belongs to Radha vallaba sect.<sup>26</sup> It is believed that Keshava Chandra received 'Gyan' at the age of forty (40) years. One of his disciple was Mehraj, who was later known as Pran Nath, he carried out his mentor's spiritual mission.<sup>27</sup> Pran Nath proceeded towards Bundelkhand and met Chattrsal Bundela in a forest near Mau in 1683 AD. He finally settled in Panna and died here in 29<sup>th</sup> June 1694 AD.<sup>28</sup>

Pranami believed in one God and were opposed to idol worship but later it appears from the prevalent traditions of their famous temple at Panna that they adopted all the usual practices of idol worshippers.<sup>29</sup> They have considerably influenced by the teaching of Kabir, Nanak and other saints of South. Pran Nath bitterly criticized the religious blindness of Hindus and Muslims. He wanted to bridge the gulf between their religious beliefs by putting the basic identical ideologies of Vedas and Quran. He opposed the rigid monopoly on religion by Mullah and Pandits and the distinction of castes and creeds. Their philosophy gave considerable influence on the life of the Hindu population in the area of Sarkar

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid*, p.429.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, p.430.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, p.430.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, p.537.



Kalinjar. Later on this Socio-religious reform movement spread out whole South-Western part of Subah Allahabad.<sup>30</sup>

### **Jaina Sect:**

Jaina was one of religious section of the society. From the Bhakti verses, we get to know that this community of very conscious to not hurt any human beings, even they used filtered water for drinking.<sup>31</sup> They worship 'Parsvanath', its Shrine is situated in Banaras. For that they traveled to come Banaras in the Mouth of 'Chait' (April-may) on the day of the full moon. This community was fully indulged in trade and commerce.<sup>32</sup>

### **2. Cast Professions in Rural and Urban areas of Subah:**

Hindus formed the vast majority of the Subha's population and had different schools of thought of their faith like, Vaishnavits, Shaivaites (Shakt), Nath Sect, etc. According to Shastras the Hindu society was divided into four 'Varnas' strictly based on Karma (Actions or deeds) which later on developed into caste on the basis of professions. Which are as follows;

### **Brahmanas:**

They were at the top of caste hierarchy and were considered the custodian of learning. They were law makers and maintained high code of

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, pp.535 - 539.

<sup>31</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.37. पंडित भए सरावगी पाणी पीवै छाणि। पद-12.

<sup>32</sup> *Ardhkathanak op.cit.*, p.241. पूजा पास सुपास की, कीनी धरि मन रंग। पद-232.

conduct and lead a pure and pious life.<sup>33</sup> These people were called in Bhakti literature as; Brahman Panday, Pandit and were respected among masses. All the religious rituals were could not be performed without the help of this class. They recite holy scripture,<sup>34</sup> and made discourses among each other on religious topics. But the Bhakti saints criticized them and say that Although they discourse to people to go on right path but they themselves are far away and not perusing scriptural instructions. The Bhakti Saints considered true Brahman/Pandit to those, who made their ultimate object. They were well versed in all religious scriptures, medicinal sciences grammar. Some are very good astronomer familiar with the course of stars.<sup>35</sup>

### **Kshatriya:**

The next to them were the Kshatriyas who were considered as ruling class, the words for them were used as Rajpoot, Thakur or Bhupati (Lord of the land). Their duty were to take care of the society by their valour.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> F. Bernier *op.cit.*, p.325, Jean-Baptisete Tavernier, Travels in India, vol. -II, ed. V.Ball, pub., Oriental Book Reprint Corporation, New Delhi 1977, p.142.

<sup>34</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.102., पढि पढि पंडित वेद बषाणी। पद -42.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p.172. जो तुम पंडित आगम जाणौ, विद्धा व्याकरण, तंत मंत सब औषधि जाणों , अति तउ मरणा। पद-248.

Tavernier, II, *op.cit.*, p.142.

Francisco Pelsaert , *Jahangir's India* tr., W.H.Moreland & P. Geye, Cambridge, 1925, p.77.

<sup>36</sup> F. Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.325.

Dharam Das , *op.cit.*, p.49. ठाकुर मति के होन, कर्म बस बाघा हो। शब्द-20/9

### Vaishyas:

The Vaishyas were in third position in hierarchy of caste.<sup>37</sup> The word used for them by the contemporary Bhakti saints were; Baniya, Sah, Bais etc. This class was working as trader or merchants, and were expected to manage finance. This business class also lending money,<sup>38</sup> we get information that they charged high interest and sometimes it became very difficult to save from their Jaw. Simultaneously their honest behavior and cunningness were also mentioned by these saints. The affluent traders were called Sah or Modi are made as respected word for them.<sup>39</sup> There were a number of references in verses of Kabir that the affluent people concealed money under the earth. The Sadhus saints also received financial assistance from them.<sup>40</sup>

### Shudra:

This was fourth in caste hierarchy and considered is low both untouchable or servant class. Who were asked to serve aforesaid three caste by religious scripture. It is very difficult to find how many sub

<sup>37</sup> F. Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.325; Tavernier II, *op.cit.*, p.144.

<sup>38</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.36, देहि पइसा प्याज का लेखा करता जाई।

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p.42, कबीर पुंजि साह कि पुजा साह को , तु जिनि खोवे सवार।

<sup>~</sup> Santsudhasar, I, *op.cit.*, p.36. जाके मोदी राम से ताहि कहा परवाह। शब्द-8.

<sup>40</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.116. .... माटी सु लपटाना, पद -88.

Santsudhasar, *op.cit.*, p.36. खेती नाहि बारी नाहि बनिज व्यापार नाहि , ऐसा कोई साह नहि जासो कछु मांगिये। पद-2.



castes come in this fourth division except *Julaha* (weavers) and *Chamars* (leather workers).<sup>41</sup>

Above all these Classes, there were menial workers called Dom, Chandal, Malecha, who were regarded as outcast of social hierarchy. They have no any social position.<sup>42</sup>

The Subah was basically an agricultural society and most of the population lived in villages. A number of people were serving them as their professional skills. These artisans and craftsmen were enjoying separate social status. The element of the unity was retained through their occupational guilds which were of great social significance. At village level they served to each other and at the time of harvest received their payments of the share, instead of cash from the customer. Time to time these artisan also joined local as well as towns that *Hat Bazars* to sell their productions. These professional were as followed, we get the information from the Bhakti saints verses:

1. Darji - (Tailor),<sup>43</sup>
2. Kevat (boat seller).<sup>44</sup>
3. Kumhar, Kohar, (Potter),<sup>45</sup>
4. Julaha(weaver),<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Tavernier II, *op.cit.*, pp.144-145.

F. Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.325.

<sup>42</sup> Santsudhasar, *op.cit.*, p.183, बाभन सूद बैस अरू खत्री डोम चंडाल किन होई।शब्द-3,

<sup>43</sup> Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.33. दरजी ने टुक-टुक कीन्ह दरद नाहि जाना हो।शब्द-12.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p.77. एक नाम केवाटिया करि ले , सोई लगावे तीर । शब्द-15.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p.34. जस कुम्हार कै चाक धुमै,, शब्द-13.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p.33. बुढिया ने काता सूत जोलहवा ने बीना हो।शब्द-12.

5. Camar, Nalidoz (Leather worker),<sup>47</sup>
6. Teli (Oil –Presser),<sup>48</sup>
7. Banjara (Wounderer),<sup>49</sup>
8. Kasai, (Butcher),<sup>50</sup>
9. Baniya (Grosser),<sup>51</sup>
10. Dhobi (Washerman)<sup>52</sup>
11. Badahi (carpenter),<sup>53</sup>
12. Tamoli, (betel seller),<sup>54</sup>
13. Lohar (Blacksmith),<sup>55</sup>
14. Kahar, Litters (Planquin carriers),<sup>56</sup>
15. Ganika (Prostitute),<sup>57</sup>

These community held important position in social life of the Subah.

### 3. Muslim Society:

#### Religio-social condition:

Islam, means the religion of resignation, submission to the will, the service, the commands of God and the Quran is the first foundation. The

<sup>47</sup> Raidas, *Raidas Ki Bani*, pub. Velebadier printing works, Allahabad, 1997, p.20. ऐसी मेरी जाति बिख्यात चमार। नाली दोज हनोज बेबखत । पद.42/1.

<sup>48</sup> Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.77. लेगई रंग निचोइ के ज्यो तेली के हाथ ,शब्द-12.

<sup>49</sup> Raidas *op.cit.*, p.14, जन रैदास कहै बनिजरिया,पद.28.

<sup>50</sup> Dharam Das *op.cit.* वह भी मुल्ला बडा कसाई, शब्द-14.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p.23., मन नहि तौले चार कारे तौले बनिया, शब्द-7.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.11., सतगुरू धोबी जो मिलै, दिल दाग छोडावै। शब्द-3/1.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p.68. बढाई चलावै जस आरा, शब्द-16/4.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p.61. तत तमोलिन सुधर सुमति ले, शब्द-6.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p.44. घटहि मे लोह लोहार, शब्द-16/5.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p.44. सतगुरू डोलिया फंदावल लगे चार कहार, शब्द-15/3.

<sup>57</sup> Raidas *op.cit.*, p.31. गनिका थी किस करमा जाय, पर पुरूष सो रमती भोग। पद -67/1.

faith is based on Tauhid; the unity of Godhead. The formula of the creed; *Kalama-i-Shahadat*. ‘*La-ila-ha il-lal-lah, Muhammad-ur-Rasolullah*”

(There is no God but God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God)

And are the following:

1. Belief in God
2. in His Angles
3. in His scripture (Quran)
4. in His apostles
5. in the resurrection and the Day of Judgement.
6. in God’s absolute decree and pre-destination both of good and evil.

The second practical part consists of precepts and commandments to be obeyed, duties to be fulfilled, and were being performed by the Muslim population of the Subah and the Bhakti saints also talks about it are as follows:

**Namaz, Nivaj, (Prayer);**<sup>58</sup> is the second of the five foundations or pillars on which Islam is built up. This is a most important duty of every Muslim is frequently enjoined in the Quran (XX, 130, ii-40) The five obligatory prayers, morning, prayer, Noon prayer, After noon prayer, Evening prayer, Night prayer.

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<sup>58</sup> Malukdas, Malukdas Ki-Bani, pub., Velevedier Printing Works, Allahabad, 1997, तौजी और निमाज न जानू, पेरा- 2/4 प.6, संख्या निवाज समय करि रेटवै पेरा- 3/2 प.-25,

- Roza, (Fasting);<sup>59</sup>** The third foundation of Islam is fasting, which consist of total abstinence from food, drink and cohabitation from sunrise to sunset.
- Zakat (Alms);** The giving of the duty appointed. Alms (tithes, taxes, Zakat) is another five foundations of Islam) It rests on distinct command of the Quran “Perform the prayer and give the alms”. (Surah-ii-40).
- Hajj;<sup>60</sup>** The pilgrimage to the Kaba, the holy house at Macca is the fifth foundation on which Islam is built up. The performance of this pilgrimage, once at least in his life is incumbent on every Muslim, male and female, who is possibly able to do it. (Sura Xxii-28 ii-153).

The majority of the people had faith in Peer or Sufi saints, Peeri-Muridi persisted all over Subah,<sup>61</sup> we also get some information about self proclaimed Peers’ who made fools of common people.<sup>62</sup> Tomb worship (Dargah) was a common sight during those days.<sup>63</sup> A large number of pilgrims of various communities took part in Urse (death

<sup>59</sup> Malukdas, *op.cit.*, p.6. न जानू धरि रोजा 2/4, रोजा और नियाज गुजौर 14/4 p.-20.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, मक्का हज िये मे देखा, पुरा मुरसिप पाया! पद-2/5- p.-6.

मक्का मदीना, द्वरका, बद्रि और केदार पद-49 p.-33.

<sup>61</sup> है बेपीर और पीर कहावै, करि मुरीद तदबीर सिखावै। पद-14/6 p.-20.

<sup>62</sup> भैस फकीरी जो करै, मन नहीं आवै हाथ। पद-9-p.-29.

बहुतक परा कहावतै, बहुत करत है भैस पद-6- p.-29,

<sup>63</sup> ता दरगाह मुसल्लाह डारे बैठा कादिर काजी- शब्द-1/5, p.-4.

तैही दरगाह के बीच पडे है कबूल पद-11/3. p.-19.

anniversary of Peer).<sup>64</sup> There were a number of tombs in the Subah where people gathered and celebrate Urs; like, Shah Qasim Qadri at Chunar, Syed Salar Masud Ghazi whose tomb is in Bahraich but has cenotaphs at various places in the Subah, annual faire held in his honors. Another saint at Makanpur (Kanpur) was the tomb of Zinda Shah Madar etc.<sup>65</sup>

The social structure of the Muslim community had been very antithesis of the Hindusim. There is no social division on the basis of birth or race. The prophet did not prescribed the predominance of one class over the others. There is no intermediary between man and God.

“The Islam of Muhammad, recognizes no castes or priesthood, allow no monopoly of spiritual knowledge or special holiness to intervene between man and his God”.<sup>66</sup>

But, when Islam came in this Indian subcontinent, could not escape from the social hierarchical influence based on birth among Hindu society. The new converts to Islam did not change their old environment and revealed their Hindu origin in their religious and social life almost at every turn. Slowly Indian Islam assimilated with the broad features of Hinduism.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> रोजा करे निमाज गुजारै। उरूस करै और आतम मारे पद-14/4 p.-20.

<sup>65</sup> William Crook, *The popular Religion & Folklore of Northern India* vol. I, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1968, p.277.

<sup>66</sup> S. Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam* London-1955, p.165.

<sup>67</sup> K.M. Ashraf, *Life and condition of people of Hindustan.*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1970, p.107.

The region under review had also many castes among Muslims, in which, some had Zamindari rights in different areas. Some are as follows; *Syed, Ansari, Rahmatullahi, Saddiqi, Bachgoti, Shaikhzada, Faruki Pathan etc.*<sup>68</sup> Among lower classes *Julahas* (weavers), *Naddaf, Benhas* (cotton-corder), *Hajjam* (Barber), *faqir* (begger) *Darzi*, (tailor) The position and condition of lower masses of Muslims were same as Hindu brethren.<sup>69</sup>

#### 4. Social Ceremonies:

The birth of a child, especially a male one is regarded a most significant event in family as well in society. After the birth of a child astrologer were called to prepare or cast a horoscope (Janampatra) of child. The family members started festivities and rejoicing, distributed gifts to rich and poor according to their economic status.<sup>70</sup> Among Muslims the rite of *Aqiqah* or sacrifice was performed.<sup>71</sup>

The next eventful item in Hindu Society was naming ceremony. It was a general tendency to give name to their children either of the great trinity or the favorite deity. The Muslim commonly give names to their children after the prophet or some Khalifa.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, ed. (Blochman) Oriental Book Reprint, New Delhi, pp.172-175.

<sup>69</sup> William Crook, *The popular Religion & Folklore of Northern India* vol. I, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1968, pp-95-96.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p.277.

<sup>71</sup> Ashraf *op.cit.*, p.177.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

### **Sacred thread ceremony:**

It was an important ceremony among upper castes Hindus. This was performed when the male child attained the age of seven to nine years. This ritual was performed with the help of Brahman (Pundits) and was considered the purification of child. The sacred thread was given to him and was expected to start his education, the parents used to make it a festival occasion and made rejoicing according to their financial condition.<sup>73</sup>

### **Hindu Marriage Ceremony:**

The marriage was regarded an important social and religious ceremony. Hindus treated it as sacrament which is irrevocable. The marriage age among Hindu masses were generally low. Pelsaert says that the early marriage was prevalent among Hindus.<sup>74</sup> Emperor Akbar dislike the early marriage and tried to check this practice as far as possible. Abul Fazl informs "He abhors marriages which take place between men and women before the age of puberty."<sup>75</sup> The business man Banarsidas who reside in Jaunpur get married at the age of nine years,<sup>76</sup> usually marriage celebrated during summer when the peasants had crops ready and were free from work in the field. It is very difficult to give a comprehensive

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p.178.

<sup>74</sup> Pelsaert *op.cit.*, p.84.

<sup>75</sup> Ain-I, *op.cit.*, p.287.

<sup>76</sup> Ardh Kathanak, *op.cit.*, p.231, इस अंतर नौ बरस को भये बनारसी बाल, पद.-100.

description about marriages but though some literary sources we can assumed the prevalent rites of the marriage.

Generally the negotiation between two families for their children marriages were played by Brahman priest and family barber. The wedding dates was fixed and invitations were set out through the barber or messengers to relatives and friends.<sup>77</sup>

At the day of wedding, in brides home, a Mandap was constructed with the decoration of flowers, mango leaves hung on the door<sup>78</sup> when the family members and friends of Bridegroom (Barati)<sup>79</sup> reached at the door of bride the young girls started reciting wedding songs.<sup>80</sup> The religious rituals were performed under marriage mandap. The couple had the hems of their garments knotted together,<sup>81</sup> and the ceremony of circumambulation round the sacred fire took place.<sup>82</sup> In between, the Prohit (priest) chanted the sacred texts.<sup>83</sup> After that groom filled vermilion on the forehead of bride and they became husband and wife.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p.231., तासु पुरोहित आइओ लोनो नाउ साथ ।

<sup>78</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.164. पंचजना मिली मंडप छायो..... पद-226.

<sup>79</sup> Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.47. पवन बाराती ब्याहन आये , मान करो सम्मान हो । शब्द-3.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p.46., कनक कलस धरि मंगल गावो । शब्द-17/6.

K.G. *op.cit.*, p.87. दुलहन गावह मंगल चार , पद-1.

<sup>81</sup> Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.47. सब्द सुरत के गांठ जुराओ , शब्द-18/6.

<sup>82</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.165. नाना रंग भांवरी फेरी गांठि जोरि वाव पतिताई । पद-226.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p.87. सरिर सरोवह वेदी कारिहु ब्रहा वेद उचार, पद-2/1.

<sup>84</sup> Dharam Das, *op.cit.*, p.47. तिरगुन सेन्दुर मंगावो मोरे बावा , पिय से मांग भराई हो । शब्द-18/5.



After the completion of marriage function bride left her fathers house and went to her husband home. For this purpose, a palanquin was decorated by the bridegroom side which was carried by 'Kahar'.<sup>85</sup> The marriage ceremony lasted on many days as per the economic conditions of family. If she was not of age due to child marriages, then she detained in the parents house for another five or seven years. This was called *Gauna*.<sup>86</sup>

### **Muslims Marriage:**

The Muslims marriages were essentially a civil contract based on Shariat (Islamic law). It is called as Nikah (marriage). Muslims generally married at the age of 15 to 18 years old.<sup>87</sup> After the examining the proposal thoroughly, a ring was sent by bridegroom side to the bride. Later on time was fixed for marriage. Sometimes, with the fixation of *Mahar* (bride price) which has to paid in kind or cash, decided by families.<sup>88</sup>

Once given or promised to the wife. The *Mehar* could not be taken back. But a women can forgive her claim by not demanding the *Mehar*.

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p.44. सतगुरू डोलिया फंदावल, लगे चार कहार . शब्द-3

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p.65. चोलिया पहेरि धानि चली है गवनवा , वेलेत रहलु अगनवा सखी संग साथी हो  
शब्द-8/3

आई गवन निगचाय ..... पहिले गवनवा ऐलु पानिया से भेजलन हो . शब्द-4/1,2,  
p.59.

<sup>87</sup> Pelseart *op.cit.*, pp.82,83.

<sup>88</sup> I.A. Zilli, *The Mughal State and Culture (1556-1598), selected letters & Documents from Munshat-i-Namakin*, Manohar-2007, p.335.

The *Mehar* had always formed an important part in a Muslim marriage according to the status of Groom.<sup>89</sup>

At the date of marriage, bridegroom with his relatives and friends goes to the house of bride. The Qazi or Maulvi makes a prayer and registered the names of couple in his diary.<sup>90</sup>

### **The Last Rites:**

The last rites, after the death of a person performed according to the religious beliefs of the deceased. The dead bodies either buried or cremated. Some of the Hindus threw the dead bodies in the Ganges especially at Banaras, where it was eaten away by the animals. Generally, they cremated the dead bodies near a pond, lake, tank, rives.<sup>91</sup> After a few days they give a feast on the thirteenth day to their near relatives and friends.

The Muslims buried their deads, observed the *Siyum* the third day ceremony after the death of an individual, in which friends and relatives of the deceased gathered and recited the Holy Quran for the departed soul, later Sharbat and betel leaves were distributed.<sup>92</sup>

### **5. Position of Women:**

The position of women in general, the region under review are available in the annals of the period is very scanty. From ancient times

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid., pp.333-335, Document No.205-206.

<sup>90</sup> Pelsaert *op.cit.*, pp.82-83.

<sup>91</sup> Tavernier –II, p.161.

<sup>92</sup> Ashraf, *op.cit.*, p.185.

women have a dominant role in the domestic affairs but were deprived the privilege of playing an active and constructive role in society.

The birth of female child was looked upon as an unfortunate. They were regarded as subordinate to the male and was always dependent before marriage on her parents after marriage on her husband. The foremost objectives of most unmarried girls was to get a good husband. It is expected to wife for devotional love to her husband, would be dear to the husband in whatever way she lived.<sup>93</sup> It is also considered that the path of service to her husband was for the devoted wife also the path of salvation for her. The ideal women in character was regarded as *Kaushalya* and *Sita*. Their main duty was always in home, although some of the communities women helped to their male counterparts in economic life also but it was a rare. A good wife must also win the affection of the other family members; mother in law, father in law and elder a younger brother of her husband.<sup>94</sup>

*Purdah* was generally followed by Muslim women and upper well to do section of Hindu family. De Laet says “The Mohammadan women do not come out into public unless they are poor or immodest; they veil their heads and draw their hair forward in a knot from the back”<sup>95</sup> Carreri says that “The Mohammadan women do not appear in public, except the

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<sup>93</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.133. जौ चै पतिव्रता है नारी , कैसे ही रहौ सो पियाहि पियारि। पद.-139.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p.165. पहली नारि सदा कुलवंती , देवर जेठ सबनि की प्यारि. पद.-229.

<sup>95</sup> J.De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol* , tr. J, Hoyland & S.N. Banerjee, Bombay 1965, p.80.

vulgar sort and the lend ones. They cover their heads but their Hair hangs down behind in several tresses".<sup>96</sup>

The Hindu well to do section of women moved on or went out of their houses a well-guarded litters or palanquins (*dolis or palkis*), in covered used,<sup>97</sup> while generally *Ghoonghat* form of *Purdah* was prevalent among them.<sup>98</sup>

The family life was based on joint family system. It was the duty of daughter in law to take guidance from mother in Law for his domestic affairs and obey the elders, live in discipline, work according to the other family members of the house.<sup>99</sup> Some times, the newly married daughter-in-law in the family had to face bad behaviour started with her.<sup>100</sup>

The manifestation of atrocities on daughter-in-law by mother and sister in laws were common. She was liked and also disliked by some members of family. But she had to lived in the family while bad behaviour of some of her laws.<sup>101</sup> She had to remained very anxious in the absence of her husband. She feels respectful fear her husband's elder

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<sup>96</sup> Carreri *op.cit.*, p.248.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, p.246.

Bernier *op.cit.*, p 372.

<sup>98</sup> Surdas, *Sursagar*, vol. I, ed. Nand Dulare Vajpaae, pub. Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Varanasi, 2021, VS p.670. घूंघट मुकुट विराजत सीस. पद-1180.

<sup>99</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.165. पहली खाई आई माई, पीछे खैहु सगौ जबाई, खाया देवर खाया जेठ, सब खाया सुसर का पेट. पद-227.

<sup>100</sup> Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.63. सास दुख सहलो ननद दुख सहलो। K.G. *op.cit.*, p.166. सासु की दुखी ..... नणद सहेली गरब गहेली। पद-230.

<sup>101</sup> Dharamdas *op.cit.*, p.58, उठो मोरो लहुरी ननदिया, तुम ठकुरारन हो। शब्द-2/4.

relatives. Some time she also fears for the bad behaviour of her husband.<sup>102</sup>

The death of husband in the life of Hindu women was a great tragedy because widow re-marriage was not allowed among Hindus. Their life became full of frustration and shame so that they realized it is better to become *Sati*. De Laet says “when her husband died, the widow of her own free will, leaps upon his pyre and is burnt together with his corps.”<sup>103</sup> Bernier described in great details with particular reference to the part played by the Brahman priest.<sup>104</sup>

Pelsaert has also given a detail description of a girl who was going to perform *Sati*. In one of case seen by him, governor has proposed her to give five hundred rupee as allowance. If she will not but the girl was firm on her decision.<sup>105</sup>

The public women or prostitute called as *Ganika* also existed in the Subah,<sup>106</sup> and were responsible for the spoiling public morality. A particular area was set apart for them.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.208. थरहर कापै जीव, न जानु का करिह पीव। पद.360.

<sup>103</sup> De. Laet *op.cit.*, p.87.

<sup>104</sup> Bernier *op.cit.*, pp.306-315.

<sup>105</sup> Pelsaert *op.cit.*, p.79.

<sup>106</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.155. गनिका कै घर बेटा जाय , पिता नाव किस कहिये। पद-197,

<sup>107</sup> Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Twarikh* , vol-II ed. W.H. Low, pub. Idarat Adbiyat Dehli, Delhi. p.312.

## 6. Houses:

So far as houses of the Subah is concerned there is little information. It is assumed that the aristocracy, Zamindar and other well to do class of people imitate the pattern of royalty and constructed their own lofty mansions (*Havelis*) with numerous apartments for different purpose i.e. dressing rooms, bathrooms, retiring room, female apartments besides big courtyard.<sup>108</sup> The Hevelis of Hindu nobles or Zamindars were painted walls. Some of the mansions had 'Khash-Khana' meant for retreat during hot weather. There were also windows (*Khidkis*) for fresh air and light.<sup>109</sup> These mansions generally built of brick and stones, marble and tiles for decorating purpose. These were brought from Agra, Amber, Multan and Lahore. Some houses attached with them built of clay and straw.<sup>110</sup> The houses were well plastered and white washed, Decorated with different kind of furniture, cushions, mattresses, fine carpeted floors etc.<sup>111</sup> The merchants built their residence over the warehouses. Bernier writes "..... they are airy, at a distance from the dust and communicate with the terrace roof over the shaps, on which inhabitants sleep at night... the rich merchants have their dwellings elsewhere, to which they retire

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<sup>108</sup> Ashraf *op.cit.*, p.205; S.K. *op.cit.*, p.270. उंचा भवन कन कमनी सिखरि..... पद-150.

<sup>109</sup> Bernier, *op.cit.*, pp.247-248.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p.246; Niccola Manucci, *Storia do Mogar or Mogal India. II, (1653-1708)*. Vol. III tr. ed. W. Irvin, London, 1907, p.41.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.247-248. Pelsaert, *op.cit.*, p.67.

after the houses of business".<sup>112</sup> Tavernier says about the houses of Benaras "At Benaras the houses were very well built. The majority of the houses being of brick and cut stone and more lofty than those of other towns of India, but the street were very narrow. Generally the houses were not of more than two story. These houses modest in their appearance as compared to those of the nobles".<sup>113</sup>

The houses in which poor masses lived generally made of thatched hut,<sup>114</sup> with mud walls without any cellars and windows. Each hut had only one apartment and had only a single way for air, light and entrance, and without stopping impossible to enter, Joseph Tieffenthaler writing about the houses of Jaunpur and Jais, mentions that "the houses of general masses were made of mud but there were also a large number of houses made of brick sand stone."<sup>115</sup> The floors were pasted with cow dung almost everyday to keep them clean. There were no separate kitchens or bathrooms in the houses. People went to wells (*Bawli*) pound<sup>116</sup> or rivers for bathing. There were little privacy in the life of the common people. Pelsaert writes that "these houses are built of mud, thatched roofs

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<sup>112</sup> Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.245.

<sup>113</sup> Tabernier, *op.cit.*, p.118, W.

Edwart Terry, *Early Travel in India (1583-1619)*, ed., W.Foster, Oxford -1921, pp. 176-179.

<sup>114</sup> K.G., *op.cit.*, p.52. वैश्वानो की छपरी भेली, नासाणत का बड गांव पद-30/1.

<sup>115</sup> Joseph Tijjenthaler, *Description Historical etm Geographical de inde]* Berlin-2786-88. pp. 229-239.

<sup>116</sup> Dharamdas *op.cit.*, p.58, आठ कुंवा नव बावडी, सोरह पनिहार है. शब्द-2.

furniture is little or none, except some earthenware pots to hold water or for cooking....”<sup>117</sup> The houses of better class peasants or of headman of the village were more specious and commodians. They had a platform (*chabutra*) outside the houses together with an entrance chamber, an inner room, a spacious court yard, a verandah and even a second story, called (*Kotha*).<sup>118</sup>

The poor lived in so miserable condition, in summer hot, they spent any how depend on one or two sheets in the bitter cold nights, they try to keep warm over little cow dung fires which are lit out side the door.<sup>119</sup>

The essential item or things which were almost every houses kept are; *Khat Palang* (cot),<sup>120</sup> *Thal* (Plate), *Katora* (Bowl),<sup>121</sup> *Ghara* (Pitcher),<sup>122</sup> *Karachi*, (Long spoon),<sup>123</sup> etc.

## 7. Food and Drinks:

As for as food habit of the people is concerned. It has noteworthy difference between Hindus and Muslims depend on socio-economic

<sup>117</sup> Pelsaert *op.cit.*, p.61.

<sup>118</sup> Ramkumar Verma *Sant Kabir pub.* Sahitya Bhavan , Pvt. Ltd., Allahabad 1957, p.179,

कोठरे महि कोठरी परम कोठी बीचारी. पद-4.

Ashraf *op.cit.*, p.196.

<sup>119</sup> Pelsaert *op.cit.*, p.61; K.G. *op.cit.*, p.189. हसली घोडा गाँव गढ, गुड गूडर कनडा पाइक आगी! पद-299

<sup>120</sup> S.K. *op.cit.*, p.169, हम कऊ साथरू उन्ह कऊ खाट । पद-6/3.

Dharamdas *op.cit.*, p.58. तौ पंलग बिनाबल हो, दवा भाव के पलग बिछा येँ. शब्द-4/3.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p.61. काहे को थाल परोसे काहे कटोरी आन दूध ! शब्द-2/4.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8., घडा एक नीर का फूटा ! शब्द-4/1.

<sup>123</sup> S.K. *op.cit.*, p.237., जूठी करछी परोसन लागी ! पद-7/3.



condition. Although Abul Fazl has given a detail description about well supervised royal kitchen under a sincere officer known as Mir Bakawal or Master of the kitchen.<sup>124</sup> Whatever, varieties of food were prepared in royal kitchen aristocracy as well as well to do classes of society imitate the taste of the items. Some of the dishes are as follows.

- Shirbiranj** : (with milk rice, sugar candy and salt).
- Zardbirinj** : (With rice, Sugar-candy, ghee, almonds, salt, raising, fresh ginger, saffron etc).
- Badinjan** : (containing ghee, onions, ginger and limejuice, pepper, cloves cardmums etc.).
- Khichri** : (containing rice, Mungdal, ghee. Salt etc).
- Duzd Biryani** : (with rice, ghee, meat, salt, cloves, ginger, pepper etc.)
- Qima Polao** : (with rice, meat, ghee, peeled gram, onions salt, fresh ginger, and pepper).
- Qima Shorba** : (with meat rice, ghee, gram).
- Haleem** : (composed of meat, wheat, gram, spices and saffron).
- Kabab** : It was various kinds and was prepared from meat, ghee, salt, fresh ginger, onions peppers cloves etc).

Breads were also different varieties like Buzurg Tanuri, Tunk-e-Tabgi and Chapatti.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> *Ain-l op.cit.*, p.60.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p.64.

- Pua/Malpua**<sup>126</sup> : (consist of wheat floor, sugar landy, ghee etc.).
- Suhari**<sup>127</sup> : (made of wheat floor, sugar candy).
- Khurma**<sup>128</sup> : (prepared with wheat flour, sugar candy, boiled in ghee, on very light fire, cut into pieces).
- Jalebi**<sup>129</sup> : (Sugar candy, flour ghee, mixed then prepared on light five)
- Khira**<sup>130</sup> : (Rice floor, sugar, little water).
- Sag**<sup>131</sup> : (Made of spinach and other greens with onions, ghee, pepper, cloves etc. and it was most pleasant dish) The varieties of sag were used in their food like; Chavrai, Poi, Sarso, Palak, Bathua.

***The vegetables which were used are as follows:***

Bhindi, Zamikand, Tarai, Sem, parwar, Kuhru, Karela, Kela, etc.<sup>132</sup>

The Muslims were non-vegetarian and their upper class enjoyed a variety of nice food. Palseart also refers to the diet of upper class Muslims as “Birinj Ashalia, Polao (yellow, red, green black). Zueyla Dupiazza, roistered meats and various other good courses several on very

<sup>126</sup> Sur Sagar *op.cit.*, p.394. हौस होई तो ल्याऊ पुआ. पद-1014.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., p.332. धेवर फेनी और सुहारी पद-829.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p.323, अरू खुरमा सरस सवारे। पद-801.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., सुठी सरस जलेबी बोली.

<sup>130</sup> Dharam Das p.25. अमृत भोजन हंसा पावे, सब्द धुनन भी खीर पद-2, K.G. *op.cit.*, p.117., पीर षांड धृत व्यंड संवार. वद-98.

<sup>131</sup> Sur Sagar-I p.395. चौराई काल्हा अरू पोई, सरसो मेथी सोवा पालक. पद-1014.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., p.689. pada – 1831; Ain-I, p.137.

large dishes. With too little butter and too much spices for our taste.<sup>133</sup> They preferred to eat fried bread and *Kabab*. The meat was favorite dish of Muslims, they took beef,<sup>134</sup> mutton, fish, flesh of goats sheep's and other beast but did not take pork, as religious rules and meat of animals who not slaughtered properly.<sup>135</sup> Although meat eating was common among Muslims but in certain days the Mughal Kings prohibited the killing of animals which they regarded as sacred.<sup>136</sup> They rarely ate Puri but preferred *Roti* (Bread),<sup>137</sup> The pulse cured butter, oil, milk and its several preparations as *Khir* a *Khawa*<sup>138</sup> were mostly used by the well to do section of society.

The Hindu well to do sections of society were not lag from their Muslim brethren. They were vegetarians which contained like cooked rice, bread, ghee (or butter), milk products, sweat, meats, vegetables & sags of numerous varieties (as mentioned before) but there is also some information that some sections of Hindu society (especially Rajputs)

<sup>133</sup> Pelsaert *op.cit.*, p.68.

<sup>134</sup> S.K, *op.cit.*, p.277, साईं मुझ सिऊं परिआ, तुझे कीन्ही फुरमाईं गाईं। वद-197.

*Ashraf op.cit.*, p.220.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p.220.

<sup>136</sup> *Jahangir Tuzuk-i-Jahangir*, (Memoirs of Jahangir) ed. Rogers & Beveridge vol.I, pub., Low Price Publication Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, p.188.

<sup>137</sup> S.K. *op.cit.*, p.169. हम कउ चाबन उन कऊ रोटी । पद-3.

<sup>138</sup> Sursagar *op.cit.*, p.320, दूद दही घृत माखन मेवा , जो मागो सो देरी। पद-794.

Dharam Das, *op.cit.*, p.61. सत मे दूद करनी के खोवा. शब्द-4.

were non vegetarians and took meat of animals, birds,<sup>139</sup> and fishes. The fish was the most favorite food for the majority of the.<sup>140</sup>

### **Food of the Common People:**

The food of the common people of both the communities generally lacked variety. The condition of common people were not satisfactory. They could hardly afford to spent on rich and dainty dishes but had to satisfied on simple food.<sup>141</sup> Most of the poor peasants started their day with slight breakfast (Chabaina),<sup>142</sup> and then went to their agricultural field. *Khichri*, was most common and popular food for the lower section of society. Wheat was primary food who at chapattis (Roti) of wheat flour;<sup>143</sup> Jwar Bajra flour were also used. They also used great variety of Achars (pickles).

**Laddu**<sup>144</sup> : (a wheat flour item mixed with sugar, in round shape).

**Lapsi**<sup>145</sup> : (wheat flour mixed with sugar in liquid form).

**Chach**<sup>146</sup> : (boiled rice water)

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<sup>139</sup> J.M. Rydey, Ralph Fitch, London, 1899, pp.14,19.

Ralph Fitch, (Early travels) *op.cit.*, p.303.

<sup>140</sup> Dharam Das, *op.cit.* p.67, मछरी धारि खाई । शब्द-2

S.K. *op.cit.*, p.30, काटि कुटि मछली ठीके धरि चहोडि । पद-24.

<sup>141</sup> Bermier, *op.cit.*, p.249.

<sup>142</sup> Sursagar, I, *op.cit.*, p.420.

<sup>143</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.43. खुब खांड है खीचडी, माहि पडे टूक लूण, पेडा रोटि कति, गला कटावे कोण पद-12.

<sup>144</sup> Sur Sagar I, p.323, pada 801.

<sup>145</sup> S.K. *op.cit.*, p.104, pada-14.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p.108, pada-12. संतहु माखन खाइया छाछि पीअै संसार.

**Galka**<sup>147</sup> : (A sweat item)

**Kasari**<sup>148</sup> : An item, wheat flour mixed with sugar & dry fruits),

**Gud**<sup>149</sup> : (sugar can juice in tight form)

The reserved area for cooking food called *chawka/Rasoi*. This was rubbed over with cow-dung<sup>150</sup> No one was allowed to enter with shoes on.<sup>151</sup> They never take meal if any stranger enter in this area. They washed their hands feet and mouth before and after eating. They took their meals in plates, bowls according to their status. While common people take in *Pattal*. (Made of leaf).<sup>152</sup> At the time of taking food a Hindu generally took of all his clothes except Dhoti or loin cloth (langota) before eating and took his food with right hand. The Brahmans were most particular about all these.<sup>153</sup>

It was very common to chewed betel leaves with arc nuts or Supari and time for changing the ordure of the mouth after taking meals. But most of the people took it throughout day.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> K.G. op.cit., p.29, गलका खाया बरजता वद-16.

<sup>148</sup> S.K. op.cit., p.175, गूपति खवाहि वटि कासाटी, पद-11/3.

<sup>149</sup> Dharam Das op.cit., p.40, सीचे गुड धीव से. शब्द-3.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., p.50, चंदन पोताओ आंगना गज मोतियन पुराऊ चौक। शब्द-2.

<sup>151</sup> Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari* ed. (J&S), III Calcutta, 1940, p.24.

Storia – III *op.cit.*, p.87.

<sup>152</sup> S.K. *op.cit.*, p.94. इकतु पतरि भरि उरकट कुरकट इकतु पतरि मरि पानी ।

*Ain-III, op.cit.*, p.325.

Storia III *op.cit.*, p.3.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, p.45.

<sup>154</sup> Dharam Das , *op.cit.*, p.61, सजन को बीरा खवाओ किहाजु. शब्द-6.

The fruits of different varieties were consumed especially by the well to do section of society of the region under review. These fruits were mostly available in plenty of quantity in different parts of India and were imported area to area where demanded. Like mangoes was most popular and was grown in Bengal.<sup>155</sup> Gujarat, Malwa,<sup>156</sup> Punjab, Sylhet; Allahabad was famous for their sweat orange,<sup>157</sup> Hajipur (a close Distt to Subah) for Jack fruit (Kathal)<sup>158</sup> and Agra for grapes.<sup>159</sup> Some of the fruits were also imported from Samarqand, Balkh and Persia. The seasonal fruits such as mangoes, black berries, Banana, oranges, guava, dates, grapes etc. were enjoyed by rich and poor alike.<sup>160</sup>

People consumed the water from wells, pounds<sup>161</sup> and small tributary rivers of their respective villages or area. The women used to carry water from these places in their vassals called *Ghailia* or *Ghada*<sup>162</sup> well to do class of society use ice in summer.<sup>163</sup> The salt peter was used for cooling water.<sup>164</sup> Hindus take water straight-into their throat without touching the cap to their lips while Muslims did not attach importance to

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<sup>155</sup> Bernier *op.cit.*, p.249.

<sup>156</sup> Ain-I, *op.cit.*, p.207.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., p.169.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., p.164.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., p.190.

<sup>160</sup> S.K. *op.cit.*, p.188. नीबु मइओ आबु आबु मइओ, नीवा केला पाका भारी। पद-12.

<sup>161</sup> Dharam Das, *op.cit.*, p.58, आठ कुआ नौ बावडी सोलह पनिहार हो! शब्द-1/2.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., p.7. कच्ची माटी कै धडुवा हो, रस वुंदन सान. शब्द-3/2.

<sup>163</sup> Ain-I, *op.cit.*, p.56.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

these formalities. People were greatly fond of cold drinks, rose water, *sharbat* and lemon juice mixed with ice. But were used by the rich. Mango milkshake, *Lassi* and Lemonade also used in excessive heat.<sup>165</sup>

The use of intoxicants was common among people. The poor men drink *Taddy* (Tadi). It was the juice of coconut palm and date trees.<sup>166</sup> *Bhang* was another intoxicant commonly used by the poor.<sup>167</sup> It kept in a pleasant mood but excessive does would make unconscious, that is why Jahangir prohibited the use of *Bhang* on health reason.<sup>168</sup> Wine was prepared from refined sugar by a chemical process<sup>169</sup> and it was common among Muslim nobility but Aurangzeb in early years of his reign made efforts to ban any intoxicants.<sup>170</sup>

### 8. Dresses:

The dresses of people in *Gangetic* valley were almost uniform but depend on socio-economic status of the people. Abul Fazl has given a detail description about dresses used by contemporary society particularly dresses worn by aristocracy and upper well to do classes.<sup>171</sup> There were

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<sup>165</sup> *Ibid*, p.65,

Bernier, p.137.

<sup>166</sup> Zaheeruddin Babar, *Babarnama* (Memoirs of Baber) tr. ed. A.S. Beveridge vol.-II pub. Original Book Corporation, New Delhi, 1979, p.509.

Carreri- *op.cit.*, p.200.

<sup>167</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.253., भाग माछुली सुरापान, जो जो प्राणी खाहि। पद-101.

<sup>168</sup> *Tuzuk-i op.cit.*, p.157.

<sup>169</sup> Bernier *op.cit.*, p.253.

<sup>170</sup> *Storia-II, op.cit.*, pp.5, 74.

<sup>171</sup> *Ain-I, op.cit.*, pp.93-102.

less difference between Hindu and Muslims noble class. Mughal Emperors himself were very fond of costumes. The nobles and well to do classes also followed in some extent to royalty. The dresses which were prevalent at that time were; *Qiba*; a waded coat or loose garments, come down to the ankles: *Farghul* and *Chakman* were rain coats, *shalwars* (drawers) it was of three kinds single double and wadded. The breeches (tight fitting trousers) and shirts.<sup>172</sup> Thevenot described “the breaches of India are commonly cotton cloth; they came down to the mid-leg and some wear them a little longer, so that they reach to ankle. Those who afford rich clothing wear silk breaches, stripped with different colours.”<sup>173</sup> The shirts which was hung over the breaches open from the top to bottom like the coat.<sup>174</sup> The orthodox (Muslim scholars or Ulema) avoided the use of silk, velvets, brocades or *Fur* and coloured garments due to the instruction of *Sheriat* (Islamic law). Wearing socks and shoes were particular in order to maintain the ritual purity. The Sufi saints wore *Choga* (gown) made of woolen materials.<sup>175</sup> They also wore *Dastar*, *Amama*, *Kullah* (cap) on their heads.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p.95.

<sup>173</sup> Thevenat- *op.cit.*, pp.50-51.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., p.50.

<sup>175</sup> Ashraf *op.cit.*, pp.175-177,

Terry *op.cit.*, pp.201-203.

<sup>176</sup> Ain-i, *op.cit.*, p.96.



The Hindu aristocrats or upper class also follow the same as their Muslim brethren with some little difference like they knot *Kachni-pat* or *Kamar-band* (Waist band)<sup>177</sup> on their *Qiba*<sup>178</sup> *Pag* (Turban)<sup>179</sup> fine *Dhotis*<sup>180</sup> with *Chaddar* their Shoulder were commonly used. The *Kundal*<sup>181</sup> and *Tilak*<sup>182</sup> distinguished from their Muslim brethren. The size of *Pag* comprised usually standard size of seven yards. Bernier described the dress of *Kavindracharya*, a great Hindu Scholar of the Shahjahan's time whom he met in Benaras "He wore a white silk scarf tied about his waist and hanging half down the leg, and another tolerably large scarf of real silk which he wears as a cloak on his Shoulder"<sup>183</sup> such type of dresses of Hindu scholars with good repute must have used while the poor use cotton instead of silk.

#### **Dresses of the Commoners:**

The common people dresses differed from the upper class. They had to deepened on very few cloths. Babar himself writes in his memoirs "Hindustani ties on a thing called *Langota* (Loin-cloth), a descent clout which hangs two spans bellow the Naval'. They used cotton *Langota* ties

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<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p.95.

<sup>179</sup> Sur Sagar, *op.cit.*, p.737. फूलनी सो लाल पाग । पद-1993;Thevenat-*op.cit.*, p.52.

<sup>180</sup> Sur Sagar I, *op.cit.*, p.599, कै धोती भारी विधि कर्मनट । पद-1602.

<sup>181</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.255. कबीर कंचन के कुडल बने. पद-4.

<sup>182</sup> Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.47. वा को तिलक लगाई हो शब्द-18/2.

<sup>183</sup> Bernier *op.cit.*, p.341.

round their waist”<sup>184</sup> and the second cloth they wear, *Dhoti* (a single sheet of long cloth below the waist, generally consist 3 ½ Gaz)<sup>185</sup> Another small piece of cloth as on the shoulder i.e. *Cadder*, used as garment in day time and night as a bed. In winter they used white wrapper to cover their upper portion called *Daghli*<sup>186</sup> *Gudri* ( A bedding of rags),<sup>187</sup> *Sathri* ( a small mat consist of Kusa grass or straws).<sup>188</sup> These above was used by the poor, Sadhus, yogis. The usual dress of an average Muslim were *Payjama* and an ordinary shirt. *Kulhi* or *Kulah* or *Paga* (cap-Turban)<sup>189</sup> were also used by the common people.

#### **Dress of the Religious Men:**

The dress of the religious men, i.e. *Sadhus*, *Sanyasis*, *Fakirs*, *Darvesh* and *Maulvis* differed according to the religion they belong. However Sufi saints, *Maulvis* and *Darvesh* were generally a loose flowing gown down to the feet, having long sleeves going beyond the finger tips.

<sup>184</sup> Baburnama-II, *op.cit.*, p.519,

*Ain-I op.cit.*, p.96.

<sup>185</sup> S.K. *op.cit.*, p.91. गज साढे ते ते धोतिआ बिहरे पाई नितम. पद-2.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p.92. मुई मोरी माई हऊ खुरा सुखाला, पहिरऊ नही दागली लगे न पाला. पद-1

<sup>187</sup> *Sursagar-I, op.cit.*, p.54. पाट पटंबर तजि, गूदरी पहिराऊ, पद-166.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, p.232. कुस साथरी बैठि इक आसन, बासर तीनि बिताए.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, p.298. कुलही कसाति सिर स्याम सुन्दर, सिर कुलही, पथ परिहि पैजनी पद-778

Dharam Das – *op.cit.*, p.6. नेकी की कुलाह सिर दिये। शब्द-2; *Ain-i, op.cit.*, p.96.

They also used a long sleeved 'Farji'<sup>190</sup> Regarding Hindu ascetics, they wore nothing except a small or a red cloth (*Langota*).<sup>191</sup>

### Women Dresses:

The Hindu women wore *sari*,<sup>192</sup> wrapped round the middle part of the body and *Angiya* (a bodice or brassiere) on chest.<sup>193</sup> These were used by the rich and poor alike. A very special cloth was mentioned in *Ain* in the list of cotton cloth and *surdas* has also mentioned in his work about *Tansukh Sari*.<sup>194</sup> The work of *Jari* and *Kimkhwab* were also prevalent.<sup>195</sup> The women put on *Ghonghat*; the end of a Sari or veil.<sup>196</sup> *Lahanga* or *Ghagra*; a voluminous skirt or petticoat gathered at the waist and extending up to the feet.<sup>197</sup> The *Choli*; <sup>198</sup> bodice is unlike *Angiya*. It is

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<sup>190</sup> Ashraf *op.cit.*, pp.176-178.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p.177.

<sup>192</sup> Sursagar I, *op.cit.*, p.619, अंग पंच रंग सारि, सारि सुरंग चुनी, पद-642.

<sup>193</sup> Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.69. ज्ञान की अंगिया भई सराबोर, शब्द-18/2. चोलिया पहिरि धनि चलि है गवनवा. शब्द-8/3. p.65.

<sup>194</sup> Sursagar I, *op.cit.*, p.100, तनसुख की सारी पद-2116.

*Ain-I op.cit.*, p.100.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p.99.

<sup>196</sup> Sursagar I, *op.cit.*, p.670, घुंघट मुकुट विराजत सीस. पद-2116.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, p.619, पगनी जेहरि काला लहगा पद-1661.

Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.69, तन सारी मन रतन लहंगवा। शब्द-18/2.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, p.64. चोलिया पहिरि धनि भई अलमाती शब्द-7/2.

Sur sagar *op.cit.*, p.776. आपहु तोरि हार चोली बंद, पद-2108.

open at the back and fastened with strings The *Kanchak* or blouse, a corset: long to the waist,<sup>199</sup> was considered as fancy dress by the women.

The breaches or *Shalwars* were made of cotton, silk or brocade as their economic position and were common among Muslim women. The rich women put on *Qiba*, shirt with half length sleeves.<sup>200</sup> The Muslim women put on white shrouds or *burqa*, whenever they moved out.<sup>201</sup> *Odhini* or *Chunri*; *Dupatta*;<sup>202</sup> a womenic sheet for covering the head of face were used by both Hindu and Muslim ladies. Muslim ladies were generally strict in observing *Purdah* and used 'burqa' complete vail,<sup>203</sup> with eye holes while going out side the house. De Laet records that Mohammdan women do not come out in the public unless they are poor or immodest, they veil their heads, and draw their hair forward in a knot form the back.<sup>204</sup> It should be also noted that among the Muslims it was regarded a great dishonor of the wives went out without 'burqa' allowing their faces to be seen by anyone. It was also contrary to their law.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p.265, कसि कचुकी तिलक लिलाट सोभित हार पद-6:42.

<sup>200</sup> Thevenot, *op.cit.*, p.53.

<sup>201</sup> Ain-I *op.cit.*, p.96.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., p.101,

Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.40. पंच रंग पहिरू चुनरिया शब्द-1/4.

<sup>203</sup> Ain-I *op.cit.*, p.96.

<sup>204</sup> De Laet *op.cit.*, p.80.

<sup>205</sup> Badauni, II, *op.cit.*, p.405.

Usually the Hindu ladies moved out of their houses unveiled but a milder and less elaborate type of 'purdah' generally known as 'Goonghat'<sup>206</sup> seems to have been observed in some cases by the Hindu women of the well to do classes.<sup>207</sup> People used soap to wash cloths.<sup>208</sup>

### 9. Toilet & Ornaments:

It is a human nature to be looked physically attractive and charm full from primitive days. Gradually with time new things/items were developed in the field of toilets and ornaments. The people of the Subah were also fond of it. They get up early in the morning and brushed their teeth with a twig or *Datun*.<sup>209</sup>

Hindus regarded daily bathing as their religious duty. Those who reside close to the river usually use the running water i.e. *Ganga, Jamuna* otherwise tank or well. Some of the cities or towns like Allahabad, Benaras Jaunpur had the arrangements of *Hammam* (usually used by rich people) and it was a good business in every city of the Mughal rule. Men, decorated himself after bathing, the *Tilak* on their forehead was common

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<sup>206</sup> Sur Sagar, op.cit., p.670. घुंघट मुकुट विराजत सीस ।

K.G. op.cit., p.162. घूँघट काढया सती न होई पद-296.

<sup>207</sup> Thevenat op.cit., p.53; Ashraf op.cit., p.179.

<sup>208</sup> K.G. op.cit., p.163. बिब बिना कैसे कपरा धोई

Maluk Das *Maluk Das, Ki Bani*, pub. Velevedier Printing Works, Allahabad, 1997, p.34.

दाग जो लागा लील का सौमन साबुन घोय , पद-63.

<sup>209</sup> Carreri , op.cit., p.168.

among Hindu,<sup>210</sup> rich people used perfumed.<sup>211</sup> The mirror and comb were also used commonly.<sup>212</sup> The different devices like Kundal; Ear rings, finger ring armlet were used by the people. The quality (gold, silver, iron etc) of these devices differs on the socio-economic status of the person.

Abul Fazl has given the information of twelve items of men's toilets & ornament such as : (1) Trimming his beard (2) Ablution of his body (3) Drawing the sectarian marks of caste (4) Anointing with perfumes and oil (5) wearing gold ear-rings (6) wearing the Jama fastened on the left side (7) Bearing the Mukuta which is a golden tiara worn on the turban (8) wearing a sword (9) carrying a dagger and tide at the waist (10) wearing a ring on the finger (11) eating betel (12) wearing *sandal* and *shoes*.<sup>213</sup>

Like their male fellows, women were more conscious about the enhancement of physical charm to attract the attention of opposite sex. It was a popular craze for looking younger. If we compare the working women to the ladies of the high social repute, latter had a greater facilities in beautifying and adding to their physical charm. The sixteen constituent<sup>214</sup> of women toilets which are as follows:

<sup>210</sup> Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.07. माला तिलक उरमाई के , शब्द-15/1, केसरी तिलक लगाऊ हो. शब्द-6/1, p.52.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p.52. अतर फुलेल न्हावो सजनी.

<sup>212</sup> Nizamuddin Amad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Ed. B., De, II, Calcut'a-1931, p.685. Raidas *op.cit.*, p.35. दरपन गगन अनिल अलेप जल. Maluk Das *op.cit.*, p.2, देह अनेकन मुख पर अने. पद-4/3.

<sup>213</sup> *Ain – III op.cit.*, pp.341-342.

<sup>214</sup> Dharam Das *op.cit.*, p.46, पाये सोहाग मांग भर सेंदूर , नख सिख सारहौं सिंगार हो पद-17/8. K.G. *op.cit* p.133, सोलह स्पंगार कहा भयो काये

(1) Bathing (2) Anointing (3) branding the hair (4) Decking the crown of the head with jewels (5) Anointing with sandalwood unguent (6) wearing of various kinds of dresses (7) sectarian marks of castes (8) tinting with lamp black like collyrium (9) wearing ear-rings (10) Adorned with nose rings of pearl and gold (11) wearing ornaments around the neck (12) Decking with garlands of flowers or pearls (13) staining the hand (14) wearing a belt hung with a small bells (15) Decorating the feet with gold ornaments (16) eating betel (*pan*).<sup>215</sup>

Above all these, they used varieties of cosmetics to look well. Dressing of hair was one of the important thing. Manucci says that “their hair is always dressed, planted and perfumed with scented oil”.<sup>216</sup> The hair was dressed with the help of combs and mirrors. Combs made of metal wood and animals horns.<sup>217</sup> The special weakness of women, staining hands and feet with *Hena* (mehdi). They applied *hena* to colour palms, nails and fingertips of hands, soles of feet. Manucci states that “All women in India are in the habit of scenting their hands and feet with a certain earth which they called *mehdi*. Which colours the hands and feet red in such a way that they look as if they had on gloves”.<sup>218</sup> The Hindu married women put vermilion (*Sindoor*) on their forehead and in their *Mang* (partion of their forehead).<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Ain – III pp.342-343.

<sup>216</sup> Storia II, op.cit., p.341.

<sup>217</sup> Tabqat, II, op.cit., p.685.

<sup>218</sup> Storia II, op.cit., p.341.

<sup>219</sup> Dharam Das op.cit., p.46. पाये सोहाग मांग भर संदूर , शब्द-17/8. K.G. op.cit., p.133.

To adorn themselves, they used flowers of different varieties like, *Juni*, *Chameli*, *Ketki* and wore garlands on neck hair. For the enhancement of their charm to a greater extent, used betel (*pan*) which not only sweetened their breath but also dyed their lips in red colour.<sup>220</sup>

The ornaments are the weakness of the women, irrespective of caste and creed. This was not use only for the sake of ornamentation but also used for the intrinsic value and indirect savings. Generally women used the ornament from their childhood.<sup>221</sup>

The ears were pierced at a very early age and ornament were thus (through the pierced holes which grew wider with age.<sup>222</sup> Women used ornaments made of gold, silver, copper ivory and other materials. Some ornaments made of Gold & Silver studded with precious stones called *Jarau* (inlaid), and it was all time favorite for women.<sup>223</sup>

The varieties of ornaments:

**Bazuband (Armlet):** This was used to wear upper part of the arm or above the elbow, various type of *bazuband* were prevalent at that time, inlaid with jewels, diamonds with a bunch of pearls hanging down.<sup>224</sup>

का काजल स्यंदर के दिये पद-139. Ralph Fitch op.cit., p.107 ; Ashraf op.cit., pp.182-183.

<sup>220</sup> Ain, III, op.cit., p.343.; Bernier op.cit., p.364.

<sup>221</sup> Ralph Fitch, op.cit., p.107.

<sup>222</sup> Storia, III, op.cit., p.40.

Thevenat, op.cit., p.323.

<sup>223</sup> Ain -III op.cit., p.314.; Sqi Mustaid Khan *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* tr. ed. J.N.Sarkar, Calcutta, 1947, Bernier op.cit., p.53.

<sup>224</sup> Sursagar, I., op.cit., p.780. कुछ कंचुकी, हार मोतियन के मुज बाजुबन्द सोहतर pada-1498, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, op.cit., p.324; Ain-III op.cit., p.319.



- Mang :** It was a chain with golden beads and flowers worn on the head made of gold or silver chain hanging between parting of the hair (*Mang*) and coming down to the brows ending in a jeweled pendant;<sup>225</sup>
- Karanphul:** It was an ear ornament shaped like the *Mangrela* flower, get it the Indian meaning of *Karanphul*.<sup>226</sup>
- Bali:** It was a small ring with a flower in the middle made of gold and was very popular among the ladies of all classes.<sup>227</sup>
- Churi (Bracelets):** Worn ten or twelve in numbers over the wrist up to the elbow.<sup>228</sup>
- Tada:** A hollow circle worn on the arms.<sup>229</sup>
- Bahu:** It was like the *Churi* but smaller.<sup>230</sup>
- Gajrah:** A bracelet of gold and pearls,<sup>231</sup>
- Besar:** A popular ornament at that time. It was a broad piece of gold. A pearl was attached to it and was hung from the nose by wire.<sup>232</sup>
- Nath:** A nose ornament was popular<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> Ain-II op.cit., p.312.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., III. Pp.3,12.

<sup>227</sup> Thevenot , op.cit., p.53.

Ain-III p.313.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., p.344.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., p.313. Sur Sagar I, op.cit., p.771. नक बेसरि खुडिमा तरिवनि को, पद-1475.

<sup>233</sup> Ain-III op.cit., pp.312-313.

- Laung:** It was an ornament for nose also called 'Kil' shape of a clove.<sup>234</sup>
- Har:** It was a very popular necklace of pearl made to pass through string, interconnected with golden rose also called *Mala* or *Moti har*.<sup>235</sup>
- Manikymala:** A neckles made of red or pinkish precious stones.<sup>236</sup>
- Hansuli, Hans or Tang:** This ornament was quit heavy and oppressive to wearer a social collar of gold or silver in the shape of moon commonly square in front under the chin for several inches.<sup>237</sup>
- Pahunchi:** It was a bracelet consisted of series of strings of shells or small elongated beads, another variety was bracelet solid silver or hallow gold. If was also made of pearls and diamond peace.<sup>238</sup>
- Kara:** It was a plain round hallow gold bracelet. It might also be a massive ring of solid silver.<sup>239</sup>
- Kangan:** *Kangan* was a bracelet made of gold, silver copper and surmounted with small nabs.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Ibid

<sup>235</sup> K.G. op.cit., p.56, हरि मोत्या की माला है पोइ काचै तामि पद-8. S.K. op.cit., p.160  
सोहागनि गलि सौहे हारू पद-1 Storia II op.cit., p.339.

<sup>236</sup> Sursagar -I, op.cit., p.771. कंठसिरि, दुलारी, तिलारी पद-1475..

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., p.619. कंठश्री दुलरी बिराजासि .....,

Ain-III op.cit., p.313.

<sup>238</sup> Sur Sagar I, op.cit., p.416, चित्रित बांह पहुचिया पहुचै..... पद-251; Tuzuk, I, op.cit., p.375.

<sup>239</sup> Maasir-i-Alamgiri, op.cit., p.327.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

Sur Sagar I, op.cit., p.792. बहुटा, कर.कंकन, बाजुबंद..... पद-1540.

- Ghungru:** It was a round hollow shaped ball-like ornament provided with round stone-chips or other metals which produce sound when the wearer moved about.<sup>241</sup>
- Bichiya (Toe-ring)** It was an ornament for the instep shaped like a semi ball.<sup>242</sup>
- Nupur:** This ornament had bells attached to a ring, produce music when wearer moved about.<sup>243</sup>
- Payal (anklet):** A strip type ornament worn in leg.<sup>244</sup>

#### **10. Pass-time amusements:**

The means of entertainment or amusement were the factors which showed the personal characteristics of the culture of any country or society. There were a number of games in which people took part even during the stay of Emperor or prince in the region on route an especial arrangement were made for sports.

#### **The game of dice or gambling:**

We get the reference from many sources about the game of dice or Chaupar in which the principles and practices of game was explained. In this small pieces of stones put on squire lives and the game is played by

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., p.624. ....धुघुरू झंकार पद-1056; Dharam Das op.cit., p.69. सब्द के घुघुरू उठै घंघोर शब्द-1.

<sup>242</sup> K.G. op.cit., p.132. कहा गयौ बिछुवा ठम कायै, पद-139  
Sursagar I, op.cit., p.625, पैजनी की बिछिया सोगिति. पद-1058.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., p.416, मुखरित पाइनि नुपुर सोहै. पद-451.

<sup>244</sup> K.G. op.cit., p.132.

dice. Every chance have to played with diplomatic thinking.<sup>245</sup> There not writes; “The Gentiles being great lovers of play at dice; there is much gaming .... They are so eager at in Delhi and Benaras, that there is a vast deal of money lost there and many people ruined”.<sup>246</sup>

### **Chess:**

This was played by generally kings and aristocrats but common people also take interest in it. It was played on board which was divided into sixty four squares, eight on each of the four sides Manucci writes “All the great men are found of amusing themselves with chess playing, by which as they say, they learn to govern, place and displace, give and take, with discretion, to the glory and gain of their projects”.<sup>247</sup>

### **Kite flying:**

The saints symbolized kite flying as spiritual gain. A very clear picture of the activities of kite flying was depicted in verses like; How the wind is helping to fly, pilling and pushing etc.<sup>248</sup>

In spite of various tools of kite like thread or yarns and with the help of directions explained by Dharam Das in one of verse, it is like a statue which has its shape that played by God, that shape is like living organism (Kite) played by supreme powers.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> K.G. op.cit., p.18- चौपडि भांडि चौहटे, खेला सन्त विचार, पासा पकड प्रेम काए खेलो दास कबीर पद-31.

<sup>246</sup> Tevenat , op.cit., p.67.

<sup>247</sup> Storia, II op.cit., p.460.

<sup>248</sup> K.G. op.cit., p.117. बिनसि जाई कागद की गुडिया । जब लगे पवन तबै लग उडिया ।

<sup>249</sup> Santsudasar, op.cit., p.5. कागद के तन पूतरा, डोर साहेब हाथ.

### **Game of Juggler:**

A special instrument *Dunk* (Drum) played by Juggler to draw attention to them before starting the game. (After a gathering). There games have attraction, people immersed in. The jugglers were so experts in showing the game to people that audience can not feel about the tricks. Looks like so realistic.<sup>250</sup>

### **Hunting:**

Hunting had always been the most important sports of the emperors. Kings and aristocracy. In Tuzuk, Jahangir says that hunting with falcon was the best of all amusement.<sup>251</sup> Carreri writes “they delight very much in hunting and make use of dogs and tame leopards”.<sup>252</sup> Pelseart refers to the pleasures of the game “Hunting with leopards is a remarkable form of sports... Sometimes also but very rarely, the king hunts buck with buck.....<sup>253</sup> They hunt lions, tigers, leopards bucks etc. in a Mughal painting we get reference, prince Saleem is hunting leopard in Allahabad.<sup>254</sup>

### **Chunghan (Polo):**

It is an antique game played in open field with stick seated on horseback for a ball. There are not more than ten players.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> Ashraf op.cit., p.247.

<sup>251</sup> Tuzuk. II op.cit., p.60.

<sup>252</sup> Carreri, op.cit., p.246.

<sup>253</sup> Pelsaert op.cit., p.51.

<sup>254</sup> A.K.Das *Splendour of Mughal Painting*, pub. Vakils Feffer & Simons, Bombay-1986, p.24. plat-III.

<sup>255</sup> A.N. (Bev) op.cit., p.111; Ain-I op.cit., pp.309,310.  
Dharam Das op.cit., p.32. बैठि रहो चौगान चौक में. शब्द-10/1.

**Wrestling:**

It was one of the very common sports, the wrestler were patronized by the kings as well aristocracy.<sup>256</sup>

**11. Contemporary common beliefs a practices:**

There were many common beliefs and practices popular in the society of Subah which had a very influential place in the social as well as family life.

**Belief in Luck or fortune:**

People believe that whatever they do in life, good or bad were predicated before the birth and no change can be made after birth in this life.<sup>257</sup>

**Belief in Rebirth:**

People believed that the present condition is the effect of previous birth. The cycle of birth and rebirth will be going on until they get *Moksha* (Salvation). The cast was also affected by this thought. But this was confined only Hindu masses.<sup>258</sup>

**Believe in Heaven and Hell:**

All the religion believed in the philosophy of Heaven and hell on the deeds of the person. This philosophy motivated the masses to do good

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<sup>256</sup> *Ain-I op.cit.*, p.263.

<sup>257</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.58. जाको जेता निरमया, ताकौ तेला होई, रति घटै न तिल बडै, जो सिर कूटै कोई। पद-35/8

Sur Sagar, *op.cit.*, p.84. जो कछु लिखी राखी नंदनंदन, मेठि सकै नाहि कोई ।

<sup>258</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, p.140. बंक नालि जे सामि करि राखै, तो आवागमन न होई। पद-157.

and abstain from unlawful activities or unsocial work so that they could get heaven (Bahisht, Swarg). All the Bhakti saints showed fear of hell to the people.<sup>259</sup>

#### **Believe in virtues and Sin:**

This was a believe in the society that all the good works resulted in virtuous and bad deeds resulted in sin, and this belief is also similar to the heaven and hell. People considered it that getting the human birth is of the result of some virtues deeds of past.<sup>260</sup>

#### **Believe in super natural power:**

The spirit of the dead regarded as hostile, people believe in Ghost (*Bhoot*), devils etc. and used or practice *tantr mantr* (magic) to get rid off, if any one is affected,<sup>261</sup>

#### **Belief in Holy Verses, Tantra, mantra and Black Magic:**

People have the faith on black magic, *tantr, mantr*. If any one is affected from evil spirit, snake bit, poison etc.. tried to cure with the help of above things.<sup>262</sup> Amulets were carried for some kind as preservative to event the evil eye and scare the demons. *Yantras* or mystic diagrams are

<sup>259</sup> Maluk Das op.cit., p.23. गुनाहगार तु हुवा सरासर, दोजख बाघ चलाया। पद-6.

Raidas op.cit., p.3. दोजख भिस्त दोऊ समकर जानै ।। पद-4/2.

<sup>260</sup> Sur Sagar, I, op.cit., p.49. पाप पुन्य कौ फल दुख सुख है, भोग करो जोई हौ। पद-151.

Dharam Das op.cit., p.75. नहि जाने केहि पुन्य, प्रगट मे मानुष दही। शब्द-4.

<sup>261</sup> W. Crook, op.cit., p.235; Maluk Das op.cit., p.8. भूत परेतन देव बहाई, देवखर लीपे मोर बलाई । पद-6.

<sup>262</sup> Dharam Das op.cit., p.23. जंत्रा मंत्रा टोटका नहि जान पद-14/2. Sursagar I, op.cit., हरि जानत है तंत्रा मंत्रा, पद-2109. K.G. op.cit., p.12, विरह भुवंगम तन बसै, मंत्रा न लागे कोई

thought to be quite as effective in their operations as the mantras or spells. The Amulets were also commonly used by Muslims.<sup>263</sup>

**Discussion on auspicious moment (*Muhurat*):**

To start any work or travels, people seek auspicious time (*Muhurat*) or consult astrologers, the Brahmans have consequently secured a great reputation in this field. This concept is still prevalent now a days in India.<sup>264</sup>

**Believe in *Shagun* (an omen) concept:**

There were many symbol of *Shagun* (an omen) like; barking of dogs indicate the entering of thieves in house or beware the people from thieves.<sup>265</sup>

**12. Fairs and Festivals:**

The fairs and festivals have a great social importance besides having religious values. The fairs enabled person to meet each other at a common place though living at considerable distance and poor means of communications at that time. The Hindu fairs were held at the sites of sacred rives or at religious centers or at some outstanding temples. The Muslims fairs were generally held in the forms of Urs (death anniversary) at the tombs of Sufis saints in the Subah.

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<sup>263</sup> W. Crook, pp.37,38. ; I.A. Zilli, *op.cit.*, pp.396-398.

<sup>264</sup> Pelsaert *op.cit.*, p.77 ; Maluk Das *op.cit.*, p.18, मन तै इतने भरम गवावो, चलत विदेस विप्र जनि पूछो, दिन का देखन लागो । पद-10/1.

<sup>265</sup> K..G. *op.cit.*, p.95. दखिन कूट जब सुन्हा भूका तब हम सूगन विचार पद-20.

Sur Sagar I, p.383. निकसव सगुन मले नही पाए। पद-988.



### Fairs at Allahabad:

Allahabad or Prayag an important religious centre of northern India was situated on the confluence of the rivers *Ganga*, *Jamuna* and invisible *saraswati*. The Hindus regarded a sacred place and the king of shrines.<sup>266</sup> During the month of *Magh* (January – February) a large number of pilgrims from almost every corner of India gathered here. It was a huge gathering about four or five lakhs of Hindus every year and participated in bathing ceremony for one month.<sup>267</sup>

It was a common belief among the Hindus that one who would die at Prayag by committing suicide at the confluence of the two rivers, specially during the month of *Magh* would be gratified in his next birth. Such a death was considered auspicious and holy.<sup>268</sup>

At Allahabad pilgrims came different places, speak different languages, attired in different dresses, observing different social practices, holding divergent religious opinions and subscribing to socially conflicting ideas and beliefs gathered at the banks of the rives Ganges and Jamuna.

There was an *Akshybat* or the imperishable banyan tree,<sup>269</sup> within the fort of Allahabad. People had different belief related to this, though

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<sup>266</sup> Ain-II, *op.cit.*, p.169.

<sup>267</sup> Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of Great Mughals (1615-1619)* ed., W. Foster vol.-I, Hak Soc. P.312.

<sup>268</sup> Ain, III *op.cit.*, p.335.

<sup>269</sup> Dharm Das *op.cit.*, p.47. तिरबेनी से नीर मगावो अक्षय वृक्ष कै डार हो। पद-18/4.

Abul Fazl has not mention about such a tree. It is said that Jahangir ordered it to be cut down and got a cauldron of iron fixed on that spot. But the tree grew again and shattered all obstructions.<sup>270</sup>

The pilgrims who came to Allahabad, got their head and beared shaved before they took bath in the Ganges. After the bath they offered *Tarpan* or *Pindan* to their ancestors for peace of their souls.<sup>271</sup>

A large number of persons including the *Sadhus*, *Yogis* and *Sanyasis* gathered at Allahabad to spend their time in meditation, prayers and religious discussions.<sup>272</sup> A toll tax was levied by the imperial government on the pilgrims in second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century such taxed were abolished by Akbar. Manuci says that every pilgrims who came to take bath in the Ganges, had to pay a toli tax of six and a quarter rupees.<sup>273</sup> A non pilgrim also had to pay about half a rupee.<sup>274</sup>

### **Fairs at Banaras:**

The other important religious centre of the Subah was Banaras or Varansi situated between two rivers '*Barna*' and '*Asi*'<sup>275</sup> It was also

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<sup>270</sup> Sujan Rai Khatri, *Khulasat -ut-Twarikh* (tr. J.N.Sarkar in Indian of Auravgzeb) Calcutta, 1901, p.27.

<sup>271</sup> Ralph Fitch. *Op.cit.*, pp.19-20.

<sup>272</sup> K.T., *op.cit.*, pp. 28, 29; Thevenat *op.cit.*, p.93.

<sup>273</sup> K.T. *op.cit.*, p.28-28; storia, II, *op.cit* p.82.

<sup>274</sup> P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals (1526-1658)*, Allahabad-1941, pp.217-218.

<sup>275</sup> Tavernier I, *op.cit.*, p.118; *Ain-II, op.cit.*, p.169.

called Kashi in ancient scriptures.<sup>276</sup> There was a large and celebrated temple of *Vishwnath* i.e. 'the lord of universe'. It was a place of worship since the hoary past. Pilgrims who came to Benaras offered flowers, rice and *Candan* powder to mother Ganges. They also offered '*Aarti*' (lamp made of pure ghee and cotton) to the Ganges. In old age, Hindus came and settled at Benaras for they preferred to die there because they considered that such a death would lead them to salvation.<sup>277</sup> They drink the water of *Ganges* for they believed it was their sins.<sup>278</sup> The water of *Ganges* 'never became bad' and engenders no vermin.<sup>279</sup>

At the famous temple of '*Bem Madhav*', a large fair was held on the occasion of '*Shivratri*'. It was celebrated with much religious fervor by the friends and thousands of devotees assembled to worship the lord *Shankar*. According to Peter Mundy there were a large number of devotees of *Shakti* at Banaras, who worshiped *kali* with great zeal and enthusiasm.<sup>280</sup>

Giving his general observation Ralph Fitch says that Banaras was a great town many fair houses were seen beside the river, most of whom were temples. In these temples were placed images, made of stone and

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<sup>276</sup> K.T. op.cit., p.28.

<sup>277</sup> Ain II, op.cit., pp.333-334; Peter Mundy, Travels of Peter Mundy in India, Europe & Asia vol. II (1608-1667) ed. R.C., Temple, pub. Hac, Soc. London 1914, pp122-123.

<sup>278</sup> Tavernier, I, op.cit., p.320.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid., p.231.

<sup>280</sup> Peter Mundy-II, op.cit., p.175.

wood, some like lions, leopards and monkeys, some like men and women and peacocks and some like the devil. With four arms and four hands. A large number of pilgrims used together in these temples and offered worship.<sup>281</sup>

Fitch has also mentioned some social practices at Benaras. According to him the '*Pandas*' (priests) who sat at the *Ghat* of Ganges applied *Chandan Tilak* while enchanting *Mantras* upon the forehead of the pilgrims after the latter had taken their bath.<sup>282</sup> When the devotees visited the temples, the *Pujaris* supplied them '*Churnamrit*'. He further mentioned that Benaras "the wives here do burn with their husband when they die, if they will not, their head be Shaven and never any account is made for them afterwards."<sup>283</sup>

The Hindus who visited Banaras mostly offered "*Gaudan*". Fitch has given an eye witness account of *Gaudan* offered by the Hindus at Benaras after their marriage. He says "when they be married the man and women come to the water side, and there is an old man which they call a Brahman, i.e. a priest (Brahman) a cow and a calf, of a cow with calf. Then the man and women, cow and calf and the old man goes into the water together and they give the old man a white cloth of four yards long, and a basket cross bound with diners things in it. The cloth he laieth upon

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<sup>281</sup> Ralph Fitch *op.cit.*, pp.103-4.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.* p.20.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.107-108.

the back of the cow, and then he taken the cow by the end of the tail, and recite certain words: and she hath a copper or a brass pot full of water, and the man do hold his hand by the old man's hand, and the wives hand by her husbands and all have the cow by tail and they poured water out of the pat upon the cows tail, and it runneth through all their hands, and then the old man doeth tie him and her together by their clothes: which done, they go round about the cow & calf, and they give some what to the poor which be always there, and to the *Brahman* or priest they give the cow and calf.....<sup>284</sup>

When the ceremonies were over they went into the temple and worshiped their deity, and finally returned rejoicing to their homes.

Describing the social practices of Hindus at Banaras, Jospheh Tieffenthaler says that at Benaras there was a very common practice of committing suicide by putting their necks on the edge of an iron rod. It was in the reign of Aurangzeb that this iron was removed and the practice was forbidden but it could not be completely abolished.<sup>285</sup>

About the Muslim fairs at Banaras, Tavernier writes "About five hundred paces from the town in a north-western dissection, there is a mosque where you see several Mohammadan tombs, of which some are of a very beautiful design. It attracted a large number of pious and religious Muslims."<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Ibid., pp.118-119.

<sup>285</sup> Tieffenthaler op.cit., p.229.

<sup>286</sup> Tavernier, I, op.cit., pp.118-119.

In Allahabad, Sultan *Khusro* was regarded as martyr and occupied a great position in heaven. People from different town such as Burhanpur Sirounj, Agra Allahabad, both Hindus and Moslems in vast numbers went in procession every Thursday with flags, pipes and drums to his worship, he was accepted as true 'Peer' or saint.<sup>287</sup>

As for as Hindu festivals are concerned of Subah, there were two big festivals celebrated all over Subah as well India.

**Holi:** It was a very popular festival generally observed in northern India specially in the region Mathura and Benaras where the myth of *Krishna & Ram* has been localized. *Holi* fire is lit. Handful of red powder mixed with glistening tale were thrown about on each other.<sup>288</sup>

**Diwali:** Diwali, feast of lamps, which is performed on the last day of the dark fortnight in the month of 'Kartik' every one burns a lamp out side the house on that night and prayed for prosperity.<sup>289</sup> It is observed in honor of *Lakshmi* the Goddess of wealth & good luck.<sup>290</sup>

The Muslims had too few festivals of their own, *Id-ul-Azha* or *Id-i-Qurban*, the festival of sacrifice was the most important it was held on

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<sup>287</sup> Pelsaert, op.cit., pp.70-71.

<sup>288</sup> Ain, III, op.cit., p.353 W. Crook op.cit., p.315, Dharam Das op.cit., p.56. होरि खेलो सयानी, फागुन को ऋतु आनी, शब्द-2/1. लोभ भरि दुई मारि पिचकारी, पद-4/4. कुमती गुलाल डारि मुख मीजे। शब्द-4/5.

<sup>289</sup> W. Crook op.cit., pp.205-206.

<sup>290</sup> Carreri, op.cit., p.264.

the tenth *Zil-Hijja* the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar. A congregational prayer was held and after returning from *Idgah* the site of Sacrifice performed.

The second important festival of Muslims is *Id-i-Hilal*. After the fast of whole month *Ramzan*, came *Id-ul-Fitr* or *Id-i-Hilal*. This day is depend on the appearance of the moon and could be delayed by one day if the moon did not come out as expected. In this day, people were obliged to wear new dresses and meet each other with affection, performed prayer of Id in *Idgah*.<sup>291</sup>

### **13. Languages:**

The *Subah* had a rich heritage of literature and arts. A number of saint-poets enriched the *Subah* with their writings in their regional languages. The main purpose of their writing was to communicate their ideas to the masses. They preferred to write in the languages of people. The important languages spoken were Bhojpuri, Awadhi and Bagheli. The languages occupied important position in the literary development of the *Subah*.

#### **Awadhi :**

One of the important language of the region was Awadhi. The term Awadhi appears to denote the language of Awadh, but a practical survey has revealed that it was not confined to that province only. It extended far

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<sup>291</sup> Pelsaert op.cit, p.73..

beyond it and covered partly the Sarkars of Kurrah, Allahabad, Jaunpur Chunnar, Kara Manikpur.<sup>292</sup> It had a long history of its origin. The famous epic '*Ram Charitmanas*' was written in Awadhi by Tulsidas. He had borrowed the plot of his epic from Valmiki's *Ramayana* and *Adhyatm Ramayan*. Another famous work written in Awadhi in this Subah was *Padmawat* by Malik Mohd. Jaisi. It was a romantic poem of considerable interest and philosophical allegory runs through out the work.<sup>293</sup>

### **Bagheli:**

This was not linguistically different from Awadhi and was treated as one of its dialects. It was spoken mainly in the Bandogarh region of Subah. It was originally styled after the name of the tribe of the hereditary chiefs of the land-the Baghelas. Bagheli spoken in Sarkar Kalingar and in some parts of Sarkar Chunar.<sup>294</sup>

### **Bhojpuri:**

The third important language spoken in the *Subah* was Bhojpuri. It is said that it derived its name from Bhojpur a *Pargana* in sarkar Rohtas Subah Bihar.<sup>295</sup> It was spoken in Sarkar Banaras, Ghazipur, Jaunpur and

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<sup>292</sup> Dhirendr Verma, *Hindi Bhasha ka Itihas.*, Allahabad, 1949., p.66; H.R. Nevill, Allahabad Distt. Gazetteer, Vol. XXIII, Allahabad, 1911, p.100.

<sup>293</sup> B.R.Saksena, *Evolution of Awadhi*, 1937, p.11.

<sup>294</sup> U.N.Tiwari, *Bhojpuri Bhasha Aur Sahitya*, Patna 1954, pp.155-56; Nevill, *op.cit.*, p.100.

<sup>295</sup> Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.-II, p.168.



Chunar for Banaras was the centre of its poets. Basically it was spoken and lacked written literature.<sup>296</sup>

The constant association of the Turks, Afghan and the Mughals had also influenced the Hindi literature to a great extent. The Turki and Persian words entered in the languages used in the *Subah* and gradually merged into them.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> Hindi Bhasha Aur, *op.cit.*, p.67.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, p.70.

## CHAPTER-IV

### EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF BHAKTI IN SUBAH

#### 1. Origin:

The Hindus treat their religion from the point of view of emancipation (*Moksa*), from the bondage of birth and death, which is the ultimate end of human life. To attain Salvation, they recognized three paths i.e. *Gyan* (knowledge), *Karma* (Action) and *Bhakti* (devotion).<sup>1</sup> The '*Bhakti Marga*' has been defined as worship of a personal deity in a spirit of love, as personal faith in personal God, love for him as far as human being, the dedication of everything to his service.<sup>2</sup> The Bhakti is both a means as well as an end in spiritual life. Bhakti as a means is called '*Sadhna Bhakti*' or *Gauni bhakti* or *Apara Bhakti*.

The root '*Bhaj*' in the sense of serving (*Sevana*) gives the clue to the meaning of this term. It is serving or worshiping the Divine, generally with the help of names or forms, ritualistic or emotion.<sup>3</sup> It implies a certain code of conduct (*Acara*) and *Upasna* (worship, *Puja*). This term (*Bhakti*) possibly occurs for the first time in '*Svetasavatara Upanisad*' but it is noted that the idea of God of Grace and doctrine of

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<sup>1</sup> Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Indian Press Allahabad, 1963, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Sushmita Pande, *Birth of Bhakti in Indian religions and art*. Pub. Books & Books, New Delhi, 1982, p.1.

*Bhakti*. From the time of “*Svetasavatav Upanisad*” onward *Bhakti* became an indispensable term for the using the sense of faith and devotion.<sup>4</sup> There is emphasis in *Bhagvad Gita* on love and devotion to God. The attitude of love to the supreme continued to be recommended in the *Bhagvata Purana*’ and even in late medieval commentaries on *Brahmas Sutra*,’ in *Bhagvad* there is a prayer:

‘Lord may our speech be engaged in recounting your qualities, our ears in learning your stories, our hands in doing your service for you, our mind in the remembrance of your feet, our head is being to this world which is your dwelling place and our eyes in gazing at the saints who are you living images on earth’.<sup>5</sup>

The ‘*Astadhyay*’ of Panini and the Buddhist work speak of this term in the sense of love directed to God.<sup>6</sup> ‘*Navada*’ defines it as the nature of intense love for God. It is of the nature of love (*Preman*) which reaches its acme of the perfection (*Parama*). It is of the nature of ‘*Amrata*’ (Nectar of immortality). *Sandilya* explains as absolute devotion to God.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism and Shaivism & other minor religious system*, Pub. Indological Book House Varanasi, 1965, p.29.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India* (1206-1556 A.D.), Calcutta-1969, p.240.

<sup>6</sup> R.G. Bhandarkar, *op.cit.*, p.102.

<sup>7</sup> Prem Lata, *Mystic saints of India; Ramanauja*, pub. Sumit Publications, Delhi-1980, p.106.

In later devotional literature a distinction is drawn between *Bhakti* and *Preman*. *Bhakti* is the spontaneous attachment for the desired object, God being entirely possessed by and absorbed in Him. *Preman* is the most concentrated love for God which is full of the most intense attachment, and which purifies the heart completely. Devine love (*Preman*) is the completion and perfection of devotion – *Bhakti*.

This movement was initiated as a cult of love and devotion based on the Bhagvad Gita and other sacred ancient Hindu text by Alwar and Adiyar Brahmans of South India.<sup>8</sup> The 7<sup>th</sup> century was its starting period – From 8<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries were its home religious reforming place. In which many Hindu philosophical saints like – Shankaracharya, Nimbarka, Madhvacharya, *Basava*, Nimaditya, Vallabhacharya Ramanuja, etc. not only enriched with their new provoking thought but also expanded their philosophical concepts. This movement reached among common people.<sup>9</sup> These philosopher saints are as follows :

## **2. The Philosopher of Bhakti:**

The two main ideologies of Hindu philosophy are '*Advaita*' view of a formless God of which the main exponent was Shankaracharya and the second view of '*Dvaita*', in which God is endowed with attributes and the main exponent of this doctrine was '*Madhvacharya*', Vallabhacharya,

<sup>8</sup> Nirad C. Chaudhry, *Hinduism; A religion to live by*, pub. B.I. Publications, New Delhi 1979, pp.55-56.

<sup>9</sup> Tarachand *op.cit.*, p.84.

and others. Another philosopher saint Ramanuja propounded a theory of *vishisht dvaita*, Vishisht mean (qualified). His theory stands between Advaita and 'Dvaita' philosophy. In this concept of Ramanuja's "although Brahman is qualified, it is not dual (advaita).<sup>10</sup>

### **Shankaracharya:**

He was born in a Nambudri Brahman family of Kerala. There is no any certain date about his birth but the scholar reached the conclusion that he was in eight century. The Shankara's philosophy of dualism dealt fatal blow to Buddhism and attempted to rally the Hindu sects together.<sup>11</sup> The '*Advaitist*' believed the world to be illusory; a mistaking, a piece of rope lying on the ground for a snake. When knowledge dispels this illusion, as a lamp lighting up the dark the unreality of the world becomes the reality of Brahman. The seer realises that the thing which likes before him is a rope only. And the misconception of the snake vanishes. According to Shankara the world is unreal (*Mithya*) and Brahma is real. Thus the Brahman is the one without a second. There is nothing except Brahman. The Advaita philosopher believes that God (*Brahman*) and the soul (*Atman*) are one, and when the soul is emancipated it goes to God of whose essence it is.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Premlata *op.cit.*, p.104; Malik Mohd., *Alwar Bhakton Ka Tamil Prabaudham Aur Hindi Krishna Kavya*, pub. Vinod Pustak Mandir, Agra-1964, pp.55-73.

<sup>11</sup> N. Chandrakant, *Tamil Aur Hindi Ka Bhakti Sahitya: Tulnatmak Adhdhyun.* pub. Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras-1971 pp.344-346.

<sup>12</sup> Prem lata *op.cit.*, p.106.

### **Madhvacharya:**

Madhvacharya also known as 'Anand Thirtha' (b.1197 AD-D.1276 AD) was son of Madhyagaha Bhatt, lived in the city of Rajasthan near Udipi, close to Shrinageri Math of Shankara. He spent his early child hand with the holy men and later on came under the influence of 'Achyutapareksha' at Udipi. Madhva's main opposition was naturally against Shankarites but he had also some different views in some respect from Ramanuja's doctrine too.

The fundamental difference between Shankara and Madhva is about the soul. He did not believe in the qualified Monism of Ramanuja and emphasized the doctrine of duality, based mainly upon *Bhagvat Purana*. He is of the opinion that the great obstacle in the path of Salvation was the belief in the identity of *Brahma & Jiva*. Madhava's views about reincarnation is also differed from other Hindu philosophers. According to him 'The supreme lord is never touched or affected by physical substance. He cannot therefore take a human shape and descend on the earth, although he may bestow His grace on human beings'.<sup>13</sup>

### **Nimbarka:**

Another great philosopher was Nimbarka who tried to reconcile the two views. His philosophy is '*dvaitadvaita* - i.e. Monism-cum-dualism.

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<sup>13</sup> Malik Mohd. *Op.cit.*, pp.70-72.

He conceived of God as both formless and with form. He was born in Nimbarpur (Karnataka) but spent most of his time in *Vrindavan* (Mathura, U.P.). R.G. Bhandarkar has given a supposed date of his death as 1172 AD. Nimbarka was a Telgu Brahman. He attached great importance to attainment of knowledge and devotion.<sup>14</sup>

### **Ramanuja:**

Beside above these philosopher of *Bhakti*, Ramanuja has a great place among them. He was born in 1016 AD at Tirupati or Perampur near Madras. His father name was Kesava and mother was Kanti-Mati.<sup>15</sup> He received his education at Conjeevaram and Shrirangam. Due to his scholarship acquired a position of authority among philosopher. He wrote a commentary on '*Brahmasutra*' and refuted Shankara, offered his own interpretation on theistic idea. His commentaries on '*Brahmasutra*' popularly known as '*Sri Bhasya*'.<sup>16</sup>

Ramanuja believed Brahma as supreme and individual souls as modes or attribute of Brahma. He is of the opinion that Brahma has two attributes – Purusha and *Prakriti*. Brahma is container while *Purusha* and '*Prakriti*' are contained. In other words, he emphasise on Bhakti as principle means of attaining the supreme reality (God) or final bliss and

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p.73.

<sup>15</sup> N. Chandrakant, *op.cit.*, p.347.

<sup>16</sup> Tarachand, *op.cit.*, p.100.

even outcast person also get salvation in complete surrendering to God.<sup>17</sup> It is a well known fact that 'Shankara' was the founder of Bhakti and Ramanuja had systematized and propagated all over India. The medieval Bhakti movement in real sense begins with Ramanuja and later on bifurcated into two to aspect of Brahma which was known as the *sagun* (qualified) and *Nirgun* (Non-qualified).

In *Sagun*, Brahma had various qualities viz. *Sat. Chit, Anand*. Brahman manifested himself into the world in many ways. As He was in river, mountains, plant, etc. This belief gave reality to the necessity not only on being God but also of being beautiful. This aspect of *Bhakti* called *Sagun Bhakti* (God with attributes). And the Second aspect is *Nirguna* (Non-qualified) or (God without attributes). Here emphasized is on that nothing could be said about Him, words are inadequate to express His nature. No special quality could be attached with Him. He is simply absolute. This Brahma was known as *Nirguna Brahma* and the followers of this doctrine called *Nirguna saints*.<sup>18</sup> The main exponent of this school of thought was Ramnanda.

### 3. Bhakti Movement in the Subah:

The Bhakti movement, who brought into north India particularly Suba Allahabad, was Ramananda, who believed in the doctrine of devotion preached by Ramanuja.

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<sup>17</sup> Malik Mohd. *Op.cit.*, pp.68-69.

<sup>18</sup> Tarachand, *op.cit.*, p.144.



**Ramananda:-** Ramananda was born in a *Kanya-Kubja* Brahman family of *Prayag* (Allahabad). He got his schooling at *Prayag* and Benaras and visited many religious places of North India.<sup>19</sup> His first teacher was vedantist and later he became the disciple of Raghvananda, who belonged to '*Shri sect*' of Ramanuja. But he found himself too radical to accommodate with the ideas of his *Guru* and established his own School. It is said that he came into contact with some learned Muslims of Banaras due to which his thought took a new way.<sup>20</sup>

A very important feature of his philosophy was vivid faith in the reality of one personal God, spiritual and invisible, whom he called Ram and detachment from rigidity of Hindu rituals and vehemently opposed the cast system of Hindu society.<sup>21</sup> He spent most of his life at Banaras as religious teacher and observed that due to the rigidity of the cast system a number of Hindus of lower cast embracing Islam on very flimsy ground, such as taking food and water touched by Muslims. So he emphasized on that cast should not be a barrier in religious and social intercourse. By this move, the rigours of caste distinctions were greatly softened and a large number of Hindus from lower caste attracted towards him. The

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<sup>19</sup> M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikhs; Its Gurus Sacred Writings and Authors.*, vols. VI, Oxford-1909, p.102.

<sup>20</sup> Pitamber Datt Badthawal, *Ramanand Ki Hindi Rachnaen (Hindi)*, Lucknow-Sam 2007.

<sup>21</sup> Naipal Singh, *Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara men Santon Ka Yogdan (15-16 Century)*, Pub., Arvind Prakashan, Aligarh-1986, pp.77-78.

greatest contribution of Ramananda to this movement was that he used 'Hindi' in place of 'Sanskrit' due to which he reached among common people.<sup>22</sup>

The followers of Ramananda were called '*Ramanandi Vairagis*' or '*Avdhutis*' i.e. (liberated ones). These *Sadhus* lived under lesser rigid discipline than Shankaras '*Sanyasis*. The main centre of activities of Ramanandis were Allahabad, Benaras and the vicinity of *Chunar*. His important followers or disciples were Kabir, Anantanand, Sukhanand, Sursuranand, Padmavati, Pipa, Dhanna, Narhariyanand, Raidas, Sena and Brahmanand. The teachings of Ramananda gave rise to two school of religious thought one conservative and the other radical.<sup>23</sup> The legends attached to his disciples show the popular character of Bhakti movement.

#### **Nirguna School:**

In the whole sweep of north Indian religion there is no voice more stringent, more passionate, and more confident than that of Kabir. If Hinduism has prophet, an Amos or a Jermia, here he is not in the sense that he forecast anything but that he was ever adds with the world around him, always ready to fling the dart of criticism in the direction of established religion.

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.78.

<sup>23</sup> Tarachand, *op.cit.*, p.145.

Kabir lived in Benaras (*Kashi*) belongs to Nirgun school of thought. His life story is mixed up with legends and traditional accounts.<sup>24</sup> It is said that he was a son of a Brahman widow, who in order to hide her shame, left the baby by the side of a tank in Benaras, where Niru and Nima, the Muslim weaver couple picked up and adopted. Kabir had saintly nature from his child days. He came in touch with various saints of different sects. There are many tradition relating to his discipleship. One is that, he was disciple of Shaikh Taqi but due to some differences left his company and another is about Ramananda. Though he did not mentioned his Guru but it was assumed that Ramananda was his spiritual preceptor.

According to Mohsin Fani "At the Time, when he was in search of spiritual guide, visited the best of the Musalmans and Hindus but he did not find what he sought, at last somebody gave him direction to an old man of bright genius, the Brahman Ramananda".<sup>25</sup>

He became disciple of Ramananda and stayed most of his time at Benaras. Later on migrated to *Maghar* (Gorakhpur), where taken his last breath.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> F.E. Keay, *Kabir and his followers*, Calcutta, 1931, pp.9,25.

<sup>25</sup> Mohsin Fani, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, pub. Nawal Kishor Matba, Kanpur-1311 AH., p.201.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p.202. J.N. Farquhar, *An outline of the religious literature of India*, pub. Motilal Banarsidas Delhi-1967, pp.330-331.

The teaching and mission of Kabir was to preach a religion of love which would unite all caste and creeds. He tried to synthesize of the conflicting ideology of Hinduism and Islam. He did not believe in differences of religion and condemn idol worship. The God he worshiped was formless and believes that the ultimate goal of the human soul is unity with God.

He had a large number of followers but he did not favor to establish a sect of his own, but later on after his death, we find a *Panth* (Sect) known as (*Kabir Panth*). The two of his prominent disciple Dharamdas and Suratgopal carried out the activities of the *Panth* in the Suba.<sup>27</sup>

Later, the *Panth* divided into two sections one of which its headquarter at *Kabir Chaura* (Beneras) and the other in Chattisgarh . of Central Province. The former is sometime called as '*Bap*' (Father) and the later the *Mai* (Mother) Section. Beside it there were other divisions also.<sup>28</sup>

Surat Gopal was the founder of the *Kashi* (Banaras) branch of *Kabir Panth* which is called *Kabir Chaura*. This centre also controlled the activities of Maghar Centre. Second disciple Dharamdas has founded of Kabir Panth branch in Baghelkhand. Gradually these centers became an important and holy place of *Kabir Panthis*.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Parshuram Chaturvedi, *Uttar Bharat Ki Sant Parampara*, Prayag 1951, p.274.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

There were some basic differences in the doctrine of the two

- A. The Kabir Chaura Section do not think it proper for the *Gurus* to marry while Bandogarh branch has no such restrictions
- B. The *Kabir Chaura* panth do not visit the holy places of Bandogarh Section, but the followers of Dharamdas do visit the Kabir Chaura and Maghar.
- C. In the Bandogarh Section, there were some female *Vairaginis* of the sect, who were usually the wives of men who had become *vairagis*. The *Gurus* of the *Kabir Chaura* were rigid in these matters and did not admit a single women within their fold.
- D. There are also slight differences in the '*Tilak*' of the two different branch of this Panth.
- E. In *Kabir Chaura* branch there was only one '*Mantra*' but in the Bandogarh section two '*Mantras*' are given at the time of initiation in the sect, the *Guru Mantra* and '*Tinka Mantra*' subsequently three more are given, called '*Panchnam*' '*Satnam* and *Harnam*'<sup>30</sup>
- F. The Bandogarh branch of the *Panth* office of the *Guru* is hereditary while *Kabir Chaura* branch is against it.<sup>31</sup>
- G. The followers of Kabir Chaura did not recognizes the *Gurus* of the other branches.

The immediate disciple of Kabir was Suratgopal, sometimes regarded as the real organizer of the '*Panth*'; succeeded him at Kashi and

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<sup>30</sup> F.E. Keay *op.cit.*, p.152.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p.94.

also recognized by the *Kabir Panthis* of Maghar.<sup>32</sup> There are two shrine at Maghar, one in the hands of Hindu *Pujari*’, who was a *sadhu* of the *Panth* derived his authority from *Kabir Chaura* branch and the second shrine under Mohammadan weavers who claimed to have had charge of the tomb from the time of Kabir’s death. He has the title of *Ghani Karan Kabir*. The Mohammadan incharge of this shrine do not regard Kabir as God but simply a *Pir* or Mohammadan saint.<sup>33</sup>

It is said that Suratgopal was in the *Gaddi* of Kabir Chaura in 1599 AD and taken Samadhi in 1651AD. The *Guru Parampara* of the Kashi branch has been continuing since the death of Suratgopal to this day. The twenty one Guru of Kabir Chaura covers a period of about five hundred years and have fairly old traditions. In regarding the other branch of Kabir Panthis i.e. Bandogarh or *Mai* Section, its founder was Dharamdas. He belonged to the ‘*Kasavdhan Baniya*’ caste and lived at Bandogarh. It was the formerly capital of the Baghel Kings, but it was taken by the Emperor Akbar in 1597 AD).<sup>34</sup>

His real name was ‘Judawan’ and Kabir is said to have changed it to Dharamdas.<sup>35</sup> There is very little information about the history of this

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<sup>32</sup> Tarachand, *op.cit.*, p.181.

<sup>33</sup> *Uttar Bharat Ki Sant..... op.cit.*, p.266-268.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.264-270. Abul Fazl, Akbarnama –III ed. (H. Beveridge), Calcutta, 1939. p.1059; Shahnawaz Khan, *Maathir-ul-Umara*, vol-II, ed. Beni Prasad and Beveridge, Calcutta, 1952. pp.584-585.

<sup>35</sup> F E.Keay, *op.cit.*, p.98.

branch is known except the names of the *Gurus*.<sup>36</sup> A great contribution goes to Dharamdas in growth and development of this panth in the Bandogarth region. His two sons namely, Narayandas and Churamani succeeded to *Gaddi* after his death.<sup>37</sup> This branch had also exercised much influence over the masses and had a large number of followers.

Kabir was strictly monotheist. The recurring theme of his poetry is that there is one supreme God and none is equal to Him

साहब मेरा एक है दुजा कहा न जाय ।  
दुजा साहब जो कहू, साहब मेरा रिसाय ।।

“My Lord is one supreme God,  
There is no other God, if I say there is another God  
also, My loved will be displeased with me”.<sup>38</sup>

He therefore called upon others also to worship the one supreme God.

“O Shameless man, art thou not ashamed why does  
thou forsake God, and go to some one else”.<sup>39</sup>

He used many names for God and explained that various name point to the one reality. He says;

अल्लाह-राम करीम केसो, हजरत नाम धराया ।  
गहना एक कनकते गढना, इनि मह भाव न दुजा ।।

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p.99.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Pundit Manoharlal Zutshi, *Kabir Sahib*, Allahabad-1930, p.78.

<sup>39</sup> Macauliff VI, p.159.

“Allah, Ram, Kareem Keshawa, Hari, Hazrat are but names, that are given, Jewels and Jewels are made of one gold: but it is in one nature only”.<sup>40</sup>

He believed in Panthism (*Hama-ost*) i.e. He is everywhere. According to this, he identified the human soul with the universal soul (Tat-vam-Asi, thou art that),<sup>41</sup> which means there is no difference between God and man. The human soul is article of the ultimate reality of Brahman the two are the same.

As the rivers ultimately merge in the ocean so the human soul will merge in the Divine soul:

दरियाब की लहर दरियाब है जो ।  
 दरियाब और कहर में भिन्न कोयम ।।  
 उठे तो नीर है बैठे तो नीरि है ।  
 कहो जो दूसरा किस तरह होवन ।।  
 उसी का फट के नाम कहा धरो ।  
 कहर के कहे क्या नीर खोयम ।।  
 जल ही फेर जब जल परब्र ा में ।  
 ज्ञान कर देख माल गोयम ।।

“The river and its waves are one Surf where is the difference between the river and its waves?”

<sup>40</sup> Ali Sardar Jafri, *Kabir Bani*, Bombay-1965, p.

<sup>41</sup> *Dabistan-e-Mazahib*. P.202., According to Mohsin Fani “he spoke on pantheism like a great scholar and his verses (on this subject) became very popular”.



When the wave's rises, it is the water, and when it falls, is the same water again.

Tell me, Sir, where is the distinction?

Because it has been named as wave,

Shall it no longer be considered as water?

Within the supreme Brahma, the worlds are being told like bend,

Look upon that rosary with the eyes of wisdom".<sup>42</sup>

The Hindus worshiped God in the form of an idol, Kabir severally criticized this practice and decline that idols are lifeless object, it is folly to worship them, He sang.

पाहन पूजे हरि मिले, तो मैं पूजू पहार।

ताते यह चाकी भली, पीस खाय संसार।।

"If by worship stones one can find God,

I shall worship a mountains, better

Than these stones (idols) are the stones

Of the flour-mill with which men

Grind their corn".<sup>43</sup>

हम तौ एक-एक करि जाना।

दोई कहै तिनही कौ दोजग, जिन नाहिन पहिचाँना

एके पवन एक ही पानी, एक जोति संसार।

एके ही खाक घडे सब भाण्डे, एक ही सिरजन हारा।।

"Only the one of recognized

Those who call Him two will go to hell,

For they know not the reality,

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<sup>42</sup> Kabir Bani *op.cit.*, p.83.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p.129; Macauliffe, *op.cit.*, pp.163-203.

All human beings are sustained by the  
 Same air and water, and are  
 Illumined by the same light,  
 All have been formed out of the same  
 Dust, and there creator is the same".<sup>44</sup>

He rejects incarnation theory which is one of the principles of Hinduism. He says;

"They believe in Ten *Avtars*, but no *Avtar* can be the infinite spirit, for he suffers the results of his deeds: The supreme one must be other than this".<sup>45</sup>

He was totally against the practices of the ascetics (*yogis*) and declared that their exercises are useless without spiritual devotion. In the following verses he satire on ascetics:

"The *yogis* dyes his garments, instead of dyeing his mind in the colours of love: He sits within the temple of the Lord, leaving Brahma to worship a stone. He pierces holes in his ears, he has a great beard and matted locks, he looks like a goat: He goes fourth into the wilderness, killing all his desires, and turns himself into an eunuch. He shaves his heads and dyes his garments; he reads the *Geeta* and became a mighty talker, Kabir says you are going to the doors of death, bound hand and feet.".<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Shyamsundur, *Das Kabir Granthavali pub.* Nagri Pracharni Sabha-Kashi Samvat-2013 p.105, pada-55.

<sup>45</sup> Kabir Bani *op.cit.*, p.81.

<sup>46</sup> *Ihi*, p.135, Macauliff *op.cit.*, p.231.

He has suggested to achieve the God *i.e.* Union with God, the guidance of a Competent preceptor or *Guru*. The Guru shows the Lord.

साथी सौ सतगुरू मोहि भावै  
सन्त प्रेम का भर भर प्याला,  
आप पियै मोहि पियावै ।  
परदा दूर कौ आंखन का ॥  
ब्रहम धस दिखलावे ।

‘O, Brother, my heart yearns to that true Guru, who fills the cup of true love, and drinks of its himself, and offers it to then to me. He remove the veil from the eyes, and gives the true vision of Brahma’.<sup>47</sup>

He was against the caste system and inequality of man based on religion, tribe or trace or family. He ridiculed the notion of untouchability and laid emphasis on the essential unity of mankind. He sarcastically remarks:

जो तु बाभन बभनी जाय ।  
ते आन बाट है काहे न आए ॥  
If you are a Brahman being born of a Brahman,  
why have you not been born in a different way”  
हमारे कैसे लोहु तुम्हारे कैसे दुध ।  
तुम कैसे ब्राहमण पांडे हम कैसे सूद ॥

‘Do you have milk in your veins while we have blood? If not how are you a Brahman and we Sudra”

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<sup>47</sup> Kabir Bani , *op.cit.*, p.103.

जो तु तुरक तुरकनी जाय ।  
तौ भीतर खतना क्यु न कराय ।।

“If you are different (i.e superior) from others, as you claim why were you not born circumcised”.<sup>48</sup>

Another place he sang!

कहै कबीर चेतहु रे भौदू  
बोलन हारा तुरकन न हिन्दु

wake up you fool, the supreme spirit is neither Turk nor Hindu<sup>49</sup>

He says:

एक बूद एक मल मूतर एक चाम एक चाम एक गुदा ।

एक जोति थे सब उत्पना कौन ब्रहमन कौन सुदा ।।

“All human beings are produced by a drop of semen and have the same skin and bones. The discharge arch their bodily functions in the same manner. All have been born from the same supreme Being (*Jyoti* or light), Hence How can one be called a Brahman and another *Sudra*,”<sup>50</sup>

He song:

एक जनातहि सब उपजा

कोन बहन कौन खुदा

All the creative originally belong to the light, None is *Brahman* and *Sudra*.<sup>51</sup>

He emphasized on the fundamental unity of the Hindu and Turks.

Kabir uses the word Turk for all Muslims especially for ruling elite of

<sup>48</sup> K.G. *op.cit.*, Pada, 41 p.102.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, , pada -56, p.106.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pada-57, p.106.

<sup>51</sup> Kabir Sahib *op.cit.*, p.68.

Muslim who had come from Turkistan, Iran or Central Asia. who looked down upon the Indians: says:

एक निरंजन अलाह मेरा ।  
हिन्दु तुरक दहु नही नेरा ॥

The God (Allah) is one

“The Hindus and Turks are not two”<sup>52</sup>

Kabir severely criticized the externalia, rituals and practices of the two faiths, pilgrimage and *Haj*, ritual bathing, image worship, formal prayer (*Namaz* and counting rosary), fasting, applying sandalwood paste or ashes on the forehead, weaving sacred threads etc., were meaningless to him. He pointed out that these irrational practices are the cause of Hindu - Muslim conflict.

Like all other religious thinker Kabir also sought union with God and release from the bound of transmigration. The prevalent systems of both Hindus & Muslims could not satisfy Kabir He claims to have examined both religions.

हमारा झगरा रहा न कोऊ। पंडित मुल्ला छडि दोऊ।  
पंडित मुल्ला जो लिखी दोग्या। छाडि चले हम कहु न लीया।

I have no quarrel with anyone I have given up both the  
Pandits and mullahs.

What the Pundits and Mullahs prescribed for me.

I have received no advantage from and have abandoned.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> K.G., *op.cit.*, pada 278 p.202.

He rejects the differences based on faith. He asserts again and again that Hindus and Muslims were the servants of God and equally dear to Him. The conflict was chalked out and propagated by the religious leaders of both the communities to full fill their worldly desires. He is of the view that the ideal society was one which was not dominated by priests and Mullahs, and when the individual could distinguish between the true and false and realize God of Goodliness in his own heart on the basis of self realization, and following the path set out by a true saint.

#### **Raidas:**

Raidas was born in Benaras or its vicinity. His father name was Raghu and mother Ghurbiniya belong to caste '*Chamar*',<sup>54</sup> a very low in social status. Raidas himself accepted many places in their verses about his profession or caste *Chamar* (leather worker, cobbler).

नागर जना मेरी जाति बिखिआत चमार, रिदेराम गोविन्द राम गुण सार।  
मेरी जाति कुटुवांडना ढोर ढवन्ता नित्ताहि बनारसी आसपासा।<sup>55</sup>

There is forty '*pad*' in *Guru Granth Sahib* in which Raidas mentioned as resident of Kashi (Benaras) and from Chamar (leather

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<sup>53</sup> Kabir Bani *op.cit.*, p.199.

<sup>54</sup> Raidas, *Raidas Ki Bani*, pub. Velevedier-Printing Works, Motilal Nehru Road, Allahabad-1997, p.2.

<sup>55</sup> Yogendra Singh, *Sant Raidas*, pub., Akshay Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1972, p.172.

worker) caste.<sup>56</sup> He had not received traditional education or learning but what he achieved only from in company of Saints and traveling.<sup>57</sup> He accepted that he received the *Gyan* (knowledge) in the *Pathashala* of Hari.<sup>58</sup> He was so much devoted to religious men and saints and used to spent money on them. Due to such type of nature, his father became displeased and turned him out of the house. He constructed a hut behind his home and lived with his wife joyously followed his ancestral work of leather by mending shoes. His simple way of life and spiritual knowledge attracted a number of people. It is said that a Rajput queen Rani Jhali of Chittod became his disciple.<sup>59</sup>

There is a traditional story about Rani Jhali and Raidas: that when Rani Jhali traveled to Banaras with some of his court Brahmans, entered in the discipleship of Raidas, so the Brahman raised hue and cry and the matter came in the court of Banaras king for justice. The King called Raidas and Brahmans to court and announced that he would value the claim of whoever could show that the lord inclined his direction. The Brahmans chanted the correct *Vadic* verses, but was no effect, when Raidas sang a verse in which he asked God to reveal himself as the one

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<sup>56</sup> J.S. Hawley & M. Juevgenmeyer, *Songs of the saints of India*, Oxford, 1904, p.12.

<sup>57</sup> Saint Raidas *op.cit.*, p.27.

<sup>58</sup> Raidas Ki Bani, *op.cit.*, p.33. चल मन हरि चर साल पढाऊ । गुरू की साटि ज्ञान का अक्षर ॥

<sup>59</sup> Sant Raidas *op.cit.*, pp.25-26; *Uttar Bharati Ki Sant* ..... *op.cit* pp.237-240.

whose nature is to rescue the fallen (*Patit Pavan*), the image responded by jumped directly into the poet's lap.<sup>60</sup>

Basically he was a saint of *Nirgun* School of *Bhakti* like Kabir. His cardinal doctrines are very similar to that of Kabir. His hymns breathe a spirit of humility and self-surrender. He did indulge in high philosophical speculation about the nature and essence of God and His relation with the world and man.<sup>61</sup> Raidas did not oppose the caste system directly but subscribes to the idea that differences of caste or status do not matter where saints, and their devotees are concerned. He is of the view that God does not reside only in families where there are *Vaishnava Sadhus*. He resides everywhere and does not distinguish between high castes and outcastes, between the rich and the poor. For Him, Brahman, Kshatrya, Vaishya, *Shudras*, *Dom*, *Chandal* and *Mlechha* (the untouchable) are the same.

He believed in God as the absolute Lord of all and identical with self. He says:

एक अनेक एक हरि, कहौ कौन विधि दुजा ।  
 Hari is in all and all is in Hari  
 Who else second to worship.<sup>62</sup>  
 तेही मोहि मोहि तोहि अन्तर ऐसा ।

<sup>60</sup> Songs of the saints...*op.cit.*, p.12; *Uttar Bharat Ki Sant....op.cit.*, p.238

<sup>61</sup> Tarachand *op.cit.*, p.179.

<sup>62</sup> Raidas Ki Bani- *op.cit.*, Pada-55, p.25.



कनक कनक जल तरंग जैसा ।

Thou art I, and the difference between me and thee  
is like water in a vessel of Gold and in the wave.<sup>63</sup>

In his view God is not identical with any of the incarnations; he says.

"जो राम ही सबै जगजाने । भ्रम भुले रे भाइ ।"

"The Ram is whom the people recognize Him, they are in error about it, o'brother".<sup>64</sup>

According to him, the world is the play of God and is inclined to the view that it is illusory, at any rate not worth paying attention to

बाजीगर सो राचि रहा, बाजी का मरम न जाना ।

बाजी झूट साच बाजीगर, जाना मन पतियाना ।।

"He arranges it like a player (*Bazigar*), no one knows the secret of his play. The play is false, only the player is true, by knowing this the mind is satisfied".<sup>65</sup>

He believed in the immanence of God.

"Between Thee me between me thee what difference can there be?

The same as between gold and the bracelet, between water and its rights"<sup>66</sup>

थोधी भाया थोधी माया ।

थोधा धरि बिन जनम गवांया ।।

चोधा पडित्त थोधी बानी ।

थोधी हरि बिन सबै वानी ।

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pada -29, p.15.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pada 9/2 p.6.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, Pada-10/2 – p.6,

<sup>66</sup> Macauliffe *op.cit.*, pp.321-328.

थोधी हरि बिन सबै कहानी ।।

“The body is empty, the *Maya* (Nature) is empty, emptily hast thou wasted life without *Hari*, The temple and luxurious living are empty and empty is the dependence on other Gods”.<sup>67</sup>

Another place he says that:

या रामा एक तू दाना, तेरी आदि भेख ना ।  
 तू सुलतान सुलताना, बंदा सकिसता अजाना ।।  
 मैं बेदियानत न नजर दे, दरमंद बरखुरदार ।  
 बेअदब बदबखत बौरा, बेअकल बदकार ।  
 मैं गुनहगार गरीब गाफिल, कमदिल दिलतार ।  
 तूँ कादिर दरिया वाजिहावन, मै हिरसिया दुसियार ।।  
 यह तन हस्त खस्त खराब, खातिर अंदेशा बिसियार ।  
 रेदास दासाहि बोलि साहिब, देहु अब दीदार ।।

“O Rama, Thou alone art wise, thou art eternity without guise, thou art King (Sultan) of Kings. I am thy ignorant broken (*Shikasta*) servant (*band*). I have no manners, no fortune. I am a sinner, an alien (*gharib*), head less, cowardly and black-hearted. Thou art powerful (*qadir*) and capable of taking me across the ocean. I am greedy and cunning. This body of mine is shattered and broken, and my mind is full of many apprehensions. Raidas the slave, begs his lord (Sahib) vouch safe to me a sight (*didar*) of there”.<sup>68</sup>

And therefore he calls upon Him out of the depth of his heart:

“Save me, save me, O holy Lord of three worlds”<sup>69</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Raidas Ki Bani op.cit.*, pada 30, p.15.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pada 30, p.15.

<sup>69</sup> *Tarachand op.cit.*, p.181.

He was against the traditional idol worship. He is of the view that God is omnipresent, Omnipotent, and cannot be a sand statue (idole). He has also denied pilgrimage, fastes, shaving of heads and dancing in temples.

He was also critical on the lamp waving ceremony (*Arti*) conducted in front of deity images, suggested that the ritual is part of a hypocritical system. He says:

आरती कहा लो जोवै, सेवग दास अचंभे होवै ।।  
 बावन कंचन दीप घरावै, जड बैरागी दृष्टि न आवै ।।  
 कोटी भान जाकि सोभा रूमै, कहा आरती अगनि धूमै ।।  
 पाँच तत्व अरू त्रिगुनी माया, जो देखै सो सकल समाया ।।  
 कहै रेदास देखा माहि, सकल जोनि रोम सम नाही ।।

What have you brought for 'aarti' what do you see?

It astonishes your servant and slave!

You have made fifty-two golden lamps

Fool, you have not even glimpsed renunciation!

The brilliance of this hair is ten million suns

How can you perform His *aarti* with smoke a fine?

The five elements and the three *guns* of *Maya*

Whatever is visible is all His creation

Raidas says, I have seen within,

All your flames cannot equal a single hair".<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Raidas Ki Bani *op.cit.*, pada-82, p.39.

He rejected only outer stricter of devotion or show-ism and emphasized on heartily devotion and spiritual life.

He tried to made some reconciliation between Hindu –Muslims. He says!

कृष्ण करीम राम हरि राधव जब लागि न एक पेशा ।  
बेद कतेव कुरान पुरानन सहज एक काटि मेवा ।।<sup>71</sup>

He did not satire any one but propagated the ulterior motives of religion, is to adopt the humanitarian values in life and keep distance from the evils of world.

His teachings resulted removal of all social evils like; distinction between higher and lower castes, Hindu-Muslims social rift, out castes in religious field. His teachings developed Hindu-Muslims unity in the contemporary society.

It is evident that people of all sections of society holding positions of power and prestige as well as common men followed his teaching irrespective of their cast background. Commenting on his raised status says:

जाति भी ओछी करम भी ओछा,  
ओछा कसब हमारा ।  
नीचै से प्रमु उच कियो है  
कह प्रभु रैदास चमारा ।।

<sup>71</sup> Sant Raidas *op.cit.*, pp.190-191.

“My cast is low my actions are low,  
 And even my profession is low.  
 Says Raidas, yet the Lord has raised me high”.<sup>72</sup>

**Another place says:**

“He was a Chamar untouchable by caste, and tanned the skin of dead animals near Benaras, yet now Brahmans and chiefs (*Pradhans*) salute him”.<sup>73</sup>

In his view that A family who has a true follower of the lord. Is neither high caste nor low caste, lordly or poor.

**Malukdas:**

Malukdas was born at Kara (near Allahabad) in 1574 AD and died in 1682 AD.<sup>74</sup> He was the son of Lala Sunderdas, who was a Khattri by caste with the surname ‘*Kakkar*’. He married and had a daughter, lived a family life and died issueless. Therefore, his nephew Ram Sahay succeeded him at his seat (*Gaddi*) at Kara.<sup>75</sup> There is no exact information about his Guru. Some scholar says that he was disciple of Murar Swami, some traced as Krishndas and Vitthaldas. While some of the view that he was disciple of *Kilh*. The author of Uttar Bharat Ki sant Parampara has mentioned in his work that he was disciple of Murarswami.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> *Raidas Ki Bani op.cit.*, pada 87/4 p.42.

<sup>73</sup> *Sant Raidas* – pada-60, p.172.

<sup>74</sup> *Uttar Bharat Ki Sant... op.cit.*, p.505; *Tarachand op.cit.*, p.189.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p.508.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p.507.

Malukdas, from his younger age inclined towards asceticism and spent his time in the company of *Sadhus* and *Sanyasis*. His sisters's son Sathradas wrote a versified biography of the Saint, named '*Parichyay*'. He was one of the saint who lived in quest of the truth and whose teachings spread far wide. A number of stories and miracles are attached with his life.

It is said that an official staff of Aurangzeb, Fateh Khan was sent to summon him in the imperial court, but he was so much influenced by Malukdas and entered into his discipleship and never returned back to imperial camp. Who later on called *Mir Madhav*. There is a reference that the 9<sup>th</sup> Guru of the Sikhs, Tegh Bahadur came to Kara and met Malukdas in his religious assembly.<sup>77</sup>

He had twelve disciples but six name are known i.e. Mir Madhar, Laldas, Ramdas, Udayrai, Prabhudas and Sudama. Who established their centers Kabul, Patna, Kara Jaipur, Gujarat, Multan, in spite of so many difficulties in transport at that time.<sup>78</sup>

The main characteristic of the teachings of the saint was laid equal stress on Guru and God, but believed in supremacy of God and was greatly devoted to Him. His religious doctrine was the same as Kabir. According to Tarachand, 'He teaches that the true religion as an inward

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p.512.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p.513.

faith, that *Maya*. Is the enemy of man and God's name is the only protection against it, that the world is transitory and the worldly relations are no avails, that man is born of dust, that those who are the dogs of the world, that salvation is obtained by knowing the self, killing pride and egotism, controlling passions, trusting the Guru and loving God'.<sup>79</sup>

He had very soft and humanistic approaches in his heart and always be ready to bear the sorrows of people of the world .

He believes in one supreme authority and feels always His presence in every place or learns about His presence. He disfavors the idol worship. His God is without attribute and formless. He says:

जेती देखी आत्मा तेते सालिगराम ।  
बोलनहारा पूजिये, पत्थर से क्या काम ।।<sup>80</sup>

Like other Nirguna saints he condemned the pilgrimage and says one place:

हम जानत तीरथ बडे, तीरथ हरि की आस ।  
जिनमे हिरदे हरि बसे, मोटि तिरथ तिम पास ।।

“I know the pilgrimage is holy in search of Hari (God) but those who have Hari (God) in their pure hearts all the pilgrimage they have done”.<sup>81</sup>

मक्का मदीना ख्दारका, बद्रि और केदार ।  
बिना दया सब झूट है कहे मलुक विचार ।।

<sup>79</sup> Tarachand, *op.cit.*, p.189.

<sup>80</sup> Malukdas, *Malukdas Ki Bani*, pub. Velvedier Printing Works, Allahabad, 1997, Pada-43, p.32.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pada-47, p.33.

Makka Madina Dwarka & Badri Everyplace is useless without mercy (on humanity), it is a thought of Maluk.<sup>82</sup>

He says that remembering God must be through heart and not on lip. God does not like showism.<sup>83</sup> He too taught ones of religious and the unity of the Hindu and the Muslims: He says;

माला कहाँ और कहाँ तसबीह ।  
अब चेत इनहि कर टेक न टेको ॥

“Where is string of beads (*Mala*) and the rosary (*Tasbih*), how awak and rally none on them”.

काफिर कौन मलेच्छ कहावत ।  
सँघ्या निवाज सकय करि देखै ॥

“who is official (*Kafir*) and who is barbarian (*Malecha*) look upon *Sandhya* (Hindu worship) and prayer (*Namaz*) as one”.

वहाँ जमराज कहाँ जैबराईल है ।  
काजी कहा जबती हिसाद के लैखै ॥

Where does ‘*Yama*’ line and where is *Gabrael*? He himself is the judges(*Qazi*) who else keeps account?

Another place he says:

दास मलूक कहा भरमौ तुम ।  
राम रहीम कहावत एके ॥

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pada-49, p.33.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pada-40, p.32. सुमिमरन ऐसा किजिए, दूजा लखै न कोय ।

ओठ न फरकत देखिए, प्रेम राखिए गोय ॥



“Malukdas, why art thou in error, Ram and Rahim are the names of one”.<sup>84</sup>

The next saint of *Nirguna* School was *Sena*, a barber of caste, and was serving of the Raja of Bandogarh (Modern Rewa)<sup>85</sup> It is said that he was a disciple of Ramananda. There is one hymn in *Adi-Granth*, in which he has used the name of Ramananda.<sup>86</sup> In this hymn, it shows that he also believed that salvation could be attained by means of devotion. Like other *Nirguna* saints, he also rejected the outward forms of religion & rituals. He laid emphasis on the repetition of His name and meditation. There is a story told by the Nabhadas in his *Bhaktmal* which illustrates the saint dependence on God and His readiness to help him.<sup>87</sup>

**Sagun school:** Tulsidas, a great poet and devotee of Rama, was born in a *Saryu Brahman* family in 1532 AD. in Rajpur, Disstt. Banda.<sup>88</sup> His real name was ‘Rambhola’. The father of Tulsidas was Atma Ram Dube and mother Hulsī. At an early age Tulsidas became orphan but was brought up and educated by his father’s Guru Narsinghdas. He learnt *Sastras* and other religious works. The early life of Tulsi was spend in Rajpur (near Banda) and later shifted to Chitrkut.<sup>89</sup> Tulsidas refers his

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p.25.

<sup>85</sup> Uttar Bharat Ki Sant... *op.cit.*, p.233.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p.232.

<sup>87</sup> Tarachand – *op.cit.*, p.179.

<sup>88</sup> Swamy Tattawanand , *The Saints of India, Bombay* – 1926 p.61.

<sup>89</sup> A.L. Srivastava, *A short history of Akbar the great*, vol. III, pub. Shival Agrawala, Agra, 1957, p.92.

childhood in his *Ratnawali*. He also refers to his first teacher Narhari Anand to whom he owed much.

It was at 'Sukar Kheda' that I was told again and again by my teacher the story of Rama but being a child I could only follow it partially on account of the limitations of my intelligence.<sup>90</sup>

He lived in Benaras till the end of his life. It is said that on account of a taunt of his wife Ratnawali taken to life of a religious hermit. He wrote several books like *Ramacaritmanas*, *Gitavli*, *Kavitavli*, *Vinay Patrika*, *Prem Vatika*, *Hanoman Panchak*, *Ras Bhushan*, *Bajrang Sathika*, *Bharat-milap*, *Vijay Dohavli* etc.<sup>91</sup> His magnum opus composition *Ramcaritmanas* widely known as the *Tulsi Ramayna* which enshrines highest ideals and enjoins the simplest practices of religious life. Being an ardent follower of the Rama cult depicted Rama as an incarnation of God, the Almighty. Rama was a personal and supreme God, which has feeling of compassion for the humanity which suffered. He has given vividly and eloquently description about Rama's life, right from his birth to his coronation and therefore to the foundation of an ideal kingdom (Ram Rajya).<sup>92</sup> He was worshiper of Ram and has drawn an

<sup>90</sup> J.N.Farquhar *op.cit.*, p.328.

<sup>91</sup> M.P.Gupta, *Tulsidas (Ek. Smalochnatmak Adhdhyan)*, pub., Hindi Parisad, Prayag Vishvidalya, Prayag-1946, p.213; A.L. Srivastava, *op.cit.*, pp.92-93.

<sup>92</sup> Tulsidas, *Ramcaritmanasa*, (ed., pt. Vinayak Rao), pub., Madya Pradesh Hindi Sahitaya Sammelan, Bhopal. Uttar Kand.

ideal picture of his favorite deity. His Rama (God) is the light of the universe. He is Permanent. His Rama is *Saguna* instead of *Nirguna*. Rama is Vishnu also and incarnation of Brahman. The power of Brahma is 'Maya' hence Rama is 'Mayapati'.<sup>93</sup>

The *Ramcaritmanas* is essentially a work of *Bhakti* of loving devotion, and this we could call the spiritual personal, experimental or mystic aspect of the work and guide to practical life. In this, he makes an exposition of religious devotion of highest order and laid stress upon knowledge, devotion, worship and mediation.<sup>94</sup>

In his view on the best mean of *Bhakti* is name-Japa, repetition of name of lord. In *Balkand* and *Uttar Kand* of *Ramcaritmanas* has given stress several times on Rama name<sup>95</sup> R.G. Bhandarkar informs us that his path of devotion centered around Rama, is based upon a dualistic

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चलहि सदा पावहि सुखहि, नहि नम शोक न रोग ।। चंकं.20ए चण्46ए

सब निर्दम धर्मरत पुनी । नर अरूनारि चतुर सब गुनी ।

सब गुणज्ञ सब पण्डित ज्ञानी । सब कृतज्ञ नही कपट सयानि ।

Pada 20, p.48.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, *Balkand* –vol-I. p.228.

जगत प्रकाश्य प्रकाशक रामू । मायाधीश ज्ञान गुणधाम (117)

माया मानुषरू पिणौ रघुवरौ सदर्म वम्मो हितौ ।(1)

*Kishkindha* Kan, p.3.

<sup>94</sup> Al-Srivastava, *op.cit.*, 92-95.

<sup>95</sup> *Manasa*. *Balkand* vol.I.

बन्दो रामनाम रघुबर के हेतु कृसान मानु हिमकर के ।

बरषाऋतु रघुपति भगति, तुलसी सामि सुदास ।

राम नाम बटवस जुग, सावन भादो मास ।। (19) चण्79ए

philosophy with a leaning towards spiritual monism of *Advaita* system.<sup>96</sup> In this context, the supreme place in *Ramcharitmanas* was given to *Rama*. He is omnipresent and omniscient, a supreme power, who can make Brahma and Siva dance. He is creator of heaven and earth, and incarnate on earth in human form in order to destroy the evil and protect the good. All are born out of Rama and ultimately absorbed in Him and this merger will be salvation. He had dual approaches to society. The first-category based on the basis of essential qualities of individuals and the second, he appears to conform to the traditional concept of *Varnashram*.<sup>97</sup>

He laid emphasis on that there should be no caste distinction among the devotees, was widely accepted. Tulsi says that as he is a devotee of Rama, he has no caste-now is he bothered about any body else caste. Another place he says that an untouchables who is a devotee of Ram is superior to anyone else for he recounts the name of Rama night and days.<sup>98</sup>

In his view that a saint, although a Rajpoot or a weaver by caste can beg from anyone and can sleep anywhere. He condemns those

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<sup>96</sup> R.G. Bhandarkar *op.cit.*, pp.74-75.

<sup>97</sup> Manasa, Aranyakand, p.94. जाति.पाति कुल धर्म बढाई। घन बल परिजन गुण चतुराई  
भक्तिहीन नर सोहहि कैसे। बिनुजल वारिद दिखिय जैसे।।

<sup>98</sup> Mansa, Uttar Kand, vol.3. p.158.

वर्णधर्म नाहि आश्रम चारी। श्रुति विरोध रत सब नारि।

द्विज श्रुति बचक भूप प्रजाशन। कोउ नाहि मान निगम अनुशासन।

Brahmans of the 'Kali' age that instead of devoting themselves to the study of the *Vedas* a teachings the other three caste, how to lead an ethical life, these Brahmans have given up true calling (*Dhrama*) became greedy, indulged in worldly pleasures. Further he says that the low born people consider themselves to be as learned as the Brahmans and take part in *Japa-Tapa* and *Vrata* (ascetic, practices and recitation of *mantra*) sit on high seat and discourses on the scriptures. They make the Brahman to worship them. He concludes that such *Sudra* spoil both this world and the other.<sup>99</sup>

His views towards *Sadhus* position in cast ridden society was different. He believes that caste restriction do not apply to saints even *Chandala* i.e. a man of lowest caste, is better than a man of high caste, if the former is devotee of Ram or if a low caste *Sadhu* recite the name of Rama (God) every day is better than high born *Sadhu*.<sup>100</sup> He tried to relate the *Varnas* in terms of intrinsic qualities rather than birth. He is of the view that before *Bhaktas*, all women are regarded as mothers, others property as poison, regards the lord as master, friend, father mother and preceptor. They give up the pride of caste, social position, wealth family

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, नारि विवश नर सफल गुसाई। नाचहिं नट मरकर की नाई।

शुद्र द्विजन्हि उपदेश ज्ञाना। भेलि जनेऊ लही कुदाना।।

ते विप्रन्ह सन पाँव पुजावही। उभयलोक निजहाथ नशावाहि

विप्र निरछर लोलुप कामी। निराचार शठ, वृ की स्वामी

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, कृत युग त्रेता द्वापर पुजा मरप अरू योग।

जो गति होई सो कलिहि हरि नाम ते परवहि लोग

etc. and cherished the lord in his heart. They have compete humanity and free from all pride. Their mind have assimilated the principle of *Dharma*. Through these philosophical efforts, he tried to make an environment of harmony and brotherhood among his fellow religionists. His perception about *Ramrajya* is that, the people will performed their duties as per *Verna* and devoted on the path of *Vedas* and will be always happy and free from all ailments and have will be no cause or sorrow.

### **Vallabhacharya:**

The next great saint Vallabhacharya belongs to *Sagun* School of Krishna cult of vaishnavism. He was a *Tilang* Brahman of south India, born in 1479AD/1535 VS. in Beneras.<sup>101</sup> His father name was Lakshman Bhatta and grand father Ganapati Bhatta were very devoted to God and it is said that they had performed one hundred *Soma* sacrifice. This family was known for its learning scholarship and deep devotion. Vallabhas early name was Vidarbha.<sup>102</sup> He was very intelligent and promising child and it is said that his birth was followed by some miraculous happenings.

Vallabhachary was destined to a life of scholarship and religious meditation and reform. In his early days he learnt four Vedas in four

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<sup>101</sup> Alwar Bhakton ka Tamil...*op-cit*, p78; D.D. Gupta, .Asht Chaap aur vallabh samparday (ek gveshdatmak adhayana).”pub. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. Prayag, 1970.

<sup>102</sup> Vivek Bhattacharya, *The sprirt of Indian culture (the saints of India)* Pub. Metropolitan, New Delhi-1980-p.286.

months. The six *Shastras* and eighteen *Purana* were finished. He had learnt all scripture completed the whole education in Kashi.<sup>103</sup>

Having heard about the religious disputation was being held at the court of the King of Vijanagara in south, went to participate in that discussion and this was about the nature of Brahma. He argued that Brahma was determinate nature.<sup>104</sup> Here, he met 'Vyasa-Tirtha' the great disciple of Madhavacharya.

He traveled widely and during the long journey, the saint was deeply absorbed in the thinking of Vishnu the lord of the creation to attained enlightenment. He got the patronage of Krishnadevaraya and established the supremacy of *Vaishaism* with some learned scholars of *Shaivait* sect in South.<sup>105</sup> He visited mostly religious places of Rajasthan, Maharastra, Uttar Pradesh (Vrindavan, Haridwar, Kedarnath, Badrinath, Kashi, Prayag etc.). This gave him a spiritual strength.<sup>106</sup>

He does not believe married life as hindrance to spiritual progress like other *Bhakti* saint of *Nirguna* School. He got married with Mahalakshmi daughter of Devanna Bhatt at Benaras.<sup>107</sup> He had two sons, eldest was Gopinath born on Saturday 31<sup>st</sup> August 1510 AD/ on *Ashwin Krishna*

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<sup>103</sup> A.L.Srivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture*, Agarwal Publishiers, Agra-1964, p.65.

<sup>104</sup> Alwar Bhakton Ka..... op.cit., p.78.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *Medieval Indian Culture* , op.cit.

<sup>107</sup> Tamil Aur Hindi Ka .....op.cit., p.565

*Devadshi* in 1567 VS at Arail<sup>108</sup> and the second son Vitthalnath was born in 1515-16 AD /1572 VS at Chunar and received his education at Arail. In 1523-24 A/158VS his sacred thread ceremony was held.<sup>109</sup>

Vallabha was attracted a place called Arail near Prayag and here he established his Ashram.<sup>110</sup> Due to his efforts this region came under the influence of Krishna Bhakti. Chaitanya was his contemporary and is said that he met him in Arail.

He took four basic works as authoritative, viz. the Vedas, the *Bhagvata Gita*, the *Brahma Sutra* and *Bhagvata*. These were known as *Prasthanas*. He was the author of a number of important works in *Sanskrit* and *Brajbhasha* some are as follows:

1. The Anubhashya: A Commentary on Brahmasutra.
2. Tattvarthadipa Nibandh: This work of Vallabha popularly known as *Nibandha* is in prose and verse.
3. Subodhni- This is a commentary on *Bhagvat Purana*.
4. The Sadasa Granthas; independent treatise for the enunciation of the *Shudhadvaita* doctrines and the education of the scriptural text.<sup>111</sup>

He became renowned Acharya in the *Shishya Parampara* of Vishnu Swami and called his philosophic system a *Shudhadvaita* or pure

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<sup>108</sup> Ashtchehap Aur Vallabah...*op.cit.*, p.72.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, (This Ashram is still exist and called Sthan of Mahaprabhau)

<sup>111</sup> Alwar Bhaktou ka Tamil..., *op.cit.*, p.79.



monism.<sup>112</sup> He tells us that he was commanded by Lord Krishna to appear in the world in the form of *Agni* and the correctly explain the *Upanishad* and the *Brahmasutra* as these scripture had been misinterpreted by Shankara.<sup>113</sup>

Vallabha gives special importance to *Bhakti* (devotion) which according to him can only be conferred by God. According to him, there, are two ways of devotion one is *Maryada Bhakti* in which devotion is obtained by ones own efforts. The other path of devotion is *Pushti-Bhakti* by which devotion is obtained effortlessly merely by the grace of God. This grace in his system is called '*pushti*'. This term in the sense of nourishment is found in the *Vedas*.<sup>114</sup>

He discusses the significance of the paths of nation, knowledge and *Bhakti*, their relative worth in his *Tuttvarthedipa-Nibandha* and finally declares that the path of devotion characterized by the grace of God is the best and the easiest of all. Vallabha says that the seed of the *Bhakti* is planted in a *Jiva* through the God. This seed first develops into an inclination towards or affection for the lord and then strengthened after having chanted of his name, listening to his tales, renunciation etc. enhances the love (*Prema*) with Him.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p .81. J.N.Farquhar *op.cit.*, p.313.

<sup>115</sup> Mirudula I. Marafalia *The philosophy of Vallabha Charrya*, pub. Munshi Ram Manoharlal. Delhi-1967, p.85..

His human friendly *Bhakti* was better served by the child Krishna, whose playful activities were fully described in the *Bhagvat*. The play of child Krishna is the subject matter of the *Bhagvat*. He has chosen this work as representing the highest truth and added it to the normally accepted *Prasthanas-Trayi*. Such a natural appeal gained an extraordinary popularity. Perhaps this was foreseen by Vallabha, who accommodated most of the *Bhagvata* tenets in his system which won over a large number of followers.<sup>116</sup>

He considered Srikrishna at the highest Brahma '*Purushotama*' the most excellent of all being or the perfect man and *Parmananda* the highest joy. The special significance of his *Bhakti* meant absorbing oneself completely in the service of the lord-(Krishna and the highest goal is not *Mukti* (liberation) but rather eternal service of the lord. He is of the view that every sin whether of body or soul is put away by union with the creator.

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<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p.88.

## CHAPTER-V

### SUFI MOVEMENT IN THE SUBAH

#### 1. Origin of Sufism:

*Sufism* has been an indispensable part of historical studies. It has played an important role in the life of the people around the world. So it has been attraction of studies for historians as well other walks of scholars. Being a concept, it remained not only on pages rather it was a movement that put tremendous impact on shaping and constituting process of societies. Even today, it is contributing towards society in making the life so simple. Keeping in mind the relevance of this concept scholars have been discussing the aspects of *Sufism*. To know how the movement came into existence, it seems essential to have a glance on its past. When we try to trace back the origin of this movement we find so many contrary views. Some scholars regards that *Sufism* has developed in the lap of Christianity while other see its origin the religion of Islam. The scholar, Gibb, is of the opinion that *Sufism* was stimulated by contact with Christian mysticism and gnosticism<sup>1</sup> while Thevelock and Von Krenev are of opinion that *Sufism* may be considered to be an indigenous Arab phenomenon, arising independently and not imported.<sup>2</sup> Massignon

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<sup>1</sup> H.A.R.Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, pub. Rantledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1962, p.208.

<sup>2</sup> A.E.Kremsky, "A Sketch on the development of *Sufism* to the end of the third of the *Hijra*" *Islamic Quarterly* Oct.-1959. Jan.1960, vol.2, London, pp.129-130.

too expressed similar view and went deep to trace out the historical oral. He says that term *Sufi* was applied first to Jabir bin Hayyan (d. 867 AD) and Abu Hashim of *Kufa* (d.767 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> The renowned sociologist and historian *Ibn-e-Khaldun* extends the knowledge that *Sufism* virtually has prevailed since the time of prophet, although the term *Sufi* was introduced later.<sup>4</sup>

So far as the term *Sufi* is concerned, no etymology or analogy can be found for this term in the Arabic language. It seems that it was popularized as nick-name. Though this particular word seems to be derived from the word *Al-Safa* (purity), *Al-Saff* (to row), *Ahl-e-Suffa* (people of the Bench). Despite all these above mentioned facts linguistic analogy and etymology connects the origin of the word to the word *Suf* (wool).<sup>5</sup> Because in early phase of *Sufism* we see that there were some people in Madina who wore woolen garments. It was a sign of deserted mentality from the temporal life. Though they were not completely devastated from the worldly life.<sup>6</sup> Shaikh Abu Nasr Siraj writes that *Sufis* were called *Sufi* due to their dresses because of wearing clothes made of wool related with the particular images of prophet, *Walis* and other great

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<sup>3</sup> Mynorsky, *Sufism*, I.Q., Vol. 8-9 1957., pp.12-13.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn-e-Khaldun, *Tarikh-i-Ibn-i-Khaldun* (Muqaddamah), (tr.Urdu) by Ahmad Husain Allahabadi. Pub. Idarah Al-Rashid Deoband. 1989, pp. 487-534.

<sup>5</sup> K.A.Nizami, *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh Chishti,pu*, pub. Nadwatul Musannifin. Urdu Bazar, Delhi, 1985, pp.16-17.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

religious men. To buttress the above mentioned views we may cite here deeds living styles way of supplication and prayers of *Sufis*.

A great *Sufi* saint *Dhun-Noon Misry* says that a *Sufi* is one whose speech accords with his behavior and whose silence indicates his state and who discards worldly connections.<sup>7</sup>

حیرت ملازم گال رخسارہ کسیت  
دبوانگی نیچہ نظارہ کسیت<sup>8</sup>

Generally a *Sufi* is regarded to be isolated from the temporal life as *Sufis* say that *Sufism* is about to renounce the world which does not look to be close to the life of *Sufis* as the great *Sufi* Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya disclose the fact as.<sup>9</sup>

ترک دنیاں آن نیست کہ کے خود برابر ہنہ کند مثلاً لنگوٹہ بہ بند و بندیش ترک دنیا آن است کہ لباس پوشند و طعام بخورد و انچی رسد و ابدار و جمع او میل نکند خاطر را متعلق چیزے ندارد ترک دنیا است  
9 فوائد الفواد

The similar opinion has been expressed by Khwaja Junayd Baghdadi:<sup>10</sup>

’این راه کے باید کہ کتاب بردست راست گرفته باشد و سنت مصطفیٰ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم بردست چپ و در روشنائی این دو شمع می رود تا زور مغاک سمہت افشندہ در ظلمت بدعت‘ (تذکرۃ الاولیاء)

<sup>7</sup> S.I.Ali Shah, *Islamic Sufism*, pub. Idarah Adbiyat-i-Delhi, Delhi, 1979, p.19.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> K.A.Nizami, *op.cit.*, p.-9.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, pp.2-3.

## 2. Quality of *Sufism*:

The origin of *Sufi* movement has its root in Islam. Its teaching and character is more akin to the teaching of Prophet Muhammad. Basically, the prophet of Islam is regarded as the true spiritual guide on the ascetic path and the later *Sufis* considered him to be an ideal saint from all spiritual aspects. The prophet lived a life of perfect solitude as meditation and worship of God need loneliness. He was popular among his followers in respect of his saintly qualities of poverty and soul purity. The prophet stressed to his companions to have control on their self (*Nafs* or ego). Prophet always preached to be conscious about the *Satan* who tries to deviate devotees and followers from the right path. The prophet gave more importance to repentance (*Taubah*). He emphasized that world is not real enough, a man has come just for a certain span of time here, So he should try to refrain himself from sin.<sup>11</sup>

As it has been said earlier that *Sufi* movement developed in the lap of Islam. That is why, we see its similarity with Islam and teaching of prophet at every step. Like prophet, *Sufi* also regarded the self (*Nafs*) as cunning but simply enemy, ever is waiting and easily influenced by *Satan*. *Sufism* stresses to control the self (*Nafs*).

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<sup>11</sup> N.K.Singh, *Islamic Mysticism in India*, pub. A.P.H. Publications, New Delhi 1996, p.2.

*Sufis* had a practical program for learning that how to control the self (*Nafs*). They indicate that the worldly desires and the main cause which make the self (*Nafs*) uncontrolled. So it is not easy to kill *Nafs* for a moment. *Sufi* believes that the heart of a man is a mirror in which he can see the vision of God. But this mirror is maligned or polluted with the dust of worldly desires. To see the vision of reality it is essential that it should be cleansed off completely. In this respect many *Sufi* scholars innovated a method of practice to kill the *Nafs* and to lead the novice to the realization of knowledge of God.<sup>12</sup>

The practice in *Sufism* to control the *Nafs* has two for firstly a man has to develop attitude of detachment from worldly affairs and secondly develop love of God through '*Muraqba*' (meditation) and *Muhasba* (self examination) etc.<sup>13</sup> The practice is metaphysically called '*Safar*' (journey) towards God. And the stages of spiritual attainment on it are described as *Muqamat* (stations). The *Salik* (practiced) realizes spiritual mood called '*Hal*' (states). Thus, the *Hal* is a spiritual state of the mystic. Its duration is very short and ranges from a twinkling of an eye to a few minutes.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> M.J.Sedwick, *Sufism: The Essentials*, New York-2000, p.10.

<sup>13</sup> Shahabuddin Suhrawardy, *Awarif-ul-Maarif*, (tr.Urdu), Rashid Ahmad Arshad, pub. S. Ghulam Ali & Sons, Lahore-1965, p.534.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

The *Sufis* give stress or emphasized on: *Taubā* (Repentance), *Zuhd* (Abstinence), *Faqr* (Poverty), *Sabr* (Patience), *Moraqba* (self examination), *Fikr* (reasoning), *Ikhlas* (sincerity), *Sidq* (truthfulness), *Khauf* and *Raza* (Fear and hope), *Tawakkul* (Reliance), *Riza* (Satisfaction), *Shukra* (Thank fullness) etc.<sup>15</sup>

There are two uncommon practices as *Chilla-e-maqus* and *Sama*. These two are most controversial practices in *Sufism*. The orthodox reject it as antinomian to Islam. While the majority of *Sufi* orders admit its utility. It is said that it helps in the concentration of mind and senses *Wajd* (ecstasy). The ordinary people hear *Sama* for natural instinct, novice for 'Shauq' and *Khauf*, The *Auliya* for bounties of God, the *Arif* (Gnostics) for the knowledge of God and the prophet for the revelations. The hearer of *Sama* sheds tears, some in fear of God and others in joy.<sup>16</sup>

A person who wanted to attain his goal and reach the end of his journey in *Sufism*. There is an obligation for a leader who lays down certain rules of practices. A person without a guide is said to have *Satan* for his guide. So it is necessary for a desiring person to place himself under a guide, who is called *Shaikh* or *Peer* or *Murshid* and vow of obedience (*Bayet*) to his *Murshid*. There are certain acts of devotion, which generally performs by *Sufis* are as follows:

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p.246.



- A - Namaz , The ritual prayer or worship
- B - Tilawat, The recitation of the Holy *Quran*
- C - Awrad, set forms of prayers the special
- D - Mujahda- acts of self mortification
- E - Dhikr- remembering God, through particular exercise of breath.
- F - Muraqba- Contemplation.<sup>17</sup>

As earlier described that *Sufism* emerged with the teaching of Islam. But later on it developed as a concept and to give this colour to *Sufism* many Philosopher, theologians and Islamic scholars contributed much. In which two important are as follows: Al-Ghazali, (d.1111 A.D.), the Iranian moral philosopher and a Spanish cosmologist, Muhi-ud-din Ibn-ul-Arabi (b.1165). Their writings have been remained extremely influential, although no *Sufi* orders trace to its origin to them.

Al-Ghazali was born in *Tus, Khorasan* (Northern Iran). He initially studied the '*Fiqh*' (Jurisprudence) in effect the codified portion of Islamic law, worked for some years as '*Faqih*' or jurist and then in 1095 A.D. at the age of thirty six, occupied an important teaching position in Baghdad, having spent a simple life died in his native place in 1111 A.D., left behind many valuable works. The most important is the "*Ihya-ul-ulum-al-din*", the revival of the religious sciences. This meticulously organized work is divided into four sections, the first dealing with the worship, the

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<sup>17</sup> A.J. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines pub.,pub.* Cosmo Publication, Delhi-1990, p-12.

second with conduct in other areas of life, the third and fourth with vice and virtue. He dealt every aspects of daily life as prescribed by *Quran*, *Hadith* and given his own explanation on it.<sup>18</sup>

The second great theorist was *Ibn-ul-Arabi*, born in *Murcia* (Southern Spain) in 1165 A.D. Having studied in Seville, traveled to Macca in 1202 A.D. at the age of thirty seven, after Cairo and *Konya* (Turkey) finally settled down in Damascus, where he died in 1240 A.D. His two most important works became very famous i.e. *Futuh-at-e-Makkiya* 'Maccan Illumination' and the *Fusus-ul-Hakam* 'Bezel of Wisdom'. His works are of greatest importance for those *Sufis* whose interest in Nature of the esoteric world. He explains the origin of material world in the substance of the prophet, who was made of light. He talks about heaven, hell and angels, he maps the path back to God and speaks of the ultimate union of the mortal with the divine of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* 'the unity of Being' (This above mentioned term given a controversial debate in history of Islam).<sup>19</sup>

*Sufism* has deep-rooted organized system called *Silsilah* (order). When a person want to detach from worldly life he follows a seer (*Peer*); who taught the man some discipline, as what to do or what not to do. The man follows the instruction of his *Peer*. Thereby *Silsilah*-system starts.

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<sup>18</sup> Margret Smith, *Reading from the mystic of Islam*, pub. Luzac & Co.Ltd., London-1950, p.59.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.19-100.

The exact period, when *Sufi* started to organize in the *Silsilah* (order) is not known clearly. Although we know that *Sufi* convents (*Zawiyah* in Arabic and *Khanqah* in Persian). It was merely to serve as centres for the *Salasil*. It was only in the early part of twelfth century that the first *Sufi* order, namely *Suhrawardya* and *Qadriya* were founded.<sup>20</sup>

### 3. *Sufi* Silsilahs :

*Suhraward* is a place in Iran, here a saint lived called Shaikh Najeebuddin Suhrawardy founded this *Silsilah* in 1168 A.D. But later on Shaikh Shihabuddin *Suhrawardy*, disciple of Ahmad al-Ghazali, 'the younger brother of Imam Ghazali, and nephew of the founder got prominence, whose book '*Awarif-ul-Maarif*' is standard manual of different order in India. This order was very prominent in Central Asia but devastation by the Mongols compelled to its saints to shift its base in North Western India. Where Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrazi, Shaikh Nooruddin Mubarak and Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani established their *Khanqahs*. This order differ from *Chishti's* in many respects, both with regard to organization and policies. The *Suhrawardya* freely mixed with *Sultan* and other rich people, accept charity, gifts and accumulate them. Takes interest in politics.<sup>21</sup> The *Wahadat-ul-Wujud* of Ibn-i-Arabi was introduced in India through the *Suhrawardi* order, and this idea was

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<sup>20</sup> R.A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pub. Idarah Adbiyat Delhi, Delhi, 1976, pp.46-76.

<sup>21</sup> A.J.Subhan, *op.cit.*, p.183.

cost in Awarif-ul-Maarif, Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti propagated it further.

A more popular figure and saint who established and consolidated *Sufism* was Abdul Qadiri Jilani. He founded the *Qadri* order in Baghdad and spread out teaching of Islam in Central Asia and Africa. This order reached in India in 14<sup>th</sup> century by Shah Nimatullah and Makhdum Mohammad Jilani. The followers of this order opposed music and singing wear green turbans.<sup>22</sup>

The *Chishti Silsilah* was founded by Khwaja Ishaq Shami (329 AH/940 AD) in *Chisht* (Khorasan). It was introduced in India by Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. He established his *Khanqah* in Ajmer and propagated the teaching of Islam in common people. His two eminent disciple Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiya Kaki and Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagauri also carried out his work after him. The famous saints of this *Silsilah* are as follows: Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, Baba Farid, Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehli, Shaikh Salim Chishti etc. The *Chishtis* believe in simple life, keep distance from politics and rich people, not accept charity and gifts, hear *Sama* (Music), Gradually common people attached to these saints.<sup>23</sup>

Khwaja Pir Muhammad was the founder of *Naqshbandi* order- while Khwaja Baqi Billah was a famous saint of this order. The *Sufis* of

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.177.

<sup>23</sup> K.A.Nizami, *op.cit.*, pp.135-53.

this order gave stress on law of *Shariat* and **denounced all the** innovation, which had spoiled the purity of Islamic doctrine, challenged the idea of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* (Unity of being), opposed the music (*Sama*) but laid emphasis on meditation. The famous saints of this order are as follows; Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Shah Waliullah, Khwaja Mir Dard. etc.<sup>24</sup>

During the reign of Delhi Sultans a number of *Sufi* Saints migrated from Central Asia and established themselves in North West part of Indian soil as well Ajmer, Delhi Nagaur and Panipat. When Delhi Sultanate was Shattered due to the invasion of Taimur in 1398 A.D. New kingdoms were arose in which Jaunpur was founded by Malik Sarver.<sup>25</sup> The *Sharqis* were great patron of learning and mysticism. Having heard the patronizing nature of *Sharqi's*, the *Sufi* saints as well theologians, craftsmen, scholars migrated towards this kingdom. Now, new centers of mysticism emerged such as Jaunpur, Banaras Kara, Manikpur, Zafrabad and Ghazipur. A number of *Khanqah's*, seminary were established and learned people as well *Sufis* flocked here. Now this place became a centre of cultural activities which served under the Mughals also and called *Shiraz-i-Hind*.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p.188.

<sup>25</sup> *Mohammad Qasim Farishta, Tarikh-i-Farishta*, tr. J. Briggs, vol.-IV, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi-1981, p.213; M.M.Saeed, *The Sharqi Sultanat of Jaunpur: A Political and Cultural History*, University of Karachi, Pakistan-1972, pp.32-33.

<sup>26</sup> Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, ed. B.De. vol.III, pub. Low price publications, Delhi,1932, pp.449-50; Abul Hasnat Nadvi, *Hindustan ki Qadeem Islami Darsgahen (Urdu)*, Amritsar- 1341 A.H., p.44.

When Mughals established their rule on this soil, a considerable number of Muslims inhabitants took part in active politics. There were two groups emerged, one of them was orthodox *Ulema* and second liberal *Sufis*.

A number of *Sufi* saints either pre-or under the Mughals have contributed in socio-cultural environment of peaceful co-existence of different communities as well expansion of Islamic culture in this interior region of India. In which their *Khanqahs* had played an important role. In the following pages an attempt was made to present *Silsilah*-wise biographies and works of all saints who lived and flourished at various places of the

#### 4. Sufi Movement in Subah Allahabad :

##### **Suhrawardi:**

Khwaja Karak was one of the great *Sufi* of *Suhrawardi* order. He was disciple of Khwaja Ismail brother of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani. Khwaja Karak migrated from Multan to Allahabad and entered in spiritual circle of Khwaja Ismail. Later on received Rob of *Khilafat* (*Khirqah-i-Khilafat*) of *Qasba Kara* (near Allahabad). Although he adopted *Malamati* way and always be in drunken position even so people gathered around him. He had supernatural miraculous power but never showed to people. When Allauddin Khalji met Khwaja Karak, he told him:<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ghulam Sarver Lahori, *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya* vol. II, pub., Munshi Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, p.42,43.

هر که بسازد با تو جنگ  
سر در کشتی تن در گنگ

Died in 709 AH/1309 AD.<sup>28</sup>

Syed Asaduddin *Aftab Hind* Suhrawardi disciple and Khalifa of Shaikh Ruknuddin Multani, born in 661 AH/1254 AD in city Wasit (Iraq). His parents migrated to Delhi, where he completed his education, having studied *Quran*, *Fiqh*, commentary, *Hadith* and also wrote some books on *Ishqiya*. Later on, went Multan for spiritual training under the guidance of Shaikh Ruknuddin Suhrawardy Multani and received *Khirqah-i-Khilafat*. In Delhi, he met Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and received some spiritual instruction. He travelled *Kanth* (Mirzapur), *Satherdih* (Allahabad), *Zanadi* (Azamgarh) and finally constructed his *Khanqah* in *Zafrabad* (Jaunpur). People impressed with his spirituality and miracles gathered around him, died in 793 AH/1390-91 and was buried in *Zafrabad*. He had a number of disciples and *Khalifa* in which some are as follows:

Syed Nooruddin, Syed Shamsuddin Maulana Qayamuddin, Qazi Tajuddin Shah Muhammadi, Qazi Azizuddin Maulana Badruddin, etc.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> A Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities North Western Provinces & Oudh*, Vol.-II, ASI, Allahabad, 1891, p.138.

<sup>29</sup> Syed Nooruddin Zaidi, *Tajalli-i-Noor*, vol.I, Jaunpur-1899, pp.7,8,

Shaikh Sadruddin *Chiragh Hind*, born in Multan in 705 AH/1305 AD. After completing his formal education entered in discipleship of Shaikh Ruknuddin Multani. He performed meditation and ascetic exercises under his guidance, later on, Shaikh Ruknuddin conferred the *Khilafat* of *Zafrabad* for propagating Islamic teaching and *Tasawuf*. Here, he worked among masses with the help of *Shaikh Aftab Hind* and finally settle down in *Zafrabad*. His disciples and Khalifa, Shaikh Shamsul Haq Budhan, Shah Saman and Syed Ziyauddin Suhrawardy (d.1515 AD) carried out his spiritual mission.<sup>30</sup>

Shah Shaikh *Majzoob* was a prominent *Suhrawardi Sufi*, contemporary of Diwan Mohammad Rashid. Most of the time in night prayed and was infused mystical illumination. The spiritual perfection made him ecstatic, died in 1074 AH/1662 AD. Munim Khan constructed a masque adjoining to his *Khanqah* near Jaunpur bridge.<sup>31</sup>

Syed Abul Fazl Abdul Wahab an eminent *Suhrawardy Sufi*, son of Syed Ruknuddin Abul Fath. During his youth days entered in Mughal service and fought many battles but later on inclined towards mysticism and became the disciple of his father. Under his guidance performed meditation and ascetic exercises. He speaks less and followed *Sunnat* strongly. His livelihood was depend on copying *Quran*. Although he had

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<sup>30</sup> *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya, op.cit.*, p.57; *Tajalli-i-Noor, I, op.cit.*, p.4,12.

<sup>31</sup> *Ganj-i-Arshadi (MS)*, Habib Gunj-collection No. \_\_\_ MAL-AMU, Aligarh.



some *Madad-i-Maash* land given by Mughals but all the income spend on poors and needy person. He died in reign of Shahjahan 1062 AH/1643 AD, buried in *Zafrabad*. His son Syed Ismail Abu Muhammad Darvesh Suhrawardi got the *Khilafat* and carried out his father's work. He wrote *Moqamat-i-Darveshia*, died in 1068 AH/1657 AD, His son Syed Sadruddin was also a miraculous *Suhrawardi Sufi*, spent his whole life in service of mankind died in 1685 AD and was buried in the premises of *Rauza Aftab-i-Hind*.<sup>32</sup>

Shaikh Fakhruddin Fakhr Alam was son of Shah Kabir *Suhrawardi*, a prominent *Sufi* of Jaunpur. He was initiated into this *Silsilah* by his father. He was deeply ecstatic mystic. He completely exiled himself in a cell for many years performed meditation a ascetic exercises. One day, he reached in the gathering of *Sama Mahfil* of Shaikh Adhan. Shaikh Adhan told him "Fakhruddin your heart has fragrance of love of God". Died in 995 AH/1586 AD.<sup>33</sup>

Syed Abu Najeeb Mohammad Shamsuddin *Suhrawardi* was son of Mohammad Ismail. After completing his education joined Mughal forces of Humayon. He was an expert in archery and fought battles with him but never overlooked *Zikr* or prayer. Later on infatuated by the mystical life and became disciple of his father (who was residing in Qalandarpur;

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<sup>32</sup> Syed Iqbal Ahmad, *Tarikh Sulatin-i-Sharq*; vol-II, Pub. Shiraz-i-Hind Publishing House, Jaunpur-1988, pp.2001-2.

<sup>33</sup> *Ganj-i-Arshadi (MS.)*

Jaunpur). He built a hospice near the tomb of Meeran Shah Qalander and lived whole life here with giving instruction to his disciples, died in 992 AH/1573 AD and was buried in premises of *Rauza Aftab-i-Hind*.<sup>34</sup>

Syed Ruknuddin Abul Fath Faizullah Suhrawardy son of Syed Shamsuddin Abu Najeeb was an eminent *Sufi* of Parganah Azamgarh. At the age of twelve, memorized whole *Quran* by heart and at the age of eighteen years completed his education. His spiritual eminence attracted a number of people died in 1055 AH/1645-46 AD during the reign of Shahjahan His tomb is in *Sarsanwa* in Azamgarh.<sup>35</sup>

Makhdum Diwan Shah Kabir was *Khalifa* of Shah Jahangir Suhrawardy like all eminent *Sufis*, emphasized on meditation and contemplation was the expulsion of everything from the heart except that connected with God, constant recitation of *Zikr*. Sultan Adil Shah was very much impressed from him and send one thousand coins for the expenses of *Khanqah* but Shah Kabir distributed it among poors.

He had received spiritual training from his father Shaikh Burhanuddin Husaini and Shaikh Sudruddin Muhammad bin Ahmad Bukhari Occhi (commonly known as Raju Qattal). Mir Ali Ashiqan Sarai Miri was his prominent disciple. It is said that during the days of famine,

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<sup>34</sup> Tarikh Salatin *op.cit.*, p.1993.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1995.

he has worked among people of area distributing cereals, although there was no availability of cereals in whole area it was amazing.

He was died in 962 AH/1554 AD the tomb is on the bank of river Gomti near Masjid Sangin.<sup>36</sup>

#### **Chisti Silsilah:**

He was a disciple of Shaikh Mohammad (A disciple of Nizamuddin Auliya) and forefather of Shaikh Hisamuddin Manikpuri. He was a scholar *Sufi* of Chishti order led an austere life. After *Isha Namaz* (prayer at early night) take rest. When people of *Khanqah* went to sleep, he stood up and pray whole night until Fajr Namaz (prayer of Dawn). He used to recite forty one times *Sura Yasin* of Holy *Quran* daily. Avoid to eat meat. His livelihood depend on earning from copying Holy *Quran*. His son Maulana Khawaja also a Chishti *Sufi* and Scholar, reside in Manikpur often he would fast for three days but rarely accept *Futuh*. (gifts).<sup>37</sup>

Mir Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani was disciple of Shaikh Alauddin. Having received the religious as well as spiritual training from him. Received the *Khilafat* of Kichaucha (Faizabad). He established his *Khanqah* here he always used to visit the adjoining area of the Kichaucha, like Azamgarh, Benaras Chunar, Jaunpur for his spiritual mission and

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<sup>36</sup> Maulana Abdul Hai, *Nuzhat-ul Khwatir*, vol-IV, pub. *Dairatul-Maarif*, Osmania University, Hyderabad.1973.

<sup>37</sup> Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dehlavi, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, pub. Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1309 AH, p.178.

enrolled a number of people in his *Khanqah* for spiritual as well religious training. He was staunch follower of *Wahdat ul-Wujud*. His *Khanqah* became the centre of attraction of the region, people visited the *Khanqah* and full filled their spiritual desire and those who have affected from evil spirit or *Jinnat*, came here to get ride of from them.<sup>38</sup>

Shaikh Husamuddin Manikpuri was son of Maulana Khwaja. He received the theological and spiritual training under the supervision of Shaikh Noor Qutub-i-Alam, a great *Alim* (theologian) of his time. In 1401-2 AD, he was appointed on *Khilafat* by Shaikh Qutub-e Alam Manikpur. His sayings (*Malfuzat*) were collected and compiled by his disciples and was named *Rafiq-ul-Arifin*. He was very much found of reciting *Quran* and before the people gathering says in his discourses about greed as disease. He died in 1477 AD.

Shaikh Kalu was his disciple and Khalifa of Shaikh Husamuddin. His actual name was Shaikh Kamal but popularly known as Shikh Kalu. He was considered a great mystic died in Manikpur.<sup>39</sup>

Raji Hamid Shah was also disciple of Shaikh Husamuddin Manikpuri. In his early years of his life wear army dress. Having influenced by the Shaikh Husamuddin, entered in spiritual circle of Shaikh and went on the stages of spiritualism in *Sufi Suluk*. He was a

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p.166.

<sup>39</sup> Hafiz M. Husain, *Anwar-ul-Arifin*, pub. Munshi Nawal Kishor, LKO, 1876, p.378, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, p.173.

miraculous *Sufi*. Although he had not received the formal education but learned *Ulema* gathered in his discourses assembly, died and buried in Manikpur.<sup>40</sup> He conferred his *Khilafat* to his son Raji Syed Noor, a well known *Sufi* of this region. He also were army dress died in Manikpur.<sup>41</sup>

Shaikh Tajuddin's father was Minhajuddin Siddiqi Jhonsvi. A well known *Sufi* saint as well a good scholar of theology, Botany, Zoology and Islamic jurisprudence. His ancestor came from Delhi and settled down in Jhonsi (near Allahabad). He received his primary education from Naseeruddin Jhonsvi and for higher studies went to Jaunpur, where Shaikh Noorullah bin Taha became his teacher. He wrote a booklet on the subject of Zoology and Botany. '*Tajul Mujreebat*' is a famous book on *Tib* (medicine) written by him. He got the spiritual training from two *Silsilah* one from *Suhrwardiya* under the guidance of Abul Fath Zafarabadi and the second was Khwaja Kalan of *Chishtiya Silsilah*. But he chosen to spread out the teaching of Chishtiya order in lieu of *Suhrwardiya*. A number of miracles are related to him died in 1030 AH/1620-21.<sup>42</sup>

Shaikh Shamsul Haq Haqqani was disciple and Khalifa of Shaikh Mohammad of Jaunpur, a great *Chishti Sufi* of his time. He was an *Alim* (theologian) and gave importance to '*Shariat*' as well as '*Tariqat*'

<sup>40</sup> *Khazinat-ul-Afiya*, 1, *op.cit.*, p.409.

<sup>41</sup> *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar*, *op.cit.*, p.195.

<sup>42</sup> *Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir*, vol.V, *op.cit.*, p.104.

simultaneously. He chose the educational field. Due to his well teaching method, a well gathering of students started. It is said that he was called *Haqqani* because of his truthfulness and just cable talk before anyone either Sultan or common man. He was very found of 'Sama' and always immersed in *Sama* when *Qawwal* (singer) recite the verses. His brother Shaikh Mubarak Banarsi was also a miraculous *Sufi*.<sup>43</sup> Shaikh Shamsul Haq died in 950 AH/1543 AD. His only son Shaikh Fathullah Haqqani Jaunpuri received *Khilafat* from Syed Sudruddin Raja Bukhari and carried out the spiritual work of his father.<sup>44</sup>

Shaikh Bahauddin Nathu Jaunpuri was Chishti *Sufi* and the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Isa,<sup>45</sup> but received the *Khirqah-i-Khilafat* (Rob of *Khilafat*) from Syed Raji Hamid Shah Manikpuri.<sup>46</sup> Since his youth days inclined towards mysticism. He was a *Sufi* as well as poet also. He composed verses in Hindi along with Persian and Arabic. The collection of his letters "*Sahaiif-ut-Tariqa*" is popularly held in the *Sufi* circle. These letters were written in Persian language on different aspects of mysticism, reveals Shaikh's insight in religion, religious sciences and spirituality.<sup>47</sup> He died in 947 AH/1540 AD and was buried in Mohallah Adhan Shah in

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<sup>43</sup> *Tajalli-i-Noor-I*, p.24.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p.25.

<sup>45</sup> *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, *op.cit.*, p.25.

<sup>46</sup> *Anwar-ul-Arifin*, *op.cit.*, p.379.

<sup>47</sup> *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, I, p.419.

Jaunpur. He had a number of disciple like, Syed Ali Qawwam, Shaikh Harvi, Shaikh Mubarak Banarsi who carried out his spiritual mission.<sup>48</sup>

Shaikh Adhan was an eminent *Chishti* mystic of Jaunpur. He received spiritual training and *Khilafat* from his father Shaikh Bahauddin Nathu Chishti. He was contemporary of Qazi Khan Zafrabadi, Jalal-ul-Haq, Syed Ali Ashqan Saraimiri, these were closed friends. He was also a great *Alim* but never entered in the field of teaching.<sup>49</sup> He had deeply ascetic temperament and was exceedingly found of 'Sama', and participated even the days of illness or weakness with enthusiasm. But he never missed *Jamaat Prayer* died in 1568 AD,<sup>50</sup> and was buried in his *Khanqas* premises in Jaunpur. Tomb was constructed by Munim Khan. His disciples who spread out the teaching of *Chishtiya Silsilah* and established a number of *Khanqahs* in this region were Shaikh Mah Peerpuri (went to Gujarat and worked their), Shaikh Qutbuddin Jaunpuri (d.1074 AH/1663-64 AD), Shaikh Qayamuddin Jaunpuri (1093 AH/1682 AD) and Shaikh Abdul Hai Jaunpuri (1081 AH/1670 were great *Chsihti Mashaikh*.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Abdul Qadir Badauin, *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, III, (W. Haig), Calcutta, 1925, pp.66-67.

<sup>50</sup> Wajihuddin Ashraf, *Bahr-i-Zakhhkar*, vol-I, C.No.256, University Farsi Akhbar MAL, AMU Aigarh, p.740.

<sup>51</sup> Tajalli-Noor-I, p.30.

Syed Sadruddin commonly known as Shah Syedo was an eminent Chishti *Sufi*.<sup>52</sup> It is said that he was an officer of a King but inclined towards mysticism entered in the discipleship of Shaikh Hisamuddin Manikpur. Under his guidance learnt the mysticism and was conferred the *Khilafat* of Jaunpur and its vicinity, here he spent his whole life in propagation of *Chishti Silsilah*.<sup>53</sup> His spiritual eminence attracted people towards him. He was observed with *Sama* and believe in *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* (unity of Being). He has a poetical fervor, wrote a number of poems on love. For instance;

He died in 933 AH/1526 AD.<sup>54</sup>

دل گویدم سید و بگو احوال خود یکیک یاد  
آندم کہ خود می آید او سید و کہ گفتار گو

Shaikh Daniyal Khizri was the son of Shaikh Hasan Ibn Hisamuddin Balkhi.<sup>55</sup> He was born in Balkh but later on migrated to Delhi then Benaras. In Benaras, inclined towards mysticism and entered in the discipleship of Syed Raji Hamid Shah and got the *Khirqah Khilafat* from him. Finally settled down in Jaunpur.<sup>56</sup> Being a *Sufi* fervor simultaneously he was a poet and composed a number of Hindi poems. As;<sup>57</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, op.cit.*, p.189.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p.190.

<sup>55</sup> *Tajalli-i-Noor*. I, p.53.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p.55.

<sup>57</sup> *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, I, p.443..



جگ جگ عمر حضرت جی خواجی  
 حضرت نبی رسول نوابی  
 دانیال جیو بر گھٹ کسنا  
 حضرت خواجہ خضر ہتھ دینا

People were highly impressed with the super natural miraculous powers of Shaikh. His disciples Syed Muhammad Jaunpuri and Syed Ahmad Khizri were prominent and received the *Khilafat* from him. He died in 994 AH/1585 AD and was buried in his *Hujra* (cell) in Jaunpur.<sup>58</sup>

Shaikh Hamza Chishti was descendent of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya Multani. In his early youth was servant of a rich man but infatuated by the mystical life and resigned from his service, visited many mystical centers like Ajmer, Nagaur, Gulbarga and spent sometime in the company of Shaikh's (*Sufis*) but ultimately became the disciple of Gesu Daraz. A number of miracle are related to him died in 1551 AD and got his final place in Jaunpur.<sup>59</sup>

Shaikh Qutbuddin Chishti was Khalifa of Shaikh Adhan Chishti. He had deeply ascetic temperament and was exceedingly found of *Sama*. He spent whole life in service of mankind died in 1076 AH/1669-70 AD. His son and disciple Shaikh Malik Qayamuddin (d. 1093 AH/1682 AD) carried out his spiritual mission in the region.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Tajalli-i-Noor, I, p.53.

<sup>60</sup> *Ganj-Arshahi, (MS)*

Shaikh Abdul Hai Chishti a well known *Sufi* of Jaunpur, born in 960 AH/1552-53 AD. He had a charismatic spiritual influence over his contemporaries and was exceedingly fond of *Sama*. Always avoided the company of rich person, died in 1081 AH/1670-71 AD. and was buried in the premises of Shaikh Adhan in Jaunpur.<sup>61</sup>

Shah Abdul Jalil born in 992 AH/1504-05 in Allahabad was chief disciple of Shaikh Mohammad Sadiq of *Gangoh* (Saharanpur). (A Chishti *Sufi*). He received *Khirqah-e-Khilafat* (Rob of *Khilafat*) and was send to Allahabad for spiritual mission. He was staunch supporter of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* (unity of Being). So many miracles are related to him. Once Allahabad had faced a heavy flood, he was staying near the river. The water was increasing all over his *Khanqah* and government official requesting to leave the place immediately but he refused to do so. He was in meditation, the water touched his place. But slowly water went back. In 1114 AH/1702 AD, he died. His *Khanqah* was a great place in spiritual circle. Served the people of the region . Dara Shukoh constructed a masque adjoining to his *Khanqah*.<sup>62</sup>

Shaikh Taha was a Chishti *Sufi* of Rai Baraili, disciple of Shaikh Abdullah (d.1624-25 AD), received the *Khilafat* of this region. He was staunch follower of *Wahdat ul-Wujud* philosophy.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Syed Shaukat Hussain Naqvi, *Tazkirat-ul-Maarif* pub., Rizvi Press, Allahabad, p.2.

<sup>63</sup> S.A.A.Rizvi, *History of Sufism in India*, vol. II, pub. Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1978, p.292.

Shaikh Mohammad Yasin one of the well known *Sufi of Chishti* order lived in Jaunpur but later on migrated to Allahabad and here also received *Khirqah-i-Khilafat* from Shaikh Khoobullah. He died in 1183 AH/1769 AD.<sup>64</sup>

Shah Mohammad Yasin was son of Ahmad Siddiqu born in 1020 AH/1611-12 at the age of fifteen came into contact with Shaikh Taiyab Banarsi and received early education from him. For further higher studies came Jaunpur attached with Maulana Afzal Jaunpuri and Diwan Mohammad Rashid. Shaikh Taiyab was very careful for his education but his untimely death given a setback to Shaikh Yasin. Shaikh Nasiruddin Jhonsvi and Diwan Rashid had helped with spiritual instruction and conferred the *Khilafat* of Banaras on him. Many years, he worked in *Manduadih* but later on shifted to *Jhonsvi* and died in 1076 AH/1665-66 AD.<sup>65</sup>

Shaikh Sultan bin Qasim was also a Chishtiya *Sufi* born in Manikpur. He was taught by his father the spiritualism after the death of his father got the *Khilafat* (Rob of *Khilafat*) and worked for people died in 988 AH/1580 AD in Manikpur.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Bahr-e Zakhkhar *op.cit.*, I, p.1067.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p.663.

<sup>66</sup> Nuzhat ul-Khwatir, IV, p.60.

Shaikh Usman was son of Shaikh Husain Chishti, born in Ghazipur, used nick name as 'Maan'. He was trained in Chishti order and mentioned his spiritual preceptor in one of his verses:

शाह निज़ाम पीर सद दाता ।  
दुष्ट तीज जमी रब पर भाता ।।  
नारनौल भीतर स्थाना ।  
अदे अस्त ले सब कोई जाना ।।<sup>67</sup>

In the above couplets, Shah Nizam of Narnoul (Punjab) was mentioned as his preceptor. Beside it, another place in his *Chitravli* given a name Baba Haji from him, *Ulama* received spirituality also.

बाबा हाजी पीरा पारा ।  
सुध देत जेही लाग न हारा ।।<sup>68</sup>

His work centre was Ghazipur Banaras and its vicinity. In 1613 wrote 'Chitravli' which become a mile stone of Hindi literary fiction. One of his verse, he challenged to his contemporary writer or poets to write better love story than *Chitravli*:

जाकी बुद्धी हुई अधिकार ।  
आन कथा एक कहे सुनाई ।।<sup>69</sup>

He started *Chitravli* with the name of prophet, four caliphs, contemporary ruler and the miracles of prophet Muhammad. He was much influenced by Emperor Jahangir's justice. He used Awadhi

<sup>67</sup> Shaikh Usman, *Chitravli*, (ed., Jagmohan Verma), pub., Kashi Nagri Pracharni Sabha, Kashi-1912, p.26.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p.27.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p.32.

language in his work as well Chishti mission. His four brothers Shaikh Aziz, Shaikh Amanullah, Shaikh Faiz and Shaikh Hasan also helped him in his spiritual mission. He was died during the reign of Shah Jahan.<sup>70</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Hai *Chishti* born in 960 AH/1552-53 an eminent *Sufi*, received spiritual training from different mystics. He always indulged himself in meditation and had miraculous supernatural powers. He was very fond of *Sama*, abstain himself from rich people, died in 1081 AH/1670-11 AD and was buried in premises of *Rauza* Shaikh Adhan Shah in Jaunpur.<sup>71</sup>

Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi born in 1587-88 at *Sadarpur* near Allahabad, was a great name among the *Sufi* circle of North India. He completed his traditional education from Maulana Abdus Salam Lahori.<sup>72</sup> Shaikh Muhibullah, having complete the traditional education, went out in search of a spiritual mentor because of his mystical thrust. He visited many contemporary *Chishti Sufi* places and became observed with mysticism. In continuation of the search of spiritual mentor came to *Gangoh* (a place in Saharanpur Distt.) where Shah Abu Said Gangohi. The grandson of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi had established a *Khanqah*.<sup>73</sup> Shaikh Muhibullah impressed by his spiritual eminence and

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p.168.

<sup>71</sup> Ganj Arshadi.

<sup>72</sup> *Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir*, v, p.332.

<sup>73</sup> *Anwar-ul-Arifin*, pp.502-03.

scholarship, decided to join the circle of his devotees. Later on, he settled down at Allahabad.<sup>74</sup> He developed a firm faith in *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* (unity of Being) as the basis of all higher spiritual experiences. The doctrine caused him to be criticized severely. He went through the works of Ibn-ul-Arabi, *Fusus-ul Hikam* and *Futuh-at-e-Makkiya* and found himself with the same views. Maulana Hafiz Shah Ali Anwar on the basis of *Anwar-ul-Arifin* writes:

”بعد چندی (شیخ ابوسعید) فرمودند محبت اللہ یا ترا بخدا رسانیدم ولایت پورب بتو ارزانی داشتم عزیزان دیگر ملول خاطر شدہ عرض کردند کہ یا حضرت ماہان از مدتی محنت کنیم و ہرگز بذلال وصال نمی دہیم و گاہی در حق ماہان چنین نفرمودند و این مرد جدید ولزت ریاضت ناچشیدہ را در طرفہ العین چندین نعمت ارزانی داشتند فرمودند کہ محبت اللہ کسی است کہ در یک دست چراغ و بیک دست آتش آورده ہمیکہ رم زدیم روشن شد ذلک فضل اللہ یوتیہ من یشاء ما ارادین کار چہ تا خیر کہ خدائی تعالی شتابی کردہ“

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“Shaikh Abu Said after a short period, said, “O, Muhibullah! Come I have taken you to God and bestowed upon you the spiritual sovereignty (*Wilayat*) of East”, Other disciples, being depressed, respectfully complained that they had been endeavoring for a pretty long time and never got the sweet water of union, and he never uttered such words for them; but to that novice, who had not tasted the flavor (hardship) of meditation he showed favor with such a blessing. He (Shaikh Abu Said) replied that Muhibullah was such a man that had brought candle in one hand and fire in the other; as soon as it was shifted it become lighted.

<sup>74</sup> Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Maasir ul-Karam*, vol. I, pub. Qutub Khana Asfiya, Hyderabad, Daccan, 1328 AH., p.236.

That was the grace of God which he bestowed upon whomever he liked how could he delay when God has hastened".<sup>75</sup>

As far as his scholarship is concerned, he was master of Arabic and Persian languages. Written commentaries on Ibn-ul Arbis works, and alleged them not to adhere the originality of sense and meaning one among such works was *Sharh-i-Qari*, a commentry on '*Fusus-ul-Hikam*' in Arabic, though it was too difficult for an ordinary man to go through *Fusus-ul Hikam*. He realized that the Arabic commentary is not useful for scholars in India so again he wrote in Persian. He is the author of following works:

\* **Tarjumat-ul-Kitab:**

It is a commentary on the *Quran* in Arabic, Here Shaikh has interpreted the *Quranic* verses in support of his theory of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud*, the only known copy of this commentary is in the India office library (MS 10, 1369).

\* **Hashiya Tarjumat-ul-Quran:**

This is a commentary on *Tarjumat-ul-Kitab*. The manuscript of this work is also in the India office library (ID, 1357).

\* **Anfas-ul-Khwas:**

In the pattern of *Fusus-ul-Hikam*. It is divided into several 'nafs' (sections) the last one contains an account of Shaikh Abu Said Gangohi, his spiritual mentor. MSS, Rampur (No.329); India office (1279), Bankipur (XXII 883).

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<sup>75</sup> *Anwar-ul-Arifin op.cit.*, p.506.

- \* *Ahsan-ul-Khwas* (MS. Rampur 322)
- \* *Taswiya* (Arabic) (MS, MAL. Aligarh, 322) Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- \* Persian Translation of *Taswiya*: (Printed at Matbai Kanzul Ulum on the basis of a MS dated 1088 A.H.)
- \* *Al-Mughalta-ul-Amma* (MS Rampur 366, India office 1395).
- \* *Aqaid-ul-Khwas* (MS) India office 1392).
- \* *Tajalliyat-ul-Fusus* (Arabic), (MS MAL Abdul Hayy Collection 562/3.
- \* *Sharah-ul-Fusus* (Arabic), (Persian MS MAL. Abdul Haq Collection 59/i).
- \* *Kitab-ul-Mubin* (MS Rampur 402).
- \* *Haft Ahkam* (Persian) India Office D.P. (024).
- \* *Manazir Akhas-ul-Khwas* (Persian), India Office D.P. 1113; MAL Aligarh. Shaifta collection 60, 98).
- \* *Seh Rukh* (I.P. D.P. 1002).
- \* *Maktubat*; This is a collection of (18) eighteen letters of Shaikh Muhibullah addressed to Mulla Muhammad Jaunpuri, Mir Mohd. Qannuj, Dara Shikoh and others. The only complete manuscript of this work is preserved in the M.A.L. Aligarh.

He had adopted the pantheistic interpretation of *Quran*. The pantheistic interpretation connotes that the real being belong to God only. The following *Quranic* verses have been put forward by Shah Muhibullah as being susceptible to pantheistic interpretation.



“To God belong the East and the West; whithersoever you turn, there is the face of God”

**(Ch. II verses 115)**

“God is all-sufficient nor needs any being”

**( Ch. II verses 97)**

“We shall show them our signs in the horizons and in themselves”

**(Ch. XLI, verse 53)**

“God is the All-sufficient; you are the needy ones”

**(Ch. XLVII, verse-38)**

“Yet they are in doubt about the new creation”

**(Ch. verse-15)**

“And we are nearer to him than his jugular vein”

**(Ch. L. verse 16)**

“It was not thyself that threw, but God threw”

**(Ch. VIII, verse-17)**

“Everything is perishable except his face”

**(Ch. XXVIII, verse 88)**

“And know that Allah cometh in between the man and his own heart”

**(Ch. VIII verse 24)**

“Allah is the light of heaven and the earth”.

**(Ch. LVII, verse,3)**

“Lo! My Lord is nigh, responsible”

**(Ch. XI, verse 16)**

“And He is with you whosoever you may be”

(Ch. LVIII, verse 4)<sup>76</sup>

The orthodox section of Islam bitterly criticized on Shaikh Mohibullah's pantheistic views. Once *Ulema* of Allahabad issued a *Fatwa* for his execution on the charge of heresy but Shaikh Abdur Rashid has defended him (as discussed before) and through argumentation tried to prove the important terminology used by Shaikh Muhibullah. *Fatwa* was withdrawn but throughout his life even after his death remained the target of criticism, Shahnawaz Khan writes

”در زمانه ادعا حال اهل عناد به زندقه والحاد منسوب داشته هنگامه ها آ راسته“

“In his period till this time his enemies having abused him of atheism and heresy, raised hue and cry against him”.<sup>77</sup> While a thorough study of his work shows his firm in faith a practice. He had criticized the *Sufis* who think that the words of Ibn-ul-Arabi are unintelligible. He is of the opinion that paper study and correct understanding of Ibn-ul-Arabis works makes a man firm in observance of the religious law and trial his best to prove that the doctrine was in no way anti Islamic. In his treatises frequently quest from *Futuh-at-i-Makkiya* and *Fusus-ul-Hikam*, the passages where Ibn-ut-Arabi has said that the real *Sufis* always keep

<sup>76</sup> Yusuf Husain, *Shah Muhibullah Allahabadi*, His mystic thoughts, pub. Islamic Culture, vol.-39, 1964, p.312.

<sup>77</sup> Shahnawaz Khan, *Maathir-ul-Umra*, vol-III, pub. Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, p.606.

themselves within the boundaries of *Shariat*. They always act in accordance with the *Quran* and *Sunnat*. Shaikh Muhibullah fame spread for and wide. The emperor Shahjahan having impressed by him, express his keen desire to meet him and wrote:

“عرفان آگاه و معارف جلوه گاه شیخ محبت اللہ سلمہ فرمان الطیعوا اللہ و الطیعوا الرسول و اولی الامر منکم نیک تصور نمود بیایید که شوق فوق الحد است”

O, the knower of gnosis and the place of manifestation of cognition, Shaikh Muhibullah, having imagined well (the *Quran* Verse) obey God and obey the prophet and your commander (the King) come to me as my desire is beyond the limit”. Shaikh Muhibullah replied:

“امیر اولی الامر رسید، اثر محبت مفہوم گردید، لیکن شخصی کہ از مرتبہ اولی و ثانی تر آمدہ باشد بمرتبہ ثالث چگونہ رسد”

“Received the order of the commander and the sign of love became evident, but the men who has not crossed the first and the second stages how can he reach the third stage”.<sup>78</sup>

He politely refused to King not to visit the royal court shows his solidarity with Shahjahan on mystical ground. Dara Shikoh was also much attracted by his deep spiritual knowledge and scholarly interpretation of monistic theory. He had a great regard for the Shaikh and seek his guidance in mysticism. He had correspondent with Shaikh on many queries. In one of his queries he asked Shaikh that whether in

<sup>78</sup> K.A.Nizami, *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh Chishti*. P.225.

administrative affairs of the state any discrimination is permissible between Hindus and Muslims.

Shaikh Mohibullah replied:

”فقر کجا نصیحت کجا حق آنست کہ اندیشہ رفاهیت خلق خدا دامن گیر خاطر حکام باشد چه مومن و چه کافر کہ خلق خدا پیدائش خداست و سید ایں مقام صاحب آن مقام بہر کسی از صالح و فاجر و مومن و کافر رحم کند رسول خداست صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم چنانکہ بیان یافتہ در فتوحات وارد است در قرآن، و ما ارسلک الا رحمۃ للعالمین“

The *Faqir* is not in a position to give exhortation, the truth is this that the thought of well being of people must always remain in the hurt of the rulers without any discrimination of believer in infidel because all human beings are the creatures of God; and the prophet, who is the leader of this world and hereafter, shows mercy to everyone without making distinction among the pious, sinner, believer and non-believer, as it is described in the *Quran*; we sent thee not save as mercy into all human beings”.<sup>79</sup>

Dara Shikoh, due to his spiritual attachment with Shaikh accepted the viceroyalty of the *Suba*. When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, the controversial chapter of Shaikh was reopened. On the basis of his objectionable remarks derived from *Taswiya*.

“Jibrail of Mohammad was within the person of Muhammad himself. Likewise Jibrail existed in the every person of each prophet

<sup>79</sup> K.A.Nizami, *Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi, Fikr-o-Nazar*, vol-II, No.2, April-1961, Aligarh, p.112.

which amounted to their spiritual power. When that power over-helmed the prophets, *Wahi* (revelation) descended on them. Therefore, Jibrail held conversations with each prophet in the later language”.<sup>80</sup>

But Shaikh Muhibullah was no more. His two disciples, Mir Syed Mohammad Qannauj (an imperial servant) and Shaikh Muhammadi (an ascetic) were called in court. Mir Syed Mohammad Qannauj was asked to explain the controversial passages in the *Taswiyah*, but he refused his connection with Shaikh then Shaikh Muhammadi was asked the same and were given the two choices; either he could reconcile the inflammatory statement in the *Taswiyah* with the ‘*Shariah*’ or he could burn it to ashes.

Shaikh replied that I don’t deny being his disciple and not reached on that stage to understand the statement. There is enough fire in royal kitchen to reduce this to ashes and saved himself from the fury of emperor.<sup>81</sup> Shaikh Mohibullah had a number of disciples in which some got prominence are as follows. Qazi Sadruddin, commonly known as Qazi Ghasi was the Qazi of Allahabad and was the first disciple of Shaikh Muhibullah. Qazi Yusuf was a student as well as disciple of the Shaikh who later on also became a great theologian and jurist of his time, wrote two discourses in Arabic and Persian. The Persian discourse entitled ‘*Hidayat-us-Sultania*’.

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<sup>80</sup> S.A.A.Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movement in Northern India.*, pub., Munshiram Manohar Lal, Delhi, 1965, pp.336-337.

<sup>81</sup> I.C. 1964, pp.315, 316.

The author of *Dabistan-e-Mazahib*, Mohsin Fani, was student of Shaikh Yaqub bin Hasan of Kashmir. When Shahjahan appointed him *Sadr* or chief justice of Allahabad entered in the discipleship of Shaikh Muhibullah and received spiritual training.<sup>82</sup> Another Shaikh Muhammad's Hargam, a famous saint, received spiritual training under Shaikh Muhibullah and wrote commentary on *Taswiyah*, the most controversial treatise.<sup>83</sup> A very eminent theologian and *Sufi*, Shaikh Ahmad was also his disciple. When he completed his education in Nasirabad came to Allahabad and entered in spiritual circle of Shaikh Muhibullah.<sup>84</sup>

#### **Qadri Silsilah:**

Shaikh Shah Taiyab Banarsi an eminent *Sufi* of 16<sup>th</sup> Century was son of Shaikh Moinuddin. He memorized *Quran* at the age of ten years and the basic learning of Persian and theology at home, under the tuteligship of Shaikh Nizamuddin Banarsi. For further higher studies went to Jaunpur and enrolled in the madarsa of Shaikh Noorullah Ansari Harvi and learned, *Nahw, Sharah Waqai Hisami*, in 1012 AH/1603-4 AD and returned back to Banaras. It is said that during his educational period met Shaikh Tajuddin Jhonsvi in his *Khanqah* and expressed his feeling to

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<sup>82</sup> Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir, V, *op.cit.*, p.-387.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p.335.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*; vol.V, p.335,; Maulvi Rahman Ali, '*Tadkirah Uluma-i-Hind.*, pub. Pakistan Histoical Society , Karachi, 1961. p.404.

become his disciple. Sheikh Kalan Jhonsvi who was residing in Jaunpur. Shaikh Taiyab went to meet Shaikh Kalan and told his inner state. Shaikh initiated into his discipleship and put his *Kulah* (cap) on his head. He fully indulged in spiritual enhancement and the service of mankind. Time to time, he visited Jhonsi to meet Shaikh. Later on Shaikh Tajuddin conferred the *Khilafat* of Benaras on him. When he met Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi infatuated with the teaching of *Qadriya* and also received *Khilafat* from him. He came Banaras and established a *Khanqah* closed to the river Ganga. He was against the *Biddat* (New things), rituals, customs but given emphasis on *Shariat*. He died in 1043 AH/1633-34 AD. He had a number of disciple in which Shaikh Nasiruddin Jhonsvi was very prominent.<sup>85</sup>

Shaikh Mohammad Rashid Usmani son of Shaikh Mohd. Mustufa Abu Hamid Usman was born on 10<sup>th</sup> *Zulqaida* 1000 AH/10 August 1592 AD lived in the village Barna in Jaunpur, was very prominent.<sup>86</sup> In his old age he migrated Purnia in Bengal where he died while Shaikh Rashid stayed in Jaunpur and attained the training of spiritualism from Shaikh Taiyab at the same time under the tutelage of Taiyab, Shaikh Abdul Haq Muddith Dehlavi was also receiving the initial of mysticism.<sup>87</sup> Due to his

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<sup>85</sup> *Bahr-Zakhkhar-I*, p.662, Ganj Arshadi.(MS.)

<sup>86</sup> History of *Sufism* in India, II, p.98; *Tadhkirah uluma-i-Hind op.cit.*, p.297; *Maasir ul Karam*, I, p.203-3.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*,

father influence, he (Rashid) initiated into *Chishtiya* order but later on switched off towards *Qadriya* teachings and enthusiastically propagated the philosophy of Ibn-ul-Arabi. He convinced the *Ulema*, having wrote commentaries on controversial passages of *Ibn-ul-Arabi* when *Ulema* of Allahabad issued a *Fatwa* against Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabad, having not agreed some of his philosophical explanation. Shaikh Rashid was in Allahabad, *Ulema* asked him to sign the *Fatwa*. She Rashid refused and argued that if Shaikh Muhibullah is not Muslim then who.<sup>88</sup> He wrote '*Rashidya*' a guide for theological polemics. It was a work to equip *Sunnis* with the theological background to fight *Shii* propaganda due to the growing popularity of *Shism*. He became untiring defender of Sunni orthodoxy.<sup>89</sup> The outstanding logician and philosopher (*Shii* leaders and Mulla Muhd. Jaunpuri) of Jaunpur opposed the Shaikh from their respective stand points. Mulla Mohd. Jaunpuri and Shaikh had completely opposite views on religion while both were disciple of *Ustaz-ul-Muluk* Mohammad Afzal of Jaunpur. While they enjoyed each other company in *Khanqah* and take interest in religions discourses. The Shaikh Rashid's political view is conceived in relation with Jahangir, he is said to have the words that if Jahangir did not reject Islam and give a major source of strength to Muslims in his Empire, whatever the consequences will have to face at the day of judgment would make the drinking of liquor lawful

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p 98,99.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*,



for the emperor. Shaikh Abdur Rashid kept himself away from ruling society. It is said that Shahjahan many times invited him in the court but he politely refused to attend. He remained aloof from worldly affairs and spent his time in the company of his disciples. Like many *Sufis*, he also did not take meat and instructed to his disciples to not cooked at his 'Fatihah' (death prayers). Like the Qadris tradition he was both an Alim and *Sufi*, died on 9<sup>th</sup> *Ramzan* 1083 AH/29 Dec. 1672.<sup>90</sup> His four talented sons (Miyan Shaikh Mohammad Hamid, Shaikh Mohammad Arshad, Shaikh Ghulam Muinuddin and Shaikh Ghulam Qutbuddin) took the work of his father and propagated the message of Islam and mysticism among masses. His second son Shaikh Mohammad Arshad d.1041/1631-32 AD received the *Khilafat* of his father. Like his elder brothers inclined towards scholarly pursuits and wrote a book on Arabic syntax entitled the '*Hidayat-al-Nahw*'. He was also a staunch supporter and followers of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* 'Unity of Being' died on 24<sup>th</sup> *Jamad II*, 1113 AH/26<sup>th</sup> November 1701 AD. His grandson Shaikh Abul Fayaz became his successor. Through the descendent and the disciples of Shaikh Rashid, *Qadriya Silsilah* became popular around Jaunpur and Bengal. A number of *Rashidiya Khanqah* or Qadriya order were established between the region of Jaunpur and Bengal.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>91</sup> History of Sufism in India., II, *op.cit.*, p.100.

Shaikh Qasim Qadri, an eminent *Sufi* of *Qadriya* order born in 954 AH/1549 AD. He had four wives born eight sons and nine daughters. He was tutor of Dilair Khan and Bahadur Khan sons of the Afghan Chief Darya Khan Rohilla. Shaikh Qasim led a pious life with a number of disciples, died in 1016 AH/1607 AD and was buried in *Chunar* (Mirzapur distt). One of his son Shaikh Kabir popularly known as *Balampir* (born 8 Sept 1586) carried out his fathers spiritual mission and established himself in Kannauj. He died in 1644 AD.<sup>92</sup>

Shah Abdul Lateef another *Qadri Sufi* of Akbar's time, received the spiritual training under the guidance of Shaikh Raju Mohammad. In Jaunpur, he was bestowed the *Khilafat* of *Yahyapur* (near Allahabad). Here, he established his *Khanqah* which was known as *Daera Shah Rafi Uzzaman*. He died in 1039 AH. /1629-30 AD. There is very little information regarding his life.<sup>93</sup>

Shaikh Ghulam Rashid was disciple of Shaikh Mohammad Arshad. Due to the *Sufistic* ideology of his family, infatuated towards mystical life and learnt the stages of *Suluk*. People were highly impressed with the

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<sup>92</sup> Nimatullah, *Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani-wa- Makhazin-i-Afghani*, vol. II, (ed., S. M. Emamuddin ) Royal Asiatic Society, Dhaka., pp. 851-53; Thomas William Beal, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pub. Manohar, Reprints, Delhi-1971, p.204.

<sup>93</sup> Shah Mohd. Shabbir Ali, *Qutub Daera* , pub., Naami Press, LKO-1979, p.4.

super natural miraculous power. But Shaikh Ghulam always avoided. It is said that he had forty thousands disciples, died in Jaunpur.<sup>94</sup>

Syed Shah Junaid Qadri born in 1520 AD/936AH in Saran; Distt (Bihar) in a Syed family. His father was Syed Hasan, a reputed noble of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Shah Junaid spent a lavish life style of his early days. He has changed his life due to a incident which is mentioned in *Bahr-e-Zakhkhar*: “One day he severely beated a baker by a wood stick, due to this he was near to death a person ‘*Saif-ul-Muluk*’ make him understand, advised that “show the humanistic behavior to poors. After that he left the home and traveled, Najaf, Karbala, having got the instruction from prophet Mohammad in dream, went to Baghdad. Where he developed spirituality and got the *Khirqa Khilafat* of Abdul Qadir Jilani from Darvish Mohammad and returned back Delhi then to Ghazipur, constructed a *Khanqah* and mosque in *Qadipur (Miyampur)*. He was miraculous *Sufi*, a number of people received spiritual training by him. Syed Shah Junaid died in 24<sup>th</sup> *Ramzan* 999 AH/1581 AD and was buried in Mohalla Saqlainabad. Every year on 24<sup>th</sup> *Ramzan*, *Urs* is held. His *Khirqa-i-Khilafat* was conferred on his son Syed Shah Abdullah Qadri, was also a theologian and *Sufi* (born in 955 AH / 1548-49 AD), who carried out his fathers spiritual work among masses and rendered great services to people of the area.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Bahr Zakhkhar, I, p.1074.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p.2266.

Shah Faseehuddin was son of Mulla Jameel and was married to daughter of Ghulam Rashid. He was also his disciple and received *Khirqah-i-Khilafat*, carried out his spiritual mission in Jaunpur.<sup>96</sup>

#### **Naqshbandi Si'silah:**

Shaikh Tahir was disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (the *Mujaddid-e-Alfani*). Initially, he was a soldier, it is said that marching to attack a fort claimed to have seen a vision of the prophet and Abu Bakr, both were telling to denounce the military carrier. After winning the battle disappeared into near forest. Having exchanged his military outfits with a villager came out. He came into contact with the *Sufi* of Badakhshan and turned himself like '*Darvesh*'. He visited Delhi to see other *Sufis* saints and entered into the discipleship of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi in Delhi. Shaikh Ahmad advised him to go to Jaunpur; the intellectual and mystic centre of the *Suba*. The people were impressed from the mystical life of Shaikh that he was a '*Malamati*'. Shaikh Abdul Aziz, the Staunch follower of *Wahdat-ul-Wujud*, made the life of Shaikh Tahir miserable. In 1622-23 AD when *Mujaddid* was in Ajmer, wrote a letter to Shaikh Tahir to advise that he should not adopt the *Malamati* way to attract disciples but there is a necessity to enhance his own spirituality as well as training of his disciples. Shaikh Ahmad reminded that the essential need for mystic to pray to God most earnestly and to

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<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p.1075; Tajalli-i-Noor, I, p.75.

follow the laws of *Shariat*. *Sufi* should never have the desire of fame. It is not a criteria for a highly successful spiritual life. The Shaikh Ahmad reminded that a seer (*Peer*) should never expect worldly gains from his disciples, nor nurture love of the material. The ideas expressed in the letters from the Mujaddid would hardly reformed Shaikh Tahir. When Mujaddid died, he visited Sirhind and returned Jaunpur.<sup>97</sup>

Syed Muhibullah of Manikpur was *Naqshbandiya Sufi* contemporary of *Mujaddid-i-Alfasani*, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. He went Burhanpur and learnt *Naqshbandi Zikr* from Mir Mohammad Noman and also studied the ideas contained in the *Mujaddid's* letters. Having impressed, he visited *Mujaddid* himself and practiced under him the various forms of the *Naqshbandiya* contemplation and *Zikr*. Mujaddid sent him Manikpur but he failed to make any impact upon the town folk and finally returned back to Allahabad and lead a retired life in *Zikr-i-Khafi*, rest of his life are unknown.<sup>98</sup>

Syed Shah Mohd. Afzal,<sup>99</sup> son of Syed Abdurrahman born 28<sup>th</sup> October 1628 AD/10 Rabi 1038 AH in *Syedpur Bhitri* (Ghazipur). He acquired the traditional learning of *Ulumi-din* or *Ulumi Zahiri* (religious science) from Hamid Syedpuri, Shaikh Mohammad Arif and Shaikh Mah

<sup>97</sup> History of *Sufism* in India, vol.II, pp.231-32.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p.240, Muslim Revivalist Movement in Northern India, *op.cit.*, pp.273-74. *Nuzhat-ul-Khawahir*, iv, *op.cit.*, p.282.

<sup>99</sup> Anwarul Arifi, *op.cit.*, p.534.; Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Maasir-ul-kalam*, vol.ii pub. *Kutub Khana Asfiyah, Hyderabad Daccan*, 1913, p.211.

Banarsi in Gazipur. Later on went to Kalpi for further study. Here he got spiritual training as well as *Khilafat* from Mir Syed Mohammad Kalpvi a *Chishtiya*, order on 5<sup>th</sup> Jamadisani 1060 AH/ 24<sup>th</sup> May 1650 AD<sup>100</sup> at the instruction of his spiritual mentor (*Peer*) moved towards Allahabad and established a *Daera (Khanqah)*.<sup>101</sup> It is very interesting that he was trained as *Chishti* but he followed *Naqshbandi* and propagated *Qadri order*. He was the ocean of *Sufistic* thought and values. He was very simple living personality, devoted to people. Love of humanity was one of his principles, become prominent in his area, a number of miracles are related to him, died 15 ZH 1124 AH/ 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan 1712 AD.<sup>102</sup> He had a number of works such as; *Kashf-ul-Istar-e-Sharah Hafiz, Ben-ul-Jamhoor Sharah Maulana Rum, Marsia-e-Rushd, Maktubat-e-Ab-e-Murshidi* etc. These works are available in the library of *Daera Shah Ajmal* (Allahabad). He had a number of disciple who not only preached the Islamic teaching and *Tasawuf* but also given their services to humanity. Some prominent disciples of Shah Afzal are as follows:

Shaikh Mohammad Yahya (Shah Khoobullah), Shaikh Mohammad Yaqub Jaunpuri, Shaikh Abdul Aziz Gorakhpuri.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> *Anwarul-Arifin, op.cit., p.534.*

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> *Maasir-ul-Karam, op.cit., II, p.211.*

<sup>103</sup> *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar, I, p.762.*

Shaikh Mohammad Yahya, commonly known as Shah Khoobulla Allahabadi son of Shah Mohammad Ameen was born 1669 AD/1080 AH. He was nephew of Shah Afzal. when he was 10 or 11 years old his father died, then came to Allahabad along with his uncle (Shah Afzal) and got academic as well as spiritual training from him. Shah Afzal, later on appointed him his *Khalifa*.<sup>104</sup> He was a well known theologian (*Alim*) and follower of *Shariat*. His theological works got place in the circle of *Ulema*. Some are as follows; *Tazkirat fayat-e-Al-Alam*, *Khulasat-ul-Amal*, *Sharah salasiyat-e-Bukhari*, *Bazaet-e-Mazjat*, *Sharah Risala-e-makkiya* etc.<sup>105</sup> He was a miraculous *Sufi* of his time. Two miracles are mentioned in *Bahr-e-Zakhhar*. It is said that Shah Mohibullah Bihari and Shah Amanullah Banarsi had received the spiritual training under his guidance. Shah Khoobullah given the *Khirqe-e-Khilafat* (Rob of *Khilafat*) to his son Shah Mohammad Nasir Afzali (b. 1112AH/1700 AD d. 1163 AH/1749 was a great *Sufi* of his time).<sup>106</sup> Shah Mohd. Yahya (Khoobullah) died in 11 Jamadi Awal 1144 AH/1731 AD and was buried in premises of Deara Shah Afzal.<sup>107</sup>

Syed Shah Inayatullah was son of Shah Habeebullah born in *Naw Nahar*, Gazipur. (Shah Habeebullah was also a reputed theologian of his

<sup>104</sup> *Maasir-ul-Karam* II, *op.cit.* p.212.

<sup>105</sup> *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar* , I, p.765.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid*; *Maasir-ul-Karam-II*, *op.cit.*, p.212.

time). Having received his early education at home went Delhi for further studies. During his studentship inclined towards *Sufism* (mysticism). He was *Sufi* as well as an *Alim* (theologian), was appointed as Qazi of Banaras (1068 AH/1657-58 AD) had hesitantly accepted and never worked under any pressure. People gathered around him from every walk of life. *Sufis Yogis* and other spiritual person always present in his circle (*Khanqah*). He died in 1706 AD and was buried in Banaras. A mausoleum was erected in his memory, rendered great service to people of Banaras.<sup>108</sup>

Shah Muhammad Nasir was second son of Shah Khoobullah. His father enrolled him in the *Khanqah* of Shah Afzal, here he obtained education as well spiritual training under his guidance. He is the author of *Muntakhab-ul-Amal*, *Jawahar-i-nafsiya* and *Azkar-i-Ashar*, died in 1106 AH/1694 AD at Allahabad and was buried in premises of *Rauza Shah Afzal*.<sup>109</sup>

#### **Shattariya Silsila and Others:**

Shaikh Abul Muiyyad Mohammad commonly known as Shaikh Mohammad Ghaus disciple of Shaikh Zuhur Haji of *Shattariya* order. He spent twelve years on the lower slaps of the *Chunar* hills and adjoining areas, practicing the most severe austerities in caves and subsisting on the

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<sup>108</sup> Obaid-ur-Rahman Siddiqui, *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh Ghazipur*, Ghazipur-2001, p.385.

<sup>109</sup> *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar-I*, p.768.



leaves of trees. It is said that he possessed super natural power. Later on shifted to Gwalior and established a *Khanqah* there. On 10 May 1563 Shaikh died and was buried in Gwalior. His most significant works is an indelible work on the History of *Sufism* in India. As, *Jawahar-e-Khamsa, Bahrul Hayat, Kalid-i-Makhazin, Zamair, Basair, the Kanzul-Wahdat Kisala-i-Mirajiya*.<sup>110</sup>

Raji Syed Mustafa bin Syed Mubarak (d.989 AH/1581 AD) was *Khalifa* of Raji Syed Muhammad. He had a great passion of *Sama*. Due to his efforts Manikpur became an important centre of *Shattariya* order.<sup>111</sup>

Shaikh Hafiz Jaunpuri disciple and *Khalifa* of Shah Abdullah. He had a large number of disciple who were lived in various parts of northern India between Jaunpur and Delhi. His eminent *Khalifa* was Shaikh Budhan Shattari.<sup>112</sup>

Shaikh Sadr Jahan Manikpuri was *Sufi* of *Shattari* order, born in Manikpur and went for *Hajj*, during the stay in *Dhar* (Malwa), met *Sufi* Shaikh Maruf Dharvi, entered in his spiritual circle and completed spiritual training under his guidance. After that went to Burhanpur and stayed sometimes in *Khanqah* of Shaikh Qasim Sindhi. Finally returned back to Manikpur and constructed a *Khanqah*. He wrote *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, died in 1014 AH/1605 AD.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> *Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh*, III, *op.cit.*, pp.7-8; History of Sufism in India, II, p.159.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p.163.

<sup>112</sup> HSI, II, p.155.

<sup>113</sup> *Nuzhat-ul-Khawatir*, vol.V, p.181.

Qazi Tajuddin Nahwi was a famous *Sufi* of Balkh (Central Asia) migrated to India during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi, having heard the glory of Jaunpur, due to Sultan offering liberal patronage to Scholars, *Sufis* and talented people, decided to settle down at Lakhnawti in Bengal. His son Abdullah Qazi Khair uddin Sharif and grandson Shah Manjhan was educated under his guidance later on, Shah Manjhan entered in the discipleship of *Tajul-urafa* Syed Tajuddin of Bokhara. Manjhan both an Alim and *Sufi*.<sup>114</sup> Later on Syed Tajuddin met Shaikh Ghaus Gwaliori and became his disciple. He also introduced Shah Manjhan to his spiritual guide. Shah Manjhan studied *Jawahar-i-Khamsa* under the direction of Shaikh Ghaus., and also received *Khiraqa*, which Shaikh Ghaus used to wear during his ascetic exercise in Chunar forest hills,<sup>115</sup> Shaikh Manjhan wrote *Madhumalti* and later on settled down in Sarangpur and established a *Khanqah* here died in 1001 AH/1592-93 AD.<sup>116</sup>

Shah Fatah Mohammad was son of Makhdum Qutub Bina, received spiritual training under the guidance of Shaikh Abdul Qaddus. Shah Abdur Rahman was also his preceptor in meditation. People loved him. He left Jaunpur and settle down in *Pargana Nizamabad* (Azamgarh) died in 1118 AH/ 1706-71 AD.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Manjhan , *Madhumalti*,(Ed. M. P. Gupta), Allahabad-1961,Chand-34, p.29.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p.34.

<sup>116</sup> History of Sufism in India, II p.435.

<sup>117</sup> Ganj Arshadi (*Ms*)

Syed Ali was better known as Shah Aski Khan or Shah Ali Aski, lived in the early years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. He came to Jaunpur when some of his relatives were under the service of Sikandar Lodi. It is said that he was friend of Sher Shah. His spiritual eminence attracted people his *Khanqah*.<sup>118</sup>

Shaikh Abdul Aziz an eminent *Sufi* received his education as well spiritual training from different *Sufis* orders and *Ulema* (theologians). When he was 2½ years old his father conferred *Khilafat* on him later on sent him for spiritual training under the guidance of Qazi Khan Zafrabadi. He studied *Fusus-ul-Hikam* from Mir Syed Muhammad. It is said that from his youth days, there was a spiritual reflection on his face. He was a miraculous *Sufi* but don't believe in showism and always avoided to it. He had deeply ascetic temperament and was exceedingly fond of *Sama*. He had received *Khilafat* from Qazi Khan Zafrabadi, Syed Ibrahim Qadri (His preceptor in Qadri order), Shaikh Taj Muhammad of *Chishti* order. He died in 975 AH/1567-68 AD and was buried in premises of *Khanqah Ashraf Jahangir Simnani* of Kachaucha (Faizabad).<sup>119</sup>

Khwaja Kalan Jhonsvi was son of Nasiruddin Jhonsvi, born in Jhonsi (Allahabad). After receiving his primary education from his father traveled to Jaunpur for higher studies. He spent many years in the

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<sup>118</sup> D.L. Drak Beckinan, *Azamgarh District Gazzettes, (XXXIII-vol.), Allahabad-1911, p.289*

<sup>119</sup> Bahr Zakhkhar-I, *op.cit.*, p.994-999.

company of learned *Alim* (theologian) of Jaunpur and returned to Jhansi. His father conferred his *Khiraqa-i-Khilafat* on him. He paid his whole life in humanitarian work to his area. He had a number of disciple among them, Shaikh Tayib bin Moin Banarsi was an eminent *Sufi*. Khwaja Kalan died in 1004 AH/1595-96 and was buried in Jhonsi.<sup>120</sup>

Syed Ziaullah was son of Syed Muhammad Fakhir Husain, born in 1098 AH/1686 AD. in *Qasba Zangipur*, Gazipur, received early education at home but went to Bengal for higher learning. Where he became mastered in *Fiqh*, *Hadith*, *Quran* and Islamic philosophy. During the period of study inclined towards mysticism but did not join any order or not made anyone to his spiritual teacher. His excessive meditation enhanced his spirituality, returned Gazipur. After completion of education. His spirituality became widespread, in the region. People flocked in his *Khanqah* for spiritual benefits. He was died in 1146 AH/1733-34 AD and was buried in his *Khanqah*.<sup>121</sup>

Shaikh Jaafar, born in 1024 AH/1615-16AD in Jaunpur and received early education under the guidance of Shaikh Muhammad Rasheed. He was inclined towards mysticism and entered in the discipleship of Shaikh Noor Mohammad Madari. Due to his efforts the Madari Silsilah got strength in this region. He wrote *Noor ul-Anwar*; died

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<sup>120</sup> Nuzhat ul-Khwatir, V, p.143.

<sup>121</sup> *Tazkirah Mashaiikh Ghazipur*, p.394-395.

in 1093 AH/1682 AD and buried at the side of Shaikh Badiuddin Madar in Jaunpur.<sup>122</sup>

Shaikh Fakhruddin Madari was son and Khalifa of Shaikh Sabit Madari. The spirituality developed from tender age in him. He was meditative and miraculous *Sufi*, meet people very politely irrespective of any differentiation of religion. Died in 942 AH/1535 AD and was buried in *Khanqah Mdariya* in Jaunpur. His son Shaikh Fazlullah Madari and also a *Sufi* of high stature, received *Khilafat* from his father. A number of miracles are related to him. He traveled and established his cells (*Hujra*) in many places like Banaras, Shaikhpura Ghazipur, Syedpur Bhitri etc. Although he was very rich but used to distribute money on poor, wore good clothes, people complained for it. He replied that it is grace of God.

He died in 978 AH/1570-71 and was buried in Gumbad Shah Madar in Jaunpur.<sup>123</sup> Shaikh Mohammad Taif born in 1082 AH/1671 AD. He was very regular in performing *Namaz* (Prayer) as well *Zikr* and admitted that all his spiritual achievements were the result of it. Despite his eminence as *Sufi* he did not enroll disciple and worked missionary work lovely. He died in 1121 AH/1709-10 AD and was buried in *Mohalla Chalhak* in Jaunpur.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> *Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir*, V, p. 111; *Ganj Arshadi*(MS) .

<sup>123</sup> *Tajalli-i-Noor*, I, p.63.

<sup>124</sup> *Ganuj Arshadi* (MS).

The *Mehdavi* movement is traced out to the reign of Sikandar Lodi, when Syed Mohammad Jaunpuri disciple of Shaikh Daniyal Chishti Jaunpuri a saintly scholar of Jaunpur, proclaimed himself as *Mehdi* (who was expected to propagate and purify the true doctrine of Islam). The *Ulema* of the time opposed him strongly. While Shaikh Alai and Mulla Abdullah Niyazi supported and worked for this movement. But due to constant opposition, Syed Mohammad shifted its base to Gujrat. During the reign of Akbar, the movement was its zenith. The efforts of Ulema, like (Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith Dehlavi, Shaikh Ali Muttaqi Shaikh Mujaduddin etc. in opposition of this movement confined into a religious group only.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> S.A.A.Rizvi , Muslim Revivalist Movement in Northern India, pub. Munahiram Manoharlal New Delhi , 1965.pp. 76-8, 83.

## **CHAPTER-VI**

### **DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN SUBAH**

Education is very essential part of human life. It played a very important role in the evolution of society. All the progress and development had become possible by the learning that is why right from the early days of human civilization learning got a great importance. India has also developed her own script and educational pattern. In Vedic age it was the soul source of salvation. Here the pupil received the lesson of spirituality, religion and philosophy. The Indian *Gurus* have written a number of books on astronomy, science, astrology, religion etc. With the establishment of many institution for learning.

The Muslims brought their own culture and educational system, so in these period of acculturation of both ideologies, Hindu-Muslim cultural synthesis came into being. The two parallel educational stream were developed and flourished all over the Muslim rule with minor effect. The two communities had their own educational pattern. While the main object of both was to evolve special system of moral based on their doctrines, social, religious traditions, moral and material improvement. With the preparation of life and for life after death.

For convenience, this chapter is divided into two segments, namely Hindu education and Muslim education. So that the subject can

be presented and comprehended well. As for as my area of thrust is concerned this Suba had a great history regarding the cultural advancement under the *Sharqi* rulers. A number of scholars, poets influx from other regions as well as other countries in this area and was welcomed with open arms by the contemporary high authority. Due to which Jaunpur called *Shiraz-e-Hind* (Shiraz of India),<sup>1</sup> The second place of learning was Banaras (Kashi, Varansi) for Hindu learning. It was also playing an important role for this cause from ancient time. Beside above two there were a number of small and big seminaries spread out in every Sarkar of the Suba.

### **Hindu Education:**

The system of education among Hindus, we find that there were different agencies of imparting education to the pupil. The first was elementary or primary, conducted in Chatsal,<sup>2</sup> and *Pathshalas*,<sup>3</sup> second

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<sup>1</sup> Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, *Maasir-ul-Karam*, vol.-I, pub. Kutub Khana Asfiya, Hyderabad, Daccan-1328 AH., p.222; M.M.Saeed, *Tadhkirah Mashaikh-e-Shiraz-e-Hind*, pub. Islamic Book Publishers, Lahore-1976, p.179.; S.M.Ikram, *Aab-e-Kausar, Karachi*, 1952, p.508.,

\*Shiraz: A city of Iran was famous for higher studies in medieval Muslim world.

<sup>2</sup> Raidas, Raidas Ki Bani, pub. Velvidiev Printing works. Allahabad, 1997, p.33.

चल मन हरि चटसाल पदाऊ। गुरू की साटी ज्ञान का अक्षर।।

<sup>3</sup> Bortolomo, *Fra Pooline Da San* (1776-1789 AD) "A Voyage to the east Indies" trans. by William Jhonston, pub. J. David chancery Halburn-MDCCC, pp.262-263.; B.K.Sahay, *Education and learning under the Great Mughals (1526-1707)*, pub. New literature publication Bombay-1968, pp-51,52.



far higher studies in *Tols*<sup>4</sup> *Mathas*, temples,<sup>5</sup> *Jain Upasanas*,<sup>6</sup> and under a private tutors,<sup>7</sup> who used to train students in various arts and sciences of the day. These private tutors were sprang up all over this region under review.

The Bhakti literature and historical records divulged the information related to education and learning that the higher studies was confined only among the Brahman community. No other castes were allowed to this field. These 'Brahman' (*Pandits*) had a profound knowledge of *Vyakarna* (Grammer), *Vedas*, local medicines, astrology etc.<sup>8</sup>

Before starting a regular education for Hindu children, a ceremony was held called '*Upanayana Sanskar*'. In this, first attempt,

<sup>4</sup> Zaheeruddin Babar, *Baburnama* (Memoirs of Babar) vol.-II, (Beveridge), p-613, pub. Oriental Book Corporation, New Delhi 1979.; Jean Baptisete Tavernier *Travels in India vol.-II*, (ed. V. Ball, pub., Oriental Books Reprint Corporation New Delhi-1977, pp 234-235 ; <http://search.eb.com/search?quary=toll&X=11Xy=15>.

<sup>5</sup> Shyam Sundar Das, *Kabir Granthavli*, pub. Kashi Nagri Praecharm Sabha Kashi, 2093 Sam p.186., जोगीजती तपी सन्यासी। मठदेवल बासिपरसै कासी।। पदावली-290, A.S.Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, Bombay-1948. pp.73,74.; A Fuhrer, *Monumental Antiquities & inscriptions: North West provinces of Oudh A.S.I*, Allahabad-1891, p.175.; <http://www.Varanasiity.com/mathas-Ashram.Ldml..>

<sup>6</sup> A.L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great vol-III*, p.168, Pub. Shrilal Agrawala, Agra-1957, B.K. Shahay, *op.cit.*, p.49.

<sup>7</sup> Tavernier-II, *op.cit.*, p.183; J.N.Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, pub. Sanyal & Co. Bengal 1901, p.28,.

<sup>8</sup> Shyamsundar Das, *op.cit.*, p.172, जो तुम पडिंत आगम जाणौं, विद्या व्याकरणां।

तत मत सब औषधि जाणो अति तऊ मरणा, पदं.284,

child told to lisp the sacred text and given a sacred girdle<sup>9</sup> placed in custody of the deities. The girdle was to be of sacred grass for a 'Brahman', a bow string for a Kshatriya, a woolen thread for a Vaishyas, symbolic of the profession to be followed in each case in after life. If he was to lead a brahmanical life a prayer for leaving followed.<sup>10</sup> The *Upanayana* ceremony shows the value of education among Hindus society from ancient time to the present.<sup>11</sup>

The *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* gives us a detailed information about this ceremony which is as follows;

"A Brahman boy has arrived at the age of eight years, they have a meeting and collect Brahmans together. They made a cord "*Munj grass*" which they call '*Munj*' in length  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *Gaz* and having caused prayers and indications to be repeated over it, and having it mad into three strands, which they call '*Sihtar*' by one, whom they has confidence, they fasten it on his waist. Having a woven a *Zunnar* (Girdle or thread) out of the loose threads, they having it over his right shoulder. Having given into his hand a stick of the length of a little over, gaze to deafened himself from harmful things and a copper vassals for drinking water,

<sup>9</sup> Ram Kumar Verma, *Sant Kabir, pub.* Sahitya Bhavan Pvt. Ltd., Allahabad, 1957, p.11. हम धरि सूतु तनही नित ताना कोठि जनेउ तुमारे,  
तुम्ह तउ वेद पढुहु गायत्री गोविंद रिदै हमो ।।

<sup>10</sup> Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Memoirs of Jahangir) vol.-I ed. (Rogers & Beveridge) pub. Low Price Publication Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, p.357.

<sup>11</sup> R.K.Mookarji, *Ancient Indian Education*, Mac Millon Co.Ltd., London-1951, p.174.

they hand him over a learned 'Brahman' that he may remain in his house for twelve years, and employ himself reading the Vedas, which they believed in as God's book".<sup>12</sup>

The time was fixed for *Upanayana* ceremony to different caste. A Brahman should perform his *Upanayana* in the season of spring (*Vasant*), Kshtriya should be in summer (*Grism*) and Vaishya in autumn (*savat*). In *Jyotish Shastra* it was stated that upanayana for all castes should be performed in the five month from 'Magh' But the member of 'shaudra' community were not eligible for this ceremony.<sup>13</sup>

Almost throughout the whole suba, there were such *Chatsalas/Pathshalas* or primary schools for the children, where mostly boys and girls received education.<sup>14</sup> A number of *Pathshalas/Chatsulas* were attached to the richman houses in spacious buildings. These schools consisted of three rooms and sometimes eight or ten in two rows with a reading room open on all sides at the further end.<sup>15</sup> When a suitable accommodation for the Chatsals could not be found in towns or villages, it would sit in some rich men mansions or even under the sheds

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<sup>12</sup> *Tuzuk, I, op.cit.*, p.357.

<sup>13</sup> *Tuzuk, I, op.cit.*, p.357.

<sup>14</sup> A.L. Srivastava, *Medieval Indian Culture*, Pub. Agarwala & Col. Agra-1964, p.113.

<sup>15</sup> P.N. Chopra, *Some aspect of society and culture during the Mughal Age*, pub. S.L. Agrawal, Agra, 1963-p.129.

of a tree or temple.<sup>16</sup> Bernier had also seen Brahmans engaged in teaching some students under a Baniyan tree (*Vata*) in a village.<sup>17</sup>

The children of five years of age were generally admitted in the *Chatsal* or *Pathshalas*. The learning of the first alphabet for the first time is called *Vidyarambha* and child offer worship of the deities as Hari, Lakshmi and Saraswati (Goddess of learning)<sup>18</sup> Subject taught in starting such as alphabets, Words,<sup>19</sup> Numbers and tables,<sup>20</sup> through repeatedly musical recitation in groups as well as individually.<sup>21</sup> The children write on *Patti* (wooden plate)<sup>22</sup> or sometimes on ground with the help of finger,<sup>23</sup> then after followed by poetry, primary knowledge of grammar, Sanskrit arithmetic by the Brahman (*Pandits*).<sup>24</sup> Bernier tells

<sup>16</sup> Della Valle , *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India* (1623-24), vol.-II,(ed. Edward Gray and G. Havers) London-1982, p.227.

<sup>17</sup> F. Berniers, *Travels in the Mughal Empire (1656-68)*, (Constable) Oriental Reprint New Delhi, 1983, p.334.

<sup>18</sup> R.K. Mookarj *op.cit.*, p.173.

<sup>19</sup> Dharam Das , *Dhani Dharam Das Ji Ki Shabdavli*, pub. Velevedier Press, Allahabad, 1960, p.36. सन्त अंक लिखी दिन्हा, तो पान खियावही।

सार शब्द की ओठ सो, नरियर मोर ही।। पद-1.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.72. दसए दसम द्वार चढि वैढे पढि लै एक पहाडा ।

धरमदास चरनन पड़ि बिनवै निस दिन बारम्बार।। पद-10

<sup>21</sup> Della valle., *op.cit.*, pp.227-228.

<sup>22</sup> Raidas, *op.cit.*, p.33, प्रेम की पाटी सुरति की लेखनि। ररी ममौ लिखि अंक लिखाऊ।। Sant Kabir, *op.cit.*, p.233. मोकऊ कहा पढावसि आल जाल।

मेरी पटिआ लिखी देहु स्त्री गोपाल।। पद-4

<sup>23</sup> Della valle, II, *op.cit.*, p.227.

<sup>24</sup> Shyamsundar Das *op.cit.*, p.172., जो तुम्ह पंडित आगम जाणों विद्या व्याकरण।

तंत मंत सब ओषधि जाणो, अति तऊ मरणां ।।

us that in Pathshalas, it was required to study grammar, which contained the declination, conjugation, syntax etc. Having received general smattering over the subjects. When they had acquired a sound knowledge of Sanskrit and its grammar the 'Puranas' interpretation of *Vedas* formed their next subject of study.<sup>25</sup>

The structural design of these *Pathshalas* were very simple and were provided blackboards, benches and chairs sometimes. However generally a student had to make his seating arrangements. They had to bring their own mats and they used to squat on the floor while the teacher (*Guru*) sat on a foot-stool, being surrounded by his pupil.<sup>26</sup>

Hinduism copied the Buddhist style and organized its own temple college. The *Mathas* of the various religious sects and its chiefs (Pontiff, *Achary*) used to organize small centre for higher education in the Suba.<sup>27</sup> The *Tols* were another place for higher learning its prior name was 'Chauparis' and the medium of instruction was Sanskrit language.<sup>28</sup> The outstanding teachers and students were welcomed in these institutions from distant part of the country.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> F. Bernier *op.cit.*, p.335.

<sup>26</sup> Khemraj Krishna Das, *Satya Kabir Ki Sakhi*, pub. Sri Venketeshwar (steam) pvt. Ltd. Delhi-1975, p.5.

<sup>27</sup> A.S. Altekar, *op.cit.*, pp.73,74, A Fuhrer-*op.cit.*, p.175.

<sup>28</sup> B.K. Sahay, *op.cit.*, p.350.

<sup>29</sup> R.K. Mookarji- *op.cit.*, p.599. 'The Scholars of the other places like Navadawipa and Mithila visited Benaras regularly'.

### Curriculum:

In higher studies, in *Tols*, *Mathas* or under a private tutor, students have to study, four *Vedas* they were considered a secret), six *Angas*; (i) *Siksa* (the science of pronunciation) (ii) *Kalpa*, (the Science of ritualism) (iii) *Vyakarna* (Grammar), (iv) *Niyukta* (Philosophy) (v) *Chandas* (Prosody) (vi) *Jyotish* (Astronomy). *Dasa Grantha* i.e. one's own *Veda*, *Brahmana*, *Aranyaka*, *Nighantu* and the six *Angas*. Another was fourteen *Vidyas*; these were 1-4 (one of four) *Vedas*, 5-10 (Five to ten) *Sadangas*, 11 (eleven) *Dharamshastras*; (sacred a secular law), *Puranas*, *Mimansa* (Science of exegesis), *Tarka* (logic) and the last eighteen *silpas* i.e. vocal music, instrumental music, Dancing, painting, mathematics, Accountancy, engineering, sculpture, Agriculture, cattle-breeding, commerce, medicine, convincing and law, administrative training, Archery military art, magic, snake-charming and poison antidotes, & the art of finding hidden treasures. The above curriculum were prevalent for higher studies from ancient time to till Mughal rule.<sup>30</sup>

Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* also refers to the curriculum followed in the Sanskrit institutions "students ought to learn *Vyakarna*, *Niyayi*, *Vedanta* and *Patanjali*, further says that no one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Bortolomo *op.cit.*, pp.262-263; Ved Mitra, *Education in Ancient India*, Pub., Arya Book Depot, New Delhi, pp.99-101.; K.G. *op.cit.*, p.49, चारी वैद जाकै सुमृत पुरानां, नौ व्याकरना मरन न जाना। पद-49.

<sup>31</sup> Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, (Blochman) Oriental Book Reprint, New Delhi, pp.288-89.

Bernier gives us a detailed account of the curriculum prescribed for the higher seats of learning at Benaras. The Sanskrit language and literature, the Vedas, the Puranas Philosophy medicine, astronomy, astrology, History of religion and geography were important subjects.<sup>32</sup>

Badauni informs us that the Akbar revised the syllabi with the help of *Mir Fatullah Shirazi* and patronized the study of mathematics, Astrology, Astronomy and medicine<sup>33</sup> Generally the duration of the above courses lasted ten to twelve years.<sup>34</sup>

The introduction of Persian language as the official language formed an important part of the curriculum in some elementary schools. To get an accommodation in government jobs, it was necessary to have a knowledge of Persian. This was learned especially by Brahman and Kayastha cast,<sup>35</sup> among Hindus. The general course of studies followed in the elementary schools of the region under review were somewhat uniform and simple. No sufficient evidence is available to compute the extant of literacy of the suba under the Mughals.<sup>36</sup> Many Hindu scholars were well proficient in Persian and also teaches Persian in *Maktabs* a

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<sup>32</sup> F. Bernier *op.cit.*, pp.334-335.

<sup>33</sup> Abdul Qadir Badauin, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol.-II (Low & Ranking), pub. Idarah Abdiyati-e-Delhi, Delhi p.575.

<sup>34</sup> F. Bernier – *op.cit.*, p.334.

<sup>35</sup> Sant Kabir – p.105. घरी घरी का लेखा माँगे काइथु चेतू नाऊ ।

\*\* See Plate-17, (Persian writing of Tulsidas)

<sup>36</sup> B.K. Sahay, *op.cit.*, p.65.

*Madarsas*.<sup>37</sup> The official correspondence of the government, the Daftar and Munshi Khana were in the hands of Hindus.<sup>38</sup>

The Mughals were great admirers of learning. Babar and Humayon could not get sufficient time to show their intellect in the progress of education on Indian soil. This was the period of uncertainty. When Akbar ascended the throne, he came to the conclusion that the safety and stability of the Mughals largely depend on the support of the Hindus and his intentions to organize the nation on a new pattern by harmonizing political, religious and social aspects of society with the help of the Hindu community. The difference between the two communities was realized by Akbar which he wanted to wipe out. He has given encouragement to their nobler aspects of culture. Such a generous move paved the way for Hindus to uplift their education and learning. He established a separate department for the translation of certain books into Persian, the great books of Hindus into Persian for Muslims. This department of translation naturally gave additional impetus to the spread and growth of Hindu learning. He has also given state assistance in the form of *Madad-i-Maash* grants to the Hindu temples. *Maths* in favor of any educational institutions but there is hardly any reference available except *Jangamvadi Math* of Banaras.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Badauni, II *op.cit.*, p.322.

<sup>38</sup> Syed Abdullah, *Adbiyat-i-Farsi-mein Hindoon Ka Hissa*, Pub. *Majlis Taraqqi-i-Urdu Adab*, Qalb Road, Lahore, pp.34,36,46,48.

<sup>39</sup> M.A. Ansari, *Administrative Documents of Mughal India*, B.R. Publishing Corp. Delhi-1984. p.2. (See Plates, 1-10).



During His rule, education got a progressive change in mode of study in curriculum.<sup>40</sup> The method of teaching was very clumsy and the progress of students was not satisfactory, a great portion of their life were wasted.<sup>41</sup> He was first medieval monarch to consider this aspect of teaching problem. For the benefiting of the teacher and taught, he felt the necessity of making change in the curriculum and the method of teaching. His intention was to shorten the period of the schooling, of a boy and to save him from reading unnecessary things. In *Ain-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl refers to those changes.

“His majesty order that every school boy should first learn to write the letter of the alphabet and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and the name of each letter, which may be done in two days, when the boys should proceed to write the joint letters, they may be practiced for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart and then commit to memories some verses to the praise of God, or moral sentences each written separately care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher ought especially to look after fine things: Knowledge of letter, meaning of words, the hemistich verse, the

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<sup>40</sup> N.N. Law, *Promotion of learning in India during Mohammadan Rule*, pub. *Idarah Adbiyat Delhi*, Delhi-1973-p161.

<sup>41</sup> *Ain-I*, p.288

former lesson".<sup>42</sup> He further writes thus "If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took year to understand, so much so that people will get quite astonished".<sup>43</sup>

His son and successor Jahangir followed almost same policy. Hindu scholars had free access to his court. In *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, it is mentioned that he met a Brahman teacher of Benaras named Rudra Bhattacharya (Rudr Bhattacharji) and given lavish rewards to many Hindu poet of scholars. These healthy traditions contributed a good deal and gave the Hindu scholars a sense of respect and dignity together with an encouragement for further literary activities.<sup>44</sup>

Shahjahan also given similar treatment to this field. His rewards and encouragements developed the Hindu learning to a considerable extent in the Suba.<sup>45</sup> Prince Dara Shikoh showed great leniency for the religion and institutions of Hindus and had great respect for Hindu learning.<sup>46</sup> During the governorship of Suba Allahabad, he was constantly in touch with the Brahmans, Jogis and Sanyasis of the

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p.289.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p.289.

<sup>44</sup> Tuzuk, I, p.203-204.

<sup>45</sup> K.R. Qanungo, "*Some Sidelight on the character and court life of Shahjahan*" J.I.H., (vol. VIII, pt-I), 1929, p.49.

<sup>46</sup> Bikramajit Hasrat, *Dara Shikoh: Life and works*, pub. Vishwabharti Publication Deptt. Calcutta, 1953, pp.5,8.

region<sup>47</sup> and had completed many Hindu scriptures into Persian with the help of Brahman (Pundits) of Banaras. Such as *Sir-ul-Asrar* (secret of secrets) or sometimes called *sir-i-Akbar*. It is a Persian translation of *Upanishads*. Translation of *Bhagwatgita, Jog Vashisht, Ramayna* etc.<sup>48</sup> Aurangzeb was himself highly educated & proficient in Persian a Arabic languages.<sup>49</sup> He had also great knowledge of Hindu language.<sup>50</sup> A number of scholars & seats of learning were patronized by him.

The Banaras was the most famous centre of higher Hindu education or learning in the suba. There were a number of saint, scholars and individual in the city who were promulgating education to the students of the day. Bernier in his travelogue state about Banaras as “Athens of India” and he writes that “the town of Banaras, seated on the Ganges, in a beautiful situation, and in the midst of an extremely fine and rich country, may be considered the general school of Gentiles. It is the Athens of India. Which resorts the Brahmans and other devotees, who are the only persons, who apply their minds to study. The town contains no college of regular classes, as in our universities, but resemble rather the school of the ancients; the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the

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<sup>47</sup> F. Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.323; K.R., Qanungo, *op.cit.*, pp.110-112.

<sup>48</sup> K.R. Qanungo *op.cit.* pp.116-118.

<sup>49</sup> Saqi Mastaid Khan, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, (ed. J.N.Sarkar), Calcutta, 1947.p.318.

<sup>50</sup> J.N.Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, New Delhi – 1954, p.8.

gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy".<sup>51</sup>

In *Ain-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl refer to Banaras that from the ancient times, it has been the chief seat of learning in Hindustan. Crowds of people flock to it from all parts of country for purpose of instruction.<sup>52</sup>

The author of *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh* also refers to the city of Banaras as; it is a treasury of learning, an assembly hall of learned men and the school of those that desire of love of Hindus. Brahmans who have acquired learning and perfection, and reader of *Vedas*, who are masters of their condition and speech have their residence here. And a Brahman and sons of Brahmans from countries, far and near, assemble in this city. Live here for acquiring and perfecting knowledge of derive benefits and grace. Many ascetics and pious men, having by God's grace renounced worldly ties, take up there abode here and remain engaged in praising the lord of slaves (God). With a view to making the body free (from Passion), which is considered in ancient books as the means of salvation in the next world".<sup>53</sup>

In 1655, Raja Jai Singh of Amber established here a collage for imparting education to the young men of respectable Hindu families.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> F. Bernier, *op.cit.*, p.334.

<sup>52</sup> Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.-II, (ed. S & J), Calcutta-1949, p.158.

<sup>53</sup> Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, (ed. Abbas Zafar Hasan) pub. G & Sons, Delhi 1918, p.42.; J.N.Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, pub. Sanyal & Co. Bengal-1901, p.28.

<sup>54</sup> B.K. Sahay., *op.cit.*, p.69.

Bernier writes thus “it is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work of institutions proceeded but slowly, for the generally of them of an indolent disposition, owing in a great measure, to their diet and the heat of the country. Feeling no spirits of emulations, or emoluments may be the reward of extra ordinary attainments.....”<sup>55</sup>

A number of scholars scattered over different parts of the city and their ultimate goal was to engage themselves to study the sacred books of Hindus and make trained to their students. The number of students differ from scholar to scholar, some of them had four students, six, eight, while some eminent scholars maximum twelve or fifteen.<sup>56</sup>

The profession of teaching was very respectable in society. Through the *Bhakti* literature we get the information about the respect of teacher (Guru) before the pupils (*Chela*) and contemporary mindset of the people.

“गुरु सेवा से भक्ति कमाई। तब ईमानस ने ही पाई।”<sup>57</sup>

पंचतत्व की करि भिरगाजी गुरु मै मारग चलै।<sup>58</sup>

गुरु के चरन झरू सील, और सब त्यागो हो।<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> F. Bernier, *op.cit.*, pp.334-335,

\* Kichari: A Mingal food of Vegetables, puls & rice supplied to them by the care of rich merchant of the place.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.234-235.

<sup>57</sup> Shyam Sunder Das, *op.cit.*, p.283. pada-1.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p.308, pada-146.

The relationship between teachers and taught was very affectionate like father and son. The fees was generally charged as in kind; eatable things, personal service (house hold duties) or some times in monetary.<sup>60</sup>

There were a number of families a individual scholars residing in the suba particularly in Benaras and Prayag. Some of them are as follows; the Shesha, whose family members are scholars for six or seven generations. The *Seshas* were *Dakshinayata Brahmans* and belong to the *Advaita* sect. They formed a very respectable family and were called 'Bhatta-Bhattarakas' The sesha residence at Benaras, arose a school of Sanskrit grammar. Krishna was the greatest scholar of the family. He composed a large number of works, some of them as; *Kanswadham*, *Prakritchhanrika*, *Prakriy Prakash*. Cintamani was poetic genius and originator of a new live in the art of poetry. He was by common consent the greatest poet of his time and patronized by Shahjahan. He wrote *Chhand Vichar Kavya Vivek*, *Kavi kul Kalpatru* and *Kavya Prakash*, he was essentially a poet of the *Brajbhasha* dialect and his style is elegant and superb. His *Ramayna* is essentially noted for its exquisite '*Kavita*

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<sup>59</sup> Dharam Das, *Dhani Dharm Das Ji Ki Shabdavli*, pub. Velevedier Printing Works, Allahabad-1960. pada-5, p.9.

<sup>60</sup> Sant Kabir, *op.cit.*, p.183. माइया कारन बिदिआ बचेहु अबिरथ जाई। पदा-3

and *Chhandas* His brother Krishna wrote *Rasmanjari Parimala* and Narayana a commentary on *Mahabhashya* called *Ratakra*.<sup>61</sup>

Among the Bhatta families there were Narayana, Krishna, Trimulla Bhatta, Dinkara, Kamalakara and lakshmana, Govinda. These were the scholar of high repute in the suba.<sup>62</sup>

The other greatest personality was Vidyanidhi Kavindra Achary. He was a Sanyasi scholar but a very rich man. He is said that had highest influence among Bhatta, Narayana, and sankara Brahmans (*Pundit*) and general masses of Hindus. Shahjahan gave him the title of *Sarvavidyanidhanam*. He wrote a very interesting panegyric in mixed *Awadhi* and *Brajbhasha* entitled *Kavindra-Kalpatru*, in which he praise the Emperor and his sons. He also wrote commentary on the philosophical work entitled *Yoga Vashist*. Another reputed family of Benaras was *dharmadhikari*, Ganesha was from this family.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Ain-II, pp.158-159. B.P. Saksena , History of Shahjahan of Delhi, pub. India Press, Allahabad, 1932, p.260.; S.P.V., Rangaswamy, "Shesha Family of Benaras" Indian Antiquary: A journal of Oriental Research vol.-XLI, 1912. (1872-1933). Swati Publications, Delhi 1985. p.245.

<sup>62</sup> S.P.V. Ranga Swamy, *op.cit.*, p.247.

<sup>63</sup> B.P.Saksena, *op.cit.*, p.260.; Mahamahopadhyaya H., Shastri, 'Dakshini Pundit at Banaras' Indian Antiquary vol.-XLI, 1912, pp.11-12.

\* A list of collection of his work has been published Baroda Oriental Series.

It is important to note that rulers as well as regional feudatories extended their patronage to some of the famous scholars of the Suba. Kavi Hari Ram, Pancraj of Benaras were associated with Dara Shikoh.<sup>64</sup>

A great poet teacher of this region was Gang was resident of Etawah Distt. He was a scholar of his time, wrote in *Brajbhasha*. His important work is *Gangawli*.<sup>65</sup> Lal Das belonged to Rae Bareilly district wrote *Bhagwat Dasham Skandh* and *Madhav Vilas* in *Awadhi* dialect.<sup>66</sup>

Narhari belonged to Fathaphur district, a prominent scholar poet of Akbar's time. His descendents survived at Benaras and Rai Bareilly region. Har Nath also belonged same place, was a famous poet. His son Nar Hari was in the court of Akbar, also an accomplished poet of his time.<sup>67</sup>

### **Muslim Education:**

As far as Muslim educations concerned in the suba period under review. Muslim educational system was based on the four places. These are Maktab, Masques, *Khanqahs*,<sup>68</sup> and Madarsa. The *Maktabs* in which

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<sup>64</sup> Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in Indian environment Oxford*, 1964, p.222.

<sup>65</sup> D.N. Marshal, *Mughal in India: A biographical survey*, vol.-I, pub. Asia publishing House, New York 1967., p.148.

<sup>66</sup> Ram Kumar Verma, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Alochnatnak Itihas.*, Allahabad-1954, p.475.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> K.A.Nizami, "Some aspects of *Khanqah* life in medieval India". *Studies Islamica*-vol No.8, pp.51-69, Paris, 1957. Evan Donzel & B. Lewis et al. *Encyclopedia of Islam* vol.-IV, LEIDEN EJ. BRILL, 1978, p.1026.



primary or elementary education is start to the boys and girls of the Muslim families. The *maktabs* were generally attached with mosques or any rich men house of the area. And very much similar to the present day elementary school. These *maktabs* were generally run by local people and were built by the help of local people of well to do class or families of the community or sometimes with the help of *madad-i-Maash* grant by the Emperor or nobles.

The beginners attend and received his first lesson of the alphabet from a Maulvi. Maktabs were common sight during the Mughal period. Della Valle probably refers to them, he writes that in time there were private schools in every town and village.<sup>69</sup>

The Khanqahs were also centers of learning. The sufis and their followers with the object of propagating the ideologies of a particular order and to spread knowledge to enhance the spirituality, established *Khanqahs* in different places of the region.<sup>70</sup> The students, who had crossed the age of adolescence were admitted and given education in all different branches of learning included: religion and theology.<sup>71</sup> A number of *Khanqahs* were spread in the region such as *Daera-sha-*

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<sup>69</sup> Della Valle, *op.cit.*, pp.227-228.

<sup>70</sup> J.N.Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, Calcutta-1911.; <http://search.Eb.com/eb/article/9082205>.

<sup>71</sup> B.K. Sahay, *op.cit.*, p.6.

*Ajmal*<sup>72</sup> *Daera Shah Afzal*<sup>73</sup> *Khanqah* of Shaikh Aftab-e-Hind, *Khanqah* of Shaikh Yaqub, Rauza of Faqir Hashim, *Khanqah* of Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi,<sup>74</sup> and *Khanqah* of Syed Ziauddin Suhrawardy.<sup>75</sup> In which some are still serving to the society of the region. The place of higher learning of the Muslims was Jaunpur. A number of big *madarsa* or seminaries were scattered in this city. Even Sher Shah had also received his education in this city.<sup>76</sup>

A Muslim child education begins at the age of four years four month and four days, taken to nearest *Maktab*, placed under a *Maulvi*<sup>77</sup> and '*Bismilliah Khwani*' was performed.<sup>78</sup> Sometimes, other well to do families placed their child under a private tutelage or '*Ustads*' for imparting elementary education to them. If the family, was interested in higher studies, pupil sent to either in a *Madarsa* or *Khanqah*.<sup>79</sup> The method of teaching in *Maktab*s were simple. In *Maktab*, *Maulvi* instructed the knowledge of Arabic alphabet in starting, then led to joint

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<sup>72</sup> A Fuhrer, *op.cit.*, p.139.

<sup>73</sup> Maulvi Rahman Ali , *Tazkirah Uluma-e-Hindi* , pub. Pakistan Historical Society Karachi, 1961, p.183

<sup>74</sup> *Nuzhat-ul-Kuwatir*, vol. V, pp.322-325. A Fuhrer *op.cit.*, p.139.

<sup>75</sup> M.M.Saeed, *op.cit.*, pp.239-241.

<sup>76</sup> .G.M.D. Sufi, *Al-Minhaj: Being the evolution of curriculum in the Muslim Education at institutions of India*, pub. Idarah Adbiyat-e-Delhi Delhi 1941, p.51.

<sup>77</sup> See Plates, 18-19.

<sup>78</sup> K.M.Ashraf, *Life and Condition of people of Hindustan*, pub. Munshi Ram & Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1970, p.178.

<sup>79</sup> Encyclopedia of Islam, *op.cit.*, p.1026.

alphabet (words), then after child learnt some verses from the holy Quran by rote. With basic knowledge of Persian. After here, those who interested in higher studies go to *Madarsa* or *khanqah* where the curriculum was followed as; Grammar, rhetoric, logic, and philosophy scholasticism, Islamic law, a Jurisprudence, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, Quranic exegeses (*Tafseer*), tradition (*Hadith*), mysticism (*Tasawwuf*).

**Grammer** : *Mizan, Munshaib, Sarjmir, Panjganj, Zubdah, Fusul-i-Akbari Shafiya.*

**Syntax** : *Nahwmir, Sharah-i-Miat Amil, Hidayatun-Nahw, Kajiyah, Sharah Jami.*

**Rhetoric** : *Mukhtasarul Maani, Mutawwul (upto Mannaqutta)*

**Philosophy** : *Sharah Hidayat-ul-Hikam of Maibudhi, Ashshams-ul-Bazigha Sadra.*

**Logic** : *Sharah-ash-Shamisiyah, Sullam-ul-ulum, Risala-i-Mir-i-Zahid, Mullah*

*Jalal, Sughra, Kubra, Isagheji, Tahdhib, Sharah Tandhib, Qutbi Mir Qutbi,*

**Tafsir (commentary):** *Jalulain of Jalaluddin Mahali and Jalaluddin Suyuti, Baizavi.*

**Fiqh (Islamic Law):** *Sharah-i-Wiqaya (first two books) tudayah (last two books)*

**Usul-i-Fiqh: (Principles of Law):** *Nurul Anwar, Taudhih-ut-Talwin, Musallam-uth-thaubat (the portion dealing with Masudi Kalamiya)*

**Hadith:** Mishqat-ul-Masabih

**Course in Persian:**

Baidhul Insha or (Insha-i-Yusufi)

Bahar-i-Sukhan, Yusuf Zulekha, Qiran-us-Sadain, Shirin Khusro, Laila

Majno by Nizami, Mat-la-ul-Anwar, Urfi, Faizi, Sadi

Tutinama, of Naqshabi, Bahar-i-Danish, by Shaikh Inaytullah.

Zafarnama of Sharfuddin Ali Yazdi Akhlaq-i-Jalili works of Shaikh

Sharfuddin Yahya Muneri, Mathnavi Maulana Rum.<sup>80</sup>

Any student found guilty of a breach were publicly canned.<sup>81</sup> Whipped or beaten with fists. A peculiar mode of punishment i.e. causing the guilty child to stoop in a grotesque posture, like a cock had been invention of this period. According to this, "Student hold their ears by taking their hands from under their thighs while sitting on the tiptoe."<sup>82</sup>

Besides the punishments, rewards were also given to able and intelligent pupils and were encouraged. *Sanads* or certificate and *Tamgha* medals were also awarded on the convention day, at their specific academics (*turban*) round his head.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> N.N. Law *op.cit.*, pp.37-38, *Al Minhaj*, pp.53,73,74,75,76,77,78.

<sup>81</sup> Shyam Sunder Das, *op.cit.*, p.30. कर्मी सति गुरु पाईया जिन हो किया छडाई। पद-30.

<sup>82</sup> S.M.Jaffar, *Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim rule in India*, Peshwar – 1950, p.151. (See Plate-20).

<sup>83</sup> M. Elphinston, *History of Indian (the Hindu and Mohamman period)*, pub., Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, 1966, p.421; S.M. Jaffar, *op.cit.*, p.4.

The relationship between teachers and pupils were affectionate. Intelligent and advanced students were associated with their teachers in work of teaching or as monitor.<sup>84</sup> Pupils were humble and obedient owing to the high honor and presenting of the teachers (*Maulvis*) in society. It was a common belief at that time that through the blessing of preceptor knowledge could be attained. The scholars and teachers were granted *Altamgha* of Jagirs in order to devote themselves to learning in complete freedom.<sup>85</sup> It was the duty of teachers to equip their pupils to moral and material improvement. If a teacher died without any heir, his property would be attached with crown and be utilized for building and repairing madarsa, mosques, monasteries and well-fare of public works etc.<sup>86</sup> We get the information from the contemporary sources as well as accounts of the foreign travelers and modern works that his successor Shahjahan and Aurangzeb were to great patrons of scholars and learned. They also constructed Mosques, Madarsa which also served the purpose of religious rituals and imparting education of learning in this region under review.<sup>87</sup>

Shaikh Zainuddin Khafi; poetic name Wafai, was a *Sadr-i-mustaqill* (Judge-plenipotentiary) during the reign of Babar established a

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<sup>84</sup> S.M. Jaffar, p.5.

<sup>85</sup> N.N.Law, *op.cit.*, p.102.

<sup>86</sup> *Tuzuk-i-*, p.7-8.

<sup>87</sup> N.N.Law *op.cit.*, pp.187-188.

madarsa near Chunar. He died in 940 AH/ and was buried within the premises of the college which he himself founded.<sup>88</sup> Bayazit Bayat, the author of *Tazkirah Humayon wa Akbar* had established a *Madarsa at Banaras*.<sup>89</sup> A notable figure of Akbar's court, Munim Khan, allocated some apartments near the Jaunpur bridge to a Shaikh and learned man so that they could impart education to the children of the area. The inner apartment were let out and the rent received from them defrayed the expenses of the teachers and the taught.<sup>90</sup>

Above these, a number of reputed scholars were residing in the region under review in which some are as follows sarkar viz survey. The sarkar Jaunpur had a number of *Madrassa, Khanqas* and Scholars. It was a centre of higher Muslim learning. Here theology, *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *Hadith* and *Quranic studies* were in vogue. People of the other region or Suba, like Awadh, Ajmer, Gujarat etc. as well as outside country came here have and got their thirst of knowledge fulfilled by the scholars. Some of them are as; Maulana Qasim Jaunpuri, was a men of letters, wrote treatise on the rules of reciting Quran called *Khulasatul Qirat*, for the compilation of this work got assistance from Qari Nasiruddin Muhammad.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Badauni, J., p.610-611.

<sup>89</sup> Bayazid Bayat, *Tazkirah Humayon wa Akbar.*, (ed. M. Hidatullah), Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1941, p.310-12.

<sup>90</sup> A Fuhrer, *op.cit.*, p.84.

<sup>91</sup> D.N.Marshal, *op.cit.*, p.323.

Maulana Abdur Rashid Jaunpuri commonly known as Shamsul Haq, was also a famous poet, wrote *Diwan-i-Shamshi*. He was son of Shaikh Mustafa. Both were eminent scholar of their time Maulana Abdur Rashid lived whole life in Jaunpur. He had a number of work in his favour. Such as: *Rashidiya Zad-us-Salikeen*, *Sharah Isra-ul-Khalwat*, *Risala Mahkoom-o-Marboot*, *Maqsood-al-Talibeen* etc. died in 1083AH/1672-73 AD.,<sup>92</sup> Another Scholar Maulana Shaikh Afzal Jaunpuri, a profound literary figure of Jaunpur (d. 1062 AD/1651-52.AD)<sup>93</sup>

Shaikh Mahmood son of Shaikh Muhammad, a great theologian and spiritual preceptor of his time, born in 993 AH/1585 AD. in Jaunpur. He had completed education under the famous scholar of his time Shaikh Mohd. Afzal bin Usmani Jaunpuri. He was well versed in Islamic philosophy, rhetoric, eloquence etc., wrote a number of works as, *Ash-Shams-ul-Bazigha fil Hikma*, *Al-Faraidu Sharah-ful Fawaid* of Qazi Izzuddin Al Aichi, *Fil Maani wal Bayan* and commentary on *Marzul Iman Firraddi* etc. He written a monthly magazine named *Iqdam-al-Nisa*, died in 1062 AH/1652 AD in Jaunpur.<sup>94</sup> He runs a big seminary in the town.

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<sup>92</sup> Maasir-ul-Karam, vol.I, p.203-204, D.N.Marshal, op.cit, p.440.

<sup>93</sup> Maasir-ul-Karam, vol. I, p.203, B.K. Sahay, op.cit., p.36.

<sup>94</sup> Maasir-ul-Karam-I, p.202-203; S.M.Ikram, Rud-e-Kausar, p.336.; Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir vol-V, p.409; *Tazkirah-uluma-i-Hind*, op.cit., p.486-487.

In Sarkar Allahabad; Shaikh Muhibullah Allahabadi, Shaikh Mohammad Afzal, Shaikh Khoobullah<sup>95</sup> as discussed earlier in chapter Sufi movement, were also carrying the task of learning and education with the spiritual enhancement of the pupil. Another prominent figure of this sarkar was Shah Mohammad Nasir son of Shah *Khoobullah*, received education from his maternal uncle and chosen the teaching profession. Later on became an eminent scholar of his time. He wrote *Muntakhab-ul-Amal*, *Jawahar-i-Nafisa* and *Azkar-e-Ashra*, died in 1163AH/1750 AD in Allahabad.<sup>96</sup> Qazi Mohd. Asif, Maulvi Barkatullah and Shah Afzal had also worked in the field of education in this Sarkar.<sup>97</sup> Ali Akbar Allahabadi also a great theologian, wrote *Fusul-i-Akbari*; a treatise on Arabic grammar the author died in 1680 AD.<sup>98</sup>

In Banaras Sarkar, Shaikh Mubarak son of Shaikh Umri Banarsi was a great theologian. He wrote a book on *Hadith* as *Madarij-ul-Akhbar*. He spent his whole life in Banaras in the field of learning of education, died in 980 AH/1573 AD. in Banaras.<sup>99</sup> Maulana Mohd. Waris Banarsi born in 1087 AH /1676 AD His ancestral land was Ghazipur, father was Qazi of Banaras during the reign of Aurangzeb. He

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<sup>95</sup> Maasir-ul-Karam-I, p.212.

<sup>96</sup> Tazkirah-uluma-i-Hind, p.479.

<sup>97</sup> Abdul Hasnat Nadvi, Hindestan ki Qadim Islami Darshahen, Amritsar-1924, p.43.

<sup>98</sup> D.N.Marshall, *op.cit.*, p.56.

<sup>99</sup> Nuzhat ul Khwatir vol.-IV, p.227.



was well versed in Quran, *Hadith* and *Fiqh*, spent his full life in teaching ran a Madarsa in Banaras, died in 1166 AH/1753 AD of buried in Mohalla *Jiliana*.<sup>100</sup> Next theologian who runs a big madarsa in Banaras was Hafiz Amanullah Banarsi, wrote a number of books as *Mufasssir*, *Muhakkim-ul-Usool*, *Tafseer-e-Bezavi*, *Hashiya Qadima*, *Rashidiya*, *Sharah Aqaed*. He died in 1133 AH/1720-21 AD.<sup>101</sup>

The Sarkar of Ghazipur and Azamgarh also produced a number of scholars as Maulana Fasihi, Maulana Abdullah Ghazi, Maulana Inayatullah Rasoal, Maulana Farooq, Mufti Maulana Hasan Ali were prominent figure of the sarkar.<sup>102</sup>

Another prominent figures are Qazi Mubarak Gopamavi was disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Amethvi<sup>103</sup> Mohammad Husain Jaunpuri; the Qazi of Jaunpur who compiled *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*, had a great regard in the court of Aurangzeb.<sup>104</sup> Shaikh Kabir an eminent theologian and teacher (*Maulana*) of *Mohammadabad Gohna*, In Sarkar Jaunpur land were granted for his daily expenses towards his students by the emperors time to time.<sup>105</sup> Shaikh Ghulam Naqshband hailed from town of Ghosi is

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<sup>100</sup> Maulana Abul Asr Abdus Salam, *Tazkirah Mashaikh i-Banaras*, pub. Nadwat-ul-Maarif, Banaras-1371 A.H., p.32-39.

<sup>101</sup> *Maasir-ul-Karam-I*, p.212-213., *Tazkirah Mashaikh-i-Banaras*, pp.29-42.

<sup>102</sup> Hindustan Ki Qadim Islami Darshgahen, pp.47-48.

<sup>103</sup> Badauni-III, pp.188-189.; *Nuzhat-ul-Khwatir*, vol.-IV, p.278; *Tazkirah Uluma-i-Hind*, p.402.

<sup>104</sup> D.N. Marshal p.323.

<sup>105</sup> M.A.Ansari, p.4, (See Plates- 13,14 and 15).

Sarkar Jaunpur. A great scholar and mystic of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah's reign. He composed a number of works on Tafseer of various Surah of the holy Quran.<sup>106</sup>

Maulana Shams Noor, an eminent scholar of Shahjahans reign, received education under the tuteligship of *Maulana Mahmood*. He established *Khanqah cum Madarsa* in Jaunpur and was also *Qazi* of the city died in 1047 A.H /1667 AD in the Jaunpur.<sup>107</sup>

Maulana Mohammad Jamil was son of Shaikh Abdul Jalil born in 1055 A.H / 1645 AD, received education from Diwan Mohammad Rashid and Maulana Nooruddin Madari. He was very sharp mind from his childhood. Wrote *Hashiya matool, Sharah Jami* (Fiqh) in *Tassawufi, Tambihat-i-Jamili*. He has also given suggestion to Aurangzeb in compilation of *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, died in 1123 AH/1711 AD of was buried in his Madarsa in Jaunpur.<sup>108</sup> Mohammad Husain Jaunpuri during the reign of Shahjahan held the post of *Qazi* of Jaunpur. He compiled *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* under the direction of Aurangzeb and was promoted to the post of censor of novels at the imperial court. He died in 1671 and was buried in Delhi.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Maasir-ul-Karam-I, p.213.

<sup>107</sup> Tajalli-e-Noor-II, p.84-85.

<sup>108</sup> Tarikh-e-Mashaikh-i-Jaunpur.; S. Iqbal Ahmad , pub., Shiraz Publications House , Jaunpur. P.1693

<sup>109</sup> D.N. Marshal, *op.cit.*p.323.

Maulana Mohammad Hafeez Jaunpuri an eminent scholar of Aurangzeb's time. He had abstained himself from all worldly affairs except teaching to pupils. Although due to his learned ability. Alamgir (Aurangzeb) invited him to his court but he never visited. Died in 1128 AH/1715 AD in Jaunpur.<sup>110</sup>

### **Female Education:**

There were no particular *Maktab* or *Madars* existed for girls, usually they received their education up to the primary standard in the same Maktab where the boys. The daughter of the rich men were given higher education in their own houses by learned ladies or old man. After the primary land, they were put under the old ladies for the instruction of domestic sciences; i.e. cooking spinning, sewing and look after the house hold duties.<sup>111</sup>

The abundance of manuscript proves indirectly that paper was easily available there were two manufacturing centers in suba and its adjoining Shahzadpur and Kalpi. But the quality of paper of Kalpi was not fine and durable. Ink and pen were prepared themselves by scholars and distributed among students<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> *Tajalli-i-Noor*, II, pp.45-66.

<sup>111</sup> S.M.Jaffar, *Some cultural aspects of Muslim Rule in India*, pub., Idarah Adbiyat-i-Delhi, Delhi, 1979.p. 85.

<sup>112</sup> *Masir-ul-Karam-i*, pp-85,194,95; Kabir Granthavli, op.cit, Pada-137, p.268.

## CHAPTER – VII

### MONUMENTAL REMAINS OF THE SUBAH

The characteristic feature of defence for the cities was fortification from earliest times in India. To save from the invaders or local political disturbances. The fortress played a dominant role in shaping the destiny of region. These fortress have significant importance due to the wealth or revenue stored in them and to run the administrative machinery. The notable cities of the region under review had some old forts for protection and able persons were appointed as superintendent of the forts. From here, enemies movement can be watched and give any assault out side. Having this point of view for defence, Mughal also constructed forts here.

The region under review has a great strategically important from ancient times to the Mughals. Although it never enjoyed the privilege of being the capital of Mughal Empire. A number of *Garhi* and forts were existed before stepping down of the Mughals in this region. Those were time to time in the possession of regional powerful heads. Some old forts were very strong and every ruler want to that in this hands.

#### **1. Chunar Fort:**

It is twenty miles east of Mirzapur has a strong hill fort built on a high detached sandstone hillock. The rocky eminence on which the fort stands rises abruptly from the edge of the river to a height of 104 (one

hundred four feet, and attains its greatest elevation about two hundred yards further south-east. The circuit measured round the rampart is One Thousand Eight Hundred Fifty (1,850 ) yards, and there are towards at intervals round it. The buildings inside are comparatively modern with the exception of the Shrine of Bhartrinath a massy vaulted edifice, in the walls of which are many old carved stones. In a small square court there is a large slab of black marble said to be that at which Bhartrinatha performed his devotions,

The ancient history of the fort is obscure. That Bhartrinath, the younger brother of the famous king Vikramaditya of Ujjain, having embraced the life and profession of a yogi, selected this place for retirement. Vikramaditya is said to have discovered the hiding place of his brother and to have visited *Chunar* and built for his brother residence and the present temple of Bhartriuatha. Another legend is that of Prithiviraja, who is reported to have affected a settlement in this part of the country.<sup>1</sup>

Sher Khan Suri (Sher Shah Suri) the greatest cponent of Humayon obtained possession of *Chunar* by marriage with the daughter of a local chieftain, into whose power it had fallen during the disorders antecedent to the consolidation of the empire of the house of Taimur.

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<sup>1</sup> A. Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, (ASI), Allahabad-1891, p.258.

In 1536 Humayon besieged the fort and took it after a siege of six months conducted under the direction of this General Rumie Khan but Sher Khan retook shortly afterwards.

In 1575 A.D. Akbar recovered it in advancing to conquest of Bengal & Bihar and eliminating the successors of Sher Khan.<sup>2</sup>

## **2. Kalinjar Fort:**

This fort is one of the most famous hill-fort. It stands on an isolated flate-topped hill of the *Vindhya* range. Which here rises to a height of eight hundred feet above the plane. The lower part of the ascent is tolerably easy, but the middle portion is very steep. While the upper part is nearly perpendicular and quite inaccessible. The main body of the fort lies from east to west, is oblong in form, being nearly a mile in length by half a mile in breadth. At the north angle there is a large projecting spur nearly a quarter of a mile square which overhangs the town; and on the middle of the southern face there is another projection of about the same size but triangular in shape. The distance between the entrance points of these two projections is nearly one mile. The whole are is therefore considerably less than a square mile, while the per pet walls are nearly four miles in length. Constructed of large blocks of stone laid generally without cement and about 25 feet thick.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.259.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.149.

There are two entrances to the fort which the principle is on the north side towards the town, and the other at the south-east angle leading towards Panna; this later called Panna gate is now closed. The other entrance is guarded by seven different gates which beginning from below are named as follows:

1. Alamgiri Darwaza
2. Ganesh Darwaza
3. Chandi Chauburji Darwaza
4. Budhebhadra Darwaza
5. Hanuman Darwaza
6. Lal Darwaza
7. Dara Darwaza

There is an ascent of about 200 hundred feet up to the lowest gate, called *Alamgiri Darwaza*. It is Square and plain in construction defended by a loop-holed bastion on each side. Which is battlemented building in modern Musalman style constructed during Aurangzeb's reign. Bearing Persian inscription fixed the date 1084 AH/1673 AD.

Above this, there is a steep flight of steps leads to the second gateway called *Ganesh Darwaza* with a small coarse figure of *Ganesh* about eighteen inches high. At a shorter distance higher up in the bend of the road stands the third gate named the *Chandi Darwaza*. The gate is defended by a loop-holed wall and bastion and bears sockets for the hinges and cross-bars of doors.

The fourth gate named *Budhbadr* is the gate of the auspicious planet Mars (*Budha*) owing to the stiff climb required to reach it.

The fifth gateway is called *Hanuman Darwaza* is named after a figure of the monkey-God, carved on a slab resting against the rock. There is also a reservoir called '*Hanuman Kund*' a small pool of water enclosed by four walls and reached by steps on one side. (See Plate-21)

The sixth gate known as *Lal Darwaza* is lined with sculpture, much obliterated representing "*Kali*" *Chandika*. The *Lal Darwaza* itself is in good preservation and has its wooden door standing a short ascent leads to the seventh uppermost main gate called *Bara Darwaza*. Inside the fort there is reservoir (*Kunds*) with steps all round. <sup>4</sup>

### 3. Allahabad Fort:

Allahabad, earlier known as Prayag had reputation of a holy place to which masses from all over the country flock here to pay homage to their deities and to derive solace from their miseries or sorrows. During his visit to this region in curbing the political disturbance, Akbar constructed a fort, on the confluence of Ganga and Jamuna, due to its strategic importance. An easy en route to Bengal and independent kingdom of Daccan.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.150; D.L. Drake-Brockman, Banda, Gazetteers vol.-XXI, Allahabad-1929, pp. 241-245.



It was one of the strongest fort constructed by the Mughals planned with royal residences. This was on the eastern side of the city made of completely red-stone. On the right hand of the fort, there is the confluence of the two great rives just beneath the fort wall.<sup>5</sup>

On account of its positioning the angle, produced by the confluence of these two waterways, its plane takes the form of a wedge or irregular segment of circle with a very wide dimension nearly 3000 thousand feet acres. It is 37 *Jareeb* in length and 26 *Jareeb* in breadth. Its area is 983 *Bighas* constructed at an enormous cost.<sup>6</sup>

The magnificent fort originally lamed as an irregular triangle was surrounded by a high embattled wall of red stone with three gate-ways, high flanking towers facing the two rivers, a deep moat protecting the main gate.

The fort planned out into four portion. At first, Akbar constructed twelve buildings, which contained delightful apartments with garden. It was special private chamber of Emperor. The second portion have a five *Baradari*, or pavilion, known as *Zanana* palace. Modeled on the pattern of the Ajmer fort. Its central pavilion, the splendid "*Rani ki Mahal*" (palace of the Queen) was *Khwabgah-i-Khas* or private retiring room of

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<sup>5</sup> Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Allahabad, pp.229-230.

<sup>6</sup> Niccol Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogal India (1653-1708)*, vol. II ed. W.-Irvin London 1907, p.82.; Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Vol-III, ed. H. Beveridge, Calcutta 1939, p.616; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, pub. D.B. Taraporevala & Sons, Mumbai 1956, pp.100-101.

Akbar. The *Rani ki mahal* enriches the imperial pavilion type of Fatehpur Sikri by the superb pillaring of the surrounding *Varandah* and by the replacement of the inner rectangular hall by a block on a nine fold plane. The two main pavilion types of the period are thus fused into a convincing whole. The third was for the use of distant relatives of the royal family and for their personal attendants. The fourth was meant for the soldiers and subjects.<sup>7</sup>

The most beautiful thing was pavilion of the *Challis Sutun* or forty pillars. So called from its having, disposed in two concentric octagonal ranges, one internal of sixteen pillars, the other out side of twenty-four. Above this, supported by the inner colonnade, was an upper hang of the same number of pillars crowned by a dome. This building has entirely disappeared. Its material being wanted to repair the fortification. The great hall, however still remain. Mundy also says that in the fort there is a an excellent palace made of red sand stone, very curious and attractive. When one entered the main gate there was a big semi circle in which there were five other gates.<sup>8</sup> (See Plate-23).

#### 4. Jaunpur Bridge:

The stone bridge over the Gomti is the only remaining building of any consequence of Jaunpur. It was commenced in 972 AH/1564-65 AD

<sup>7</sup> Akbarnama, III, *op.cit.*, pp.617-618. (See Plate No.22 and 22.1).

<sup>8</sup> Peter Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy in India, Europ Asia*, (1608-1667) vol.-II ed., R.C.Temple, pub. Hae. Soc, 1914,pp.107-108.

by Khan Khanah Munim Khan and completed in 975 AH/1567-68 AD. The bridge consists of two distinct portions separated by an island, and is certainly one of the most picturesque structures in India. Its long live of arches and piers, all of the same size, is relieved by the light pillared rooms which the ends of the piers on both sides.

The roadway is 26 feet in dear width with a solid stone parapet of two feet three inches on each side. The whole length of bridge is 654 feet three inches. The main bridge to the north consists of 10 pointed arches of 18 feet three inches.

Spain, resting on piers of 17 feet with abutments of half the thickness'. The smaller bridge to the south has only five arches of the same span as the others and with similar piers and abutments. The island between the two is 125 feet six inches. On the side of the roadway crossing the island, there is a large stone figure of a gigantic lion, standing over a small elephant.<sup>9</sup>

##### **5. Mausoleum of Khusro Bagh:**

Khusrow Bagh was founded by Akbar as a pleasure garden in the quarter known as Khuldabad. It is enclosed by a high walls and has a magnificent gateway. It was not laid out on the conventional Mughal *Charbagh* plan but a great orchard-type garden.

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<sup>9</sup> A Fuhrer, *op.cit.*, p.184. (See Plate No.24).

### i) The Tomb of Shah Begum:

The mausoleum of Shah Begum situated in this *Bagh* she was the daughter of Raja Bagwandas Kachhwaha and was married to prince Salim. He gave birth to Sultan-un-Nisa Begum (26 April 1586), a daughter and Khusro (on 6<sup>th</sup> August 1587) and was given high sounding title; Shah Begum (Royal Queen) which denotes her premier position in *Harem*. He committed suicide on 26<sup>th</sup> May 1605 due to her frustration by Khusro's defiant attitude towards his father.<sup>10</sup>

Shah Begum's tomb is a square building of three uniformly receding. The lowest is just a platform or *Chowki* to support the main building and also give it a respectable elevation. The double series of steps leads to the first terrace. Its interior is composed of a mortuary hall with vaulted roof, containing the tomb stone of Shah Begum, double corridor around it. It is all plain stone-work exteriorly. The interior has been entirely plastered over and probably originally painted.<sup>11</sup>

The lower story being only a *Chowki*, is the tomb proper. Its interior is composed of a square hall which opens into a corridor on all sides. It has a flat roof except for the two arches which support the central ceiling and grave is made into the earth ritualistically. The uppermost terrace is a *Baradari* having four pillars, making up three openings door,

<sup>10</sup> R. Nath, *History of Mughal Architecture*, vol.-III, pub. Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, p.353.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p.355.

on each side (=12 openings in all, literally unsatisfying the nomenclature *Barahdari*). The wide slanting *Chhajja* which rotates on all sides is also supported on brackets.

Inside the *Barahdari* in the middle is set a square pavilion on a pedestal with the help of four pillars and up right slabs of stone. Four sided pyramidal roof. This roof resembles the roof of a typical *Chaukhandi*. It is the most important characteristic of its architecture. There is an inscription on its Cenotaph. It is noteworthy that this is the first tomb of a Hindu queen of the great Mughals (as it is also the first tomb of the reign of Jahangir).<sup>12</sup>

The other three tombs are of the *Gumbad* type i.e. tomb of Khusro, tomb of Sultan-un-Nisa Begum and tomb of Tambolin Bi. The Khusro's tomb is earliest of those three.

## ii) The Tomb of Khusro:

Khusro's tomb is situated on the eastern end of the main plinth. It is square in plane and stands on a low platform. Its facades do not follow the '*Iwan*' design of the conventional *Sultanat* tombs; instead each side has been generously planned. It is divided into two horizontal zones by a plane cornice to give it the impression of a double storied building. The ground floor has a series of five arches of equal size on each side, each

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.356. (See Plate No.25).

arch made up of two slanting slabs of stone. It is an ornamental arch. Each one is sunk into a beautiful frame composed of attached pilasters, brackets and a linter. This is a unique composition which has not been used to solve any structural problem but entirely for an aesthetic effect. The central arch has doorway, giving entrance into the mortuary hall. The ground floor is not protected by a *Chhajja* around it. The super structure is composed of a single dome in the middle of the terrace resting on a high octagonal drum. The dome is extremely wide. Though exteriorly it appears to be a double-storied building. It has a single square hall in the interior which is roofed by the dome exactly like the *Gumbad* tombs of the *Delhi Sultanate* period.<sup>13</sup>

### **iii) The Tomb of Sultan-Un-Nisa Begum:**

She was elder sister of Khusro. Her tombs is situated in between the tombs of Shah Begum and Khusro on the main plinth. It is a square building like the tomb of Shah Begum. It also stands on high plate form (*Kursi*) which is composed into a compact ground story. An arched portal with stairs on its either side leading to the main terrace.

There is a pedestal (raised platform) in the middle of the hall but there is no tomb stone on it which shows no mortal remains were buried here. The interior, central hall and corridor was profusely painted from the dados to the sajjits of the arches and voults in stylized floral designs.

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<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, p.432. (See Plate-26).

Every inch of the interior was exquisitely painted in pleasing colour combinations. Persian inscriptions carved in stone were also originally painted in southern portal.<sup>14</sup>

**iv) The Tomb of Tambolin Bi:**

The tomb of Tambolin Bi stands on an octagonal flint of its own to the west of the tomb of Shah Begum on the same axis. It is octagonal in plan main story has a brackets and lintel entrance on each side. The interior is also octagonal wall. This story is protected by a *Chhajja* on all side. In the middle of the terrace is again an octagonal pavilion roofed by a single dome. The whole interior has been thick plastered.<sup>15</sup>

**v) Sarai at Khuldabad:**

Adjoining the Khusro Bagh there was a *Sarai*, which had an open area of 17 *Bighas*. It was surrounded by a wall. On all sides there were small rooms providing accommodation for the passengers. From an inscriptions on the western and southern gate of the *Sarai* it appears that this *Sarai* was constructed by Emperor Jahangir. It is said that during his stay at Allahabad he constructed this *Sarai* with the surplus materials collected from the construction of the fort of Allahabad. Near the garden was the *Baoli* with about 120 steps along with fair galleries.<sup>16</sup> Peter

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p.433. (See Plate No.27).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p.437. (See Plate No.28).

<sup>16</sup> Beni Parsad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, p.290.

Mundy Says “where the water lies, is a fair month of a wall, from whence they draw water with pots, oxen or otherwise”.<sup>17</sup>

**vi) The Tomb of Iftekhar Khan:**

The tomb of Iftekhar Khan (d.1021/1612-13) at *Chunar* represent the massive arcade version of this tomb type. The surrounding gallery of the latter shows unique tunnel-volts of a harsehole-arch profile; since this unusual feature bears a close resemblance to *Chaitya* arches.<sup>18</sup>

**vii) The Tomb of Shah Qasim Sulaimani:**

‘Dargarh of Shah Qasim Sulaimani, a building of considerable architectural pretension, situated in the south west corner of the town of *Chunar*. The building and grave within which they stand are very solemn and striking; the carving of the principle gateway, and of the stone lattice with which the garden is enclosed is mare like embroidery than the mark of the chisel built in 1028 AH/1618 AD’.<sup>19</sup>

The tomb of Mohammad Wasit in the *Dargah* of Shah Qasim Sulaimani, represents a more monumental version of the tomb of the Tambolan Begum with its proportions changed in savour of the super structure and with four ‘*Pishtaqs*’ alternating with four lower blind

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<sup>17</sup> Peter Mundy-II, *op.cit.*, p.101.

<sup>18</sup> Ebba Cauch , *Mughal Architecture An Outline of its History & Development (1526-1858)* Munich-1991, p.74. (See Plate No.29).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.80.



arches; a *Chhajja* emphasizes the changing levels of the facades elements.<sup>20</sup>

## 6. Temples at Banaras:

This Holy city of Hindus known as Kashi in ancient days & was a great centre of Hindu religion and Sanskrit learning. This is also called city of temples some of which are fine specimen of Hindu architecture.<sup>21</sup> The most important of all these temples was the temple of Lord Shiva which was better known as *Vishvanath* temple Tavernier has given a very graphic picture of this temple. He writes the building is in the figure of a cross, like all the other pagodas, having its four arms equal. In the middle a lofty dome rises like a kind of tower with many sides, which terminates in a point and at the end of each arm of the cross another tower rises, which can be ascended from out sides Before reaching the top you meet several balconies and many niches, which project to intercept the fresh air, and all over the tower there are figures in relief of various kinds of animals, which are rudely, executed. Under this great dome, and exactly in the middle of the pagoda, there is an attar like a kind of table of 6 to 7 feet in length, and five to six wide, with two steps in front, which serve as a foots stool, and this footstool is covered by a beautiful tapestry, sometimes of silk and sometimes of gold and silk, according to the

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.; A Fuahrer, op.cit., p.259.

<sup>21</sup> J. Tieffenthaler, *Discription Historical etm Geographical de side*, Berlin-2786-88, iv, p.229.

solemnity of the ceremony which is being celebrated. The altar is covered with gold or silver brocade, or some beautiful painted cloth. From outside the pagoda this altar faces you with the idols which are upon it; far the women and girls must salute it from the outside, as they are not allowed to enter the pagoda. Save only those of a certain tribe. Among the ideals on the great altar there is one standing which is 5 or 6 feet in height; neither the arms, legs, nor trunk are seen, the head of neck only being visible; all the remainder of the body, down to the altar, is covered by a robe which increases in width below. Sometimes on its back there is to be seen a rich chain of gold, rubies, pearls or emeralds. This idol has been made in honour and after the likeness of *Benimadho*, who was formerly a great and holy personage among them, whose name they often have on their lips. On the right side of the altar there is also to be seen the figure of an animal, or rather of a chimera, seeing that it represents in part an elephant, in part a horse, and in part a mule. It is of massive gold, and is called *Garun*, no person being allowed to approach it but the Brahmans. It is said to be the resemblance of the animal which this holy personage rode upon when he was in the world, and that he made long journey on it, going about to see if the people were doing their duty and not injuring any one".<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> J.B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, vol.-II, ed. V. Ball, Pub. Oriental Book Reprint, New Delhi, 1977, pp.231-233.

## CHAPTER – VIII

### PAINTINGS

#### Allahabad Manuscript:

The growth and development of paintings depend on the aesthetic sense of the Emperors. There were a number of painters in court of Akbar and Jahangir. But due to the lack of detailed information it is difficult to say that any of them belonged to the *Subah*. Or any particular centre flourishing in this region.

This is prince Salim who established his studio in Allahabad during the days of his rebellion. Here, he entrenched himself in the strong fortress and styled himself, *Shah* (King). He settled down as a semi-independent ruler for some time except a brief reconciliation in 1603 A.D. As Shah Salim issued *Farmans*, *Jagirs*, appointed governors and living reckless, irresponsible, flamboyant and dissolute life.<sup>1</sup>

For his atelier, recruited more painters, many of them were trained and previously employed in the Akbari atelier as minor artists. The important painters of his studio were; Aqa Riza, an established artist trained in Heart School of Iran. Who entered in Jahangir's employ by at least 997 AH/1588-89 AD, used to style himself *Murid-i-Padshah Salim*. He was also

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<sup>1</sup> Shahnawaz Khan, *Maasir-ul-Umara* vol.-II, ed. Beveridge, Beni Prasad – Calcutta-1952, p.737; Beni Prasad – *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad, 1940, p.44.

appointed by Salim to supervise the Mausoleum of Shah Begum. (Who committed suicide in 1604 A.D, buried in Khusro Bagh, Allahabad).<sup>2</sup> A garden designed by the painter and decorated with calligraphic inscriptions by the noted inscribe Mir Abdullah *Katib*. The name of Aqa Riza is mentioned in the inscription on the main gate.<sup>3</sup> Many reliably signed works by Aqa Riza show him to have been a precise painter making carefully balanced, highly decorative composition. He was the main artist working at Allahabad.<sup>4</sup>

Abul Hasan was son and disciple of Aqa Riza. His figures has a weight and density that coupled with his extraordinary perception of personality traits convinces both its reality and its individuality.<sup>5</sup> Abul Hasan was far innovative painter than his father and his attitude to the human figure provides the best comparison. Therefore, he was more receptive to the new ideas and concerns for naturalistic observation. He was also aware European works by this time. A drawing of the figure of St. Jhon derived from the crucification (fig. 35) of the small engraved passion of Albrecht

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<sup>2</sup> A.K.Das , *Mughal Paintings during Jahangir Times*, The Asiatic Society Calcutta-1970, p.40,41.

<sup>3</sup> IHC, (proceeding), 1930, vol. Allahabad.

<sup>4</sup> M.C. Beach, *The Grand Mughal Imperial Painting in India*, (1600-1660), Massachsette, 1978, p.3. A.K.Das, *op.cit.*, p.40.

<sup>5</sup> M.C. Beach, *op.cit.*, p.3.

Durer, was made in 1600 -1601, when the artist was at twelve. The drawing was probably made Allahabad. Artists primary concern was the use of light and shadow to create physical bulk and a sense of texture.

Another important painter was Mirza Ghulam also a disciple of Aqa Riza, served in his atelier. The work of Mirza Ghulam is strong and idiosyncratic when composed to paintings by other artists. He manipulates landscape into forms that respond to him rather than to nature and presents us with figures that scowl and appear angry as if immersed in a private world. He negates natural space by the use of decorative gold background which he created in *Anwar-i-Suheli*.<sup>6</sup>

The dating of the Ghulam portrait of a courtier to Jahangir's patronage as a prince is strengthened by a glance at the Diwan of Amir Hasan Dihlavi manuscript copied at Allahabad in 1602.<sup>7</sup>

The exact number of Mss. Prepared at Allahabad is not known. The three works, still survive and are in good conditions probably undertaken in Salim studio are; Diwan of Amir Hasan Dihlavi is a full-size volume with fourteen delightful miniatures. None of these miniature is signed by the

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p.117.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

artist.<sup>8</sup> The other Mss. produced in the Salim studio is a sumptuous copy of Raj Kanwar, a prose romance popular all over north India.<sup>9</sup>

The *Anwar-i-Suheli* MS. started in 1604 at Allahabad but the change in political set up the little studio was wounded up and preparation of Ms. suspended for a while. Later on completed in 1610 AD. The miniature of *Anwar-i-Suheli* are of variable qualities. As golden sky, stylized multi coloured piled-up rocks, trees with drive up.<sup>10</sup> Beside these a number of interesting miniatures were painted in his studio. Most of the work produced at Allahabad have small sign as “Shah Salim” on leaf.

Salim’s interest was more in the living world of nature than in speculation of the spirit. He was more interested in the persons moving around him, birds a beast. Female gat a more prominent position in social a cultural life as well as in art. He became actively involved in search for rose a unusual paintings a studio flourished with new trends. Few paintings produced at Allahabad are as follows:

### **1. Prince Salim catching Cheetah at Allahabad: (C.1600) by Aqa Riza:**

The prince kneels on the ground to lift the blindfolded cheetah by the head, two assistants taking it by the feet, so that it can be placed in a

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<sup>8</sup> A.K.Das, *op.cit.*, pp.43,55,

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.49, 60.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 54,55,58; M.C. Beach, *op.cit.*, p.118.

carrying fold prior to being caged; men bring the cage. The town of Allahabad is visible on the horizon. Drawing with gouache and gold: signed: “*Bandah Aqa Riza Shah Salim*” (the slave *Aqa Riza* in the service of Shah Salim). ( See Plate No.30).

Good condition. A narrow strip has been added at the bottom of miniature.

Drawing 31.1X19.4 cm

Page 38.8X27.4 cm

## **2. Prince Salim hunting rhinoceros c. 1600-05 Artist Unknown:**

This painting is by unknown artist in the style of Mansur. A close examination of the painting shows that it is not depicting a single event of rhinoceros hunt. It showed prince Salims outdoor life in general four different events. At the top left hand side the picture shows five dead blackbucks, two more being carried by hunters. Towards the middle upper right-hand side of the painting there are three dead *Cheetah*. The centre portion shows prince salim shooting a female rhinoceros which has attacked the male elephant the bottom left corner shows a *Cheetah* which has run down a black buck and a hunt who approaches it with knife to perform *Halal*. (See Plate No.31).

Drawing 19.8 X 11.9 cm.

Preserved Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

## **3. Prince Salim in the Polo Field at Allahabad on 27 Muharram 1011 A.H.**

= 1602 AD Painter – unknown

Prince Salim engaged in his favorite game of Polo while five other players continue the Game, the prince has stopped to have a cup of wine offered by a retainer. *Chauri* and sword bearers. *Sahnai* and *Naqqara* players, a *Bhishtiwala*, a noble man and two attendant complete the scene.

Drawing 31.9 X 20.3 Walters Art Gallery Baltimore, No. W. 650. (See Plate No.-32).

#### **4. Portrait of a Courtier, Allahabad- C. 1600-05 Artist Mirza Ghulam:**

The composition of the portrait of a courtier is derived from Iranian sources. Artist express his dependence on its patron, Prince Salim by the term uses himself Ghulam. The presence of the name Shah Salim on the surface of the work, just above the tarban.

Drawing 9.8 X 5.4 cm.

The verses above and below, reads: “we have seen a reflection of our beloved’s face in the cup, O [you who are] unaware of the pleasure we have in drinking constantly”. [Translated by w. Thacksoston] (See Plat No.33).

#### **5. Neptune riding on a water-horse”**

Signed; Murid-i-Padshah Salim Date (1602-03) J.P. Goenka Collection

(See Plate-34).

#### **6. St. Jhon by Abul Hasan dated – 1600 – 1601 (Ashmolean Museum)**

Oxford No. 2597.( See Plate No.35).



## CHAPTER – IX

### ***Some Important Sanads, Farmans, and Inscriptions of the Subah***

The Jangama are prominent sect of Hindus; belongs to the Vir Shaivait sect of Shaivas as discussed earlier. With their headquarter in Banaras. Mughal Emperors patronized this Math. The land and buildings were given free from all taxes such as *Nazrana*, presents gifts, Shooting expenses, *Kanungos* dues etc. and it was laid down that there would be no interference from officials. They also protected them from those who tried to usurped its property by harassed the monks. Some of the '*Farmans*' are still preserved in the Math.

There are certain other important *Farmans* of Mughal Emperors, Akbar Jahanger, Shahjahan. Aurangzeb and others one of Akbars *Farman* had been issued in 971 AH/1563 to grant 480 *bighas* of land to Malik Arjun Jangan as maintenance by another *Farman* of Akbar, a garden attached to a temple at Payag (Prayag) and another garden attached to a temple at Arail were granted.

Another document contains an inquiry made by Mughal officials during Akbar's reign. They reported that every document bore name of Malik Arjunmal Jangam. Their head priest or (Purohit) is called Malik Arjunmal Jangam.

One of the rare farman of Sultan Salim (later known as Jahangir). It confirms the previous grants made by Emperor Akbar. This *farman* is rare because it was issued by Sultan Salim during the time when he was in revolt against his father. It was issued in the 45<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Akbar 1600 AD from Allahabad.(See Plate No.16).

Most of these *Farmans* mentions either fresh grant of land given to this math or confirm the grant given by previous emperors. Covering the period 1563 AD to 1691 AD. The collection of this set of document consisting *Farmans*, *hasb-al-Hukms*, *Parwanah* and attested copies of some *Sanads* by *Sadr*.

#### **Balaji's temple at Chitrkoot:**

The famous temple of Balaji had got the revenue of Emperor Aurangzeb who in due recognition of the religions sanctity of the peace, issued *Farman* in 1691 AD, conferring a big grant on its Mahant Balak Das Nirvani.

The grant comprises of eight villages as Maaji and 330 bighas, situated in Sarkar Kalinjar far the purpose of meeting the expenses of 'Puja and Bhog' of the Thakar Balaji. From the income of another *Parganah* a daily allowance of one rupee has also been granted for the above purpose. All the above said grants enjoyed generation offer generation. The present custodians of the temple have preserved this *Farman* the text of one *Farman* runs as follows:

*Allah-u-Akbar*

*(God is Great)*

*(Tughra of Emperors name)*

*Farman (of) Abu-l Zafar*

*Mum-al Din, Muhammad*

*Aurangzeb Bahadur*

*Alamgir Badshah Ghazi”*

*(Square seal of Emperor)*

The exalted *Farman* has graciously been issued at this auspicious moment when eight villages in the *Parganahs* from Sarkar Kalinjar, as detailed below, have been granted as *Maafi Nawkar* in favour of Mahant Balak Das Nirvani of Chitrkoot for the purpose of meeting the expenses of 'Puja and Bhog' of Thakur Balaji. The *Karooris*, *Jagirdars* and *Amil* (officials) of present and future, shall treat the grant of the above villages conferred upon the aforesaid grantee in perpetuity, and generation after generation, and no deviation shall be made. Further, it has been enjoined that a daily allowance of one rupee be awarded to the grantee from the income of the other villages and a further grant of 330 *bighas* of cultivable land has been conferred upon him, harvest after harvest, year after year. Nobody else shall be considered as partner or co-sharer in the same. The grant of land referred to above shall be measured, demarcated and released in favour of the grantee without least effecting any kind of change or alteration. No kind of imperial tax whatsoever, i.e. *Wajahat*,

*Ikhrajat, Qunulgah, Peshkash, Jaribana Begar, Shikar, Dahnimi, Muqaddami, Saddui* and *Qanungui* Shall ever be demanded. In this respect the imperial order shall not be called for renewal every year. If anything contrary to the above happens, it shall be disbelieved.

Written on 19 Ramadhan, 35<sup>th</sup> Regnal Year (6 June 1681)".

The back side of the *Farman* bears a detailed endorsement regarding the grant. The names of the officers, under whom supervision the *Farman* has been prepared, have been recorded therein, who were responsible for a careful dispatch and quick delivery of the *Farman*. The various endorsement of different offices have also been recorded through which the *Farman* has passed on different dates".<sup>1</sup>

Some documents from Daragunj, Allahabad in possession of Mathura Nath Paragwal. According to the *Farmans* the *Chaudhrai* of the entire city Allahabad was transferred from family of Khan to the family of Jiya Ram Prohit the ancestor of Mathura Nath.

Documents indicate that about 200 hundred bighas of land was bestowed upon the same persons as *Wajah-i-Madad-i-Maash* with the condition that they will not collect money from pilgrims visiting Allahabad. (See Plates No.11& 12).

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jalaluddin. "Some Important Farman and Sanads of Medieval period in the Institution of U.P." Studies Islamic. Vol.XI, Nos-I, Jan 1978, pp.44-46.

Another documents contains three *madad-i-maash* grant to Shaikh Kabir (A teacher) in Sarkar Jaunpur. He has been granted 200 bighas of land for his livelihood. (See Plate No.13,14,15)

One important *Farman* of Sultan Salim (Jahangir) issued by him during his rebellion in 1602 AD. By issuing this *Farman*, Sultan Salim granted 240 bighas of land as *Madad-i-Maash* to Shaikh Idris in Sarkar Khairabad (Sitapur) This *Farman* of Sultan Salim Significant in many respects:

- a. It was issued by Salim just after he declared himself as an independent king.
- b. There is no Tughra of Emperor's (Akbar) name, and only Sultan Salim's name appears at the top, signifying the independent status of Salim. The absence of Tughra of Akbar's name proves the denial of authority of the Emperor;
- c. With the name of Salim, the Kuniya "Abul Muzaffar" and the title 'Ghazi' have been written which had previously adopted only by independent king.
- d. In the seal also the Kuniya Muzaffar al-Duniya wa-din along with the name of the king and the ward Badshah have been inscribed denoting the independent status.
- e. In the beginning of the text, the word '*Farman-i-Alishah*'. Occurs for this order which confirms that this order has been issued by Salim after assuming the status of an independent king. The word *Farman* is the official term for royal orders used by the Mughal Emperors.

- f. All the seals of various officials affixed on the back of the Farman bear the inscription Murid-i-Shah Salim which shows their sole allegiance to the king.
- g. This Farman also locates the extent of the area under the command of Sultan Salim".<sup>2</sup>

### **Inscription From Khusro Bagh:**

Khusro Bagh in the city of Allahabad is situated in the Mohalla Khuldabad. The extensive, pleasant and magnificent garden was used a pleasure resort in the past. Why it is called Khusro Bagh, it is difficult to say while Sultan Khusro tomb it contains. The garden is important from historical and epigraphical points of views. In its enclosure a few tombs containing the remains of royal personage like Khusro, his mother, Shah Begum, his sister Sultan un Nisa, Tambolan Bi and other. Some of these tombs bear dated inscriptions which furnish to seem extent short but authentic information regarding the occupants of the tomb.

The inscriptions, which are designed by the court calligraphist of Jahangir, namely Mir Abdullah Mushkin Qalam and also Sultan Sarhind.

### **Inscription 1-2**

These two inscriptions are from the tomb of Shah Begum daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Akbar's court. She was married to Prince Salim who later on emperor Jahangir. He is reported to have given her name

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p.41.

Shah Begum when she gave birth to Prince Khusro. She ended her life by taking opium on 6<sup>th</sup> may 1605 AD.

There are in all two inscription on the bottom. The northern and two side facets of the sarcophagus of marble are inscribed against a background of floral patterns with '*ya Fattah*' and one quatrain in Persian respectively. The quatrain refers to the death of Shah Begum who is praised in glowing terms.

Another inscription which is engraved in relief on the arch-shaped marble slab fixed at the head of the grave. Beginning with the praise Allahu Akbar, it contains another quatrain which farms the chronogram for the death of the Begum. A similar marble slab richly carved with exquisite floral designs is, for reasons f Symmetry, set up at the foot sides but it does not contain any inscription.

The text of the head stone is stated therein to have been composed and engraved by Mir Abdullah Mush Kin Qalam. The inscriptions on the sarcophagus, occupying a writing space of (a) 21" by 7", (b) 66" by 7" and (c) 66" by 7"

Have been read as under

بیگم کہ ز عفت رخ رحمت آراست  
 اقلیم عدم ز نور عزت آراست  
 سبحان اللہ زہی کمال عفت  
 کز حسن عمل چہرہ جلت آراست

- a. O' opener
- b. The Begum who adorned the cheek of mercy through her chastity bedecked the realm of non-existence through the eight of glory.
- c. Glory be to God! What perfect chastity (she possessed) that by good conduct, she (oven) decorated the face of Paradise!.

The inscription on the slab fixed at the head of the grave, measuring 73" from apex to bottom and 22" in width, reads as follows:-

- (۱) اللہ اکبر
- (۲) چون چرخ فلک ز گردش خود آشفست
- (۳) در زیرین آینه منہ نهفت
- (۴) تاریخ وفات شاه بیگم جستم
- (۵) از غیب ملکہ بخلد شد بیگم گفت
- (۶) کانہ عبد اللہ مشکین قلم جہاگیر شاہے

1. God is Great!
2. When the wheel of the sky got fed up with its revolutions.
3. It concealed the mirror of the moon under the earth.
4. (When) I sought the date of Shah Begum death.
5. An angle from the invisible world replied the Begum went to heaven.
6. Composed by its writer, namely Abdullah Mushkin Qalam Jahangir Shahi.

The diagram contained in the words the Begum went to heaven field 1012 AH (1603-04) AD as the date of demise of Shah Begum.



### Inscription No-3

The tomb of Sultan Nithar Begum which does not contain any grave lies between the tomb of her brother Khusrow and mother Shah Begum. It is double story building situated in the very heart of the garden just opposite the main gate. The raised platform in the centre does not now contain any grave. She was the elder sister of Khusrow. She was born in 994 AH but the date of her death is not definitely known.

Around the frame of the door of the tomb, on the slabs with which the facade wall is faced, is carved an epigraph in Persian verse which is executed in bold and beautiful *Nastaliq* style in relief.

The record consists of three couplets, written into three arch-shaped panels, each containing two hemistiches. It occupies total writing space of 140" by 11" The inscription has been designed by Sultan Sarhindi and reads as follows;

نخستہ روضہ چو از صدق....	(۱)
ز بلندی بگنبد افلاک	
برو ملا یکہ رحمت ہمیشہ نور نثار	(۲)
زہی نمونہ غلدر برین بمرکز خاک	
خرد ز سال بنائیش بصفیہ فکر ت	(۳)
نوشت با قلم اختر اع روضہ پاک	
کتبہ فقیر سلطان سرہندے	

#### Translation:

1. The auspicious tomb, when through truthful intention.... In height with the dome of heaven.

2. On it (i.e. on the tomb), the angels of mercy always shed light. How excellent is the model of the highest heaven in the centre of the earth!
3. For the year of its construction, wisdom, on the page of thought, wrote with the pen of invention (the words): the holy tomb written by the humble (one namely), Sultan of Sirhind.

Beneath the inscription No.3 another epigraph comprising one quatrain. It is engraved immediately below the above inscription on four stone panel. The total writing space occupied by the text of this epigraph is about 55" by 11".

The inscription purports to eulogise the building and express the excellence and chasteness of the tracery and painting work of the tomb. The text reads as follows.

- (۱) این روضه اقدس [دگ] بند مینارنگ  
 (۲) از دانش ..... بس نیک آهنگ  
 (۳) هر نفس که نقاش بز در سر سنگ  
 (۴) افکند حیا ز دست مانی بیرنگ

1. This pious tomb and azure-coloured dome.
2. Through knowledge of extremely perfect harmony.
3. (on account of) every picture, which the skilled artist has pointed on the stone.
4. Shame threw out the Sketch from the hand of Mani.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Z.A. Desari, "Inscription from the Khusro Bagh Allahabad, Epigraphica Indica, (Arabic and Persian Supplement), pub. Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi 1961, p.65-66.

- \*\* The inscription on the main gateway of Khusro Bagh in the perfect *Nastaliq* Style.<sup>4</sup>

”حسب الحکم حضرت شاہنشاہی ظل الہی نور الدین محمد جہانگیر بادشاہ غازی باہتمام مرید اخلص آقا رضاء مصور ایں بنائے  
عالی صورت اتمامت“

Clearly shows that the building was erected under the supervision of Aqa Riza Musawwir (Painter) by the order of Jahangir.

- \*\* Panchnama, Goswami Tulsidas, executed for acquiring a piece of land in Bhadaini (Banaras), registered under Shah Jahan’s seal; dated 13<sup>th</sup> Kaur, Samvat 1669 Vikrami.<sup>5</sup> (See Plate-17).

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<sup>4</sup> J. Burton, “Inscription of Gateway of Khusro Bagh Allahabad”, (Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1938).

<sup>5</sup> Proceedings of Indian History Congress, Allahabad, 1938.

## CONCLUSION

The Subah Allahabad constituted a very significant unit of the Mughal Empire as it lay in the region adjoining to Malwa Bihar Awadh.... connected by a number of routes water ways as well land. Through out the Mughal rule it had faced many political disturbances either it is prince Salim's independent activities or war of succession . Meanwhile, Mughals also established peaceful relationship with the local chieftains Raja. The industrial and agricultural productions flourished, the condition of trade and commerce immensely, contributed the imperial treasury. The year wise data of revenue collections from different *sarkars* are witnessed.

The social condition of the Subah had a great importance. Here, Hindu and Muslims lived together. The Hindu society had many religious sects there were many cast and people of different profession, reside in this region. Muslim society was also on the pattern of their Hindus brother. The social ceremonies, position of women, Houses food and drinks, Dresses. Toilets & Ornaments, their pass time amusements, their common beliefs and practices, were almost same. But they celebrate different fairs & festivals but some of the people participate to each other celebrations. The society got the character of cosmopolitan structure which was significantly followed by adopting secular ethos in their day to day life. The inhabitants of the Subah influenced the way of life to each other game birth to the

rise of same sort of common practices and customs. People of different religious communities lived in a harmonized friendly religious life, all sort of interactions among them took place.

The Bhakti saints whose aim was to attain salvation through devotion and love rather than by means of outward practices and ceremonials. The preaching of these Bhakti saints paved the way for social harmony and spiritual development among their communities on the other side Sufis were also contributing for the same cause like the Bhakti saints. The educational system remained organized on the traditional line but some efforts of Akbar and Mir Fathullah Shirazi contributed in its development. Many madarsas were established in the region like Chunar, Jaunpur Banaras. Allahabad by different people. These educational institutions flourished under their different patrons or with the helps of endowments for the maintenance.

The architectural remains of the Subah like its forts tombs., temples Bridges are an extension of Mughal architectural style in this region, under review. The atelier of prince Salim at Allahabad produced paintings in some of them he was depicted and denoted as 'Shah Salim' (King Salim). These are a special significant. The farmans, Sanad related to revenue free land grant to *Math* and *Madarsa* in this region shows the Mughal attitude towards its policy.

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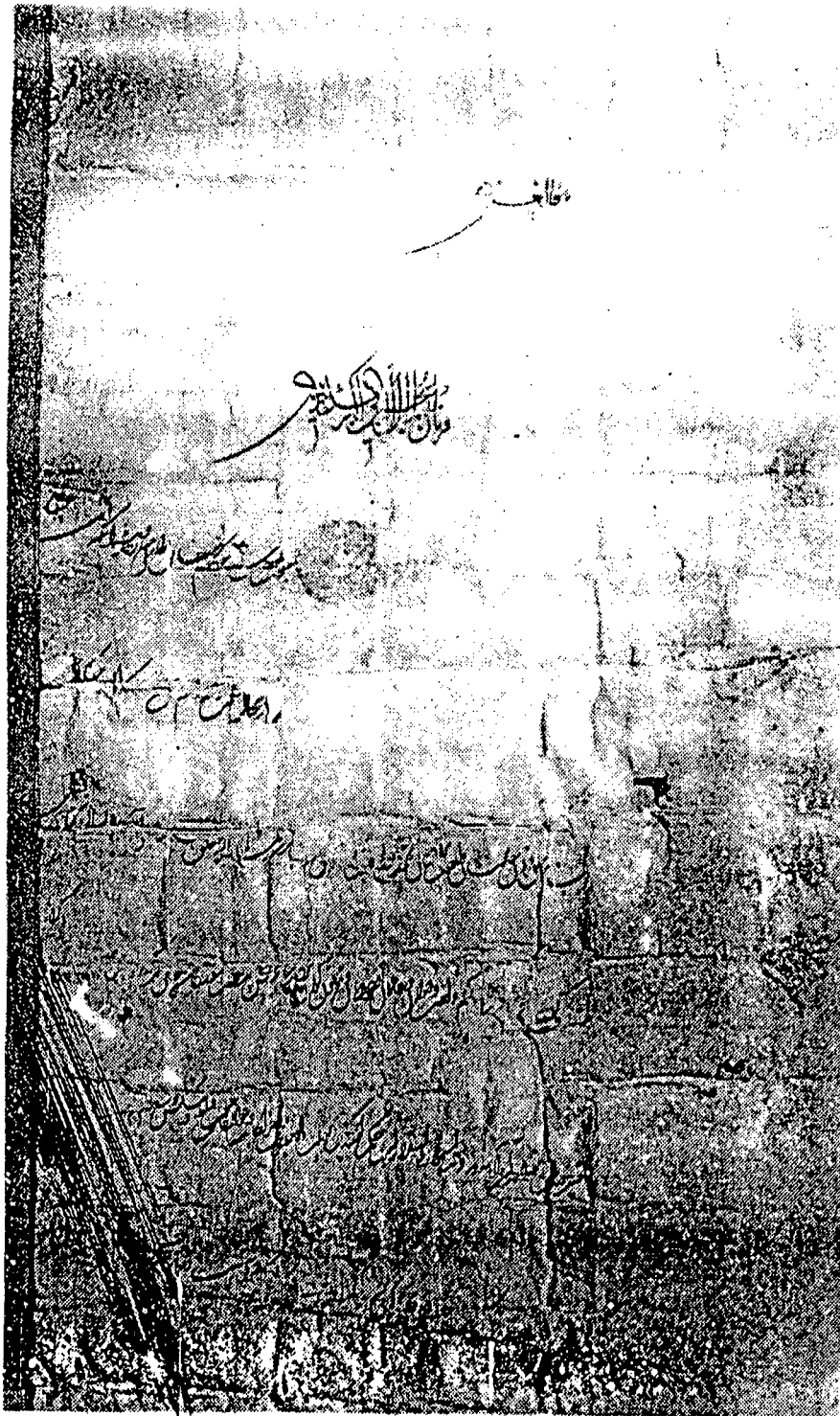
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COURTESY. M.A. ANSARI  
(PLATES 1-10)

## God is Helpful

The farman of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah-i-Ghazi.

Seal  
(Small)

According to the *sanad* of earlier kings (*hukkām*), nearly (*mawāzī*) four hundred and eighty bighas of cultivated land<sup>1</sup> . . . in (that) mahal<sup>2</sup> . . . Arjun Jangam. Thus an exalted *farman*, which must be obeyed (*wājib-al-az'ān*) was issued<sup>3</sup> . . . (that it) should be left in possession of the aforesaid person<sup>4</sup> . . . (an order to be obeyed) is hereby issued in the names of the *diwan*, *amils*, *chawdhari*, and *qanungos* of the *sarkar-i-hawaili-i-Benares*.<sup>5</sup> . . . (they) should not allow (any) alteration (*taghayyur*) and change (*tabaddul*) in its rules (*qawa'id*) and exerting themselves in the continuation (*istimrār*) and settlement (*istiqrār*), (and) should not charge *malo-jihāt* and *ikhrajāt* and *awaridāt* like *qunlighah*, and *pish-kash*<sup>6</sup> . . .

On the reverse is an unreadable seal with its year, 971 A.H.<sup>7</sup> clearly visible.

1. The portion could not be read and thus blank.
2. After "dar mahal ziman" again writing could not be read.
3. Blanks again. I would suggest "has been allotted to" to be inserted here to get the full sense of the sentence.
4. Blank, "hukm" ?
5. Blank.
6. Date not readable due to the delapidated condition of the document.
7. 971 A.H./Saturday 21 August 1563 to Tuesday 8th August 1564.

۲۶

عربی

زمان پستان ...  
 تصدیق ...  
 در فیه ...  
 حتی بوقف ...  
 میرسانیده ...  
 احدی را ...  
 متصرف ...  
 متصرف ...

Arsh Ashyani (Akbar)

Copy

Of the Exalted Farman (issued in the month of) Ziqadah 982<sup>1</sup> A.H. to the effect that :

“The *gumashtahs* of officer (hakim), the *shiqdar* and the *mutasaddis* of the area of the *qasbah* of Payag and Arayal are hereby informed that as Rajpur Dev and the body of Jangams are the residents of the abovementioned *qasbah*<sup>2</sup> and (possess)<sup>3</sup> two *gumbads* with *bagh*, one in Payag and the other in Arail, they have submitted that (some) of the inhabitants of the place are the cause of trouble to them. It is desired that knowing about the issue of a *farman* in this connection<sup>4</sup> you should not allow anybody to harm them, or their *gumbad* so that, being fully satisfied, they engage themselves in praying for the perpetuity of the everlasting dominion. You should act accordingly and brook no delay.

Written on.....<sup>5</sup>

1. Ziqadah 982 A.H./Saturday 12th March 1575 to Monday 11th April 1575.
2. The testifier uses the singular noun “qasbah” and not its plural “qasbat”
3. The word here could not be read properly. It is possible that the word “darand” may have been used here.
4. Again here the word could not be deciphered. Probably it was “bayad”.
5. The date could not be read due to the framing of the document.

۱۰

عالمی ازنگه

برافزانی

کمال است حکام و جانگیزان و کرد زبان بر کوه خوری  
مذکور در اعلام آنکه چون موازی کف یکدیگر در میان کوه خوری  
از بر که مذکور در جبهه بن عایشان از فراز ساری با کوه  
در و بر دوستانش چنانچه همان معروف است باید که در این  
بصدق حق مبارک است چنانکه حضرت ارفا کوش  
و در جبهه بر از نواب افغان  
که گویند که در عین و نام دولت که هر  
و هیچ از نام نند که در

Allah Akbar

May God perpetuate the dominion of His Majesty

The gumashtahs of the *hākims* and the jagirdars and the *karoris* of the parganah Chunad . . . are hereby informed that approximately one hundred bighas of land (measured) by the *gaz-i-ilahi* from the said parganah, according to the exalted *nishan* dated *mah-isfandar*, . . . has been allotted in the *madad-i-maash* of the Brotherhood of the Jangams. Considering the abovementioned land a *sadqah* of the forehead of his Exalted Majesty, and in accordance with the parwanah of Nawab Iqbal Panah (Prince Parwiz) you are expected to leave it as it is, so that they may engage themselves in prayers for the perpetuity of the exalted throne. Do not interfere in any manner.

Seal of Sarfaraz Khan



کتبه در کتبه  
 این شاهنامه گردان و در این حال که استغفار کند و در کتبه  
 دعایم لگو حوا و بار که دعا از سر که در این حال استغفار کند  
 با و غیر آنی در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت  
 چون در این حال که در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت  
 در این حال که در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت  
 سلم و همیشه که در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت  
 اسعالم مانع که در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت  
 در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت در وقت



Allah Akbar

May God preserve his dominions forever.

The *gumashtahs* of *karori* and the present and future *jagirdars* of the parganah *Hawaili* of the sarkar Banaras are (hereby) notified that about (mawazi) one hundred and seventy eight bighas of land (zamin), according to the Exalted farman dated third *mah mehr-i-Ilahi* (issued) in the 45th regnal year has been granted in the *madad-i-m<sup>u</sup>ash* in the name of Malik Arjun Mal Jangam from the dependencies of the abovementioned parganah. As the said person presented himself and trustworthy eye-witnesses gave evidence that being alive the same persons are in occupation (qabd) and possession (tasarruf) of the land, leaving aside (the portion) in Qasur, after its proper verification in the *gaz-i-ilahi*, has been conferred upon them, so that (they) spend the revenue (hasilāt) from it, season after season, for their livelihood, thus becoming *dua-goan* for ever. It is hereby ordered that all the *mutasaddis* of the area of the said parganah, considering it an approved and an established fact, should not interfere and object in this case. They should not demand a *parwanchah* year after year. Written on 24th Zilhijjah<sup>1</sup> 1024.

Seal (1)

1. 24th Zilhijjah 1024 A.H. corresponded with Sunday 7th Jan 1616 A.D.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a manuscript page. The text is arranged in several columns and includes several circular stamps or seals, possibly indicating ownership or authentication. The script is dense and appears to be a historical document.

COPY

Having the seal of the dignity of the Auspicious Throne and the ardour of the Magnificent Threshold Mirza Muhammad Amin Beg, the fawjdar; and the exalted of the Peace-establishing (government) Mubariz Beg, the amin; and of the tribunal led dignity of the Dominion Tabarruk Husain, the waqia-nawis; dated 5th Jamad I, 1085<sup>1</sup> indicating the details: that as Arjun Mal and the members of the same Brotherhood, who are inhabitants of the city of Muhammada-bad alias Banaras presented themselves in the presence of His Holy Majesty and (brought) a *parwanah-i-hasbul-hukm* of His Majesty containing the seal of the prosperity and the advantage of the Kingdom the justice and perfection of the public office, the great qazi of the qazis Qazi Abd-i-al-Wahhab having the following content:

The *mutasaddis* of the region of Muhammadabad alias Banaras should be aware of (the fact) that at present Arjun Mall of the Brotherhood of the Jangams, appearing at the Threshold of Creation, through the (recommendations) of the persons, occupying the peripheries of the chess-board of khilafat and jahandari (statescraft), submitted their case to His Exalted Majesty (explaining) that the poor petitioners owned a *hawaili* (a big house) in Jangambari and had possession over it. Now the officers of the *Bayt-al-mal* of that place (i.e. Banaras), on the instigation of other worshippers, have confiscated it and take its rent from the petitioners. They have taken Rs. 500 as rent. Thus it has become the cause of anxiety and trouble for this petitioner. An Exalted order was issued . . . "They be sent to this servant, the server of the *shara*". Therefore an exalted *hasb-al-hukm* is being issued to the effect . . . "Whatever money has been taken as rent from the petitioner should be returned to him and the said *hawaili* be given back to him in compliance with the old regulations. Under no

1. 5th Jamad I 1085 equalled/Tuesday 28th July 1674.

circumstances any body should interfere or hinder the act of the petitioner in occupying his own house."†

On the basis of it (the *hasb-al-hukm*) we, who became a aware of the contents of the *parwanah*, agree that the present officers, obeying the instructions of the *parwanah*, should return Rs. 500, the rent of the concerned *hawaili* deposited in the treasury, to Arjun Mall and they should not, by any chance, interfere in the affairs of the *hawaili* so that, inhabiting it, they (the Jangams) may pray for the perpetuity of the Everlasting Dominion.

Written in the year.....Ilahi<sup>1</sup>

1. The year of this particular document could not be read due to the defective framing of the document.

The document bears six seals, four on the right hand margin and two on the left hand top corner. Top (left hand corner) "It (the document) has been compared with the original". Seal of Inayatullah, khadim-i-shara-i-sharif (server of the *shara*. i.e. *sadr*), dated 1081 A.H./1670-71 A.D., The next just below it, "the copy is true to original", seal of Muhammad Zahid, muria-i-badshah-i-Alamgir, 1083 A.H./1672-73. Third seal, top right hand, "the copy is true to the original", Mufti Nur Allah, khadim-i-shara-i-sharif, 1083 A.H./1672-73. Next just below the third, "the copy is true to the original", Sayyid Faiz Allah, khadim-i-shara-i-sharif, dated 1082/1671-72. The fifth one is below the fourth seal indicating "its according to the original", Insha Allah ya mir bil adl, Wali Allah, dated 1076 A.H./1665-66. The last, "the copy is like the original", Muhammad Qasim Abd-al-Ghafur, 1074 A.H./1663-64 A.D.

Handwritten text in Persian script, likely a letter or document. The text is written in a cursive style and includes a circular seal or stamp on the right side. The content is partially obscured by a grid pattern, possibly from a scanning artifact or a watermark.

Allah Akbar

Sahab Qaran-i-thani

It is hereby confirmed (muqarrar shud) that the present and the future *mutasaddis* of the region of the parganah Hawiali sarkar Chunadah, in the hope of getting the blessings of His Majesty, are hereby informed that about one hundred bighas of land in accordance with the Exalted Farman have been given in the *madad-i-ma'ash* to the Jangams from the said parganah. It is expected that the abovementioned land, according to the earlier *dastur* be left in their possession and they (i.e. officers] should not demand the muqarriri, the *shahnahgi*, the *pattadari* the *jaribana*, the *zabitana*, and all the *wajihat* and should not interfere . . . so that using the revenue from it as their (own) livelihood they may engage themselves praying for the perpetuity of the everlasting kingdom.

Written in the month of Ziqadah<sup>2</sup>

1. Seal of Shujaat Khan Shahjahani, dated 1043 A.H. 1043 A.H./Friday 28 June 1633—Monday 16 June 1634 on right hand margin.
2. Zulqudah 1043/Saturday 19th April 1633—Sunday 18th May 1633.



## Allah Akbar

According to the exalted *farman* of Hadarat Sahab Qaran-i-thani (Shahjahan), dated 9th mah-i-Amardad-i-ilahi 2nd r.y.<sup>2</sup> about 178 bighas of land, (measured) in *Ilahi gaz*, has been granted in the *madad-i-maash* of the Brotherhood (jamaah) of the jangams from the parganah *haweli* Banaras, (situated) in the sarkar of the same name, subah of Ilahabad. Now as they had shown their *sanads*, a world-illuminating order was issued that for the (sake) of the charity of the forehead of His Majesty, the *khilafat panah*, the shadow of God, the abovementioned land (be confirmed). The *gumashtahs* (agents) of the *karoris* of the said parganah should leave it in their (Jangam's] possession as has been the custom (dastur) up to now, so that, appropriating the revenue from it, they may engage themselves for the perpetuity of the everlasting dominions.

Written on 15th Jamad I, 1044 A.H. [3]

1. On top right-hand of the document in line with the first line is written "Sahab qaran-i-thani, khallada allah mulkuhu", . . . Sahab Qaran, II, May God perpetuate his dominions.
2. 2nd r.y. It could also be read as 4rth r.y.
3. 15th Jamad I 1044/Monday 27th October 1634.





Allah Akbar  
Sahab Qaran-i-Thani

The *gumashtahs* of the present and the future *jagirdars*, *karoris* and *mutasaddis* of parganah Hawaili Banaras, sarkar of the same name are hereby informed that about 178 bighas of land from the abovementioned parganah, according to the Exalted Farman of His Majesty dated 19th Amardad-i-Ilahi r.y. 2, has been bestowed in the *wajh-i-madad-i-ma'ash* of the Brotherhood of the Jangams. They came and produced reliable evidence to the effect that the same persons are still alive and in possession (of the land). They (also) possessed the *parwanah-i-tashihah* of the earlier *sadrs*. Thus, on its basis, the same land has been left as the charity of the holy forehead of the califate-stationed and Solomon-ranked His Majesty. It is (hereby) instructed that the abovementioned land in accordance to the old regulations and old customs, be left in their possession. In no way they (the officers) should give them any trouble so that spending the income from it, for their livelihood, they should (continue) praying for the perpetuity of the everlasting dominion. Conser this to be an order.

Written on 25th Rabi I, 7th r.y.<sup>1</sup> corresponding 1044 A.H.

REVERSE

The usual details in this connection in the name of the Brotherhood of Jangams (the inhabitants) of the parganah Hawaili-i-Banaras, the dependency of the sarkar of the same name in the subah of Ilahabad (is on the following lines) that about 178 bighas of land has been given to them in compliance of the Exalted farman of His Majesty, dated 19th Amardad Ilahi r.y.<sup>2</sup>

This is what has been recorded in the Tashihah from Rabi Hayi II.

1. 7 r.y. Shahjahanī/23 Nov 1633. 11 Nov 1634.
2. Seal . . . Allān Kafi, Sayyid Mehdi bin Sayyid Ahmad Qadri, 1044 A.H.
3. 1044 A.H./Tuesday 17th June 1634—Saturday 6th June 1635.
4. 25th Rabi I, 1044/Monday 8 September 1634 A.D. d. 13.

السلامة



Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a historical document or letter, covering the majority of the page.

ALLAH AKBAR

Badshah Alamgir, may God preserve his rule and dominion.

The present and the future *gumashtals* of *jagirdars* and *karoris* of the parganah *hawaili* Chunadah, a dependency of the sarkar of the same name may know that about one hundred bighas of land, measured in *Ilahi gaz*, according to the Exalted Farman of His Majesty (Sahab Qaran-i-thani, Shahjahan) dated 9 Mah-i-amardad-i-ilahi, of the second regnal year have been given in the madad-i-maash of the Brotherhood of the Jangams. Earlier, it had already been entered in the *tashihah* of earlier *sadrs*. Now, as the said Brotherhood, appearing before this lowly slave of the *Dargah-i-slatin* (i.e. before Abu Jafar), which is the place of the *sijdah*, and bringing the witnesses of the people (indicating) that they are alive, and in possession of the land and their claims have been ratified, (thus) a *hasb-allhukm* of the Exalted Majesty (Awrangzib) was issued that the mentioned land, according to details (enumerated), be given to them in charity of the forehead of His Exalted Majesty, the master of the age and the land (khadiw-i-zaman-o-zamin), the holder of the position of Alexander (sikandar qadr), the propulgater of the statutes like Solomon (sulaiman A'in), the upholder of the *shariat* of the Prophet (hamil-i-shariat-i-sayyid-al-mursilin), the strengthener of the *millat* of the last of the Messengers (muwayyid-i-millat-i-khatim-al-nabiyyin), the possessor of the vigilance like the sun.

It is expected that the abovementioned land be left in their possession and occupation from the beginning of the *kharif* season *nawi-il*, according to the old custom and regulation. They (the officers and agents) should not interfere in any manner, so that, utilizing the revenue from it as their livelihood season after season, they may remain the prayer-reciters for the everlasting kingdom, which has been conferred by God (upon His Majesty). This may be considered an order.

Written on 25th Rabi<sup>3</sup> II, 8th regnal year, corresponding to 1085 A.H.

REVERSE

Details of noting in this connection :

In the name of the Brotherhood of the Jangams from the parganah *hawaili* Chunadah, a dependency of the sarkar of the same name, 100 bighas (of land has been given), according to farman of His Majesty (Sahab Qaran-i-thani, Shahjahan) dated 9th Mah-i-amardad-i-ilahi, 2nd regnal year and also 178 bighas from parganah *hawaili* Banaras a dependency of the said sarkar.

1/ Seal

2/ Seal

1. Sahab Qaran-i-thani on the right-hand margin.
2. "Should act according to order", seal of Abul Jafar, the murid (disciple) of Muhammad Awangzib Badshah Alamgir.
3. 7th Julus Alamgiri/18 March 1664. 7 March 1665, 1075 A.H./18 July 1664-66 July 1665 A.D. 25 Rabi ii, 1075/Tuesday 4 November 1664 A.D.

Allah Akbar

Farman of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah

According to orders an Exalted Farman of happy augury, to be obeyed expressly, was issued that Chandra Bhān and Krishen Rāi, the sons of Jiyā Rām Prohit, (residents of) Dair-al-Saltanat Ilahbas, had been appointed the *chawdhari* of the Dair-al-Salatanat in place of the dismissed Khans. These Khans should not interfere in this matter. In this connection, they should not cause any hindrance (*ta'arrud nah sāzand*), should not take recourse to delay and should not go against the order.

Written on the day of Isfandar of the fifty Ilahi month,  
31 r.y.<sup>1</sup>

Friday 15th Muharram 995. A.H.<sup>2</sup>

1. While copying the farman I copied the year of issue wrongly. It was copied as 41 r.y., which does not tally with 995 A.H. Actually it should be 31 r.y instead of 41. r.y.  
41 r.y Akbari corresponded with 10th March 1596—9th March 1597 and 31 r.y. with 29 Rabi I, 994-10 Rabi II 995/10 March 1686-9 March 1587.
2. 15 Muharram 995 A.H./Friday 16th December 1586.

Allah Akbar

Farman of Adul-Muzaffar Muhammad Nur-al-Din Jahāngīr  
Bādshāh-i-Ghāzi.

According to the farman of Hadārat (Arsh Ashyānt, Akbar) the (post of) *chawdhari* of the Dair-al-Saltanat Ilahabas, due to the transfer of the Khans, has been conferred upon Chandra Bhan and Krishen Rai, the sons of Jiya Ram Prohit. At this moment the above mentioned persons presented themselves at the threshold of the world-protector (Jahan-panah, the Emperor) and narrated the actual happenings there, that, in the light of the earlier world-obeying order (hukm-i-jahan mata') a fresh command, under the exalted seal, be issued that in accordance to old custom (bah rasm-i-sābiq) the *chawdharāi* will remain with the petitioner and not with the Khans, so that in obedience of that order (the incumbents) should engage himself immediately (in the work of) *abadi* and *mamuri*.

Therefore it is, hereby, ordered that the officers (hukkām), *āmils*, and *jāgīrdārs* and *karorīs*, in obedience of this order (hasbal-hukm) should consider the petitioners the *chawdhari*, should be careful (in their behaviour) and should not allow the mentioned Khans to interfere in this matter. They (officers) should not act contrary to orders.

## ALLAH AKBAR

Arsh Ashyani (Akbar)

It is hereby confirmed that the present and the future *matsaddis*... of the state in the parganah Muhamadabad Kohna, sarkar-i-Jawnpur, suban-i-Ilahabas be informed that as clearly manifested (earlier) the respected shaikh, the pious habited, the dignified among the holy shaikhs, Shaikh (Kabir) was unable to meet his daily expenses towards his students. Thus he deserves (the grant of land) through (his) claim (*istihqāq*) and (is a suitable person) for concession. According to (the testimony) of the humble *qādīs* (*muti-i-quddat*), the inhabitants (of the place), the *chawdhari* and the *qanungo* and the evidence (*kishinha*) of the dwellers of the vicinity (*sakinan-i-juwar*) to the effect that the *mawza* of Nurpur from the *amlan* of the *tappah* of the said *qasbah*, in accordance to the farman of Hadarat (Arsh Ashyani). was given in the occupation of the ancestors of the Shaikh and their brothers. (Therefore) at present purposely (*didah-o-danistah*) the *mawza* of Nurpur, following the earlier practice, has been left in the *wajh-i-me' ishat* of the afore-said Shaikh etc. For two or three years the *gumashtahs* of the jagirdars have tyrannised over them, therefore specifically it (the *mawza*) has been bestowed upon him (again) to meet the expenses of their livelihood so that, spending its income, from season to season, he may pray for the perpetuity of ever-lasting dominion. In this connection all care should be taken.

Seal of Janbaz Khan slave of Shah Jahan.

## TUGHRAH

### Seal (1)

At this occasion the Exalted Farman was issued that about 200 bighas of waste-land (zamin-i-uftadah), capable of cultivation (la'ig-i-zaraat), deducted from the *jama* (khairj az jama) from the parganah Nizamabad, sarkar-i-Jawnpur, since the beginning of (the season) of *kharif sīchqā'il*, has been given and confirmed in the *wajh-i-madad-i-maash* of the dignified Shaikh Kabir, so that spending its income for his livelihood, season after season and year after year, he may engage himself in praying for the perpetuity of the ever-lasting dominion. The present and future *hākims*, *āmils*, *jāgīrdārs* and the *karorīs* should obey (the Holy Order) in its continuation and preservation by measuring the aforesaid land, and completing the *chak*, thus leaving it in his possession. In this respect they should not, in any manner, take recourse to change or alteration. (Therefore) in this connection they should not demand *māl-o-jihāt* and *awāridāt* like *qunlughah*, *pīsh-kash*, *jarībānah*, *muhassilānah*, *muhārānah*, *daroghānah*, *baikār-o-shikār*, *dah-nīmī*, *muqaddamī*, *sad-dai*, *qānūngoī*, *dabt-i-harsālah*, *takar-i-zirā'āt* and other *dīwāni* and state dues. They should not ask for a *farman* and a renewed *parwanchah* every year.

1. The seal reads, Abul Muzaffar Shahabuddin Muhammad Sahab Qran-i-Thani, Shahjahan Badshah-i-Ghazi. On the right side of it is inscribed *Ya fattahu* and on its left side *ya hafizu*.



## HADARAT FIRDAWS ASHYANI

(Shahjahan)

The Exalted Farman dated 4rth Zil . . . .

has been issued . . . .

deducted from the *jama* of the parganah Muhammadabad Kohnah, sarkar-i-Jawnpur, from the beginning of *kharif* . . . . the refuge of excellence, the venerable of understanding Shaikh Kabir has been granted, so that season after season and year after he may spend (its income) for his livelihood, thus praying for the perpetuity of the ever-lasting dominion. The present and future *hakims*, the *amils*, the *jagirdars* and the *karoris* should work for the continuance and confirmation of this Exalted and Holy Order. They, after measuring the land and completing the *chak*, should leave it in his possession. They should not in any way introduce any change or alteration. They should (also) not demand *mal-o-jihat* and *awāridat*, like *qunlughah*, *pish-kash*, *jarībānah*, *muhās-satānah*, *muhranah*, *daroghānāh*, *paikār-o-shikār*, *muqaddamī*, *sad-dūī*, *qānungoī*, *zabt-i-harsālah*, *takrar-i-zira'āt* and demands . . . . of the state. In this connection they should not ask for the yearly *farman* and a fresh *parwanchah* . . . . If there be land in any other place it should not be taken into account. They should not (cause) delay in (obeying) this order.

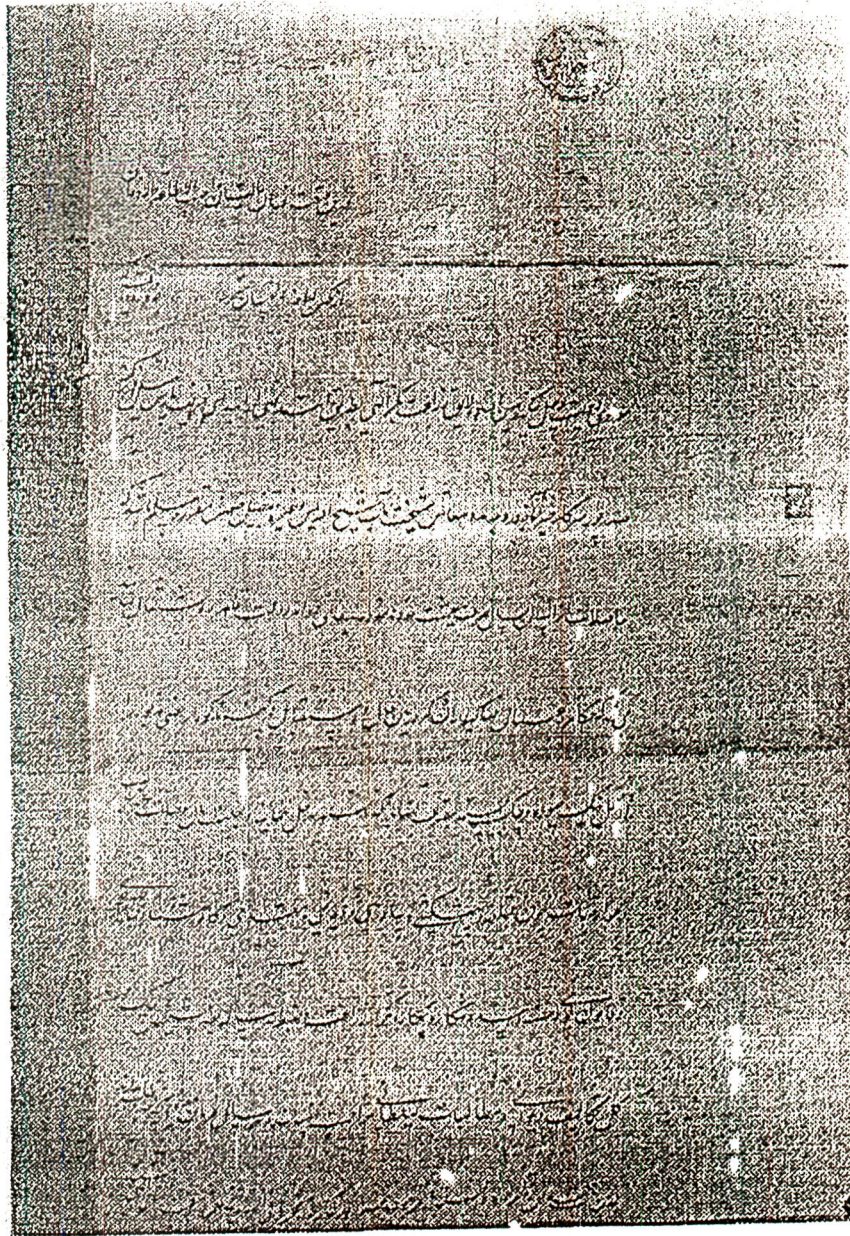
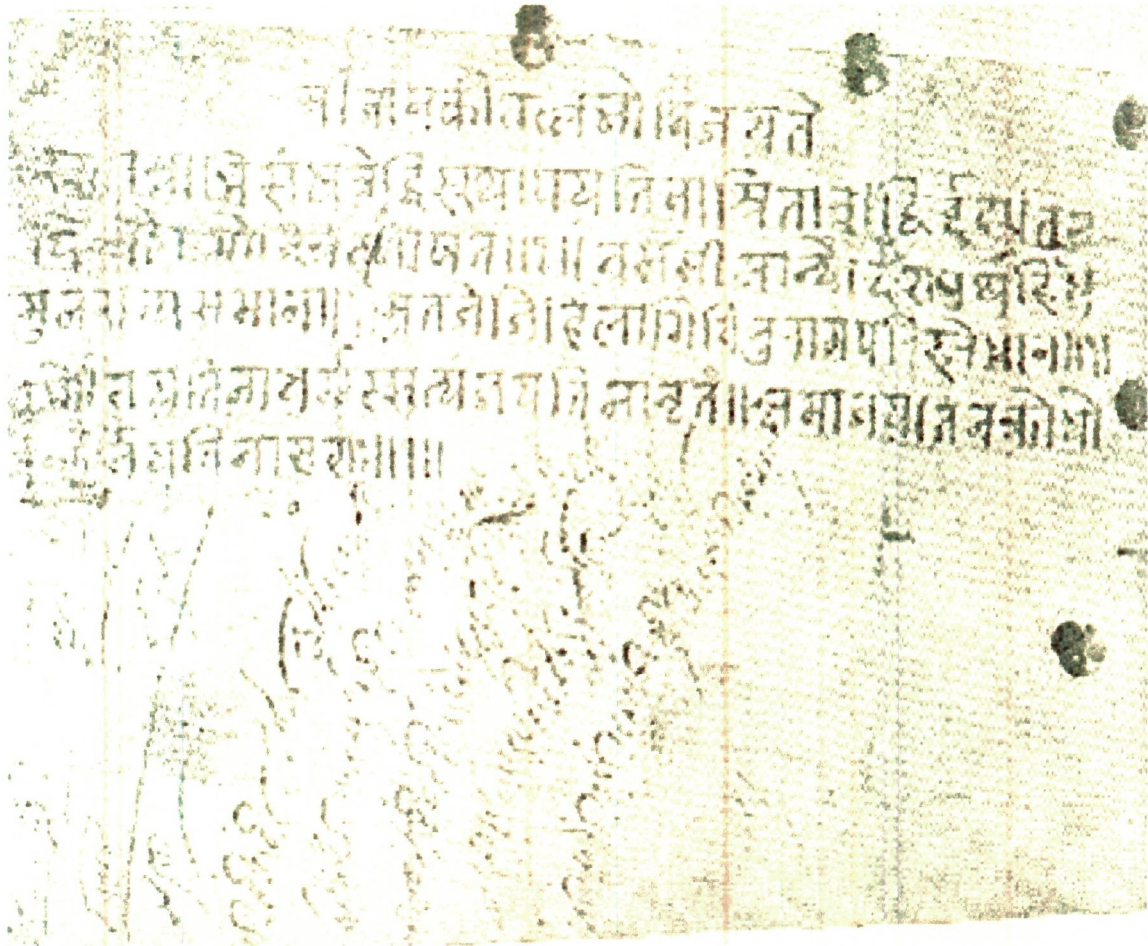


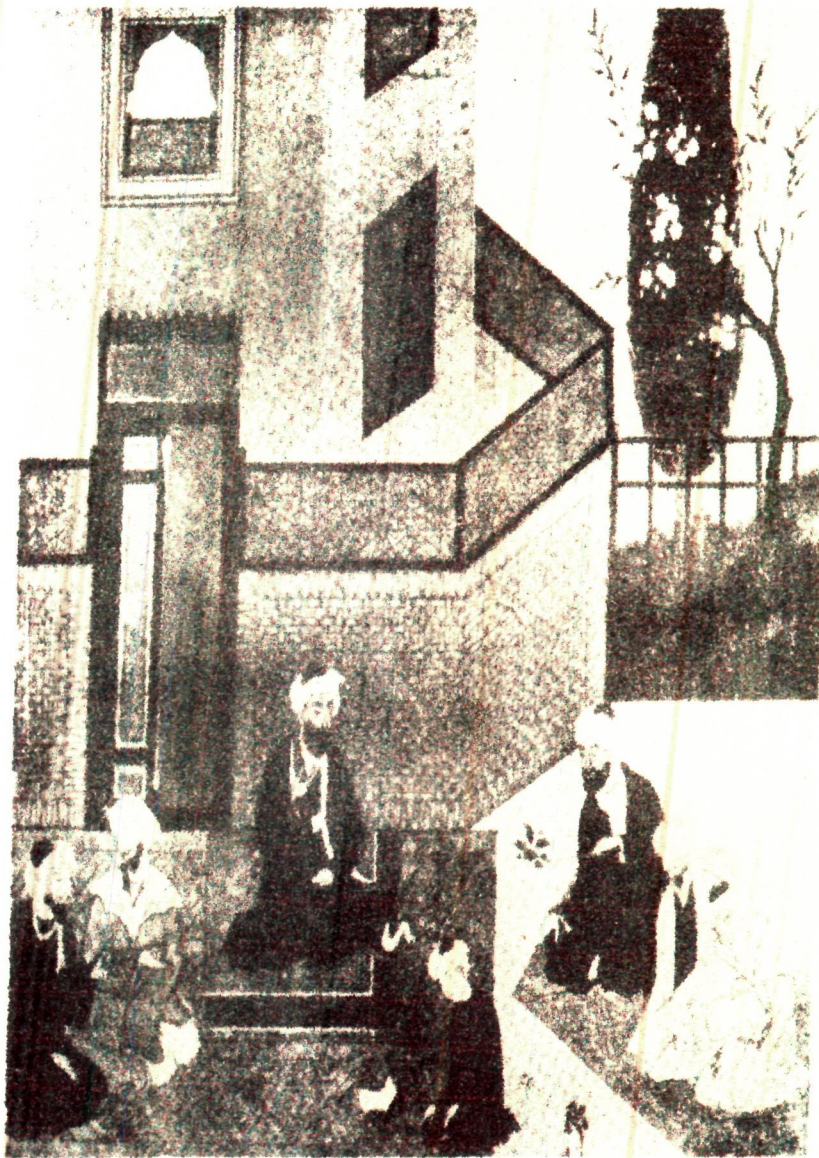
PLATE 1.—*Farmān* of Sulṭān Salīm (Jahāngīr), 47th Regnal Year of Akbar.  
(State Archives of U.P., Allahabad Collection)

Courtesy : Jalaluddin (Studies in Islam)



Panch – Nama Bearing Tulsi Das Autograph (Banaras State)

Plate : 17 Courtesy : I.H.C. Allahabad 1938



Domestic System of Teaching among the Muhammadans. A Teacher with his Pupils. By Biḥzād, the famous Persian Painter. [Preserved in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg (Petrograd).]

[From Martin's *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (Bernard Quaritch).]

[Facing page 117.]



Teachers and their Pupils. By Bihzād.

[Preserved in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg (Petrograd).]

[From Marín's *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (Bernard Quaritch).]

[Facing page 118.

**Plate-19:**



(III.)

Illustration of the Story of Ḥaḳīqat Rāi of Lahore.  
(From the collection of Mr. G. C. Manuk, Bar-at-Law, Bankipore.)



**Plate-21: Hunuman Kund (Kalinjar Fort)**

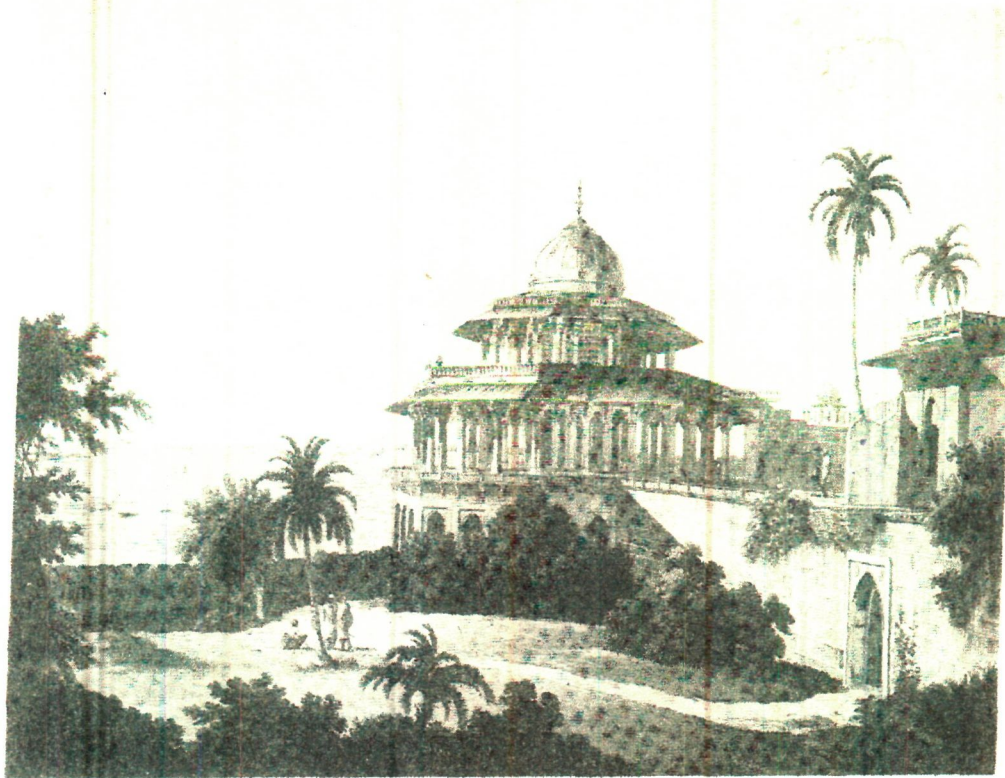


**Plate : 22 Jamuna View of Allahabad Fort**

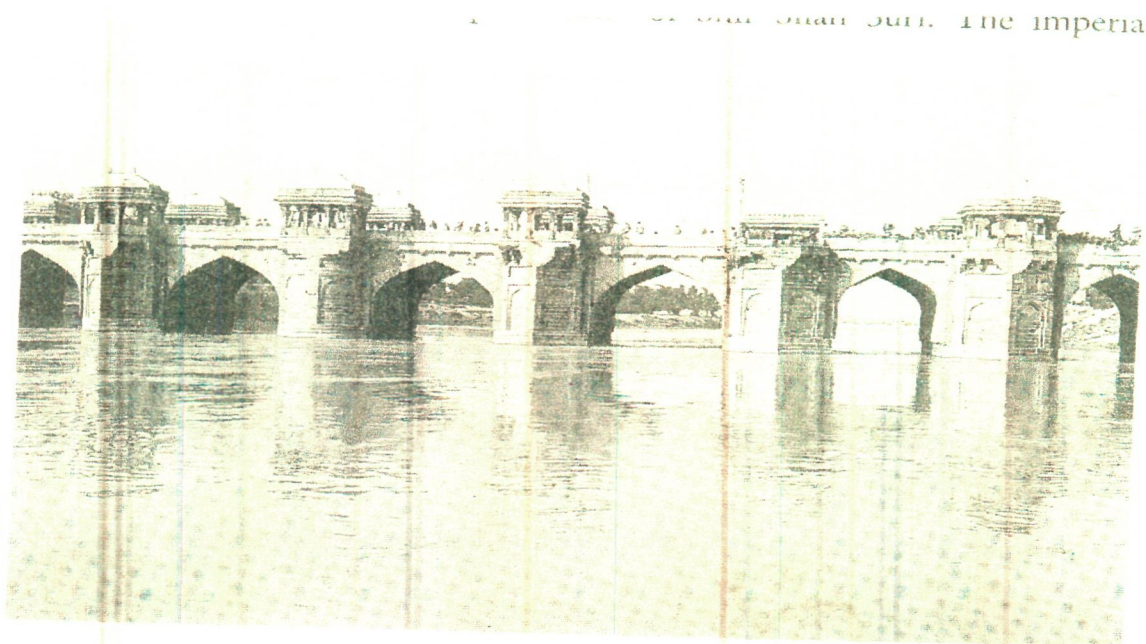


**Plate – 22.1. Rani Ki Mahal (Allahabad Fort) Courtesy Abbas Couch**





**Plate – 23 : The Chales Sutoon (Allahabad Fort) Courtesy Ebba Couch**

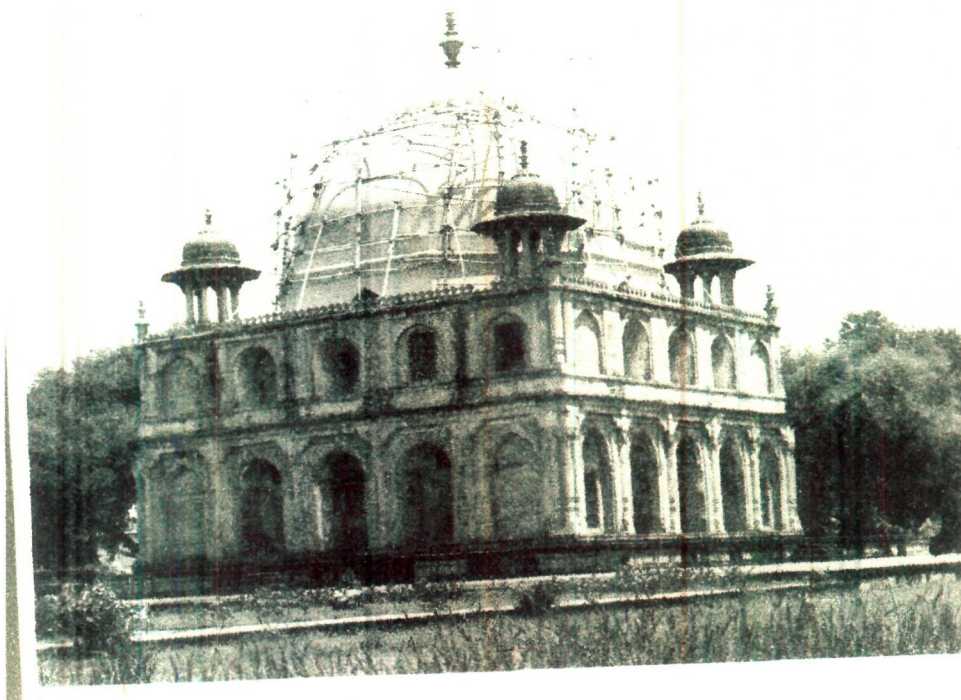


**Plate – 24 : Jaunpur Bridge Courtesy : Ebba Couch**

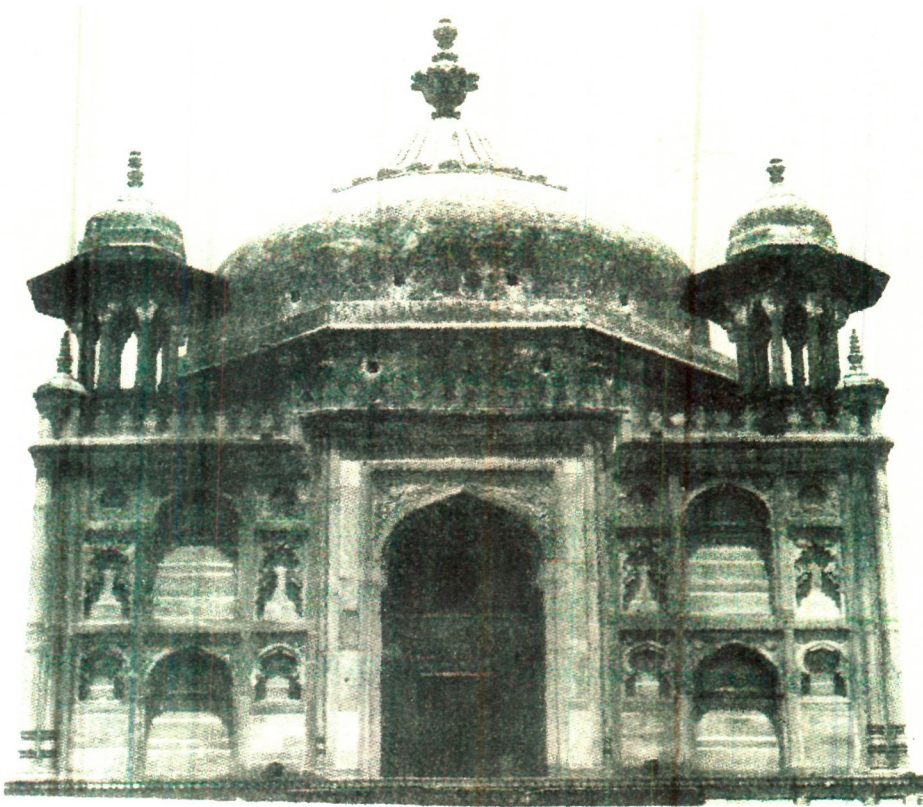


**Plate-25: Tomb of Shah Begum Courtesy R. Nath**

CCXCVII. Tomb of Khusrav, Allahabad (c. 1622-25)



**Plate-26: Tomb of Khusrav Courtesy, R. Nath**



**Plate-27: Tomb of Sultan-un-Nisa Begum, Courtesy R. Nath**



**Plate-28: Tomb of Tambolan Bi Courtesy Ebba Couch**



**Plate – 28.1 : Tomb of Tamboling Bi , Courtesy Ebba Couch**



**Plate – 29 Chunar Tomb (Attributed to Iftikhar Khan) d.1612-13  
Courtesy: Ebba Couch**



Prince Salim Catching Cheetah, at Allahabad:

Artist - Aqa Riza, Circa -1600 AD

Drawing – 31.1 X 19.4 cm

Plate : 30 Courtesy : Simon Digby



Prince Salim Hunting rhinoceros, by an unknown artist circa – 1600-05 19.8 X 11.9 cm (It may represent the prince's outdoor life. The ownership of the painting unknown to the author)

**Plate : 31** Courtesy : S.P. Verma



Prince Salim in the Polo Field, Allahabad on 27  
Muharram 1011 A.H./1602 AD

Painter - unknown

Drawing 31.9 X 20.3 (walters Art  
Gallery Baltimore, No. W. 650)

**Plate : 32** Courtesy : A.K. Das



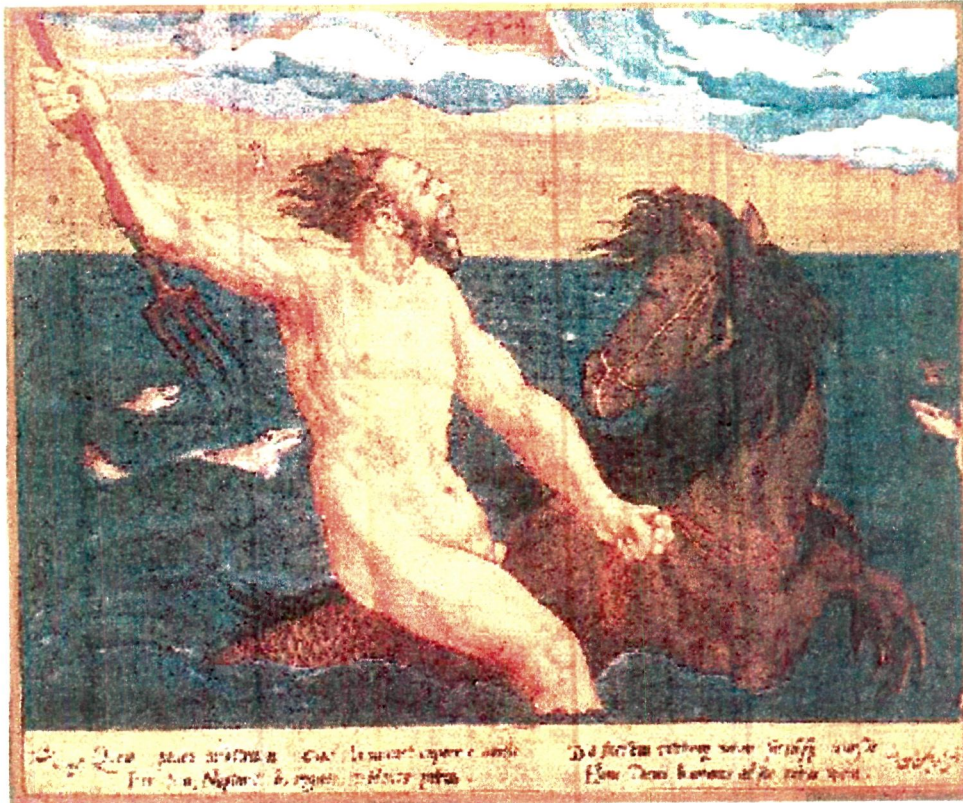
Portrait of a seated youth, Allahabad – C.1600-05

Artist : Mirza Ghulam

Drawing 9.8 X 5.4 cm, Los Angeles County Museum of Art Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase [M.81.8.12]

**Plate : 33. Courtesy: M.C. Beach**



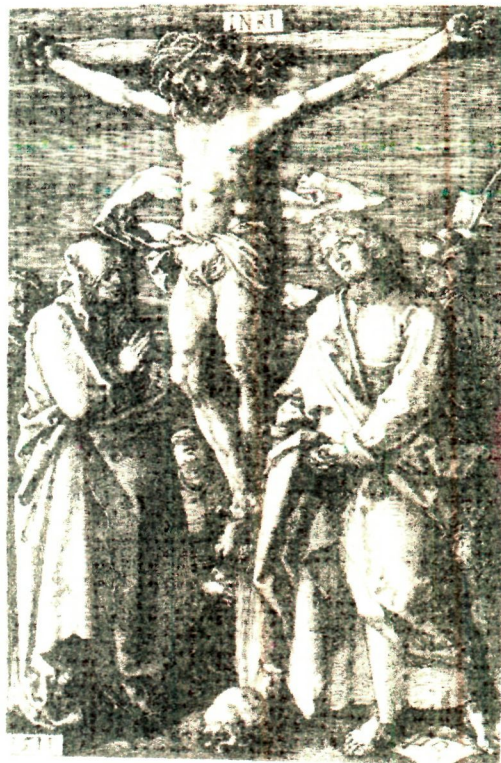


“Neptune riding on a water-horse” coloured European print. Signed, ‘work of Abul Hasan, son of Aqa Riza, Murid-i-Padshah Salim in the year 1011 AH’ (1602-03) J.P. Goenka Collection.

**Plate : 34** Courtesy : S.P. Verma



51. St. John. By Abu'l Hasan; Mughal,  
dated 1600-1601



**Plate-35: Crusification , Albrecht Durer St. Jhon**  
Courtesy to M.C.Beach