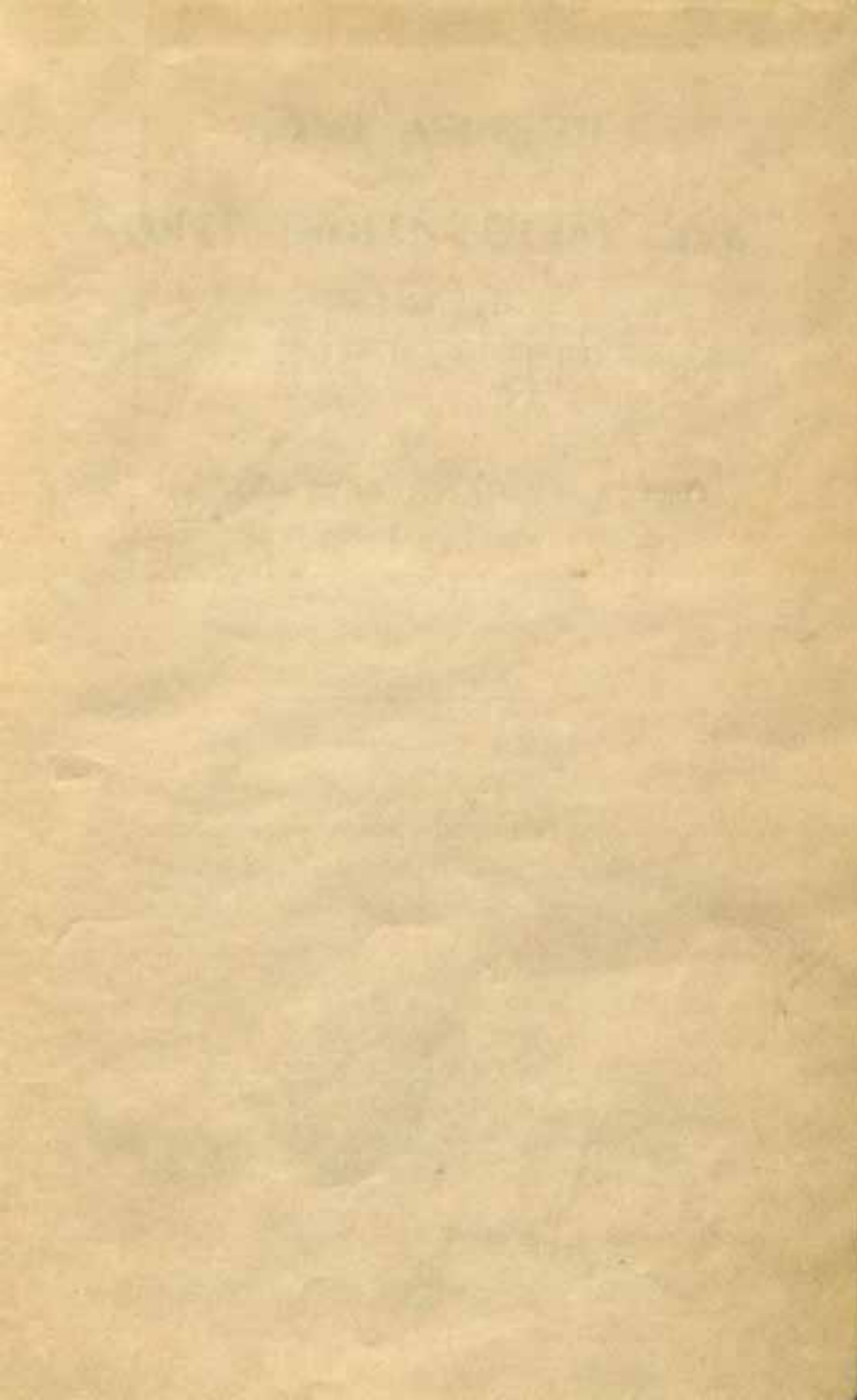


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SOME ASPECTS OF NORTH INDIAN-SOCIAL LIFE

1000-1526 A. D.

(With a special reference to Contemporary Literatures)

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By

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Dedicated to
DR. P. N. OJHA,
My truest Guru and Guide with due respect.

FOREWORD

Dr. Kishori Prasad Sahu's "Some Aspects of North Indian Social Life (1000—1526 A.D.)" makes a delightful reading. The author has successfully documented the facts and events in a way that puts them in their true perspective. Right from the time of the first invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni down to the advent of the Moghuls under Babur, India witnessed various colourful and important changes. As it covers a long period of nearly five hundred years, the work gives an analytical, exhaustive and momentous account of Medieval India. The work is mainly based on the contemporary vernacular literatures like Hindi, Rajasthani, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Gujarati, Maithili and Gurumuki; the Persian chronicles and the accounts of the foreign travellers who visited this country during the period under review. Dr. Sahu, with utmost care, has drawn rich materials from the contemporary vernacular literatures. Literature itself speaks of the age in which it flourishes. By his sound insight and critical and comprehensive study of different literatures of the period, Dr. Sahu has presented a very interesting account of the manifold aspects of the social and cultural life of the North Indian people prevalent during the period under study.

Scientifically-planned and well-arranged chapters of this work endeavour to throw sufficient fresh light on various aspects of the life of the people of that age. The first three chapters refer to the caste system, food habits, culinary art, housing, costumes and fashions, dress of men and women, various kinds of cosmetics, articles of toilet and ornaments of both the Hindus and the Muslims, high and low. Chapter IV specially describes in vivid details the educational system prevalent among the commoners as well as the Sultans and the *Rajas*. Chapter V has been well-planned and it speaks high of the talented author's critical analysis of the social status of women, early marriage, childbirth, dowry, divorce, *purdah*, polygamy and polyandry, harem-life, Sati, Jauhar, prostitution etc. The pitiable lot of the Hindu widows has also been described in considerable details. And the last

chapter describes the different kinds of games and pastimes, festivals and pilgrimages of the rulers and the ruled, both Hindu and Muslim.

The work is an extensive one, both in its conception and presentation. The author has endeavoured till the last to see that not a single omission occurs. In fact, Dr. Sahu has contributed to the stock of our knowledge relating to the varied facets of North Indian social life in Medieval India. He has treated his subject with praiseworthy objectivity and prudence. This book written in a good style will be useful not only to the scholars interested in the past but also to students of contemporary social and cultural life of this vast sub-continent. As such, I recommend this highly informative, interesting and authentic work to scholars and readers, interested in this speciality, everywhere.

P. N. Ojha

Ranchi University,

Ranchi.

29. 8. 1972.

INTRODUCTION

The present volume has emerged out of my Doctoral Thesis, submitted to the University of Ranchi in May, 1967.

An attempt has been made in the following pages to present a brief account of some aspects of North Indian social life from the time of the first invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni to the advent of the Moghuls under Babur in 1526 A.D. The period (1000-1526 A.D.), thus, roughly covers nearly five centuries and a half of Muslim regime in this country. The term "North India" in this present study denotes largely the regions covered by the modern States of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Assam and West Bengal. But it is well known that the scope of 'Social history' is very extensive and fluctuating, to which Trevelyan refers, "Its scope may be defined as the daily life of the inhabitants of the land in past ages". At the outset this work is an endeavour to study mainly the characteristic features of North Indian social life, during the period under review. Repetitions of the well-known facts have, as far as possible, been carefully avoided. But, where for the sake of continuity of the narrative, it seemed essential to refer to them, it has been allowed.

This work is based mainly on the contemporary Vernacular literatures, the Persian Chronicles and the accounts of the foreign travellers. Broadly speaking, the mass of raw materials which have been properly shifted and made to yield necessary results embodied in this thesis, may be pieced together under three heads, viz. the contemporary literatures like Hindi, Rajasthani, Sanskrit, Bengali, Oriya, Assamese, Gujarati, Maithili and Gurumukhi; the contemporary Persian Chronicles and the foreign travellers' accounts.

1. G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History* (Longmans, Green & Co., 3rd Edn., New Impression, May, 1948, Introduction, p. vii).

The importance of contemporary literatures in constructing social history of India can hardly be overstated. Literature, indeed, is 'the mirror of the age' in which it flourishes. There is, however, sufficient scope for literary exaggerations, yet, making possible allowances, it can be said that literature can throw ample light on the various facets of the life of a people. Hence, particular care has been taken in the present work to study the various aspects of the social life of the Indians, during the period under review, as reflected in different contemporary literatures, especially Hindi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Bengali, Sanskrit, Oriya, Assamese, Maithili and Gurumukhi. The works of the poets like Vidyapati, Mirabai, Malik Muhammad Jayasi, Narayandas, Qutban, Hemchandra, Kabir, Abdul Rahman, Maulana Daud Dalmai, Baruchandidas, Chandidas, Vijaya Gupta, Kritivasa, Maladhar Basu, Vipradas Pipalai, Madhava Kandali, Shankardeva, Saraladas, Balaramdas, Arjundas, Lawanyasamay, Bhalhan, Kavi Padmanabha and many others throw a flood of light on the social life of the age in which they flourished. Besides, an attempt has also been made here to utilize some of the semi-contemporary works belonging to a period slightly earlier or later than that under review. Every possible effort has also been made here, with the help of specialists, to thrash the grain out from the chaff, and to study the contemporary literatures with this end in view thereby. Due attention has been paid to see that nothing of the real importance is left out. And yet it is difficult to say that the entire sources relating to the period have been exhausted. Further, an effort has been made here to check up the data collected from the literary sources by an analytical and corroborative comparison with the contemporary foreign travellers' accounts and Persian Chronicles.

The various Persian Chronicles have also been critically examined with the help of experts and have been made to yield the desired results they are replete with. Besides, some of the semi-contemporary Persian works belonging to a somewhat later period than that under review have also been consulted. Stray references apart, of course, with the exception of Ziya-uddin Barni, Shams-Siraj Afif, Amir Khusrau and a few others, almost all of them fail to depict the life of the Indian people.

To these writers, the various activities of their sovereigns, their pompous court life, heroic exploits etc. meant everything.

The itineraries and accounts of the foreign travellers, who visited India during the period under review, also constitute indispensable contemporary sources of information, for they are sufficient bearing on the manners and customs of the people of Hindustan. Their descriptions and travel diaries contain what they saw and experienced while they were in India. But the foreign travellers had also their limitations. In most cases, they were inadequately informed of the history, customs, traditions, religion and geography of this vast country. At times, they could not fully comprehend the inner significance of some of the long-established Indian customs and practices, and as such, when they fell short of their expectations, they emphasized their dark aspects without attaching due importance to their utility under the existing conditions. In spite of their limitations and shortcomings, their travels and descriptions of the different aspects of Indian socio-cultural life of those days really provide us with a very minute and, at times, even first hand information. They recorded in their accounts with great care and sincerity even such matters as externally appeared to be unimportant and superficial.

While selecting and discussing the various topics, their relative importance has not been lost sight of. Those aspects of contemporary social life which very closely resemble their modern counterparts have either been generally ignored or only briefly referred to. Some of the important aspects of social life in those days have preferably been left out or treated rather briefly owing to the paucity of relevant data, while more details have been furnished with regard to certain comparatively less-known ones in view of abundant information available. The paucity of information is felt all the more with regard to the social groupings among the Muslims during the period under review.

A brief plan of the Chapter-wise synopsis has been presented here which, I think would acquaint the readers with the legitimate facts.

Chapter I of this book deals with the 'social divisions' among the Hindus and the Muslims during the period under review. Since the caste system formed the basis of society, especially among the Hindus, it has been treated in considerable details. Also, this chapter analyses the various factors relating to Hindu-Muslim relations.

Chapter II gives an account of the food habits, culinary art and housing of the people, high and low, among both the Hindus and the Muslims.

Chapter III deals with the various types of designs of costumes and fashions of dress of men and women of different social classes among the Hindus and the Muslims. It also discusses the various kinds of cosmetics, articles of toilet and ornaments used by both the sexes of the two communities. Contemporary literary works have been frequently quoted, and at the same time, the materials collected from these sources have been critically compared with those obtained from the Persian Chronicles and the accounts of the foreign travellers.

Chapter IV attempts to describe the educational system—primary, secondary and higher—which was prevalent among the Hindus and the Muslims. Further, an attempt has also been made here to present an exhaustive study of the existing curriculum at different stages. The Hindu system of education, in particular, has been dealt with in greater details. It also throws some fresh light on the system of royal education under the Delhi Sultans as well as the Hindu *Rajas*. A review of Sufi education and of the state of libraries has also been made here. The state of education among women has been treated separately. Patronage of learning and scholarship under the Delhi Sultans has also been critically discussed in this chapter.

Chapter V attempts to present the social status of women in those days. All possible details with regard to the prevalence of certain universal social customs and features like early marriage, childbirth, dowry, divorce, *purdah*, polygamy and polyandry, harem life, *Sati*, *Jauhar*, prostitution etc. have been

furnished here. The pitiable lot of the Hindu widows has also been described here in considerable details.

Chapter VI is mainly devoted to the study of the different kinds of pastimes like games, sports etc. Adequate emphasis has been laid on some of the more popular games and pastimes of the rulers and the ruled. The Hindu as well as the Muslim festivals and pilgrimages have also been dealt with at some length. Due care has also been taken not to omit anything which has some important bearing on the subject.

Thus all these chapters would reveal the value and significance of the aspects of the North Indian life depicting the socio-cultural and moral facade and milieu of the Mediaeval History meaning something to all and conveying much to the many. The book belongs to the rare descriptions of the age referred to, and that stands necessary for such an arduous task. In the succeeding chapters it shall be an endeavour to study the main aspects and movements as reflected in this book with special reference to the Mediaeval Era.

I am highly indebted to my revered teacher, Dr. P.N. Ojha, M.A., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the University Department of History and Dean, Faculty of Arts, Ranchi University, Ranchi without whose kind help, proper encouragement and constant supervision, it would have been difficult for me to accomplish this arduous task. He has also been kind enough to go through the revised manuscript and to suggest many improvements. Besides, I express my deepest sense of gratitude to him for his kind favour by writing the foreword of this book. I must also express my gratefulness to Prof. Syed Hasan Askari, retired Professor in History, Patna University, Patna, and Shri H. M. Shaida Salfi, M.A. of Patna University for their valuable assistance rendered to me from time to time in reading and ascertaining the correct renderings of the various Persian works and manuscripts consulted in preparing this book. My sincere thanks are also due to my other respected teachers and well-wishers like Dr. Benoy Krishna Roy, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., Dr. Sushil Madhava Pathak, M.A., Ph.D., Dr. R.S. Srivastava,

M.A. (double), D.Litt. ; Dr. B. Virottam, M.A., Ph.D. ; Prof. Ram Suhag Singh, M.A. and Dr. Binode Kumar Sahay, M.A., Ph.D., whose association has stood me in good stead. I am also grateful to Dr. K.C. Sahoo, Reader in Oriya Department, Utkal University, Bhubaneshwar and Miss Dipti Roy, M.A., Research Scholar, Department of Bengali, Patna University, Patna for their help in collecting relevant information from Oriya and Bengali literatures respectively. I am also highly obliged to Shri S. Jameel Ahmad, Assistant Editor, 'Indian National Bibliography', National Library, Calcutta for his valuable assistance in course of my studies at the National Library.

My sincere thanks are also due to my other friends and well-wishers like Prof. Hari Shanker Mishra, M.A., Shri Bijay Bahadur Singh, M.A., Shri Umeshwar Prasad Chainpuri, M.A., B.L., Shri Mohammad Shafi, M.A. and all those persons who had encouraged me in accomplishing this arduous task at every step. My friend and colleague Shri Suresh Prasad Mishra, M.A., Department of English, Doranda College, Ranchi, who took a lot of pains while going through some of the important portions of the manuscript and helped me with some suggestions which have been invaluable, deserves my thanks and to him as well I wish to express my deepest sense of gratitude. Besides, the inspiration to take this arduous task up came from my beloved wife Mrs. Radha Kumari Sahu, M.Sc., Lecturer in Botany, Ranchi Women's College, Ranch, to whom I owe too much for shaping and encouraging discussions which are perennial and whose manifold inspirations still stand in my way, and to her, for all the benefits, I have received I express my sincerest thanks. I have been considerably benefited as a result of my discussions with scholars belonging to different disciplines without whose kind suggestions the book would not have been ready.

While summing up, I should like to take the opportunity of acknowledging my deepest thanks to the energetic publishers who took particular care for the immediate and excellent format of the book. Now, if the book offered to students in particular and casual readers of Medieval Indian History and Culture in general, will acquaint them with some measure of society and

culture of our country during the illustrious age of the Sultans of Delhi, the author would deem his labour fruitfully rewarded. At the same time, the author feels that the present volume would stand useful to a greater extent to the students working for a doctoral work and also carrying Postgraduate studies in Mediaeval Indian History and Culture in all the Universities of India and abroad. Students interested to work for a degree in educational science in the different Universities, would find this book most useful of which the author is sure. The author would feel himself redeemed if this could serve the desired purpose of the students. Despite my best care, I am afraid that there might be certain errors and defects in the book which remain uncorrected, but for all these I crave the indulgence of the readers.

Kishori Prasad Sahu

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INDIA.

fol.	folio.
fol.	folios.
f. n.	foot note.
Ibid.	In the samme place.
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
I. H.	Indian History.
I. H. Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly (Periodical).
I. C.	Islamic Culture, Hyderabad (Periodical).
Jayasi	Malik Muhammad Jayasi.
J. I. C.	Journal of Indian Culture.
J. I. H.	Journal of Indian History.
J. H. R.	Journal of Historical Research, Department of History, Ranchi University, Ranchi.
J. U. P. Hist. Soc.	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
J. A. S. B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
J. P. R. A. S. B.	Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Law	Narendra Nath Law.
Lond.	London.
Med.	Mediaeval.
MS	Manuscript, hand-written or typed.
Nizami	Khaliq Ahmad Nizami.
No. or no.	Number or number.
Nos.	Numbers.
N. P. S.	Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi (Varanasi).
O. I. B.	Oriental Institute, Baroda.
O. P. L.	The Khudabux Oriental Public Library, Banki- pore, Patna.
O. U. P.	Oxford University Press, London or Calcutta
Pat.	Patna.

Per.	Persian.
(P) Ltd.	Private Limited.
pub.	Published.
Pr. I.H.C.	Proceedings of Indian History Congress
pt.	part.
pts.	parts.
p.	page.
pp.	pages.
R. A. S.	Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Sec.	Section.
Secs.	Sections.
Tab. Nas.	Tabaqat-i-Nasiri by Minhaj-us-Siraj.
T. F. S. (A)	Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi by Shams Siraj Afif.
T. F. S. (B)	Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi by Ziyauddin Barni.
T. M. S.	Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi by Yahya Sarhindi
Tod.	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan by James Tod.
tr.	translated or translation.
U. P.	Uttar Pradesh.
Vol. or vol.	Volume.
V. S.	Vikram Samvat.
Z. W.	Zafar-ul-walib Bi Muzzafar Waalib or "An Arabic History of Gujarat".
I, II, III etc.	Volume I, Volume II, Volume III etc.

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CHAPTER I

SOCIAL DIVISIONS (Hindus and Muslims)

The division of mankind into groups based on fundamental differences in disposition, capacity and character is a common feature of society all over the world. Such groups have a tendency of isolate themselves into separate classes holding intercourse chiefly among themselves ; but the evolution of a caste-system postulating hereditary orders functioning within rigidly circumscribed spheres of social intercourse and yet sharing the larger life of the community is a phenomenon peculiar to the organisation of Hindu society ; including, as it does, an elaborate code of ceremonial purity and defilement, unapproachability and untouchability, 'commensal' restrictions and 'connubial' prohibitions, penance and excommunication.¹ There is no priesthood in Islam, and as such the Muslim society, during the period under review, was theoretically casteless, but the democratic fraternity could not escape the contagion of social distinctions in the Indian environments. It is the social divisions prevailing in the mediaeval Hindu and Muslim societies, owing to caste-system in its various ramifications, especially in the case of the former, that form the subject-matter of this chapter.

HINDU SOCIETY (Mainly Caste-System)

In other communities, generally, the principal factors determining class and status are wealth, pedigree, or profession. In the case of the Hindus, however, membership of a caste is determined by birth.² The institution of caste is a unique feature of Hindu society, and nothing exactly like it is to be found in any other part of the world.³ The word *Varna* really means colour, and, therefore, the division of society was made on the basis of colour.⁴ European writers in India, and following in their footsteps the native writers themselves, have interpreted the word *Varna*, first meaning in regard to the colour of the skin

of the people of India, and then the 'caste'. But, the word *Varna* was not originally used in the sense of 'caste' as we understand it today.⁵ The word 'caste' itself, or any exact equivalent for it is unknown to the Indians, and in the principal languages of India no expression is to be found which clearly describes the idea of 'caste'. The word 'caste' comes from the Portuguese '*casta*' which means 'race', 'family'.⁶ The law-books like that of Manu draw a picture of a society rigorously organized according to castes. Every caste has certain occupations allotted to it. Marriage has to be concluded, at least for the first wife of a man, within the limits of his caste, and on the other hand, outside the limits of the *gotra*. Interdining and various other kinds of contacts with the people of lower castes are strictly prohibited. Spirituous drinks are tabooed, detailed prescriptions separate the permitted food from the unpermitted. The marriage of maidens in infancy is prescribed and widow-remarriage interdicted. Every serious violation involves the loss of caste.⁷ This type of *Varnashrama Dharma* was prevalent in India from the early days,⁸ and we have on record the accounts of the *Indika* of Megasthenes according to which the population of India was divided into seven castes on the basis of occupations.⁹

The principles of caste formed the basis of the Indian social system, during the period under review. Ibn Khurdadba, an early Muslim Geographer of the 9th century A.D., in his work entitled *Kitabul Masalik wa-l Mamalik* speaks of seven castes in India. He says, "(1) the *Shakshris* (*Khastrias*) are the nobility of the land. The kings also come from this stock. All bow before them but they do not bow before anybody; (2) the *Barahimah* (the Brahmins) are not addicted to drugs, or alcohol; (3) the *Kastris* (*Khatris*) may drink from one to three cups. The Brahmins take their daughters as wives but do not give away daughters to them; (4) the *Shudars* (*Sudras*) are agriculturists; (5) the *Besh* (*Vaisyas*) follow different vocations; (6) the *Shandals* (*Chandals*) are acrobats and (7) the *Zambs* (*Doms*) are professional singers, their women are fond of adorning themselves. In Hind there are forty-two religious sects, part of them believe in a Creator and Prophet (the blessing of God be upon

them!), part deny the mission of Prophet, and part are atheists."¹⁰ Abu Abdu-llah Muhammad of Morocco, commonly known as Al Idrisi, in his book on Geography entitled *Nuzhau-l Mushtak fi Ikhtiraku-l Afak* ("The Delights of Those who seek to Wander through the regions of the World") gives us his account of castes of India.¹¹ He says, "The people of India are divided into seven castes (*ajnas*). One of them of *al-Sakhariya* (?). They are the most noble of them all. The kings belong to them, and not to any other (caste). All other castes bow to them whenever they meet them, whereas they do not bow to anyone."¹² Referring to the Brahmins, Al Idrisi observes, "Then comes *al-Barahima* (i.e. *Brahmins*). They are the devotees of India. They are dressed in leopard-skins and of other (animals). As often, one of them stands up with a staff in his hand and people gather round him; thus he keeps standing for a whole day until evening, giving a sermon to the people, reminding them of Almighty God and describing to them the affairs of all the peoples that have perished in the past. These *al-Barahima* do not drink any wine, or any of the fermented liquors. They worship idols, believing in them as mediators between themselves and Almighty God."¹³ Al Idrisi further mentions thus, "After them comes the third caste, and they are *al-Ksatriya* (i.e. *Kshatriya*). They drink up to three bowls of wine only, and do not drink immoderately, fearing that they might not remain in their senses. This class marries into the Brahmins, while the Brahmins do not marry them."¹⁴ He further observes, "After these there are *al Shudriya* (*Shudriya*). They are peasants and agriculturists. Next to them are *al Fasiya* (*al-Bayshiya*) and they are artisans and craftsmen."¹⁵ And again, "Among them (the castes) there are *al-Sandaliya*. They are musicians, and the beauty of their women is well-known."¹⁶ Referring to the seventh caste, Al Idrisi says, "Then among them are *al-R.K.ba* (*al-Dhurbiya*). They are dark-skinned, and are people of amusement and games, and players of various (musical) instruments."¹⁷ Al Idrisi's account of the caste system is, more or less, based on that of the Muslim Geographer, Ibn Khurdadba. The account of Ibn Khurdadba and Al Idrisi might appear to be exaggerated. But, the fact remains that they lead us to

believe that the caste system was mainly based upon birth and occupation of the Hindus.

Alberuni has left a comprehensive account of the different social gradations of Hindu society, during the period under review. Referring to the caste system, he begins his account thus, "The Hindus call their castes *varna*, i.e. *colours*, and from a genealogical point of view they call them *jataka*, i.e. *births*. These castes are from the very beginning only four."¹⁸ The Brahmanas were assigned the highest place in Hindu society right from the ancient times. Manu, the ancient Hindu law-giver, says thus, "On account of his pre-eminence, on account of the superiority of his origin, on account of his observance of (particular) restrictive rules, and on account of his particular sanctification the Brahmana is the lord of (all) castes (*varna*)."¹⁹ Manu further observes, "The very birth of a Brahmana is an eternal incarnation of the sacred law; for he is born to (fulfil) the sacred law, and becomes one with Brahman. A Brahmana, coming into existence, is born as the highest on earth, the lord of all created beings, for the protection of the treasury of the law. Whatever exists in the world is the property of the Brahmana; on account of the excellence of his origin the Brahmana is, indeed, entitled to it all."²⁰ Referring to the Brahmanas, Alberuni says, "The highest caste are the Brahmana, of whom the books of the Hindus tell that they were created from the head of Brahman. And as Brahman is only another name for the force called *nature*, and the head is the highest part of the animal body, the Brahmana are the choice part of the whole genus. Therefore, the Hindus consider them as the very best of mankind."²¹ Religion was the exclusive monopoly of the Brahmana. He not only administered to the religious needs of the people but also stood like an intermediary between God and man. Alberuni tells us that only the Brahmanas and the Kshattriyas could learn the *Vedas* and, therefore, *moksha* was meant for them alone.²² He has given us a detailed account of the life of a Brahmana which was divided into four stages. He says, "The life of the Brahman, after seven years of it have passed, is divided into four parts. The first part begins with the eighth year, when the Brahmins come to him

to instruct him, to teach him his duties, and to enjoin him to adhere to them and to embrace them as long as he lives. Then they bind a girdle round his waist and invest him with a pair of *yajnopavitas*, i.e. one strong cord consisting of nine single cords which are twisted together, and with a third *yajnopavita*, a single one made from cloth. This girdle runs from the left shoulder to the right hip. Further, he is presented with a stick which he has to wear, and with a seal-ring of a certain grass, called *darbha*, which he wears on the ring-finger of the right hand. This seal-ring is also called *pavitra*. The object of his wearing the ring on the ring-finger of his right hand is this, that it should be a good omen and a blessing for all those who receive gifts from that hand. The obligation of wearing the ring is not quite so stringent as that of wearing the *yajnopavita*, for from the latter he is not to separate himself under any circumstances whatever. If he takes it off while eating or fulfilling some want of nature, he thereby commits a sin which cannot be wiped off save by some work of expiation, fasting, or almsgiving."²¹ Alberuni speaks about the first stage in the life of a Brahmana thus, "The first period of the Brahman's life extends till the twenty-fifth year of his age, or, according to the *Vishnu-Purana*, till his forty-eight year. His duty is to practise abstinence, to make the earth his bed, to begin with the learning of the Veda and of its explanation, of the science of theology and law, all this being taught to him by a master whom he serves day and night. He washes himself thrice a day, and performs a sacrifice to the fire both at the beginning and end of the day. After the sacrifice, he worships his master. He fasts a day and he breaks fast a day, but he is never allowed to eat meat. He dwells in the house of the master, which he only leaves in order to ask for a gift and to beg in not more than five houses once a day, either at noon or in the evening. Whatever alms he receives, he places before his master to choose from it what he likes. Then the master allows him to take the remainder. Thus the pupil nourishes himself from the remains of the dishes of his master. Further, he fetches the wood for the fire, wood of two kinds of trees, *palasa* (*Butea frondosa*) and *darbha*, in order to perform the sacrifice; for the Hindus

highly venerate the fire, and offer flowers to it. It is the same case with all other nations. They always thought that the sacrifice was accepted by the deity if the fire came down upon it, and no other worship has been able to draw them away from it, neither the worship of idols not that of stars, cows, asses, or images"²⁴

Referring to the second stage in the life of a Brahmana, Alberuni says, "The second period of their life extends from the twenty-fifth year till the fiftieth, or, according to the *Vishnu-Purana*, till the seventieth. The master allows him to marry. He marries, establishes a household, and intends to have descendants, but he cohabits with his wife only once in a month after she has become clean of the menstruation. He is not allowed to marry a woman above twelve years of age. He gains his sustenance *either* by the fee he obtains for teaching Brahmans and Kshatriyas, not as a payment, but as a present, or by presents which he receives from some one because he performs for him the sacrifices to the fire, or by asking a gift from the kings and nobles, there being no importunate pressing on his part, and no unwillingness on the part of the giver. There is always a Brahman in the houses of those people, who there administers the affairs of religion and the works of piety. He is called *purohita*. Lastly, the Brahman lives from what he gathers on the earth or from the trees. He may try his fortune in the trade of clothes and betel-nuts, but it is preferable that he should not trade himself, and that a Vaisya should do the business for him, because originally trade is forbidden on account of the deceiving and lying which are mixed up with it. Trading is permitted to him only in case of dire necessity, when he has no other means of sustenance. The Brahmans are not, like the other castes, bound to pay taxes and to perform services to the kings. Further, he is not allowed continually to busy himself with horses and cows, with the care for the cattle, nor with gaining by usury. The blue colour is impure for him, so that if it touches his body, he is obliged to wash himself. Lastly, he must always beat the drum before the fire, and recite for it the prescribed holy texts."²⁵

About the third stage in the life of a Brahmana, Alberuni says, "The third period of the life of the Brahman extends from the fiftieth year to the seventy-fifth, or, according to the *Vishnu-Purana*, till the ninetieth. He practises abstinence, leaves his household, and hands it as well as his wife over to his children, if the latter does not prefer to accompany him into the life in the wilderness. He dwells outside civilisation, and leads the same life again which he led in the first period. He does not take shelter under a roof, nor wear any other dress but some bark of a tree, simply sufficient to cover his loins. He sleeps on the earth without any bed, and only nourishes himself by fruits, vegetables, and roots. He lets the hair grow long, and does not anoint himself with oil."¹⁰⁸

Then, referring to the fourth and the final stage in the life of a Brahmana, Alberuni observes, "The fourth period extends till the end of life. He wears a red garment and holds a stick in his hand. He is always given to meditation; he strips the mind of friendship and enmity, and roots out desire, and lust, and wrath. He does not converse with anybody at all. When walking to a place of a particular merit, in order to gain a heavenly reward, he does not stop on the road in a village longer than a day, nor in a city longer than five days. If any one gives him something, he does not leave a remainder of it for the following day. He has no other business but that of caring for the path which leads to salvation, and for reaching *moksha*, whence there is no return to this world."¹⁰⁹

Speaking about the duties of the Brahmanas in general, Alberuni says, "The universal duties of the Brahman throughout his whole life are works of piety, giving alms and receiving them. For that which the Brahmanas give reverts to the *pitras* (is in reality a benefit to the *Fathers*). He must continually read, perform the sacrifices, take care of the fire which he lights, offer before it, worship it, and preserve it from being extinguished, that he may be burned by it after his death. It is called *homa*."¹¹⁰

Alberuni also gives us a detailed account of the washing and praying habits of the Brahmanas. He says, "Every day he must wash himself thrice; at the *samdhi* of rising, i.e. morning

dawn, at the *sandhi* of setting, i.e. evening twilight, and between them in the middle of the day. The first washing is on account of sleep, because the openings of the body have become lax during it. Washing is a cleansing from accidental impurity and a preparation for prayer."¹²⁹ He further observes, "Their prayer consists of praise, glorification, and prostration according to their peculiar manner, viz. prostrating themselves on the two thumbs, whilst the two palms of the hands are joined, and they turn their faces towards the sun. For the sun is their *kibla*, wherever he may be, except when in the south. For they do not perform any work of piety with the face turned southward; only when occupied with something evil and unlucky they turn themselves towards the south. The time when the sun declines from the meridian (the afternoon) is well suited for acquiring in it a heavenly reward. Therefore at this time the Brahman must be clean."¹³⁰ About the evening prayer of the Brahmanas, Alberuni says, "The evening is the time of supper and of prayer. The Brahman may take his supper and pray without having previously washed himself. Therefore, evidently, the rule as to the third washing is not as stringent as that relating to the first and second washings. A nightly washing is obligatory for the Brahman only at the times of eclipses, that he should be prepared to perform the rules and sacrifices prescribed for that occasion."¹³¹ Referring to the etiquettes and manners of eating and drinking observed by the Brahmanas, Alberuni says, "The Brahman, as long as he lives, eats only twice a day, at noon and at nightfall; and when he wants to take his meal, he begins by putting aside as much as is sufficient for one or two men as alms, especially for strange Brahmans who happen to come at eveningtime asking for something. To neglect *their* maintenance would be a great sin. Further, he puts something aside for the cattle, the birds, and the fire. Over the remainder he says prayers and eats it. The remainder of his dish he places outside his house, and does not any more come near it, as it is no longer allowable for him, being destined for the chance passer-by who wants it, be he a man, bird, dog, or something else."¹³² Alberuni further continues, "The Brahmans must have a water-vessel for himself. If another one uses it, it is broken. The

same remark applies to his eating instruments. I have seen Brahmans who allowed their relatives to eat with them from the same plate, but most of them disapprove of this."³³

As regards the restrictions imposed upon a Brahmana, Alberuni says, "He (a Brahman) is obliged to dwell between the river Sindh in the north and the river Carmanvati in the South. He is not allowed to cross either of these frontiers so as to enter the country of the Turks or of the Karnata. Further, he must live between the ocean in the east and west. People say that he is not allowed to stay in a country in which the grass which he wears on the ring-finger does not grow, nor the black-haired gazelles graze. This is a description for the whole country within the just-mentioned boundaries. If he passes beyond them he commits a sin."³⁴

The *Kshatriyas* came next in the social heirarchy.³⁵ Alberuni never uses the term 'Rajput' for them. Alberuni writes thus, "The next caste are the *Kshatriyas*, who were created, as they say, from the shoulders and hands of Brahman. Their degree is not much below that of the Brahmana."³⁶ Alberuni further observes, "The *Kshatriya* reads the Veda and learns it, but does not teach it..... He rules the people and defends them, for he is created for this task. He girds himself with a single cord of the threefold *yajnopavita*, and a single other cord of cotton. This takes place after he has finished the twelfth year of his life."³⁷ Though not entitled to officiate as a priest, he was permitted to perform the Puranic rites. The *Kshatriyas* had apparently ceased to make any contribution to the progress or preservation of Indian culture. But their political prospects were improving.³⁸ Referring to the duties of a *Kshatriya*, Alberuni says, "... For the Hindus relate that originally the affairs of government and war were in the hands of the Brahmans, but the country became disorganised, since they ruled according to the philosophic principles of their religious codes, which proved impossible when opposed to the mischievous and perverse elements of the populace. They were even near losing also the administration of their religious affairs. Therefore they humiliated themselves before the lord of their religion. Whereupon Brahman instructed them exclusively with the functions

which they now have, whilst he instructed the Kshatriyas with the duties of ruling and fighting. Ever since the Brahmans live by asking and begging, and the penal code is exercised under the control of the kings, not under that of the scholars."³⁹ Quoting from the religious books of the Hindus, Alberuni further says, "The Kshatriya must fill the hearts with terror, must be brave and highminded, must have ready speech and a liberal hand, not minding dangers, only intent upon carrying the great tasks of his calling to a happy end."⁴⁰ Alberuni, however, seems to have overrated the facts, precisely because he drew them upon Hindu Smritis rather than the actual conditions prevailing in the 11th century.⁴¹ It is no wonder that he ignored the Rajputs, their rise being a later development.

In a contemporary Gujarati work (Kavi Padmanabha's "Kanhadde-Prabandha"),⁴² we find references to thirty-six social divisions among the Rajputs, most important among them being *Vala*, *Vaja*, *Jeihua*, *Chudasabha*, *Rathor*, *Parmar*, *Chauhan*, *Saulanki*, *Padihar*, *Chavada*, *Tuwar*, *Yadava*, *Zala*, *Gohil* etc. etc.

Had Alberuni taken pains to study the Hindu caste system prevailing in the early years of the 11th century, he would not have certainly forgotten to mention about the *Kayasthas* as a notable caste, as the original Hindu Shastras have made no mention of them.⁴³ But, the most important reason for not accepting Alberuni's description at its face value is that he omitted to mention about the community of the *Kayasthas*, who emerged as an important caste in the latter half of the ninth century A.D. In the eleventh and the following centuries, individuals of this caste rose to the highest public offices in different tracts.⁴⁴ Evidences of the ascendancy of Srivastava Kayasthas are found not only in Bengal, Sravasti and Kashmir, but also throughout the length and breadth of India.⁴⁵

Besides, there were the twice-born castes, exclusive heirs to the spiritual and intellectual achievements of Hinduism. Between them and the two remaining castes—the *Vaishyas* and the *Shudras*—there was a sharp distinction; the *Vaishyas* and the *Shudras* being very near to each other.⁴⁶ Alberuni refers to the

Vaishyas thus, "It is the duty of the *Vaishya* to practise agriculture and of cultivate the land, to tend the cattle and to remove the needs of the *Brahmans*. He is only allowed to gird himself with a single *yajnopavita*, which is made of two cords."⁴⁷ The *Banias* (business class) also come under this class, and they were further divided into different gradations. Lawanyasamay, a contemporary Gujarati poet in his "*Bimalprabandh*",⁴⁸ gives us a detailed list of eighty-four types of *Banias* in Mewar and Gujarat.

"The *Sudra*", Alberuni says, "is like a servant to the *Brahman*, taking care of his affairs and serving him. If, though being poor in the extreme, he still desires not to be without a *yajnopavita*, he girds himself only with the linen one. Every action which is considered as the privilege of a *Brahman*, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the *Veda*, and offering sacrifices to the fire, is forbidden to him, to such a degree that when, e.g. a *Sudra* or a *Vaishya* is proved to have recited the *Veda*, he is accused by the *Brahmans* before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off. However, the meditation on God, works of piety, and almsgiving are not forbidden to him."⁴⁹

Alberuni further says, "After the *Sudra*, follow the people called *Antyaja*, who render various kinds of services, who are not reckoned amongst any caste, but only as members of a certain crafts or professions. There are eight classes of them, who freely inter-marry with each other, except the fuller, shoemaker, and weaver, for no others would condescend to have anything to do with them. These eight guilds are the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, the basket and shield-maker, the sailor, fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and birds, and the weaver. The four castes do not live together with them in one and the same place. These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes, but outside them."⁵⁰

The lowest sections were enumerated as the *Hadi*, *Doma* (*Domba*), *Candala* and *Badhatau*, and they were not reckoned amongst any caste or guild. Alberuni says, "They are occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the villages and other services. They are considered as one sole class, and distinguished only by their occupations. In fact, they are considered

like illegitimate children; for according to general opinion they descend from a Sudra father and a Brahmani mother as the children of fornication; therefore they are degraded outcastes."¹¹

Referring to the different occupations of the castes and guilds, Alberuni says, "The Hindus give to every single man of the four castes characteristic names, according to their occupations and modes of life. E.g. the Brahmana is in general called by this name as long as he does his work staying at home. When he is busy with the service of one fire, he is called *ishtin*; if he serves three fires, he is called *agnihotrin*; if he besides offers an offering to the fire, he is called *dikshita*. And as it is with the Brahmana, so is it also with the other castes. Of the classes beneath the castes, the Hadi are the best spoken of, because they keep themselves free from everything unclean. Next follow the *Doma*, who play on the lute and sing. The still lower classes practise as a trade killing and the inflicting of judicial punishments. The worst of all are the *Badhatau*, who not only devour the flesh of dead animals, but even of dogs and other beasts."¹²

In a contemporary Hindi work entitled "*Chandayan*"¹³ by Maulana Daud Dalmai, we find some references to the different castes among the Hindus, such as *Bambhan* (i.e. *Brahman*), *Khatari* (*Kshatriya*), *Guara* (milkman), *Gaharvar* (i.e. *Gahadwala* Rajput), *Agarwala* (*Agarwala Vaisya*), *Tiwari* (a sub-caste of the Brahmanas), *Hajmanan* (*Hajjam* or barber), *Gandhai* (one who sold essences and scented oils), *Banjara*, *Soni* (goldsmith) and *Thakur* (a title among the *Kshatriyas*). In a 14th century Maithili work entitled "*Varnaratnakar*"¹⁴ we find references to some of the lower castes in the Hindu society, viz. *Teli* (oilman), *Tanti* (weaver), *Dhuniyan* (cotton comber), *Dhanuk* (a carder of cotton), *Hadi*, *Chandar* (chandala), *Chamar* (shoemaker) etc.

Thus, the above facts lead us to believe that Hindu society, during the period under review, was caste-ridden and was based on the traditional *Varnashrama Dharma*. There were four principal castes with their numerous sub-castes, besides a number of untouchables.

MUSLIM SOCIETY

The composition of Muslim society, during the period under review, was very simple. The Sultan was the leader of the people and the head of the society, enjoying the highest status. He was the most important individual in the realm and was believed to be the richest person in the country. As a ruler as well as the leader of the society, he set the standards of socio-cultural behaviour. Most of the Sultans expended the major portions of the state revenues on cities, palaces, royal household, gardens, arms and their nobles. On the whole, they lived the normal life of luxury and ostentation. Even the Holy Qur'an refers to the importance of the Sultan thus, "O people! (who accepted *Iman*, i.e. religion of Islam) obey *Allah* and *Rasul* (messenger of *Allah*) as well as *Util-Amra* (i.e. Sultan)."¹² At another place, the Prophet says, "One who has obeyed me, has obeyed *Allah*, and one who has obeyed *Imam* (Sultan), has obeyed me, and one who has disobeyed me, has disobeyed God, and one, who has disobeyed *Imam* (Sultan), has disobeyed me."¹³ The Prophet further says, "O people! you should obey your *Wali* (Sultan), although he is a *Habsi* (negro), *Abd* (slave) and even an *Ajda* (without ear or nose)."¹⁴ Again, the Prophet refers to the high office of the Sultan thus, "If there would have been no Sultan, the people would have eaten themselves."¹⁵ Then, he goes on to say, "The Sultan is a shadow of God on the earth."¹⁶ And again, "The Sultan only is entitled to secure religious matters and principles and he hears the disputes of the people. He only is entitled to secure the country and its subjects from enemy's attack. This is why, he has got such a high status."¹⁷ Referring to the administration of justice by the Sultan, the Prophet observes, "Even the Sultan's justice done to one hour is of greater importance than the worship and devotion of sixty years."¹⁸ At another place, the Prophet reveals, "The dispensation of justice within the space of an hour by a Sultan made him more pious and virtuous in the presence of *Allah* than performance of *Ibadat* (worship of God) by a man, even though he has observed the fast of *Ramzan*, may be, for sixty years and performed *namaz* for the whole night."¹⁹

Immediately below the monarch, there were two broad social divisions: 'Ahl-i-Saif' (men of the sword) and 'Ahl-i-Qalam' (men of the pen); the latter, judging from the recorded types, being almost wholly confined, in the first one or two generations, to the non-Turkish foreigners. From them were drawn recruits for the clerical services, the *Katib*, the *dabir*, the *wazir* etc.⁶³ The nobility (or *Umara* or *Khans*) was included in the category of 'Ahl-i-Saif'. They usually supported the Sultan in power, but at times usurped his functions, and if a ruling dynasty grew weak and effete, they stepped into its shoes, and founded a new ruling dynasty of their own. Even if a noble was deposed or otherwise robbed of his position and power, the traditions of former dignity and social honour were unfailingly handed on to his descendants; and with the approbation of the people, who tenaciously adhered to the hereditary principles, restoration to former power was only a question of time and opportunity.⁶⁴ The nobility was the greatest prop of the Sultanate. A noble generally began his career as a slave or retainer of the Sultan or of another big noble and by his gradual promotions sometimes he reached a high office and got the rank of Amir. The highest title of a noble was Khan, next came Malik and lastly Amir. Below them were some military ranks of Sipah-Salar etc.⁶⁵

The composition of Indian nobility was utterly heterogeneous, viz. Turks, Arabs, Afghans, Persians, Egyptians, Moghuls and Indians. The Muslim aristocracy in Mediaeval India consisted mostly of the descendants of foreign immigrants, at least in the beginning of our period. But in course of time, they adapted themselves to the new environments and became thoroughly Indianized. They supplied leaders in the field of politics and administration. The large majority of Indian Muslims consisted of those whose forefathers had embraced Islam. They retained their affinities with the corresponding groups among the Hindus to whom they had originally belonged.⁶⁶ The Indian Muslims were not only admitted into the ruling aristocracy of the conquerors, at least in the beginning of our period, but were also not given even a share in the socio-economic privileges, enjoyed by their co-religionists. However, from the middle of the 14th century onwards they began to have a share in the state

affairs, though not always a significant and important share.⁶⁷ The nobility exercised a potent influence in the state as military generals, administrators and also, at times, as king-makers. The nobles served the state loyally under strong rulers. But when the Sultans became weak, many a noble established his independent state. Important and powerful nobles tried to emulate the Sultan in every possible way. In the closing years of the Sultanate, some of the nobles built mansions as would almost rival the King's palace.⁶⁸ The Islamic state fostered luxury among the members of its ruling aristocracy. The easy acquisition of enormous wealth by the nobility and their participation in the festivities of the royal court led to sinister vices of wine, women, drinking, gambling and debauchery, sometimes, of the worst type. But, their ways of life did not always sap their vitality. Almost all the noblemen of this period were fond of field sports and swordsmanship, and were keenly interested in military exercises.⁶⁹ Many among them were renowned patrons of arts and letters and were 'learned, humble, polite and courteous'.⁷⁰

Besides, the *Ulama* constituted a very influential section of Muslim society in the middle ages. They were held in high esteem on account of their religious learning, and in many traditions of the Prophet, they are referred to as his heirs and are sometimes compared to the Prophet of the Israelites.⁷¹ Fakhru'd-Din Mubarak-shah, a contemporary historian, has made some remarks about them thus, "All people know that after the apostles and prophets rank the truthful persons (*siddiqin*), martyrs (*shahidan*) and scholars (*aliman*). The scholars are included in the category of *siddiqs*, and have preference over the martyrs. The Prophet says, "On the Day of Resurrection the ink used by the scholars will be weighed with the blood shed by the martyrs and the ink of the scholars will outweigh and turn the scales . . . The world thrives on the piety of the learned . . . The laws of *Shari'at* . . . are enforced by them . . . and things illegal and not sanctioned by the *Shari'at* are suppressed by them . . . The religion of God stands firm due to them . . . The Prophet has said, "A single *faqih* is a greater terror for Satan, than a thousand pious men." He has also said, "If there had been no Satan, the sons of Adam would not have suffered; if there had

been no pious men, certainly the wicked people would have been destroyed ; if there had been no *ulama*, certainly the people would have wandered about like beasts . . ." The Prophet further says, "The best kings and the best nobles are those, who visit the doors of the *ulama* and the worst *ulama* are those, who visit the doors of the kings and the nobles . . . The *ulama* are much superior in dignity and status to others . . ."⁷² Hasan Nizami Nisapuri, another contemporary writer, has referred to the high status of the *Ulamas* thus, "It is our duty to honour and place in high position to *Ulamas*, who are heirs of *Navis* (Prophets). They are the treasures of *Ilm-e-Shari'at* (knowledge of Islamic religion)."⁷³ The Prophet is reported to have said in his *Hadis*, "Honour the *Ulama*, for they are the successors of the prophets, he who honours them, honours the Prophet of Islam and Allah thereby."⁷⁴

By far the most influential section of the *Ahl-i-Qalam* was, of course, composed of the ecclesiastics—theologians and literateurs—who, along with the *Umara*, formed the first two estates of Muslim society. Although not so strictly organized as the Christian episcopacy, they were yet, informally, a well-knit group, intensely conscious of their importance and zealous of their high privileges. They manned the judicial and ecclesiastical services and wherever there was a mosque,—every Muslim locality must have one—the *imam*, the *khatib*, the *muhtasib* and the *mufti* represented an interest which received state recognition. They necessarily controlled the educational establishments and, thus, put a premium on unorthodox thought and learning calculated to undermine their positions. The authority of the *Sadrus-Sudur*, who officially presided over this class, thus, embraced all the lettered Muslims except the group known as the *mushaikh*, the mystic saints whose independence and other-worldliness could never suit the liberal-minded *Ulama*.⁷⁵ The often-quoted Arabic expression '*La Rahpaniata Fil Islam*' only means that there is no priesthood in Islam, and Muslim society was theoretically casteless. But, the democratic Muslim fraternity could not escape the contagion of social distinctions in its Indian environments as referred to earlier.

Leaving aside the privileged classes consisting mainly of the nobles, high state officials and the *Ulama*, the rest of the Muslims were commoners, enjoying a fate almost similar to that of the vast bulk of Hindu population. The so-called middle class of today was practically non-existent in our period. Even the rich members of the business classes dared not live luxuriously with pomp and ostentation for fear of appearing to emulate the great and thereby inciting their wrath. The commoners had practically no direct voice in administration. The lowest class of Muslim society was composed mainly of the artisans, shop-keepers, petty traders, small number of peasants and workers, and inferior government servants as well as clerks. Besides there were Muslim barbers, tailors, washermen, ferrymen, grass-cutters, drum-beaters, betel-leaf sellers, flower-sellers, oilmen, jugglers, musicians, shepherds and still others. Beggars and destitutes also came under this category.¹⁶

One very important section of this class was composed of the Sufi saints and *darweshes*, who were spread all over the country, wielding great influence and maintaining intimate touch with the common people. Reverence for these saints almost bordered on worship. Rich and poor, high and low, men and women, all became their disciples. Their *Khanqas* (monasteries) were the meeting-grounds of scholars, nobles and commoners. Respected by kings and commoners alike, these Sufi saints played a significant role in creating a healthy socio-political atmosphere in the country. Kings and nobles generally made liberal grants to these holy men, but the true saints among them shunned all offers of gift or service.¹⁷

Another element of the Muslim population was composed of the domestics and slaves whose number was quite large. They constituted an important and common feature of high-class Muslim society and household. Every Sultan and noble and every well-to-do man, whether in state-service or in business, owned a number of slaves and servants of both sexes and of different nationalities, and they were employed in household work and in the numerous royal *Karkhanas*. Much care was taken of these slaves by their masters as they formed a useful source of service and, sometimes, also of monetary gain. The

Sultans generally liberated their slaves after some time, being mainly impressed by their devotion and loyal service, and some of them even rose to high positions in state services by dint of their talents. Besides a large number of Indian slaves of whom the Assamese slaves were more valued because of their strong physique, male and female slaves were imported from foreign countries like China, Turkistan and Persia. Female slaves were of two kinds, viz. (a) those employed for domestic and menial services, and (b) those purchased for pleasure and company, and the latter naturally had more honourable and, sometimes, even a dominating position in the royal as well as aristocratic households. Their prices varied in accordance with their personal charm, sociability and physical fitness.⁷⁴ A slave was generally a prisoner of war, or born of slave parents, and his life was at the mercy of the captor or master who exercised full powers of life and death over him. Thus, a slave was not a free agent in the eyes of the law of the land and had no rights whatsoever. The institution of slavery might have served some useful purposes to the Sultans and their nobles, but it did produce certain baneful social effects. It had certainly a stamp of unprogressiveness and was an unhealthy feature of our social life.⁷⁵

HINDU-MUSLIM CONTACT

The advent of Islam constituted the first threat to the solidarity of Indian community since the incorporation of the aboriginal peoples into the Aryan society. Henceforth, there were two communities in India—Hindu and Muslim—who formed two entirely separate entities, so far as, at least religious and social ideas, and political and civil rights were concerned. There was, however, one important difference between the two. The Muslim community kept its door wide open. It not only admitted everything, but even pushed people inside it. The result was that the Hindus entered into the fold of Islam in gradually increasing numbers.⁷⁶ But, the case was different with Hindu society. Though at the beginning we hear of reconversion of Hindus, who had embraced Islamic faith, gradually it adopted a more restrictive attitude and practically closed its doors against admission from outside, even for those who once

strayed out of it, by force, choice or accident. The inevitable consequence followed. The Muslims grew in number on account of conversion of the Hindus, while the Hindu rank was gradually thinning out. The immigration of fresh bands of Muslims from beyond the frontiers of India also swelled their number; but as years rolled by, they, numerically formed an insignificant part in the growing Muslim population, a great majority of whom were converted Hindus.¹¹ Of all the measures taken by the Muslim rulers in India to establish Islam as the religion of the country, none met with more bitter resentment on the part of the Hindus than the various means that were employed to bring about the conversion of their people to the Muslim faith.¹²

Al-Utbi, Sultan Mahmud's secretary, frankly says, "Islam, or death was the alternative that Mahmud placed before the people."¹³ He describes the consequences of Mahmud's victory thus, "The victors slew the vanquished wherever they were found, in jungles, passes, plains and hills." Elsewhere he says, "The blood of the infidels flowed so copiously, that the stream was discoloured, notwithstanding its purity, and people were unable to drink it."¹⁴ Alberuni also observes, "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims."¹⁵ Besides, Mahmud seems to have made the slaughter of infidels, the destruction of their temples, the capturing of slaves, and the plundering of the wealth of the people, particularly of the temples and priests, the main object of his raids. On the occasion of his first raid, he is said to have taken much booty; and half a million Hindus, 'beautiful men and women, were rendered to slavery and taken back to Ghazni'.¹⁶ Mahmud was not the only Muslim Sultan with anti-Hindu feelings, but there were other Sultans also who strove for the promulgation of the true faith and doctrines of Islam. The converted Hindus were exempted from the payment of *jizyah* (poll tax). Firuz Shah in his *Futuhāt* writes, "Another favour of God is apparent

from what follows: The stupid idol-worshipping Hindus, who have submitted to the levy of *jizyah* by way of security, and whose property has been safeguarded have built new temples in the city (Delhi) and its neighbourhood."⁷⁷ Alberuni goes on to say that there were barriers which separated the Hindus from the Muslims. "The Hindus", he says, "entirely differ from us in every respect . . . First, they differ from us in everything which other nations have in common. And here we first mention the language, although the difference of language also exists between other nations."⁷⁸ Having pointed out the difference of language, he further says, "Secondly, they totally differ from us in religion, as we believe in nothing in which they believe, and *vice-versa* . . . In the third place, in all manners and usages they differ from us to such a degree as to frighten their children with us, with our dress, and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be devil's breed, and our doings as the very opposite of all that is good and proper."⁷⁹

Referring to the general attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims, Alberuni remarks, "All their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them *mleccha*, i.e. impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner; and no household can exist without these two elements. Besides, they never desire that a thing which once has been polluted should be purified and thus recovered, as, under ordinary circumstances, if anybody or anything has become unclean, he or it would strive to regain the state of purity. They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them."⁸⁰

Amir Khusrau, a contemporary poet, comments on them in his description of Hindustan thus, "The whole country, by means of the sword of our holy warriors, has become like a

forest denuded of its thorns by fire. The land has been saturated with the water of the sword, and the vapours of infidelity (i.e. Hinduism) have been dispersed. The strong men of Hind have been trodden under foot, and all are ready to pay tribute. Islam is triumphant, idolatry is subdued. Had not the law granted exemption from death by the payment of poll-tax, the very name of Hind, root and branch, would have been extinguished."²¹

Vijaya Gupta's "Mansamangal" throws some light on the strained relations between the Hindus and the Muslims. In this work we come across two Muslim brothers—Hasan and Husain—who seem determined to destroy Hindu manners. If they saw the leaf of holy basil (i.e. 'Tulsi') in the hands of any Hindu, they carried him to the *Qazi*; he was stoned and forced to sleep under a tree. When they saw a Brahman wearing a sacred thread, they compelled him to put it into pieces. If they met a Brahman, they spat on his body.²² In the same work, we are also told about a *Mullah* determined to ruin a sacred place where the Hindus worshipped their idol. Outraged on this account, the *Rakhals* (Hindus) began to beat him and they tore away his beard and trampled upon his cap. Afterwards, they even applied goat's blood on his entire body. Ultimately, the *Rakhals* freed the *Mullah* on the condition that in future he would live peacefully and would not tell the *Qazi* about the disgrace heaped on him.²³ Vijaya Gupta also refers to the harsh treatment thus, "The Muhammedans, however, regard the Hindu worship as 'Bhut-puja' in disgust as the *Mullah* is telling to his *Qazi*."²⁴ At another place in the above-mentioned work there is a reference to disgrace caused to a *Mullah* by the Hindus. This made the *Qazi* very angry and he called them (the Hindus) bad names as *Haramjada* (the illegitimate) etc.²⁵

Some of the available evidences also refer to Hindu-Muslim unity and brotherhood, during the period under review. The earliest references to contacts between the Hindus and the Muslims, that we find in mediaeval records, are about the *Khanqas* of the Muslim saints. We hear of a Hindu, introduced to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya by a Muslim as "The Hindu is my brother." The use of large number of Hindustani

words, phrases, idioms and similies in the contemporary literary works show the extent to which social contacts had developed.⁹⁶ Some of the names given to Muslim nobles, religious men and others, are definitely Indian, e.g. Malik Chajju, Malik Kachchan, Faqih Mahdu, Rashid Pandit, Malik Haran Mar.⁹⁷

Vidyapati, a contemporary poet, has thrown some light on the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity and harmony in the Sharqui capital of Jaunpur in his work entitled "Kirtilata".⁹⁸

In a contemporary Gujarati work, e.g. "Kanhad-de-Prabandh", Sultan Alaaddin Khalji's favourite daughter is seen singing the praises of Hinduism thus, "Listen, my Father, great is the difference between a Hindu and a Turk. The Hindu is an Indra in his enjoyments. He has eighteen types of food and best of ornaments and dress. He knows what words to use. I will never marry a Turk; I would rather remain a virgin for ever."⁹⁹ Thus, it can be said that after coming to India, the Muslims succeeded in spreading their religion even by mixing with the Hindu propagators. The 'Ismaili Gurus' began to propagate the Muslim religion by mixing with 'Vallabhaite Vaishnava Sampradaya'. Even they used to rejoice in Hindu customs and festivals like 'Ram Navami' and 'Janmasthami'. They were, however, called 'Khoja'.¹⁰⁰ In Gujarat, 'Khoja', 'Kakapanthi', 'Imamshahi', 'Mol-Islam', 'Matia-Sanghar', etc. all these were the followers and supporters of the Hindu-Muslim synthetic culture.¹⁰¹

On the whole, the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims, during the period under review, cannot be called wholly cordial. Although there were numerous points of contact between the two communities on the higher as well as on the lower levels, their life-currents flowed separately. Historically, therefore, one has to admit that Indian society, during the period under review, was distinctly divided between the Hindus and the Muslims, whose spiritual sources of inspiration were different, although in their external as well as material aspects, they had many things in common. Hinduism and Islam, thus, flowed like two streams, during this period, almost on parallel lines, at times, meeting together and then drifting apart.

institutions to religious equal to our own. The use of Indian

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6. Ibid.
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45. For details regarding the origin and development of Srivastava Kayasthas, refer to Nagendra Nath Vasu's 'A Short History of the Indian Kayastha', Calcutta, 1915, pp. 43-45. The Kayasthas of Northern India monopolized a large proportion of jobs in the Mughal bureaucracy. They served as intermediaries between the rulers and the ruled (See Yusuf Husain's 'Glimpses of Med. Indian Culture, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 2nd edn., 1959, p. 129).
46. Journal of Aligarh Historical Research Institute, Vol. I, July-Oct., 1941, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 82. Alberuni says about the *Vaishyas* and the *Shudras* thus, "Between the latter two classes there is no very great distance. Much, however, as these classes differ from each other, they live together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings" [Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 101].
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91. E. & D., III, p. 546.
92. Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn. (*Hasan-Husain Sambad*), p. 54.
93. Ibid, p. 55.
94. Ibid, the poet refers to it thus, "Ei Bhagirathi Tere Hindu Bhut Puji"; Also see Ibid, p. 57.
95. Ibid, p. 85, where the poet speaks thus,
"Haramjad Hindur Eto Bado Pran,
Amar Gramete Baita Kore Hinduan,
Gote Gote Dhoribo Giya Jano Achhe Chhemra,
Era Ruti Khavaiya Koribo Jati Mara,
Ostad Mulla More Apoman Hoy,
Tahare Emon Kore Prane Nahin Bhay."
96. Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1961, pp. 323-324.
97. Ibid, p. 324.

98. Vidyapati's "Kirtilata" ed. by Vasudev Sharan Agarwala, pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1962, second pallava, chhanda 31, dohas 192-197, pp. 111-112. Here, referring to the Hindu-Muslim unity Vidyapati says thus,
 "Hindu Turke Milal Vas,
 Ekak Dhamme Aaoka Upahas,
 Katahu Bang Katahu Veda,
 Katahu Misimil Katahu Chheda,
 Katahu Ojha Katahu Shoja,
 Katahu Nakat Katahu Roja."
- See also J.U.P. Hist. Soc. (New Series), Vol. IV, pts. I-II, 1956, p. 109.
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CHAPTER II

FOOD AND HOUSING

From very early times the Indians have been paying careful attention to their daily food, and through the ages, they have displayed high skill in the culinary art. In the different strata of Indian society, different 'standards' have existed during different periods in keeping with their respective status and resources. During the period under review, gastronomical developments were both thorough and remarkable, though, for obvious reasons, in varying degrees at different levels. It was really the beginning of a new era when the Indians came in vital contact with a new people, viz, the Muslims. Inevitably, many new modes and manners in living were acquired which affected their various standards in living. And the Muslim influence was nowhere more palpable than on the food habits of the Indian people. Here, an attempt has been made to throw some light on the daily food of the Indian people, both the Hindus and the Muslims, belonging to the upper classes (the ruling and the well-to-do classes), who tried to imitate the Sultans as far as possible, and to the vast mass of commoners.

FOOD HABITS OF THE RULERS AND THE WELL-TO-DO

The Sultans as also the nobles and the well-to-do, belonging to both the communities, were used to varied and rich food. Almost all the Sultans had their separate private kitchens or *Matbakh*s,¹ which were well-stocked and well-managed. They were managed and supervised by a special officer known as *Chashnigir*,² the predecessor of the *Bakawal* of the Mughals. The Sultans, as a rule, took their food in a leisurely manner. They usually dined in the company of their nobles and courtiers, often off the same plate, and always on the same *Dastarkhan*³ (a formal covering on the table). This sort of exclusive community dinner might have been possible largely due to the inherent

spirit of brotherhood in Islam and to diplomatic tactics as well, for long convivialities threw the nobles much in the Sultan's company and, in some measure, thereby kept them out of mischief. At any rate, these gave the Sultans some sort of handle over them. The royal bill of fare comprised mostly *Branj*⁹ (rice), *Surkh Biryani*⁵ (rice fried in ghee and coloured red and something like modern *polao*), *Nan*⁶ (light bread), *Nan-e-Tanuri*⁷ (*chapatis* cooked in *tandurs*), *Samosa*⁸ (a kind of pie with meat stuffing), *Kabab-e-Murg*⁸ (roast of chicken), *Bachay-e-Murg*¹⁰ (chicken), *Halwa*¹¹ and *fish*.¹² The Moorish traveller, Ibn Battuta, has left a graphic account of a dinner in the time of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, the occasion being the visit of Khudawandzada Qiwan-ud-Din, Qazi of Tirmidh, to the Sultan's court.¹³ Ibn Battuta begins the description of the dinner party thus, "The chamberlain and his companions made the necessary arrangements for feeding Qiwan-ud-Din; and they took along with them about twenty cooks (*Tabbakh*) from Multan. The chamberlain used to go ahead in the night to a station to secure the eatables and other things; and as soon as Khudawandzada arrived, he found his meals ready."¹⁴ Ibn Battuta further gives an account of the various delicious dishes which were served in the dinner. He says, "And the order in which the meal is served is this; to begin with, loaves (*khubb*) are served which are very thin and resemble cakes of bread; then they (the chamberlains) cut the roasted meat (*Al-lah-mul-mashvi*) into large pieces in such a manner that one sheep yields from four to six pieces. One piece is served before each man. Also they make round cakes of bread soaked in ghee; and in the midst of these they place the sweet called *subunia* (a mixture of almonds, honey, and sesame oil). On every piece of bread is placed a sweet cake called *khishti*, which means 'brick-like'—a preparation of flour, sugar and ghee. Then they serve meat cooked in ghee, onion (*bast*), and green ginger in China dishes or *Sehafun Siniyatun*.¹⁵ Then is brought a thing called *samosa* (*samusak*)—minced meat cooked with almonds, walnut, pistachios, onion and spices placed inside a thin bread and fried in ghee. In front of every person are placed from four to five of such *samosas*. Then is brought a dish of rice cooked in ghee on the top of which is

roasted fowl (*dojaj*, i.e. *polao* with *Murg-musallam*). And next is brought the *luqaimat-ul-qazi* (a kind of sweets) which is called *hashimi*. Then is brought *al-qahiriya* (a kind of pudding borrowed from Qahira).^{11a} Ibn Battuta, while discussing some of the customs observed by the Sultans, says thus, "Before the dinner begins, the chamberlain, stands at the head of the dinner carpet (*simat*) and performs the bow (*khidmat*) in the direction of the Sultan; and all present do the same. The *khidmat* in India consists of bowing down to the knee as in prayer. After this the people sit down to eat; and then are brought gold, silver and glass cups filled with fine sugar-water perfumed with rose-water which they call *sherbat*. After they have taken the *sherbat*, the chamberlain calls out *Bismillah*. Then all begin to eat. At the end of the dinner, jugs of barley-drink (*fuqqa*) are brought; and when these have been consumed, betel-leaves and nuts are served. After the people have taken the betel and nut, the chamberlain calls out *Bismillah*, whereupon all stand up and bow in the same way as before. Then they retire."¹² Ibn Battuta gives us another detailed account of a royal dinner, both private and public. He says, "In the royal palace there used to be held two kinds of dinners—private dinner and public dinner; a private dinner is one that the Sultan attends. It is his way to eat along with those who are present and those whom he calls for the purpose, such as the special *amirs*—the head chamberlain (*amir-hajib*), the Sultan's paternal cousin, Imad-ul-mulk Sartez and master of ceremonies (*amir-i-majlis*)—and those out of the *a'izza* ('The Honourables') and great *amirs* whom he wants to honour and revere. Occasionally, when he is inclined to honour any one from among those present, he takes a plate, puts a bread on it and gives it to him. The latter receives it; and placing the plate on his left hand, he bows with his right hand touching the ground. Sometimes the Sultan sends something from that meal to one absent from it, and the latter too bows like the one present and sits down to eat it along with those that be in his company. I attended this special dinner several times; and I noticed that the persons present at this dinner were about twenty in number."¹³

About the public dinners of the Sultan, the Moorish traveller says thus, "But the public dinners are brought from the kitchen led by the palace officers, who call out 'Bismillah'; and they are headed by the chief palace officer. He holds in his hand a gold mace and is accompanied by his deputy who carries a silver mace. As soon as they enter the *fourth* gate and those in the council-hall hear the call, all stand up and none remains seated, the Sultan alone excepted. When the dishes are served on the floor, the palace officers stand up in rows, their chief standing right in their front. He makes a discourse in which he praises the Sultan and eulogizes him; then he bows to him and so do his subordinate *naqibs* and in the same manner bow all those present in the council-hall whether big or small. Their custom is that anyone who hears the utterance of the chief palace officer (*naqib-un-nuqaba*) stops instantly, if walking; and remains in his place if he happens to be standing and none can move or budge from his place until the said discourse is over. Then his deputy too makes a similar discourse and he bows; and so do the palace officers and all the people a second time. Then all the people take their seats; and the gate secretaries draft a report informing the emperor (*Sultan*) that the food has been brought, even though he be aware of it. The report is handed over to a boy from among the maliks's sons appointed for this purpose; and he takes the message to the Sultan who, on reading it, appoints whomsoever he likes from among the great amirs to supervise the seating and feeding of the people."¹⁹ Ibn Battuta also mentions about the different types of dishes, seating arrangements and some etiquettes observed at dinners. He says, "Their dinners consist of bread, roasted meat (*shiwawoon*), round pieces of bread, split and filled with sweet paste, rice, chicken (*dojaf*) and *samosa* (*Alagraso-Jaluljawanebil Mamlooate Bihalwa*) which have been previously described giving the details of its preparation."²⁰ Referring to the seating arrangements, he says,²¹ "Their custom is that the judges (*qazis*), orators (*khatibs*), jurists (*shorfa*), sayids and dervishes (*mashaikh*) sit at the head of the dinner carpet (*simat*); and then come the Sultan's relatives, the great amirs and the rest of the people. But none

sits except at his appointed place ; and thus there is absolutely no confusion amongst them. All having taken their respective seats, the cup-bearers (*shurbdariya*), who give the drink come holding in their hands gold and silver and copper and glass vessels filled with refined sugar dissolved in water, which they drink before the dinner. As they drink it, the chamberlains (*Hujjab*) call out '*Bismillah*', then they start eating. Every one has before him a set of all the various dishes containing the dinner which he eats exclusively ; and no one shares his plate with another. When they finish eating, the drink (*fuqqa*) is served in pewter tankards ; and as soon as the people take it the chamberlains call out '*Bismillah*'. Then are brought trays full of betel-leaves and spices ; and every one is served with a pinch of pounded spices as well as with fifteen betel-leaves put together and tied with a red silk thread ; and immediately as the people take the betel-leaves, the chamberlains call out '*Bismillah*'. At that time the whole gathering stands up, and the amir supervising the feast bows and they bow too ; then they retire. Their dinners are held twice a day—one in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon."²² The above account of Ibn Battuta prompts one to conclude that the arrangements of private and public dinners of Delhi were not introduced for the first time by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq. On the contrary, they obtained in the past, and the Sultan had received them as legacy from Mahmud Ghaznavi, Muhammad Ghori, Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, Ala-ud-din Khalji and other preceding Sultans. The use of knife and spoon at table was known among the Sultans of our period. Abdullah gives us an account of Babur's dinner party thus, "A piece of fish (*mahicha*) was kept in the dish of Sherkhan (one of Babur's nobles) but Sherkhan finding difficulty in tackling it cut it into small pieces with a knife (*karad*) and then ate them with a spoon (*qashaq*)."²³

The well-to-do classes of the Muslim Society generally tried to imitate the ways of the Sultans of Delhi, cultivated their tastes, even to the point of developing a relish for the dishes favoured by the latter. The members of the upper classes displayed magnificent hospitality. Imad-ul-mulk, the muster-master

of Balban, used to feed his entire secretariat every day at mid-day with stately big trays full of choice dishes, such as bread of fine flour (*ivan-e-maida*), flesh of goat (*Goshu-e-gospand*), chicken (*Bachay-e-murg*), *Biriyani* (preparation of roast and fried rice, which was something like modern *polao*), *Fuqqa* (wine of barley), *Sharbat* (flavoured sugarwater), *Tambol* (betel-leaf). It was a practice among the nobles to take their meals together and the rest of the meal after dinner was distributed among the fakirs and mendicants.²⁴ Amir Khusrau refers to the food-habits of the Muslim aristocracy thus, "Their food consists generally of *sharbat-i-labgir* (very sweet *sharbat*), *Nan-e-Tunuk* (light bread), *Nan-e-Tanuri* (*chapatis* cooked in *Tandurs*), *samosa* (prepared from meat, ghee, onion etc.), mutton, flesh of various birds such as quail, sparrow (*kunjshakka*) etc., *Halwa*, *Sabuni Sakar*. They were also accustomed to drink wine. After the meal, they used to take *Tambol* (betel-leaf) for refreshing the palate."²⁵ Thus, richness and variety seem to have been the characteristic features of the food of the richer sections of Muslim Society, as these were surely of the Delhi Sultans.

The Hindu kings, like the Sultans of Delhi, were also fond of rich and varied dishes which were mostly vegetarian. They also maintained their well-furnished kitchens known as *Bhojanasha'as*, which were supervised by their queens.²⁶ Experienced and skilled cooks were employed in the royal kitchen. King Someshwara in his "Mansollasa" refers to some basic qualifications of king's cook (or 'Shuda') thus, "With him it should be the hereditary occupation; his hair and nails should not be long, but his teeth should be big; he should be an expert in preparing rice, liquor-food, meat, vegetables (*shak*), sweet-meats (*pakwan*); he should be well-acquainted with different kinds of fruits, drinks and with the principles of spices in cooking; he should know about the varieties of 'kheer' and all about milk."²⁷ Chandbardai, the court-poet of the last great Rajput ruler of Delhi, Prithviraj, in his monumental work "Prithviraj Raso" refers to the variety of food, the use of which was prevalent among the Hindu Rajas, viz. 'Ghrita Pakwa' (food cooked in ghee), 'Dudha Pakwa' (food prepared with milk), 'Pakwan' (victuals which were fried in clarified butter), 'Mansa' (meats).

with various kinds of flavours, various kinds of 'Shak' (*saks*), 'Phal' (fruits), 'Shatras Vyanjana' (vegetables of the six prominent tastes, viz. sweet, salt, bitter, harsh, astringent, sour), 'Sandhan' (pickle or condiments like 'Chatni-Masala') and 'Pachhawari' (churn curd) to help digestion.²² The Rajput kings were very fond of taking 'Kheer' (rice-milk) and 'Rabari' (milk which was thickened by boiling it and mixing sugar in it) which were prepared with great interest by their princesses.²³

The people of the higher rungs of Hindu society too did not lag behind in this respect. On the contrary, as regards the richness and variety of their dishes, they compared favourably with their Muslim brethren. Their dishes were mostly vegetarian, containing different kinds of cooked rice (*Bhat*),²⁴ 'Puris'²⁵ (unleavened cake fried in ghee), bread, ghee or butter,²⁶ milk products²⁷ (*rabari* and *dahi*), various kinds of sweetmeats,²⁸ plenty of sugar, fruits, vegetables and 'saks'²⁹ of different varieties. During the period under review, a special kind of delicious food known as 'Kheer'³⁰ (a delicious dish prepared from rice, milk, sugar, spices, dry fruits etc.) seems to have been very popular among the people of the higher sections of society, particularly in Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Gujarat, Rajasthan and the regions now covered by modern States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Another variety known as 'Payas'³¹ (rice cooked in milk with sugar added to it) was a very common delicacy in Bengal, Orissa, Rajasthan and Assam. Similarly, 'Khichari'³² (a dish prepared from rice and pulses cooked together containing spices and vegetables of different kinds) was much favoured by the people of the higher classes. Maulana Daud Dalmai in his work "Chandayan" mentions some favoured delicacies of higher class Hindus, which were very popular in the regions now covered by the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, during our period, viz. 'Khirora'³³ (a kind of 'Laddu' prepared from flour of rice in hot water), 'Kesara' or 'Kasar'³⁴ (a kind of sweetmeat prepared with wheat, fried with ghee and mixed with sugar), 'Bara'³⁵ (a small round cake made of ground pulse and fried oil), 'Mungaura'³⁶ (a kind of 'Bara' which is prepared from pulse of 'Mung' with spices and fried in ghee or oil in a shape of a

lump), 'Khandui'⁴³ (a salted dish prepared from flour and gram pulse, which is dissolved in water and then made soiled like 'halwa'), 'Mithauri'⁴⁴ (a kind of small lumps of pounded pulse mixed with 'methi' and other spices), 'Dubaki'⁴⁵ (a kind of 'pakauri', which was prepared in boiled water instead of ghee or oil), 'Lapsi'⁴⁶ (a kind of 'halwa' prepared from flour of wheat, fried in ghee, but instead of being dry, it was somewhat pasty), 'Khirsā'⁴⁷ ('chhena' or cheese) etc.

In Kavi Narayan Deva's "Mansamangal", we find Rama (the mother of a rich merchant, Lakhendra) preparing various types of delicious dishes which were popular in Bengal, during our period, viz. vegetables of brinjal in oil and various types of *saks*, e.g. 'Betua', 'Kalar', 'Kachchu' etc. with spices like powdered cuminseed, red pepper, undried ginger, different kinds of pulses like 'Mung', 'Boot', 'Arhar', 'Khesari' and fish (particularly the 'Rehu' and 'Ilis' varieties), meat of goat and duck, five types of 'Pithas' (sweetmeats prepared from powder of rice and treacle) and various types of rice.⁴⁸ In Vijaya Gupta's "Mansamangal", we find also references to various types of rich food such as 'Bhat' (cooked rice), sixteen types of 'Vyanjana' (vegetables), pulse of 'Masur' containing spices of cocoanut, various types of 'sags', e.g. 'Gima', 'Bethua', 'Kumarah' ('sag' of sweet pumpkin) prepared in ghee containing ginger and cocoanut, vegetables of jack-fruits, brinjal, sweet pumpkin etc., different kinds of fish, viz. 'Rehu', 'Katala', 'Magur', 'Gagur', 'Kharsul', 'Chingari', 'Chital' etc., meat of goat, two kinds of 'Pistak', 'Payas' and 'Pitha' (sweetmeats prepared from milk).⁴⁹

The Hindus of Gujarat were strictly vegetarians.⁵⁰ A contemporary Gujarati poet Lawanyasamay in his work entitled "Bimalprabandh" gives us information about some delicious vegetarian Gujarati dishes. In this work, we find references to many rich dishes such as 'Khaja'⁵¹ (a kind of light sweetmeat like pie-crust), 'Ladu' or 'Laddu'⁵² (a sweetmeat of the shape of a ball), 'Kur'⁵³ (cooked rice), 'Dal' (pulse) with ghee in plenty,⁵⁴ 'Papar'⁵⁵ (a thin crisp cake made of several kinds of pulse, sago, potato etc.), 'Badi'⁵⁶ (small lumps of pounded pulse dried in the sun), 'Pakwan'⁵⁷ (victuals which were fried in clarified butter), 'Vedhami'⁵⁸ (a preparation of bread from pulse, wheat, and

sugar), 'Karambo'¹⁹ (cooked rice with curd), 'Dahi Mathho'²⁰ (curd and butter-milk), 'Talwat'²¹ (fried treacle), 'Kheer',²² 'Chhachha'²³ (skimmed curd), 'Sukhadi'²⁴ (a kind of sweetmeat).

Most of the Hindus, especially the Brahmans²⁵ and the members of the merchant (*Bania*)²⁶ class were vegetarians. Barbosa refers to the Brahmans of Gujarat thus, "Their diet is of milk, butter, sugar and rice, and many conserves of diverse sorts. They make much use of dishes of fruits and vegetables and potherbs in their food. Wheresoever they dwell they have orchards and fruit gardens."²⁷ Cows were treated with great reverence by all sections of the Hindus, and nobody ate cow's flesh,²⁸ as they regarded it as a very sinful act.

The Hindus were very particular about purity and cleanliness in the matters of food and eating. Marco Polo refers to the custom of the Mabar Hindus observed at the time of taking meals thus, "In eating they use the right hand only, and would on no account touch their food with the left hand. All cleanly and becoming uses are ministered to by the right hand, whilst the left is reserved for uncleanly and disagreeable necessities, such as cleaning the secret parts of the body and like. So also they drink only from drinking vessels, and, every man hath his own; nor will any one drink from another's vessel. And when they drink they do not put the vessel to the lips, but hold it aloft and let the drink spout into the mouth. No one would on any account touch the vessel with his mouth, nor give a stranger drink with it. But if the stranger has no vessel of his own they will pour the drink into his hands and he may thus drink from his hands as from a cup."²⁹ Some of the Hindus were non-vegetarians, but they themselves did not kill any animal.³⁰

SOME FRUITS, FLAVOURS, DRINKS ETC.

The higher classes, among the Hindus and the Muslims, consumed fruits in large quantities. In fact, fruits were a favourite dessert with them. The records of the period speak of many kinds of fruits. Ibn Battuta refers to the mango thus,

"When in autumn (*kharif*), the mango is ripe, it becomes very yellow and is eaten like an apple. Some people cut it with a knife and others suck it to the finish. The fruit is sweet but has a slightly sour taste."⁷¹ He also refers to jack-fruits thus, "Then there are the jack trees (*shaki wa barki*) which live to a great age. Their leaves look like those of the walnut and the fruit grows out of the root of the tree. The fruit which is near the soil is called *barki*; it is sweeter, and of a more agreeable taste. And the fruit which grows on the upper part is called *shaki*; it resembles a large pumpkin with a skin like the hide of a cow. When it becomes yellow in autumn (*kharif*) it is plucked and torn up; and inside each fruit from a hundred to two hundred seed-vessels there is a yellowish film; each seed-vessel has a stone like that of a large bean. When these stones are roasted or cooked the taste is similar to that of the broad bean which does not exist there. These stones are preserved in reddish earth and last till the following year. This fruit is one of the best in India."⁷² He also refers to the fruit of ebony (*tendu*) and says, "It is extremely sweet."⁷³ Referring to rose apple (*jambol* or *Jamun*), he says, "Its trees are large and their fruit is like the olive. It is black in colour and like the olive has one stone."⁷⁴ While describing *medhuka latifolia* (*mahwa*), he says,⁷⁵ "The fruit of the *mahwa* is like a small pear. It is extremely sweet. In the upper part of each fruit is a small hollow seed as large as that of the grape. It resembles the grape in taste, but when eaten in large numbers gives a headache. What is astonishing is that when these seeds are dried in the sun they taste like figs. I ate these as substitute for the fig which is not to be found in India. The Indians call these fruit *angur*⁷⁶ — a word which in their language means grapes. And grape is very rare in India and is found only in some parts of Delhi and in a few other provinces." Referring to oranges available in Hindustan, Ibn Battuta says, "One of the very common fruit of India is sweet orange (*Al-Naranjul-Hulwo*). But the sour orange is very rare. A third type of orange is also found here, which is neither very sweet nor very sour, which is excellent. I like this fruit very much and used to eat them in plenty."⁷⁷

He further says, "Among the Indian fruits there is still another called the *kasera*. It is taken out of the earth, and is very sweet resembling the chestnut."¹⁸ Referring to the pomegranates (*rumman*), he says thus, "Its trees bear fruit twice in a year. I have seen some in the Maldivé islands which never stopped bearing fruit. The Indians call it *anar*."¹⁹ Babur in his "Memoirs" refers to a mangoes thus, "The mango (*ambah*) is one of the fruits peculiar to Hindustan Some people call the fruit *naghzak*. Mangoes when good are very good, but, many as are eaten, few are first-rate . . . Taking it altogether, the mango is the best fruit of Hindustan. Some so praise it as to give it preference over all fruits except the musk-melon (*qawun*), but such praise outmatches it."²⁰ He says further, "It is eaten in two ways: one is to squeeze it to a pulp, make a pole in it and suck out the juice—the other to peel, and eat it like the *kardi* peach. They take off its skin, and eat it. Its leaf somewhat resembles that of the peach. The trunk is ill-looking and ill-shaped, but in Bengal and Gujarat is heard of as growing handsome (*khub*)."²¹ Referring to plantains (*kelas*), Babur writes, "The Arab call it *mauz*. Its tree is understood to flower once only. The fruit has two pleasant qualities, one that it peels easily, the other that it has neither stone nor fibre. It is rather longer and thinner than the brinjal. It is not very sweet. The plantain of Bengal (i.e. *chini-champa*) is, however, said to be very sweet."²² Another fruit referred to by Babur is, *Khirmi*. He writes thus, "Its fruit is of a yellow colour In taste it bears a perfect resemblance to the grape. Its leaves rather a bad flavour behind, but it is a good fruit, and is eaten. The skin of its stone is thin."²³ Speaking about *Jaman* (*jambolana*), Babur says thus, "Its fruits resemble the black grape but has a more acid taste, and is not very good."²⁴ He says about 'monkey-jack' (*badhal*) thus, "The monkey-jack (*badhal*) is another. The fruit may be of the size of a quince (apple). Its smell is not bad. Unripe it is a singularly tasteless and empty thing; when ripe, it is not so bad. It ripens so soft, can be pulled to pieces and eaten anywhere, tastes very much like a rotten quince, and has an excellent little austere flavour."²⁵ Referring to plums (*ber*), he writes "Most of them are not very good,

some one in Bandir (Gvaliar), that was really good.⁸⁶ Another fruit is *karaunda*, which grows on shabby bushes, which is sweeter and less juicy.⁸⁷ Babur concludes his description of the fruits of India thus, "Another is the *guler*, whose fruit springs from the trunk of the tree. It resembles the fig. The *guler* is very tasteless thing. Another is the *amleh*, which is likewise fluted with five sides. It is like the unblown cotton pod, and is a wretched harsh-tasting fruit. Another is the *chirunji*. This tree grows on the hills. Its kernel is very pleasant. It is somewhat between the kernel of the walnut and that of the almond, and is rather smaller than of the pistachios, and round. It is put into custards and sweetmeats (*halwa*)."⁸⁸

Al-Qalqashandi in his "Subha-ul-A'sha" refers to the fruits of India thus, "As regards the fruits there are figs, grapes in small quantity, pomegranates of every kind—sweet, bitter, sour, etc., bananas, peaches (*khaukh*), mulberries called *firsad*. There are also other fruits the like of which are not found in Egypt and Syria, e.g. jujube and some other like it and quince in small quantity; pears and apples are very rare but both of these and quince are imported. Of the best fruit they have cocoanut (*rani*) which is called by them *narjil*, the common people call it 'Indian Nut'. There are green and yellow melons, cucumber (*khijar*) and pumpkin. Of the sour fruits they have *utrui*, *limun*, *lim* and *naranj*."⁸⁹

Contemporary Persian chronicles⁹⁰ and poets like Maulana Daud Dalmai,⁹¹ Abdul Rahman,⁹² Hemchandra,⁹³ Amir Khusrau,⁹⁴ Madhava Kandali,⁹⁵ Saraladas,⁹⁶ Baruchandidas,⁹⁷ Vijaya Gupta,⁹⁸ Pandit Raghunath Bhagavatacharya,⁹⁹ Narayan Deva,¹⁰⁰ Vipradas,¹⁰¹ Jayadeva,¹⁰² Chandidas,¹⁰³ Krittivasa,¹⁰⁴ Vrindabandas,¹⁰⁵ Lawan-yasamay¹⁰⁶ and Mirabai¹⁰⁷ make abundant references to the availability of different kinds of fruits in our period.

The use of condiments (pickles, *achars* etc.) was both popular and lavish among the Muslims as well as the Hindus. The relish and flavour, thus, gained was considered helpful to the taste and action of the stomach.¹⁰⁸ The higher classes among the Hindus were greatly used to 'Shatras' (flavour of six tastes) and 'Panchamrita'¹⁰⁹ (a mixture consisting of milk, curd, sugar, honey

and clarified butter) which helped in purifying and cleansing their taste.

The use of betel-leaves¹¹⁸ ('Pan', 'Bira-e-Tambol' or 'Tambul') was very popular among both the communities. Originally, the Muslims did not know the use of betel-leaves, which they came to know,¹¹⁹ and eventually became addicted to it, when they came in contact with the Hindus. Such a favourite it ultimately became with the Muslims that the famous Amir Khusrau of Delhi gives us a detailed account of the forty-two distinct virtues of 'Pan' and then mentions some of its defects.¹²⁰ The Hindustanis also called it *Nag Bel*.¹²¹ The betel-leaves of Banaras were very popular during the period 'under review'.¹²² Referring to the Hindus' habit of taking betel-leaf, Alberuni says, "They have red teeth in consequence of chewing arecanuts with betel-leaves and chalks."¹²³ Abdur Razzak describes how betel-leaf was used by our people thus, "The manner of eating it is as follows: They bruise a portion of *faufel* (areca) otherwise called 'Sipari', and put it in the mouth. They thus take as many as four leaves of betel at a time, and chew them. Sometimes they add camphor to it, and sometimes they spit out the saliva, which becomes red in colour."¹²⁴ He further mentions, "This substance gives a colour to, and brightens, the countenance, causes an intoxication similar to that produced by wine, appeases hunger and excites to pleasure."¹²⁵ Clove (*lawang*) and cardamom (*ilaichi*)¹²⁶ were very popular as deodorants and were used for getting rid of foul breath. In Gujarat, 'Saunf' (aniseed) and 'Dhani-China' (fried barley) were commonly used for this purpose.¹²⁷

Babur says in his Memoirs that there was no provision of ice of cold water in the summer¹²⁸ during his time, but scented water¹²⁹ was in common use both among the Hindus and the Muslims. The practice of taking 'Sharbat'¹³⁰ (saturated solution of water, milk or curd, sugar, scents, fruits and spices) seems to have been prevalent among the higher classes of both the communities. At times, orange juice¹³¹ also served the purpose of 'Sharbat' during our period. The Muslim saints (Sufis) quite frequently broke their Ramzan fast with 'Sharbat'.¹³² On festive occasions and during victory celebrations, the Sultans used to

arrange for free distribution of sweets and 'sharbat' among the people.¹²⁵

The use of wine, 'Bhang' (an intoxicating hemp) and other intoxicants were prohibited by Islam,¹²⁶ but its violation was wide and frequent by the Sultans and the aristocracy.¹²⁷ The higher class Hindus too were addicts to these.¹²⁸ Referring to the habit of drinking among the Hindus, Alberuni says thus, "They drink wine before having eaten anything, then they take their meal."¹²⁹ The Sultans appointed special chamberlains (*Sharabdars*)¹³⁰ and *Saqis*¹³¹ (slave girls appointed for the purposes of serving them wine). Alauddin Khalji made an effort to ban the use of wine. He ordered that all wine-vessels and cups in the royal household be broken (to pieces) in his presence, so that he could never again drink wine. He also ordered to be proclaimed that the sale of liquor was banned, and those who would drink were liable to be imprisoned.¹³²

FOOD OF THE COMMONERS

The standard food of the commoners, no doubt, lacked the richness and variety of that of the higher classes. Al-Idrisi refers to the food of the ordinary classes among the Hindus thus, "Their food consists of rich rice, chick-peas, beans, haricots, tentils, peas, fish and animals that die a natural death."¹³³ He further says, "The food of the people consists of cocoanut, which they use as a condiment, and they also prepare beverages of it."¹³⁴ The usual food of the Hindus appears to have been rice (*Bhat*),¹³⁵ *Sag*¹³⁶ and other vegetables¹³⁷ prepared in a very simple way. Their 'Khichari',¹³⁸ which was prepared in an ordinary manner, was taken without ghee or butter. The higher classes alone were in a position to take milk and costly milk-products of different varieties. 'Patasa' or 'Batasa',¹³⁹ a light and spongy type of sweetmeat made of sugar, was very popular among the inhabitants of the Punjab during our period. The common diet of the people of Bengal seems to have been fish and rice. They were normally not used to wheat and barley. A favourite dish with them was brinjal curry and rice left over-night in cold water and taken next day. They seemed to have a preference for salt, which made the stuff sell at a

rather high price.¹⁴⁰ The people of Orissa, whose usual diet consisted of rice, fish and brinjal curry, also liked to take it cold the next day as the people of Bengal.¹⁴¹ The people of Assam were used to take cooked rice (*Bhat*) with curd (*Dahi*).¹⁴² 'Satu' or 'Sattu'¹⁴³ (flour mixed with fried grams or barley and melted or kneaded in water with salt or sugar), appears to have been a very favourite diet of the commoners in the regions now covered by the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Amir Khusrau refers to 'Bhutta'¹⁴⁴ (maize), which was also very popular among the ordinary people. In Bengal, a special variety of vegetable preparation, popularly called 'Sukta'¹⁴⁵ (prepared with various kinds of vegetables, i.e. potato, unripe banana and brinjal etc. mixed with ginger and turmeric) was in very common use. In Orissa also, a special vegetable preparation known as 'Besar'¹⁴⁶ (a preparation of various kinds of vegetables mixed with mustard, salt and ghee) was popular. The Hindus were very particular about the way they prepared their food. In Orissa, food has been prepared in various ways from very early times, viz. 'Gauri', 'Shauri' and 'Nal', and even to this day in the temple of Jagannath at Puri, it is prepared according to the 'Nal-Vidhi'.¹⁴⁷ In ordinary Hindu families, food was taken on banana leaves.¹⁴⁸ Referring to the manners of the Hindus with regard to eating, Alberuni says thus, "The Hindus eat singly, one by one, on a table-cloth of dung. They do not make use of the remainder of a meal, and the plate from which they have eaten are thrown away if they are earthen."¹⁴⁹

The diet of the average Muslims, like that of their Hindu counterparts, was also very simple in sharp contrast to what was available among the higher classes of both the communities. Among the Muslims, it consisted chiefly of 'Nan'¹⁵⁰ (fried bread), 'Kabab'¹⁵¹ (roast), chicken, 'Qima'¹⁵² (minced flesh) and rice (*Brinj*)¹⁵³ with onion¹⁵⁴ in sufficient quantity. The food of the Muslim Sufis (saints) consisted mainly of 'Makiyan'¹⁵⁵ (cooked fowl), 'Branj Pokhtan'¹⁵⁶ (cooked rice), 'Sheer Brinj'¹⁵⁷ (i.e. 'Kheer'), 'Dogh' or 'Yoghurt'¹⁵⁸ (curd), 'Nan'¹⁵⁹ (bread), 'Phirni' or 'Shirni'¹⁶⁰ (prepared from rice, milk and sugar), 'Halwa'¹⁶¹ and dry fruit like 'Pistan'¹⁶² (pistachio nut). Besides, they were also used to take 'Shorba'¹⁶³ (soup of meat mixed with spices).

In this connection, it will not be out of place to mention here about certain kinds of prohibited food and drinks for the Hindus as given by King Somesvara in his "Mansollasa", viz. 'Lahsunam' or 'Lehsun' (garlic), 'Palandu' (onion), flesh or 'Gram Kukut' (domesticated fowl as opposed to wild ones), 'Grinjan' (carrot), 'Chhatrak' ('Kukurmutta' or toad-stool), three types of wines, viz. 'Gautri', 'Paishti' and 'Madhvi'; flesh of 'Jambuk' (jackal), 'Byaghra' (tiger), 'Manjar' (a tom cat or 'Billa'), 'Mrik' (wolf), 'Bayas' (crow), 'Banar' (monkey), 'Reechha' (bear), 'Gaj' (elephant), 'Kushtra' (camel), 'Parawat' (pigeon), 'Shuk' (parrot), 'Shyen' (hawk), 'Hansa' (the swan), 'Ulluk' (the owl), 'Bak' (duck), 'Kokil' (cuckoo), 'Sarika' (thrush), 'Gidha' (vulture), 'Sarmey' (dog) etc.¹⁰⁶ The commoners were very much accustomed to drink 'toddy'¹⁰⁷ (*tari*). Amir Khusrau refers to 'Hukka'¹⁰⁸ (hubble-bubble) and 'Chilam'¹⁰⁹ (the part of hubble-bubble containing fire and tobacco placed in it) which were largely used by the poorer sections for smoking purposes.

THE ROYAL PALACE AND THE HOUSES OF THE WELL-TO-DO

The Sultans of Delhi resided in luxurious and comfortable palaces which were constructed by expert workmen like well-skilled carpenters (*darudragar*), sawyers (*arakash*), experts in mortar preparation (*chunapaz*) and proficient masons (*raj*).¹¹⁰ Their palaces consisted of lofty and magnificent structures with numerous apartments set apart for different purposes, e.g. drawing rooms, dressing rooms, bath rooms, female apartments etc. The people of the well-to-do classes also tried their best to construct their houses on the pattern of the royal palace. "The *Kasr-e-Humayun* (the Sultan's Palace) was lavishly decorated. The floors in the palace were covered with beautiful carpets and walls were beautified with inlaid diamonds and precious stones."¹¹¹ The Sultan's palace had numerous gates and chamberlains were appointed for each one of them. Referring to the palace of Sultan Abul Majahid Muhammad Shah, son of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Shah, Ibn Battuta says thus, "The Sultan's palace at Delhi is called *dar-sara* and has a large number of gates. At the first gate a troop of men are posted, and there sit the blowers

of clarions, trumpets and horns. When an amir or a great man comes, the clarions are sounded announcing 'so-and-so has come, so-and-so has come'; and the same procedure is followed at the second and third gates. Outside the *first* gate are platforms on which sit the executioners, whose business is to execute human beings . . . And between the *first* and second gates there is a big vestibule on either side of which are built platforms on which sit the trumpeters from amongst the gate-keeper.¹¹⁷⁰ Ibn Battuta concludes his description of the Sultan's palace thus, "At the *second* gate sit the gate-keepers who are appointed for the purpose. And between the second and third gates is a big platform on which sits the chief palace officer (*naqib-un-nuqaba*) who holds in his hand a gold club and wears a gold cap studded with jewels and surmounted with peacock feathers. And the palace officers stand before him, each wearing a gold cap, girding his loin with a sash and holding in his hand a whip with a gold or silver handle. And this second gate leads to a big and extensive hall wherein sit the people . . . As for the *third* gate, round about it are platforms on which the gate secretaries (*kuttab-ul-bab*) sit. One of their duties is not to let any person enter, unless by royal appointment; and for every man entering it the number of his companions and attendants in the escort is fixed. Whenever anybody comes to this gate, the gate secretaries write down that so-and-so came in the first hour or the second hour of the day or at any later hour till the close of the day; and these records the Sultan peruses after the retiring prayer of *isha*. They also note all that happens at the gate; and some of the maliks' sons are appointed to present these reports to the Sultan. It is also one of their customs that if any official absents himself for three consecutive days or more from the royal palace with or without excuse, he is not allowed to re-enter without the Sultan's permission. If his absence be due to any illness or similar cause, he brings, along with him, on his coming back, a fit present for the Sultan."¹¹⁷¹ About the third gate of the Sultan's palace, Ibn Battuta says thus, "And this third gate leads to a vast and spacious council-hall (*mashwar*) called *hazar ustun*, that is, one thousand pillars. The pillars are of polished wood; and on these rests a wooden

roof, covered with strikingly beautiful paintings and mosaic. Under this roof sits the people and in this council-hall the Sultan sits for public audience (*julus-ud-ab*).¹⁷²

Almost all the Sultans constructed their palaces in the capital city of Delhi. Al-Qalqashandi in his 'Subh-ul-A'sha' says, 'Delhi has become the capital of the whole of India and the residence of the Sultan. There are palaces and special mansions where he and his family reside and there are quarters for his maid-servants and slaves. None of the Khans and Amirs live with him and none of them can stay there except when he comes on some business; then every one of them retires to his own house . . .'.¹⁷³ Very clearly, this was a safety measure. Referring to the royal palace of Kashmir, Mirza Haidar Dughlat in his "*Tarikh-i-Rashidi*" says thus, "In the middle of this lake (*Ulw*), Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, one of the Sultans of Kashmir, erected a palace. First of all he emptied a quantity of stones into the lake, (at this spot) and on these constructed a foundation (or floor) of closely-fitting stones, measuring two hundred square *gaz* in extent; and ten *gaz* in height. Thereupon he built a charming palace and planted pleasant groves of trees, so that there can be but few more agreeable palaces in the world. Finally, this same Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin built himself a palace in the town, which in the dialect of Kashmir is called Rajdhan. It has twelve stories, some of which contain fifty rooms, halls and corridors. The hall of this lofty structure is built of wood."¹⁷⁴ The houses of the well-to-do classes of Muslim society were, no doubt, elegant-looking with lofty walls, beautiful and compact pillars, big lobbies (*dalans*), reservoirs of water (*Hauj khana*) and beautiful gardens.¹⁷⁵ Their houses contained corridors or galleries (*dahleej*),¹⁷⁶ where they eat with their guests and new-comers.

The Hindu Rajas and aristocrats did not lag behind the Sultans of Delhi in the standard of their palaces and mansions (*havelis*). They usually laid the foundation and commenced the construction of their palaces or mansions at a very lucky and auspicious moment, which was settled by their astrologers (*Jyotisis*), and then expert masons ('Sutadhar' or 'Sutradhar')

were appointed for the purpose.¹⁷⁷ Before starting their foundation work, the kings used to worship their Village-God ('Khhetrupal'), so that the foundation of the palace might be strong.¹⁷⁸ Their palaces were generally very lofty and elevated structures, sometimes, even seven storeyed or 'Saptakhanda'.¹⁷⁹ Sometimes the doors of the royal palaces were made of sandal-wood. Sandal wood, however, was comfortable and pleasing both in summer and winter alike.¹⁸⁰ Further, their palaces had gardens and fountains ('fouara'),¹⁸¹ which spouted and showered water for the whole year, and a theatre or dancing saloon ('Rangshala'),¹⁸² where the kings were accustomed to spend much time in artistic pastimes. Their palaces also had female apartments, which were known as 'Dhaurahar', 'Dhawalgrih' or 'Ranivas'.¹⁸³ It was a common fashion to construct the sculptured figures of two lions, one on each side, at the entrance-gate of the mediaeval palaces.¹⁸⁴ Babur in his Memoirs gives us an eye-witness account of the palaces of Mansingh and Bikramajit of Gwalior thus, "In spite of my sickness, I went over all the palaces of Mansingh and Bikramajit. They are singularly beautiful palaces, though built in different patches and without regular plan. They were wholly of hewn stone. The palace of Mansingh is more lofty and splendid than that of any of the other Rajas. One part of the wall of Mansingh's palace fronts the east, and this portion of it is more highly adorned than the rest. It may be about forty or fifty gaz in height, and is entirely of hewn stone. Its front is overlaid with white stucco. The buildings are in many parts four storeys in height. The two lower floors are very dark, but, after sitting awhile in them, you can see distinctly enough. I went through it, taking a light with me. In one division of this palace, there is a building with five domes, and round about them a number of smaller domes; the smaller domes are one in each side of the greater one, according to the custom of Hindustan. The large five domes are covered with plates of copper gilt. The outside of the walls they have inlaid with green painted tiles. All around they have inlaid the wall with figures of plantain trees, made of painted tiles. In the tower of the eastern division is the Hatipul. They call an elephant *hati*, and a gate *pul*. On

the outside of this gate is the figure of an elephant, having two elephant-drivers on it. It is the perfect resemblance of an elephant, and hence the gate is called Hatipul. The lowest storey of the house, which is four storeys high, has a window that looks towards this figure of an elephant, which is close by it. On its upper storey are the same sort of small domes that have been described. On the second storey are the sitting apartments . . .¹¹⁸¹

Then, referring to the palace of Bikramajit, the son of Mansingh, Babur mentions thus, "It is on the north side of the fort, in the middle of an open piece of ground. The palace of the son (i.e. Bikramajit's palace) does not equal that of the father (i.e. Mansingh's). There is one large dome, which however, is very dark . . . Below the large dome there is a small house, which receives no direct light from any quarter . . ."¹¹⁸²

Special care was taken for cleansing the royal palace and sweepers were appointed for this purpose. Referring to the King's palace at Malabar, Barbosa says thus, "The king has a thousand women who are constantly maintained by him, and attend at court as sweepers of his palace; this is done for display, for to sweep it less than fifty would suffice. They are ladies of great caste, they sweep twice daily and each of them carries the broom and a brass basin containing a cowdung mingled with water, when they have swept anything they put on with the hand a very thin coating of this which dries at once. They do not all work at one time, but take turn, and when the king goes from one house to another, or to a house of prayer, he goes on foot, and these women go before him with their brooms and basins in their hands, plastering the path where he is to tread . . ."¹¹⁸³

The houses of the nobles also were well-constructed and they had windows (*khidkis*)¹¹⁸⁴ for fresh air and light. Referring to the houses of the well-to-do at Cambaya, Barbosa says thus, "Therein are many fair houses, very lofty, with windows and roofed with tiles in our manner, well laid out with streets and fine open places, and great buildings of stone and mortar."¹¹⁸⁵ The houses in Kashmir were generally built of wood, but they were beautiful and well-designed.¹¹⁸⁶ The houses of Orissa were

generally spacious and tall structures with orchards of fruit trees and plots of land for purposes of cultivation.¹⁹¹ A contemporary Bengali poet, Narayan Deva, in his "Mansamangal" throws some light on the houses of Lakhendar (a merchant's son) thus, "On both sides of the doors of the house are statues of lions, which look very good and inside the walls of the room various alluring pictures are hung. The whole room exhales the fragrance of 'chandan' (sandal), 'kumkum' (saffron) and 'kasturi' (musk) and in a row 'diyas' (lamps) are burning."¹⁹²

HOUSES OF THE COMMONERS.

Just antipodal to the royal palace and the houses of the well-to-do, the commoners lived in simple and low houses, instead of lofty and elevated buildings. They were accustomed to live in houses with thatched roofs, and so they were often ruined by fire. They used to dig ditches in the earth, so that they might keep their necessities therein at the time of fire.¹⁹³ Referring to the city of Calicut and its houses, Varthema says thus, "The city has no wall around it, but the houses extend for about a mile, built close together, and then the wide houses, that is, the houses separate one from the other, cover a space of about six miles. The houses are very modest, almost poor. The walls are about as high as a man or horse-back, and the greater part of them are covered with leaves, and are without any upper room. The reason is that when they dig down four or five spans, water is found, and therefore they cannot build large houses. However, the houses of a merchant is worth fifteen or twenty ducats. Those of the common people are worth half a ducat each, or one or two ducats at the most."¹⁹⁴ The foundations of the houses of the commoners of our period, appear to have been very weak, and in the rainy season they did not last long.¹⁹⁵ The houses in Chanderi appear to have been good and well-carved as Babur refers to them thus, "All houses in Chanderi whether of high or low, are built of stone, those of the lower classes are also of stone but are not carved. They are covered with stone-slab instead of earthen tiles . . ."¹⁹⁶ Al-Qalqashandi in his *Subh-ul-A'sha* refers to the houses of Gujarat and Kambayat (Cambaya) thus, ". . . Its buildings are

of brick and there is also white marble: but there are only a few gardens in it."¹⁹⁷ The inhabitants of the island were even accustomed to build boat-houses. Referring to the inhabitants of the island of Dibajat,¹⁹⁸ Al-Idrisi says, "They build boats of small pieces of wood, and build substantial houses and other excellent buildings of hard stones. They also construct wooden houses that float on water and sometimes use perfumed sandal-wood in their buildings by way of pride and display."¹⁹⁹

The houses of the commoners also do not appear to have been well-equipped with lighting arrangements as Babur says in his Memoirs thus, "They have no candles, torches or candlesticks. In place of candle or torch, they have a great dirty gang they call lampmen (*Diwati*) who in the left hand hold a smallish wooden tripod to one corner of which a thing like the top of a candlestick is fixed, having a wick in it about as thick as the thumb."²⁰⁰ Their houses were often scrubbed with cow-dung.²⁰¹ On the whole, the houses of the commoners were very simple and of ordinary type, as was the case with the quality of their food.

REFERENCES

1. Amir Khusrau's *Kulliyat-i-Khusravi*, Aligarh, 1918 (pt. I), p. 106 for the *Matbakh* (kitchen) of Sultan Muizuddin Kaiqubad; Also refer to *Ain-i-Sikandari* of Amir Khusrau, Aligarh, 1917, p. 119 for the *Matbakh* of Sikandar Lodi.

During the reign of Khalji Sultan Nadir Shah (1500-1510 A.D.) of Malwa, the second volume of the *Niamat-nama* or a book on the art of cooking was completed (*Niamat-nama*, fol. 79 verso, Malwa, early sixteenth century, Per. MS no. 149, India Office Library, London, as quoted by Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray in their book entitled "Paintings of India" (Pub. by the World Publishing Company, 2231, West 110th Street, Cleveland, 2, Ohio, pp. 60-61).

2. Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), p. 541. Here Babur refers to Ahmed, the taster of Ibrahim Lodi, as follows, "... In Hindustan they call a taster (*bakawal*) a *Chashnigir*..." Babur's account also makes us to believe that in the Mughal period this officer was known as *Bakawal*.

3. References to the use of *Dastarkhans* are numerous in the Persian chronicles. Here, mention may be made of only a few, e.g., Abdullah's *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Per. MS, O.P.L., fol. 86(b); *Tarikh-i-Shahi* of Ahmed Yadgar, ed. by M. Hidayat Hossain (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939), p. 58; Amir Khusrau's *Kulliyat-i-Khusravi*, Aligarh, 1918 (pt. I), p. 106.
4. Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Per. MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L., fol. 24(b); Also refer to *Tarikh-i-Daudi* of Abdullah, ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rasheed, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954, p. 24; *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Per. MS No. 80, Boh. Coll., fol. 16(b).
5. *Ain* (S), Aligarh, 1917, p. 119.
6. Amir Khusrau's *Hasht-Bahisht*, ed. by Maulana Suleiman Ashraf, Aligarh, 1918, p. 126; Also refer to *Ain* (S), ed. by Maulana Md. Saeed Ahmed Farukhi, Aligarh, 1917, p. 119.
7. *Tarikh-i-Shahi* of Ahmed Yadgar (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939, p. 58).
8. 'Samosa' seems to have been a favourite food of the Sultans. "Mahmud Khan of Gujarat was so much accustomed to take *samosa* that he used to place them on both the right and left sides of his bed, so that even if he turned side in sleep, he would find them handy on awakening." (*Mirati-i-Sikandari* of Sikandar Ibn Muhammad, p. 71); Also refer to *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, p. 59 for the same habit of Mahmud Khan; Also see Jayasi's '*Padmavat*', pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 45, p. 720 for *samosa* of meat fried in ghee with 'laung' and 'mircha'.
9. *Tarikh-i-Shahi* of Ahmed Yadgar (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939), p. 118; Also refer to Jayasi's '*Padmavat*', pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961 (V.S. 2018), canto 45, doha 7, 6. 722 for 'kabab'.
10. T.F.S. (B), ed. by Saiyid Ahmad Khan (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1826), p. 116.
11. *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi* of Sultan Masud, ed. by W. H. Morley, Cal., 1862, p. 123.
12. Refer to Jayasi's '*Padmavat*', Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961 (V.S. 2018), canto 45, doha 547/7, p. 722, for different kinds of fish preparations in a feast given by Raja Ratan Sen in the honour of Sultan Alauddin Khalji.
13. *The Rehla* of Ibn Battuta, tr. by Mahdi Husain, O.I.B., 1955, p. 14.
14. *Ibid.* p. 15.
15. *Voyages D' Ibn Battuta* (Arabic Text), Vol. III, pp. 123-124; Also refer to *The Rehla* of Ibn Battuta (Mahdi Husain), O.I.B., 1953, p. 15.
16. *The Rehla* of Ibn Battuta (Mahdi Husain), O.I.B., 1953, p. 15.

17. Voyages D'Ibn Battuta (Arabic Text), Vol. III, p. 124 ; Also refer to The Rehla of Ibn Battuta (Mahdi Husain), O.I.B., 1953, pp. 15-16.
18. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 64.
19. Ibid, p. 65.
20. Ibid, pp. 65-66 ; Also refer to the Voyages D'Ibn Battuta (Arabic Text), III, p. 241.
21. Voyages D'Ibn Battuta, (Arabic Text), III, p. 241.
22. Ibid ; Also see The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, pp. 65-66.
23. Abdullah's Tarikh-i-Daudi, Pen. MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O. P. L., fol. 124 (a) ; Also refer to Z. W., III, ed: by Sir E: Denison Ross, Lond., 1928, p. 951.
24. T. F. S. (B), ed. by Saiyid Ahmad Khan (Bib. Ind., Cal.: 1826), p. 116.
25. Qiranu's Sa'dain of Amir Khusrav, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, March, 1871, pp. 138-139.
26. Refer to Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. IV, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., C.S. 2012, p. 976 for the 'Bhojanshala' of Prithviraj, supervised by his queen-consort, Sanjogita.
27. "Mansollasa" (Vol. I), ed. by Gajanan K. Shrigondekar, Gaekward's Oriental Series, Baroda, 1925, Adhyaya 2, shlokas 134-137, p. 41.
28. "Prithviraj Raso" (ed. by Kavirava Mohansingh), pt. III, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, p. 4 ; Also refer to Ibid, pt. IV, samay 61, doha 71, p. 976 for some other varieties of rich food of Prithviraj, viz. two types of *Anna* (cooked food), three types of meat, five types of *saks* (vegetables), *Madhu* (honey), two types of *Gorasa* (butter milk), a kind of *Ukha* (Sugar-cane) and a kind of preparation with *Lawan* (salt), *Tel* (oil) and *Hing* (asafoetida). As many as eighteen dishes used to be prepared in the *Bhojanshala* of Queen Sanjogita.
29. Ibid, pt. I, *Adi Katha*, doha 4, p. 3 ; Here, we find mention of 'Kheer' and 'Rabari' prepared by the princesses. Also refer to Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta" (ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta), N.P.S., V.S. 2013, 1st edn., p. 14 for 'Kheer' containing 'Mishri'.
30. References to cooked rice (*Bhat*) are to be found in the contemporary literary works, e.g. "Charja Gitī Padavali" (ed. by Dr. Sukumar Sen, pub. by Panchu Gopal Roy, Sampadak Sahitya Sabha, Burdwan, 1956, pada 33, p. 90). In Maulana Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan" (Hindī Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., chhanda 158, p. 170) we find references to thirty varieties of rice. Also refer to a Gujarati work entitled "Narsai Mahtena Pad" (Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., pada 156, doha 2, p. 92) for 'Bhat'. In an Oriya work entitled "Ram Vibha" by

Arjundas (composed in or about first-half of the 16th cent., ed. by Dr. A. N. Mahanty, Cuttack, 3rd edn., 1953, p. 10) we find a reference to 'Kashmir Tandul' (a kind of fine rice). Also refer to 'Oriya Mahabharata' (*Sabha Parva*) by Saraladas, Cuttack, 1952, p. 37 for 'Tandul'; Ibid, p. 58 for 'Suvas-Tandul' (scented rice), and for 'Bhat', p. 136; and an Assamese work entitled 'Giti Ramayana' by Kavivar Durgavar, Haju (Kamrup), 1915, 1st edn., p. 38, for scented rice; 'Sachitra Saptakanda Ramayana' by Krittivasa, Cal., 7th edn., 1926, *Adi Kanda*, p. 52 for 'Arwa Chawal' (rice extracted from unboiled paddy); 'Shree Krishna Prem Tarangini' by Pandit Raghunath Bhagavatacharya, Cal., 1910, p. 208 for 'Bhat'; 'Shree Krishna Kirtan' by Baruchandidas (Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 151) for 'Bhat'; Also refer to Jayasi's 'Padmavat', 2nd edn., 1961, canto 8, doha 132/7, p. 149 and canto 26, doha 284/10, p. 327 for scented rice.

31. References to 'Puris' are available in Jayasi's 'Padmavat', 2nd edn., 1961, canto 20, doha 192/10, p. 219; Also refer to 'Chandidas Padavali' (Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 279) for Lord Shree Krishna's food containing 'puris'; Also see 'Mira Na Pado' (in Gujarati), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., Jan., 1962, pada 56, p. 50.
32. References to "Ghrta" or ghee are to be found in Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakanda Ramayana" (pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, 7th edn., Cal., 1926, p. 52); "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali" (Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 220); Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya" (C.U., 1944), p. 47; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan" (Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961), pp. 125 and 127; Saraladas's "Oriya Mahabharata" (*Sabha Parva*), Cuttack, 1952, p. 58; "Kirtan Ari Namghosa" (an Assamese work) by Shankardeva and Madhavdeva (ed. by Harinarayan Datt Barua, Jorhat (Assam), 1st edn., p. 192); 'Shreemad Bhagavata' by Shankardeva (Dasham Skanda, pt. I, pub. by Shivanath Bhattacharya, Dibrugarh (Assam), 3rd edn., 1905, p. 30); "Gorakhibani", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 3rd edn., V.S. 2017, doha 62, p. 22.
33. Numerous references to milk products like 'rabari', 'dadhi' (curd), 'makhan' (butter) are to be found in contemporary literatures, e.g. Chandbandal's "Prithviraj Ras", pt. I, V.S. 2011, canto 1 (Adi Katha), pp. 64, 67-68, 70-71 for 'rabari', 'dadhi' and 'makhan'; Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh-Rasak" (Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, canto 1, chhanda 16, p. 5) for 'rabari'; Hemchandra's "Desinamamala" (B.O.R.I., 1938, 2nd edn., 3rd sarga, chhanda 14, p. 135) for curdled milk; "Nanak Bani" (Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd, Allahabad, V.S. 2018, Bani 19,

- p. 10) for 'dahi'. For 'Dadhi' or 'Dahi' also refer to Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakanda Ramayana", 7th edn., Cal., 1926 (Adi Kanda), p. 83; Vrindaban Das's "Shree Chaitanya Bhagavata" (Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954), p. 108; Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya" (C.U., 1944), p. 12; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan" (Shani Ranjan Press, 7th edn., Cal., 1961), pp. 124-127; "Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali" (Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, 3rd edn., Cal., 1935), pada 14, p. 14; Shankardeva's "Shreemadbhagavata" (ed. and pub. by Shivanath Bhattacharya, Dibrugarh (Assam), 3rd edn., 1905), pp. 30 and 37.
34. Refer to Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakanda Ramayana" 7th edn., Cal., 1926 (Adi Kanda), pp. 29 and 83 for 'Sandesh' (a kind of delicious Bengali sweetmeat) and various other kinds of 'Mish-tanna'; Ibid (Lanka Kanda), p. 451 for other delicious Bengali sweets like 'Chhanabara' (sweetmeats of cheese or 'chhena'), 'khaja', 'jalebi' and 'pishtak' (*pitha*); Also see Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini" (a Bengali work composed in or about the first half of the 16th cent.) pub. by Shree Natwar Chakravarty, Cal., 1910, pp. 229 and 451 for 'Pishtak' and 'Modak' (a kind of sweetmeat). In another Bengali work entitled "Chandidas Padavali" (Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, pp. 78 and 246), we find references to various kinds of delicious sweetmeats in Shreekrishna's food, viz. 'Sandesh', 'Modak', 'Jalebi', 'Malpa' (or *Malpu*), 'Sitamishri' etc.; Also Vrindabandas's "Chaitanya Bhagavata" (Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1934, pp. 108 and 114) for 'Sandesh'. In an Assamese work, "Shreemadbhagavata" by Shankardeva, Dasham Skanda, pt. I, Dibrugarh (Assam), 3rd edn., 1905, pp. 37 and 220, we find references to 'Sandesh' and 'Ladu' or 'Laddu', which were popular in Assam during our period.
35. For various types of 'sag'—preparations, references may be made to Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan" (Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 120); "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali" (Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 280) for 'sag' and 'Ghanta' (a preparation of various vegetables like ginger, red potato etc.). For references to various kinds of vegetables and 'sags' like 'Achutya', 'Patol', 'Bastuk', 'Kal', 'Salincha' and 'Hilancha' in Chaitanya food, see "Chaitanya Bhagavata" by Vrindabandas (Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954, p. 81).
36. For 'Kheer' refer to Pandit Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini" (Shree Natwar Chakravarty, Bangabhasi Sanskrit, Cal., 1910, p. 201); Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan" (Shani Ranjan Press, 7th edn., Cal., 1961, p. 11); Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal" (Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., pp. 32 and 135); "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali" (Vasu-

- mati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, pp. 79 and 279); Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakanda Ramayana" (ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 1926, 7th edn., Adi Kanda, p. 83); "Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali" (Vasumatī Sahitya Mandir, 3rd edn., Cal., 1935, p. 146); Jayadeva's "Gitagovinda" (Gurudas Chattopadhyaya & Sons, Cal., 1925, p. 142); Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Sabha Parva), Cuttack, 1952, p. 99; Madhavkandali's "Ramayana" (pub. by Shri Kanak Chandra Sharma, Bevejia, Newgong (Assam), 1941, Uttara Kanda, p. 455); Shankardeva's "Shreemadbhagavata" (Dasham Skanda), pt. I. (pub. by Shree Shivanath Bhattacharya, Dibrugarh (Assam), 3rd edn., 1905, p. 220); "Kirtan Aru Namghosa" by Shankardeva and Madhadeva, pt. II (ed. by Harinarayan Datt Barua, Jorhat (Assam), 1st edn., p. 192); Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh" (Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto, 9 chhanda 246, p. 202); Hemchandra's "Desinamamala" (B.O.R.I., 1938), second sarga, chhanda 22, p. 89; "Dhola Marura Duha" (N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 553, p. 133); Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh-Rasak" (Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, canto 1, chhanda 16, p. 5); Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta" (N.P.S., V.S. 1015, 1st edn., p. 14); Qutban's "Mrigavati" (Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka, 1885, doha 11, p. 70).
37. References to 'Payas' may be found in "Mahakavi Chandidas Pada-
vali" (Vasumatī Sahitya Mandir, 3rd edn., Cal., 1933, p. 99); Narayandeva's "Mansamangal" contained in "Shree Shree Padma-
puran Baiskavi Mansu", pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 1940,
p. 150; "Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali" (Vasumatī Sahitya
Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1935), pada 5, p. 142; Also see "Vidyapati
Ki Padavali", ed. by Shree Rambriksha Sharma Beinipuri (Hindi
Pustak Bhandar, Laheriasarai, 1st edn., V.S. 1982) pada 211,
p. 276; Madhava Kandali's "Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Shree
Kanak Chandra Sharma, Bevejia, Newgong (Assam), 1941 (Uttara
Kanda), p. 455; Shankardeva's "Shreemadbhagavata" (Dasham
Skanda), pt. I, ed. by Shivanath Bhattacharya, Dibrugarh (Assam),
3rd edn., 1905, p. 220; Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Sabha Parva),
pub. by Radha Raman Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1952, p. 42; Also
refer to an art. by Dr. K. G. Sahoo entitled "Portrayal of Oriya
Social Life in Sarala Das (15th cent. A.D.)", pub. in J.H.R.,
Vol. I, No. 1, Aug. 15, 1958, p. 33; Also see Narpati Nalha's
"Visaldeva Raso" (Hindī Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag), 1st
edn., 1953, chhanda 118, p. 158.
38. Refer to Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal" (Bani
Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 133) for a description regarding pre-
paration of 'Khichari' containing ginger which runs thus, "Ada
Sambadha Diya Koriya Khichari"; Also see "Afsana-i-Badsha-
han" or "Tarikh-i-Afghani", photo-print of the microfilm copy of

B.M., K.P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Patna, Vol. II, fol. 57 for a reference to 'Khichari'.

39. Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", ed. by Dr. Parmeshwari Lal, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 42, doha 2, p. 103; Also refer to Jayasi's "Padmavat", Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 49 (*Devapal Duti Khanda*), doha 586/1, p. 782; Also see G. A. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, Cal., 1885, p. 347 for the preparation of 'Khirora'.
40. "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 42, doha 2, p. 103.
41. Ibid, chhanda 157, doha 1, p. 169.
42. "Chandayan", Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 157, doha 1, p. 169; Also see "Padmavat", Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 45 (*Badshah Bhoj Khanda*), doha 549/3, p. 725.
43. "Chandayan" (Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964), chhanda 157, doha 7, p. 109; Also Jayasi's "Padmavat", Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 45, doha 549/4, p. 725.
44. "Chandayan", Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 157, doha 2, p. 169; Also refer to Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 45, doha 549/4, p. 725.
45. "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 157, doha 2, p. 169.
46. Ibid, chhanda 157, doha 5, p. 169.
47. Ibid, chhanda 157, doha 6, p. 169; Also refer to Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 45, doha 549/9, p. 725.
48. Kavj Narayan Deva's "Mansamangal" contained in "Shree Shree Padmapuran Baiskavi Mansa" pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Tara Art Press, Cal., 1940, pp. 149, 150 and 288.
49. "Padmapuran or Mansamangal" by Kavivar Vijaya Gupta, ed. by Basant Kumar Bhattacharya, pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 96.
50. Varthema (*The Travels of Ludovic Varthema*, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1863, p. 108) referring to them writes, "Guzeratis are a certain race which eats nothing that has blood and never kills any living things."
51. Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", ed. by Dr. Dhirajlal Dhanjeebhai Shah, pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 5, doha 63, p. 94.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid; Also see "Chulika", doha 48, p. 222; Also "Vasant Vilas", ed. by Prof. Kantilal Baldev Vyas, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 48, p. 24 for 'Kur' (a preparation of boiled rice); See also Bhalhan's "Nalakhyan"

- (B.U.P.), V.S. 2013, 1st edn., canto 28, doha 10, p. 64, for 'Bhat' (cooked rice).
54. "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 5, doha 64, p. 94.
 55. Ibid, canto 5, doha 60, p. 93; Also refer to Maulana Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 156, doha 1, p. 169 for 'Papar'.
 56. "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 5, doha 60, p. 93.
 57. Ibid; Also see Bhalhan's "Nalakhyan" (B.U.P.), V.S. 2013, 1st edn., canto 11, doha 74, p. 29 for various types of 'Pakwan'.
 58. "Bimalprabandh" (Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad), 1st edn., 1965, canto 9, doha 255, p. 205.
 59. Ibid, canto 5, doha 64, p. 94; Also refer to "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 48, p. 24 for 'Karambudu' (meal mixed with curd).
 60. "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 5, doha 64, p. 94.
 61. Ibid, canto 9, doha 255, p. 205.
 62. Ibid, canto 9, doha 246, p. 202.
 63. Ibid, "Chulika", doha 48, p. 222.
 64. Ibid, canto 1, doha 35, p. 8.
 65. Barbosa, referring to the Brahmans of Gujarat, writes, "These men never eat anything subject to death, nor do they slay anything." (The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol. I, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, p. 116). Barbosa also refers to the people of Cambaya thus, "The dwellers in this city have many vegetables and fruit gardens and orchards, which they use of their pleasures, and thence they obtain plenty of fruit and vegetables, which are the principal food of the Heathen, for they eat nothing which has been killed" (Ibid, p. 141). Nicolo Conti also informs us about the priests of Calicut thus, "These priests do not eat any animal food, but live upon rice, milk and vegetables." (Major, India in the 15th Century, Nicolo Conti, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1857, p. 25).
 66. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I Hakluyt Society, London., 1918, p. 111, where Barbosa refers to 'Banias' (merchant class) thus, "The people eat neither flesh nor fish, nor anything subject to death, they slay nothing, nor are they willing even to see the slaughter of any animal."
 67. Ibid, pp. 112-113.
 68. Referring to the usefulness of a cow, Alberuni says, "As for the economical reason, we must keep in mind that the cow is the animal which serves man in travelling by carrying his loads, in agriculture in the works of ploughing and sowing, in the house-

hold by the milk and the product made thereof. Further, man makes use of its dung, and in winter-time even of its breath. Therefore, it was forbidden to eat cow's meat" (Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), pp. 152-153).

69. Book of Ser Marco Polo (tr. by Sir Henry Yule, II, Lond., 190), p. 342.
70. Referring to the Hindus of Kashmir, Marco Polo writes thus, "The people of the province do not kill animals nor spill blood, so if they want to eat meat they get the Saracens who dwell among them to play the butcher" (Travels of Marco Polo, Vol. I, tr. by Sir Henry Yule, Lond., 3rd edn., 1929, p. 166).
71. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 17.
72. Ibid; Also refer to Voyages D'Ibn Battuta, III, p. 127. Babur in his Memoirs writes about jack fruits (*kanthal*) thus, "This is a fruit of singular form and flavour, it looks like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a haggis (*gipa*); and it is sickeningly sweet" (Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), Luzac and Co., Lond., 1921, p. 506).
73. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 17.
74. Ibid; Also refer to Voyages D'Ibn Battuta, III, p. 128.
75. Voyages D'Ibn Battuta, III, p. 128; Also refer to The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 18.
76. Refer to "India and the Neighbouring Territories in the Kitab Nuzhat Al-Mushtaq Fi" by Khirag Al-Idrisi (tr. by S. Maqbul Ahmad, Leiden, 1960, p. 34) for rarity of grapes and figs in India.
77. Voyages D'Ibn Battuta, III, p. 128; Also see "The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, pp. 17-18; Also see Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), pp. 511-513 for detailed descriptions of various kinds of oranges (*naranj*) like *limu* (a kind of lemon), *sangtara*, *xada-fal*, *amrud-fal* (*amrit-phal*), *amal-bid* and *Jambiri*; Also see Memoirs of Babur, II (King), O.U.P., 1921, pp. 231-236.
78. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 18; Also see Voyages D'Ibn Battuta, III, p. 129.
79. Ibid.
80. Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), p. 503.
81. Ibid, pp. 503-504; Also Ibid, II (King), p. 225.
82. Ibid, III (Bev.), 504-505; Also Ibid, II (King), pp. 225-226.
83. Ibid, III (Bev.), pp. 505-506; Also Ibid, II (King), p. 226.
84. Ibid, III (Bev.), p. 506.
85. Ibid, pp. 506-507.
86. Ibid, p. 507.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid, II (King), O.U.P., 1921, p. 229.
89. An Arab account of India in the 14th cent., tr. by Otto Spies, Germany, 1936, p. 49.

90. In "Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi" (Per. MS No. 99, Cat. No. 547, O.P.L., fols. 80(a) and 80(b), we find the description of various types of fruits of Hindustan, viz. *khurma* (date fruit), *anar* (pomegranate), *saftalu* or *satalu*, *tut* (mulberry), *tuffah* (apple), *amrud* and various types of apples like black, white and red; Also see T.F.S.(A) (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1890, pp. 127-128) for the description of various fruits in the garden of Firuz Shah Tughluq, especially orange, *Nay Shakar Siyah* (black sugarcane). See Amir Hasan Dehlavi's "Favaid-ul-Fuad" (Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 197) for a reference to *anar*; Also refer to "Mirat-i-Sikandari" by Sikandar Ibn Muhammad (pub. by Qazi Abdul Karim, Fathehul Karim Press, Bombay, 1308 A.H., pp. 90 and 108) for fruits of Ahmedabad like *Jamun*, *aam*, *injeer* and *angur*. References to various kinds of fruits like grape, *kharbuja* (musk-melon), *tarbuj* (water-melon), *anar* (pomegranate), *seb* (apple), *satalu*, *injeer*, *kharal*, *annanas*, *kela*, *aluxharifa*, *nariyal*, *santara* etc. are also to be found in Sujan Rai Bhandari's "Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh", ed. by Zafar Hasan, pub. by G. & Sons, Delhi, 1918, p. 11; Also see Ibid, p. 12, where mango has been acclaimed as the best fruit of Hindustan; See also Ibid., p. 48, where we find a description of the fruits of Jaunpur, particularly *kharbuja* and *angur*; Also refer to "Qasaid-i-Badr-Chach" by Muhammad Hadi (pub. by Qazi Muhammad Hussain, Muhammadi press, 1261, A.H., p. 85) for *kharbuja*; Also see "Tarikh-i-Shahi" (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939), p. 31 for *anar*, *amba* and *kharbuja*.
91. "Chandayan" (Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 18, p. 85) for 'Naryar' (cocoanut), pomegranate, 'Dakh' (grape).
92. "Sandesh Rasak" (Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March 1960, chhandas 57-62, pp. 16-17 for 'Nalier' (cocoanut), 'Chhya' (mango), 'Amia' (a kind of myrobalan); 'Nimbu', 'Jambuy' or 'Jamun' (the rose apple), 'Nayarang' (orange), 'Bijja' (a kind of lemon, i.e. 'Beejaura Nimbu') and 'Khajuri' (date).
93. "Desinamamala" (ed. by P. Pischal), B.O.R.I., 1938, 2nd edn., 3rd sarga, chhanda 7, p. 131 for orange; Also see Ibid, 1st sarga, chanda 15, p. 9 for mango.
94. Refer to "Kulliyat-i-Khusravi", pt. I, Aligarh 1918, p. 94, where Amir Khusrau, in praise of 'kharbuja' refers to it as the fruit of *Bahisht* (Paradise); Ibid, pt. II, pp. 107-109 for the references to 'amba' (mango), 'Khurma' and 'bar'; Also see his "Qiranu's Sa'dain" (Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, March, 1871, p. 166) for references to 'Angur', 'Mooz' (plantain), 'Khurma', 'Anar', 'Pista', 'Kharbuja', 'Chirgoja'; Also see "Dewal Rani Khizr Khan" (Aligarh, 1917, p. 43) for 'Mooz' (banana), and 'Amrood'; Also "Nuh Sipihri" (O.U.P., 1950, p. 160) for 'Amrood', 'Angur' and

- 'Mooz' (banana). Here, Amir Khusrau, referring to 'Mooz' (banana) sayss thus, "Nowhere in the world except in Hindustan this fruit is found." Also refer to "Kavita Kaumudi", pt. I (Navneet Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1954, p. 139) for 'Anar'.
95. "Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Shree Kanak Chandra Sharma, Beveja, Newgong (Assam), 1941, Sundar Kanda, p. 252 for 'Narang' (i.e. (orange), 'Khajuri', 'Amlaki', 'Shreephall' etc.
 96. "Mahabharata" (Sabha Parva), pub. by Radha Raman Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1952, p. 42 for 'Jambil' (kind of sour lemon).
 97. "Shreekrishna Kirtan" (ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., p. 81 for 'Narang', 'Limbu', 'Dalimb' (pomegranate), 'Jambir', 'Narikel' (cocoanut), 'Kanthhohal' (jackfruit), 'Tal' (palm), 'Kadalak' (plantain), 'Khajjur', 'Shreephall' or 'Sheephall', 'Kharbuja', 'Kankari' and 'Soase' (cucumber); Also see Ibid, p. 26 for 'Ambu' (mango) and 'Jambu'.
 98. "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", ed. by Basant Kumar Bhattacharya, pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 50 for 'Narikel', 'Tal', 'Amra' (mango), 'Jambura' (a kind of sour lemon), 'Kamla Nagranga' (a kind of big orange), 'Lebu Kagaji' (a kind of lemon); Also Ibid, p. 130 for 'Narikel' (cocoanut), 'Khejur' (date) and 'Narang' (orange).
 99. "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini" (ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shree Natwar Chakravarty, Bangabhasi Sanskaran, Cal., 1910, p. 22) for 'Nareng' (orange).
 100. Narayan Deva's "Mansamangal" contained in "Shree Shree Padmapuran Bais Kavi Mansa", pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 1940, p. 147 for 'Mitha Narikel' (sweet cocoanut), "Shreephall", 'Chapakola' (a kind of banana), 'Darimba' (pomegranate) and 'Aam' (mango).
 101. "Mansa Vijaya" (ed. by Dr. Sukumar Sen), The Asiatic Society, 1, Park Street, Cal., 1953, p. 90 for 'Narikel' (cocoanut), 'Khajur' and 'Amlaki'.
 102. "Gitagovinda" (ed. by Bijaychandra Majumdar, pub. by Gurudas Chattopadhyaya & Sons, Cal., 1925, p. 142) for 'Draksha' (grape).
 103. "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali" (ed. by Shree Satis Chandra Mukhopadhyaya, pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 246) for 'Chapakola' (a kind of banana).
 104. "Sachitra Saptakanda Ramayana" (ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chttopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn., 1926, (Ajdhya Kanda) p. 113 for 'Kadoli' (plantain), 'Narikel' (cocoanut), 'Amrasar' (mango), 'Kantal' (jackfruit) and 'Narengi' (orange).
 105. "Shree Chaitanya Bhagavata" (Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954, p. 108) for 'Narikel' and 'Kadolak'; Also Ibid, p. 114, where we find Chaitanya eating 'Narikel' (cocoanut) with sugar.

106. "Bimalprabandh" (Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 9, dohas 26, 32 and 37) for the availability of 'Gajar' (carrot) and 'Mula' (radish) in Gujarat and Rajasthan.
107. "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), ed. by Bhupendra Balkrishna Trivedi, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, Jan., 1962, 1st edn., pada 66, p. 50 for 'Draksha' (grape) and 'Khajuri'.
108. Refer to 'Tarikh-i-Daudi', Per. MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L., fol. 86(b) for various sorts of *achars* in the dish of Yusuf Khalil Lodi, an Afghan noble during the reign of Sikandar Lodi; Also see "Tarikh-i-Daudi" by Abdullah (ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rasheed), Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954, p. 81 for references to various types of *achars*; Also refer to "Ijaz-i-Khusravi", pt. I, p. 180 (Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow) for the preparation of tasteful *Achar-i-Naghzak* (mango pickles); Also see The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 16 for pickles of mangoes; Here, Ibn Battuta says thus, "The mangoes which have fallen from the tree are picked up, sprinkled with salt and pickled like the sweet lime and lemon in our country. The Indians treat green ginger and pepper in the same way; they eat these pickles with their food taking after each mouthful a little of the pickle." Also refer to Maulana Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan" (Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 162, doha 5, p. 174 for 'Sandhan' (*achar* and *chatni*); Also see the above work, chhanda 156, doha 7, p. 168; See "Padmavat" (Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 26, doha 284, p. 324 for a reference to *achar*.
109. Refer to Qutban's "Mrigavati" (ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 114, p. 102) for the description of a marriage feast in which "Shatras" and 'Panchamrita' were offered to the guests. In an Assamese work entitled "Ramayana" by Kaviraj Madhava Kandali (pub. by Shree Kanak Chandra Sharma, Bevejia, Newgong (Assam), 1941, (Adi Kanda) p. 13), there is also a reference to the offering of 'Shatras' and 'Panchamrita' to a deity on the occasion of Kaikeyi's marriage with Dashrath which runs, thus, "Shada Rasa Panchamrite Karaila Bhojan" or "They (the invitees) were entertained with the flavour of six tastes and 'Panchamrita'."
110. References to the use of betel-leaves are numerous in the Persian chronicles and the contemporary literatures, e.g. "Tarikh-i-Daudi" by Abdullah, Per. MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L., fol. 11(b); Ahmed Yadgar's "Tarikh-i-Shahi" (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939, p. 58) for 'Bira-e-Pan'; T.F.S. (B) (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 117) for 'Pan'; T.F.S. (A), (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 78) for "Tambol"; Amir Khusrau's "Qiranu's Sa'dain", Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 139; Also refer to his "Nuh Sipahr", ed. by

Muhammad Wahid Mirza, O.U.P., 1950, p. 160 where he says about 'Tambol' thus, "Nowhere in the world, except Hindustan it is produced." Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., doha 709, p. 129 for distribution of 'Pan' in the court of Alauddin Khalji; Qutban's "Mrigavati" (Hind Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 115, p. 102) for the use of 'Pan' after meals; "Kavita Kaumudi", pt. I, Navneet Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1954, p. 139; Hemchandra's "Desinamamala" (ed. by P. Pischel, B.O.R.I., 1938, Pratham sarga, chhanda 36, p. 19) for betels with areca-nuts; "Dhola Marura Duha" (N.P.S., 2nd edn., doha 223, p. 49) for 'Tambol ras'; Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Rasso", Pt. III (Sahitya Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyalaya, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, doha 8, p. 4) for 'Pan' with 'Karpur' (camphor); Narpati Nalhra's "Visaldev Raso" (Hindi Sahitya Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 18, p. 72 and chhanda 91, p. 134) for ripe betel leaf with 'Kattha' and 'Supari'; Chheehal's "Panchasaheli" (Vidya Mandir Prakashan, Gwalior, 1st edn., 1959, chaupai 7, p. 210); "Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali" (Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1935, pada 31, p. 25) for 'Pan' with 'Gua' i.e. ('Sapari') Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakanda Ramayana" (ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 1926, 7th edn., (Adi Kanda p. 29) for 'Tambul' with 'Karpur'; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan" (ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 120) for 'Tambul'; Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya" (C.U., 1944, p. 145) for 'Tambul' with 'Suvasit Karpur' (scented camphor); Refer to Kavi Narayan Deva's "Mansamangal" contained in "Shree Shree Padmapuran Bais Kavi Mansa" (ed. by Shree Amulyaratan Bandopadhyaya, pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 1940, 8th edn., p. 290), where Lakhendar is mentioned taking betel-leaf with camphor for purifying his mouth which runs thus, "Karpur Tambul Khay Mukher Shodhan"; Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal" (Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 97), where the poet says, "Chuna Gua Pan Ekatre Khaile Baro Saat Paj", i.e. "It gives very good taste to take betel-leaf with lime and areca nuts"; "Mahakavi Chandidas Fadavali" (Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 15), where there is a reference to 'Pan' with 'Karpur' in a vessel (*patra*), which runs thus, "Tambul Bantata Rekhechhe Torite Karpur Bisal Kari"; Madhava Kandali's "Ramayana" (an Assamese work, ed. and pub. by Shree Kanak Chandra Sharma, Bevejia, Newgong (Assam), 1941 (Adi Kanda), p. 13) for 'Tambul' with 'Karpur' after meals, which runs thus, "Karpur Tambul Dila Bhojaner Sheshe"; Also see "Kirtan Aru Namghosha" by Shree Shree Shankardeva and Shree Madhav Dev, pt. II (ed. by Hari

Narayan Datt Barua), Jorhat (Assam), 1st edn., Kartik, 1333 p. 193, where Lord Shree Krishna is mentioned taking 'Karpur' and 'Tambul' for purifying his mouth, which runs thus, "Karpur Tambul Ani Mukha Shudhi Dila"; Shankar Deva's "Rukmini Haran Nat" (C.U., 1950., 2nd edn., p. 75), where Rukmini is found taking betel-leaf with camphor; Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (an Oriya work), (Sabha Parva), pub. by Radha Raman Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1952, p. 99 for betel-leaf with 'Karpur'; "Mira Na Pado" (pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, Jan., 1962, 1st edn., padas 59 and 63, pp. 45 and 48 respectively for 'Pan' with 'Kattha', 'Chuna', 'Lawang', 'Ilaichi' and 'Supari'; Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh" (pub. by Guparat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmadabad, 1st edn., 1964, canto 5, doha 64, p. 94) for 'Pan' with 'Kattha' after meals; Also refer to Jyotirivara's "Varnaratnakar" (a Maithili work, composed in the first-quarter of the 14th cent., Bib. Ind., Cal., 1940, kallola 2, p. 13), where the poet refers to different kinds of lime and spices used with betel-leaf, and says, "After his meal, the *Nayak* (hero) must have betel-leaf like a good Indian"; Also refer to Jayasi's "Padmavat" (pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 2, doha 47, p. 56) for 'Pan' with 'Karpur' and 'Kasturi'.

111. See Abdullah's "Tarikh-i-Daudi" Per. MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L., fol. 9(a), for the ignorance of the Afghans regarding the use of betel-leaf, where he says, "Bahlol Lodi and his Afghan friends were offered by his noble, Hamid Khan, some '*Bira-e-Tambol*' (betel-leaves, seasoned and folded). Some of the Afghans ate all the '*Biras*' (folded betel-leaves); some ate only lime after opening the '*Biras*', when their mouth got burnt they threw away the betel-leaf"; Also see Abdullah's "Tarikh-i-Daudi" (ed. by Shajikh Abdur Rasheed, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1958, p. 8; "Tarikh-i-Khan Jahan Makhzan-i-Afghani", Per. MS. No. 82, Cat. No. 529, O.P.L., fol. 99(a); Also see "Dewal Rani Khizr Khan" of Amir Khusrau, Aligarh, 1917-19, p. 45, where Khusrau says, "The Khurasanis (Persians) are so sluggish as not to be able to distinguish between the 'Pan' and grass. It requires taste to do so"; Also I.C., Vol. XXX, Jan., 1956, p. 5.
112. Ijaz-i-Khusravi, pt. II. Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, pp. 249-263; Also refer to Khusrau's "Kulliyat-i-Khusravi", pt. I, Aligarh, 1918, p. 94, where the poet says, "Pan is one of the delights of India as it diminishes the bad odour of the mouth and also strengthens the teeth when they are weak. It gives appetite to one who has no appetite, but if one is feeling hungry, it diminishes hunger"; Also refer to I.C., Vol. XXX, Jan., 1956, p. 5; See also Journal of Moslem Institute (July to December, 1909)

- the art, entitled "Pan" by Maulvi A.F.M. Abdul Ali, pp. 32-34.
113. Ijaz-i-Khusravi, pt. II. Newel Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 263.
 114. "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), ed. by Bhupendra Balkrishna Trivedi, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, Jan., 1962, 1st edn., pada 75, p. 58 for a reference to 'Pan' (containing catechu, lime, clove and areca nuts) of Banaras, where the poetess says thus:
 "Panki, Panki, Panki Re,
 Bidi Daungi Banaras Panki,
 Katho Chuno Mahe Lawing Sopari."
 115. Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 180.
 116. Major, India in the Fifteenth Century (Travels of Abdur Razzak), Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1857, p. 32.
 117. Ibid, Also refer to Barbosa's account (The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, p. 22) for the manner of using betel-leaf by the King of Calicut.
 118. Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta" (ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., chhanda 400, p. 64) for the use of clove (*lawang*) and cardamom (*ilaichi*).
 119. Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh" (a Gujarati work), pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 3, doha 31, p. 38 and also canto 9, doha 26, p. 166.
 120. Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), p. 518.
 121. Refer to "Afsana-i-Badshahan" or "Tarikh-i-Afghani", Vol. I, photo-print, of the microfilm copy with the B.M., K.P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Patna, fol. 77 for *Aab-e-Khushbu* (scented-water).
 122. Ibid, for a reference to *Sharbat-i-Mishri* (syrup of 'Mishri') and *Dogh* (curd) on the occasion of a feast arranged by a Sufi, Hajrat Mir Saheb; Also refer to fol. 27, where Sultan Sikandar Lodi and his attendants were offered 'sharbat' containing 'Shirni' (*mishri*) and 'Chini' (sugar) by Shaikh Fakhruddin; Also see "Tarikh-i-Daudi" of Abdullah, Per. MS. No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L., fol. 11(b), for 'Sharbat'; "Tarikh-i-Masudi", Per. MS. No. 44, Boh. Coll., fol. 8(a); "Tarikh-i-i-Baihaqi", ed. by W. H. Moreley, Cal., 1862, p. 123, where Sultan Masud says that his grand mother was very proficient in the art of preparing *sharbat*; Amir Khusrau's "Matla-ul-Anwar", Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, pp. 113 and 138 for *Sharbat-e-Labgir* (very sweet *sharbat*); T.F.S. (B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 116; Jayasi's "Padmavat", Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 26, doha 285, p. 326 for *Khondawani* (i.e. *Sharbat*).
 123. Referring to *Sanglawa* (orange), Babur says, "It is deliciously acid fruit making a very pleasant and wholesome *sherbet*" (Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), p. 512); Also refer to "Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh"

- by Sujan Rai (ed. by Zafar Hasan, pub. by G & Sons, Delhi, 1918, p. 43) for a kind of syrup prepared from a mixture of 'Narangi' and 'Nimbu' called 'Chauk Turah', which was very popular in Oudh.
124. "Akhbarul-Akhyar" by Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi, Muhtabai Press, Delhi, 1332, A.H., p. 52, where the author mentions that Shaikh Farid-ul-Haq wa-Adeen was habituated to break his Ramzan fast with 'sharbat'. He was offered a cup of 'sharbat' of which he took one-third and gave the rest to his attendants. Also refer to Amir Hasan Dehlavi's "Favaid-ul-Fuad", Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 51; Also see the "Khazainul Futuh" of Amir Khusrau (ed. by Syed Moinul Haq, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1927, p. 83), where a reference is available to the breaking of the Ramzan fast with 'sharbat' by the Muslim saints.
125. T.F.S.(A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 88; Abdullah's "Tarikh-i-Daudi", Per. MS. No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L., fol. 11(b) for distribution of 'sharbat', 'Barg-e-Tambol' (betel-leaf), 'Mishri' (sugarcandy) and 'Shakkar' (sugar) on the occasion of Sultan Bahlol Lodi's ascending to the throne; Also see "Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi" of Abbas Khan Ibn Sheikh Ali Sherwani, Per. MS, K.P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Pat., p. 128, where there is a description of *Khushgawar Sharbat* (pleasing syrup) at the time of Sher Shah's coronation.
126. The Holy Qur'an, tr. by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, pub. by Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, Lahore, 2nd edn., 1920, Ch. II, Sec. 27, teaching 219, p. 99; Also see Joseph Schacht's "An Introduction to Islamic Law", Oxford, 1964, p. 13; Also refer to Z.W., I (Lond., 1910), p. 355; See also f.n. no. 26 of Ch. VI of this work.
127. Z.W., I (Lond., 1910), p. 355 for references to 'Bhang' and 'Afim' (opium); Also refer to "Mirat-i-Sikandari", Vol. I, p. 92 for Sultan Mahmud Khan's (of Gujarat) habit of drinking wine; "Tarikh-i-Baihaqi", Cal., 1862, p. 161 for Sultan Masud's and his courtiers' habit of drinking wine on special festive occasions; T.F.S. (B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 144 for Sultan Muiz-ud-din Kaiqubad's habit of drinking wine; T.F.S. (A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, pp. 146-147 for Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq's habit of drinking wine of various tastes with his courtiers; Also refer to Vidyapati's "Kirtilata" (pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi) 1st edn., 1962, 2nd pallava, chhanda 28, doha 178, p. 101), where Vidyapati says, "The Turks even lost their property and wealth in drinking wine." Also Ibid, 2nd pallava, chhanda 28 and 29, dohas 174 and 180, pp. 98 and 102 respectively for the use of the tablets of 'Bhang' by the Turks.

128. Refer to "Gorakhbani" ed. by Dr. Pitambar Dutta Badthwal, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 3rd edn., V.S. 2017, dohas 164-165, p. 56) for 'Madda' (wine), and 'Bhang'; Ibid (doha 241, p. 76) for a reference to 'Dhatura' (the thorn-apple) which was also very popular among the Hindus. For 'Bhang' and 'Dhatura' taken by Mahadeva, refer to "Padmapuran or Mansamangal" by Kavivar Vijaya Gupta (pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn.), pp. 10 and 12. References to 'Baruni' (wine) are also available in "Charja Giti Padavali" (ed. by Dr. Sukumar Sen, pub. by Sampadak Sahitya Sabha, Burdwan, 1956, p. 50); Also "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., p. 27; Pandit Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini", pub. by Shree Natwar Chakravarty, Bangabhasi Sanskaran, Cal., 1910, p. 191; Also refer to Vrindabandas's "Shree Chaitanya Bhagavata" (pub. by Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954, p. 64) for a reference to 'Madda' (wine).
129. Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 180.
130. Refer to "Tarikh-i-Baihaqi" of Sultan Masud, ed. by W. H. Moreley, Cal., 1862, p. 629 for 'sharabdar' of Sultan Masud.
131. Refer to Ain(S), Aligarh, 1917-18, p. 120 for 'Saqi' under Sikandar Shah; Also see Hasan Nizami Ni Sapuri's "Taj-ul-Maasir". PERMS, K.P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Pat., pp. 188-189 for references to 'Saqi' or 'Saqiyan'.
132. T.M.S. (Eng. tr.) by K. K. Basu, O.I.B., 1932, p. 73; Also refer to T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, pp. 284-285 for the banning of wine by Alauddin Khalji, and how afterwards adulterated wine began to be sold at a very high price(s). See also the "Khazainul Futuh" of Amir Khusrau, ed. by Syed Moinul Haq, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1927, p. 18; Also refer The Campaigns of Ala'ud-Din Khalji, being the 'Khaza-inul-Futuh' (treasures of Victory) of Amir Khusrau, tr. by Prof. Muhammad Habib, pub. by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay, 1931, p. 11; Also refer to "Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh" by Sujan Rai, ed. by Zafar Hasan, pub. by G & Sons, Delhi, 1918, p. 227.
133. India and the Neighbouring Territories in the Kitab Nuzhat Al-Mushtaq Fi by Khirag Al-Idrisi (tr. by S. Maqbul Ahmed, Leiden, E.J. Bills, 1960), p. 61.
134. Ibid, p. 33.
135. See "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Miran Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 19, p. 515 for 'Bhat'.
136. See Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan" (Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 156, doha 4, p. 168) for a reference to 'Palak Sag', which was very popular among the Hindus in general.

137. Ibid, chhanda 156, dohas 1-5, p. 168 for various types of vegetables, e.g. 'Kerela', 'Kumhra', 'Kheksa', 'Parwar', 'Kundru', 'Torai' and 'Laua'.
138. Refer to "Miran Sudha-Sindhu" (ed. by Swami Anand Swarup, pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan) 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 9, p. 323 for 'Khichari'; 'Kabir Sakhi Sar', pub. by Vinod Pustak Mandir, Hospital Road, Agra, 1st edn., 1956, sakhi 12, p. 107; Also "Kabir Granthavali", ed. by Charlotte Vandeville, Institute Francais D' Indologie, Pondichery, 1957, sakhi 12, p. 40; Also refer to "Sundar Vilas" by Mahatma Sundar Das, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1952, doha 20, p. 62.
139. A reference to 'Patasa' or 'Batasa' is available in a Gurumukhi work entitled "Janam Sakhi", composed in the 16th cent., A.D. by Pare Mokhe of Sultanpur, pub. by Bhai Ladha Singh, Karttar Singh, Bajar Maiseva, Amritsar, p. 44.
140. "Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh" by Sujan Rai, ed. by Zafar Hasan, G & Sons, Delhi, 1918, p. 47.
141. Ibid, p. 50.
142. Refer to Shankardeva's "Mihali Baragit" (An Assamese work), pub. by Prashanna Chandra Barua, Kamarkucchi (Kamrup), B.S. 1330, p. 5, where the poet refers to it thus, "Dadhi Bhat Khaio Jadu, Dadhi Bhat Khaio."
143. For 'Satu', a reference is available in Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", pub by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 47, doha 3, p. 106; Also refer to "Kathasarit Sagar" of Somadevabhata (ed. by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kashinath Pandurang Pareb, printed and pub. by Tukaram Javaji, Bombay, 1903, 2nd edn., p. 274) for 'Saktoo'.
144. "Kavita Kaumudi" pt. I, ed. by Ramnaresh Tripathy, pub. by Navneet Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1954, p. 136.
145. For 'Sukta' refer to Narayan Deva's "Mansamangal" contained in "Shree Shree Padmapuran Bais Kavi Mansa", pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 1940, p. 149.
146. See Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Sabha Parva), pub. by Radha Raman Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1952, p. 240, for a reference to 'Besar'.
147. Ibid, Cuttack, 1952, pp. 9, 58 and 99 for three types of cooking, i.e. 'Gauri', 'Shauri' and 'Nal'; Also refer to "Rashtrabhasha Rajat Jayanti Granth", pub. by Rashtrabhasha Pustak Bhāṇḍar, Cuttack, p. 452.
148. A reference to 'Bhat' (cooked rice) taken with milk on a banana leaf ("Oggarbhata Rambhayapatta . . .") is available in "Prakrita-Paingalam" (a Text on Prakrita and Apabhramsa Metres), pt. I, ed. by Dr. Bhola Shankar Vyas, pub. by Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi, 1959, 2nd parichheda, chhanda 93, p. 226; Also refer to

"Bangla Sahityer Itibritta" by Asit Kumar Bandopadhyaya, pt. I, pub. by Modern Book Agency (P) Ltd., Cal., 1st edn., 1959, p. 101; Also see Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal" (Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 13) for a reference to 'Bhat' (cooked rice) taken on a banana leaf.

149. Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 180.
150. For 'Nan', refer to Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi, Per. MS. No. 99, Cat. No. 547, O.P.L., fol. 72(b).
151. For 'Tatar Kababa' (hot roast), refer to Vidyapati's "Kirtilata", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1962, 2nd pallava, doha 178, p. 101.
152. For 'Qima' prepared from meat (*gosht*) and oil (*roghun*), refer to Tarikh-i-Daudi by Abdullah, Per. MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O. P. L., fol. 53 (b); Also see Ibid, ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rasheed, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954, p. 51.
153. Ibid, Per. MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O. P. L., fol: 24 (b), for 'Brinj'.
154. Refer to Vidyapati's "Kirtilata" (Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1962, 2nd pallava, chhandas 29-30, doha 185, p. 105), where the poet mentions thus, "The Turks are so much accustomed to eat onion that even if they are offered white cooked rice like camphor they cry for 'Piaj' (onion)".
155. Afsana-i-Badshahan, photo-print of the microfilm copy available in the B. M., K. P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Pat., Vol. I fol. 94, where Makhdum Shaikh Sharfuddin is depicted offering 'Makiyan' (cooked fowl) to Sultan Firuz Shah. Though Firuz Shah was not habituated to take cooked fowl, yet he took it on the request of the saint.
156. Akhbarul Akhyar by Shaikh Abdul Huq Muhaddis Dehlavi, Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1332 A.H., p. 49, for a reference to 'Branj Pokhtan'.
157. Ibid, for a reference to 'Sheer Brinji' Also refer to Favaid-ul-Fuad of Amir Hasan Dehlavi, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 91.
158. See Afsana-e-Badshahan, Vol. I, fol. 37, for 'Dogh'; Also see Akhbarul Akhyar by Shaikh Abdul Huq Muhaddis Dehlavi, Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1332 A.H., p. 45, for a reference to 'Yoghurt'.
159. Akhbarul Akhyar (Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1332 A.H., p. 225) for 'Nan'.
160. Ibid, p. 220; Also refer to Vidyapati's "Kirtilata" (Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1962, 2nd pallava, chhanda 60, doha 188, for a reference to 'Serni' or 'Shirmi'.

161. See Akhbarul Akhyar (Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1332 A.H., p. 278), for a reference to 'Halwa'.
162. Afsana-e-Badshahan, Vol. I, fols. 62-63.
163. Akhbarul Akhyar (Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1332 A.H.), p. 261; Also refer to Amir Hasan Dehlavi's Favaid-ul-Fuad, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 9, where Khwaja Nizamuddin Auliya is found referring to a preparation of 'Shorba' thus, "Shorba is prepared with meat whether it consists of spices or not."
164. "Mansollasa" (Vol. I) by King Somesvara, ed. by Gajanan K. Shrigondekar, Gaekward's Oriental Series, Baroda, 1925, adhyaya 4, shlokas 45-57, p. 5.
165. Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), p. 509; where Babur, referring to *tari* (palm tree), says, "Just as with the date-palm, people hang a pot on it, take its juice and drink it. They call this liquor *tari*; it is said to have more exhilarating than date liquor."
166. "Kavita Kaumudi", pt. 1, ed. by Hamnareish Tripathy, pub. by Navneet Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1954, p. 139; Also refer to "Bharatiya Vidya", vol. XVII, No. 1, 1957, p. 140, an article entitled "Some Early References to Smoking in India" by Shree Jnan Chandra.
167. "Kavita Kaumudi", pt. I, pub. by Navneet Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1954, p. 137.
168. T.F.S.(A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 331.
169. Qiranu's Sa'dajn of Amir Khusrau, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, March, 1871, p. 64.
170. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 57.
171. Ibid.
172. Ibid, pp. 57-58.
173. An Arab account of India in the 14th century, being a tr. of the chapters on India from Al-Qalqashandi's 'Subh-ul-A'sha' by Otto Spies, Germany, 1936, p. 29.
174. A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, ed. and tr. by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, Lond., 1895, p. 425.
175. Refer to Ijaz-i-Khusravi of Amir Khusrau, pt. V, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876, pp. 86-87.
176. Ijaz-i-Khusravi (pt. V) of Amir Khusrau, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876, p. 58 for a reference to 'Dahleej'.
177. Refer to "Chhitaivarta" by Narayan Das, ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., chaupais 105-160, p. 9.
178. Ibid, chaupai 107, p. 9.
179. See Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan" (Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., chhanda 31, doha 1, p. 95) for a reference to seven-storeyed palace; Also refer to "Bimalprabandh" (a Gujarati work) by Lawanyasamay, pub. by Gujarat Sahitya

Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 8, p. 159 for a seven-storeyed building at Pushpalnagar in Gujarat.

180. "Chhitaivarta" by Narayan Das, N.P.S., V.S., 2015, 1st edn., chaupai 119, p. 11; Also refer to Naigati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvaavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 102, p. 144 for the doors made of red sandal-wood in the palace of Visaldeva, the famous brave Chauhan King of Ajmer.
181. "Chhitaivarta" by Narayan Das, N. P. S., V. S. 2015, 1st edn., chaupai 120, p. 11.
182. Ibid, chaupai 109, p. 10.
183. See Mauland Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., chhanda 31, doha 1, p. 95 for a reference to 'Dhaurahar', i. e. female apartment.
184. Ibid, chanda 30, doha 1, p. 94.
185. Memoirs of Babur, II (King), O. U. P., 1921, p. 337.
186. Ibid, p. 338.
187. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, II (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1921), p. 19.
188. Refer to "Kabir" by Dr. Hajariprasad Dwivedi, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 5th edn., Nov., 1955, pada 23, p. 241 for 'khidki'; Also see "Dhola-Marura Duha", pub. by N.P.S., 2nd edn. V.S. 2011, dohas 362 and 372, pp. 83 and 86 respectively for references to 'Dithhi' or 'Jharokha' (a kind of small window); For 'Jharokha' see also "Chhitaivarta" by Narayan Das, N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., chaupai 222, p. 26; Also "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali" (Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal, 2nd edn., 1933, p. 15), for 'Jharokha'.
189. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918), pp. 140-141.
190. Mirza Hajdar Dughlat in his Tarikh-i-Rashidi refers to the houses of Kashmir thus, "In the town there are many lofty buildings constructed of fresh cut line. Most of these are at least five stories high and each storey contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The beauty of their exteriors defies description, and all who behold them for the first time bite the finger in astonishment with the teeth of admiration. But the interiors are not equal to exteriors" ('A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia', ed. and tr. by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, Lond., 1895, p. 425).
191. T.P.S.(A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 165.
192. Narayan Deva's "Mansamangal" contained in "Shree Shree Padma-puran Bais Kavi Mansa", ed. by Amullaratan Bandopadhyaya, pub. by 82, Ahari Tola Street, Cal., 8th edn., 1940, p. 280.
193. Voyages D Ibn Battuta, III (Arabic Text), p. 341.

194. The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508, tr. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Lond., 1928, p. 55.
195. Refer to Memoirs of Babur, II (King), O. U. P., 1921, p. 243, where Babur, referring to the rainy season in Hindustan, says about the houses of the commoners thus, "Their houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built"; Also refer to Ijaz-i-khusravi, pt. V, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1872, pp. 57-62, where Khusrau gives a detailed account of his house destroyed in the rainy season, e.g. the rain water even dribbled from the roof, walls collapsed entirely, and later on he lived in a 'khema' (tent).
196. Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), p. 597.
197. An Arab account of India in the 14th cent., tr. by Otto Spies, Germany, 1936, p. 32.
198. Dibajat was the name of an island, which was located near the Malabar coast.
199. India and the Neighbouring Territories in the Kitab Nuzhat Al-Mushtaq Fi, Leiden, 1960, p. 26.
200. Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), pp. 518-519.
201. Travels of Marco Polo, II (Yule), Lond., 3rd edn., 1929, p. 341.

CHAPTER III

DRESS, TOILETS AND ORNAMENTS

The Indians have been very particular about their dress through the ages. During the period under review, however, ornamentation rather than simplicity was the underlying motive behind the use of costumes. But, class distinction in this respect was unavoidable, as the Sultans and the aristocrats, both among the Hindus and the Muslims, were in the habit of wearing well-fitted, expensive and varied dresses. The poorer classes, on the contrary, were conditioned habitually to cut their dress requirements to a bare minimum in conformity with their socio-economic status.

DRESS OF THE SULTANS AND THE UPPER CLASSES

The Sultans of Delhi wore attractive and elegant-looking dresses. In private, however, the monarch did not look very much different from other distinguished nobles so far as dress was concerned. The difference, if any, was one of the quality of the material used and the frequency with which he changed it.¹ The royal dress was called *Khilat-i-Padshahi*.² The dress of the Sultans and the nobles generally consisted of a *Kulah*³ (a head-dress) and a *Pairahan*⁴ (or 'Kurta', i.e. a loose garment reaching down the knees). On official occasions, the Sultans wore a four-cornered head-dress ornamented with jewels and mostly inlaid with diamonds and rubies.⁵ The Sultans of Delhi used tight-fitting tunics or *Qabāt*⁶ made of fine muslin or wool according to the requirements of the season. Sometimes they also wore *Bagā*⁷ (a long robe). In the cold weather, they donned an overcoat known as *Daghla*,⁸ which was like a loose gown, stuffed with corded cotton or some other materials. Underwear of muslin or some other materials also were in use.⁹ The Sultans and the nobles had a liking for a separate private dress

or *Jama-e-Khana*.¹⁰ The Sultans were habituated to use separate sleeping dress at night, which was known as *Jama-e-Khwab*.¹¹ Besides, they used to wear *Moja*¹² (socks) and well-designed shoes or *Kafash*¹³ made by an expert shoe-maker or *Kafashdoz*.¹⁴ Moreover, the normal dresses of the Sultans, Khans, Maliks and other army officers were Tartaric gowns and Islamic *Qabas* of Khwarizm buckled in the middle of the body, and short turbans, which did not exceed five or six fore-arms (*dira*).¹⁵ Some of them wore gold-embroidered sleeves and others "put the embroidery between their shoulders like the Mughals."¹⁶ They plaited their hair in hanging locks as it used to be done in the beginning of the Turkish rule in Egypt and Syria, except that they put silk tassels in the locks. They wore gold and silver belts tightly round their waists and did not girt the swords round their waists except when on a journey.¹⁷ Referring to the dress of the Sultan of Malabar (Hinawar), Ibn Battuta says this, "His clothing consists of silk-stuffs and fine linen. Around the middle he binds an apron and wraps himself of the other; and he plaits turban around it. When he rides, he wears a cloak (*qaba*) over which he puts two wrappers. . ."¹⁸

The Muslim aristocrats also did not lag behind the Sultans in spending lavishly on their dress, and they preferred to wear silken clothes, although Islam prohibited them from doing so.¹⁹ They appear to have been very fond of wearing *Jamhay-e-Mosauwar*²⁰ (robes painted with figures and garnished with silk and gold brocades). Amir Khusrau frequently refers to the use of thin and fine embroidered silken robes by the Muslim nobles of our period.²¹ The *Kulah* (headdress) was also embroidered with gold brocades.²² Sometimes, they were also habituated to use *Kulah* of vetiver or *Khas* for sweet fragrance and freshness in summer.²³ Referring to the costumes of the Mohammedans of Bengal, Barbosa says, "The respectable Moors of this city go dressed in long morisco shirts reaching to the instep, white and slight texture, and underneath some clothes wrapped round below the waist; and over the shirt a silken sash round the waist; and a dagger set with silver . . . and they wear fine cotton caps on their heads."²⁴ Referring to the Moors of Gujarat, he

further writes, "They go very well attired in rich cloth of gold, silk, cotton and camlets. They all wear turban on their heads; these turbans are long, like Moorish shirts; drawers, with boots up to the knee of very thick cardovan leather, worked in dainty devices within and without the tip of the shoe."²²

Hindus of the North-West, in the beginning, had a great hatred for the Muslim dress. While describing the exploits of a Hindu king in the west of Indus, Alberuni contrasts the Hindu dress with the Muslim one. The revengeful Hindu king, having vanquished his betrayer, forced the Hindu subjects of his foe to wear Muslim dress as a punishment for their treachery. This was considered a sufficiently despicable punishment.²³ Gradually, the well-to-do Hindus began to imitate the dress of the Muslim nobility as they came in contact with them. It would be difficult to distinguish a Hindu from a Muslim aristocrat, if the former withdrew the caste mark (*tilak*) and some distinctive ornaments, viz. 'Kundal'²⁴ (ear ring) etc. Like their Muslim counterparts, the Hindu aristocrats also wore *Qabah*,²⁵ of course, with some differences. The common dress of the well-to-do classes among the Hindus appears to have been *Baga*²⁶ or fine 'dhotis'²⁷ with 'chadar', 'uttari' or 'charan'.²⁸ Alberuni speaks of some Hindu trousers lined with so much cotton as would suffice to make a number of counterpanes and saddle-rugs and tells us that the 'trousers' "have no visible openings, and are so huge that the feet are not visible. The string by which they are fastened is at the back."²⁹ The rich people were intensely fond of using costly shawls (*shals*)³⁰ on the upper part of their bodies, particularly in the winter. Some kind of fine woollen fabrics in different attractive colours manufactured by Kashmir was commonly used by the well-to-do Hindus.³¹ Sometimes a broad scarf of girdle, popularly known as 'Kamarband' (waistband), was tied on their waist.³² Referring to the Brahmans of Gujarat, Barbosa says, "The *Bramenes* go bare from the waist up, and below they clothe themselves with cotton clothes. Over the shoulder they wear a cord of three strands, by which sign they are known to be *Bramenes*."³³ The use of 'Pag' or 'Pagri' or 'Topi' (turban)³⁴ was very popular among the well-to-do Hindus. The Hindus

were fond of long hairs³³ but Muslims, generally, shaved their heads, as they found it convenient to use 'Kulahs'³⁴ on them.

On account of extreme heat, our people generally avoided excessive use of clothings, and so stockings³⁵ were rarely used; instead well-designed sandals³⁶ were in common use. But well-designed shoes³⁷ were also in vogue. Sometimes, wooden sandals ('Kharau')³⁸ were also used indoors by the higher classes among the Hindus, during the period under review. It was a common fashion among the people to keep a handkerchief or 'Rumal'.³⁹ Umbrellas⁴⁰ were used for protection from rain. Referring to the Nestorians (Christian merchants) of Bengal, Varthema says, "As to the dress of these Christians, they were clothed in *xebec* (jerkin) made with folds, and the sleeves were quilted with cotton. And in their heads they wore a cap, a palm and a half long made of red cloth."⁴¹ He further observes, "These Christians do not wear shoes, but they wear a kind of breeches made of silk, similar to those worn by mariners, which breeches are full of jewels."⁴²

DRESS OF THE COMMONERS

The standard of dress among the commoners was distinct from that of the aristocrats. They, however, tried their best to wear the minimum of clothes.⁴³ In summer, they were satisfied with a mere 'dhoti' or (in some extreme cases) even a cotton 'longota'⁴⁴ (loin-cloth round their waist). Babur in his Memoirs refers to the dress of the common people thus, "Peasants and people of low standing go about naked. They tie on a thing called *lunguta*, a decency-clout which hangs two spans below the navel. From the tie of this pendent decency-clout, another clout is passed between the thighs and made fast behind. Women also tie on a cloth (*lung*) one-half of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head."⁴⁵ Referring to the dress of the commoners of Calicut, Abd-er-Razzak says, "The blacks of this country have the body nearly naked; they wear only bandages round the middle, called *lankoutah*, which descend from the navel to above the knee."⁴⁶ Referring to the dress of the commoners, Marco Polo says, "They dress in this country

great numbers of skins of various kinds, goat-skins, ox-skins, buffaloes and wild ox-skins, as well as those of unicorns and other animals."¹¹ Writing about the people of Bengal, Barbosa says, "The men of the common people wear short white shirts half way down the thigh, and drawers, and very small head wraps of three or four turns; all of them are shod with leather, some with shoes, others with sandals very well worked, sewn with silk and gold thread."¹² Lawanyasamay refers to a turban called 'Phenta'¹³ which was popular among the lower classes of Gujarat.

The usual dress of an average Muslim appears to have been a *payjama* (*Ijar*)¹⁴ or *lungi*, an ordinary shirt, and a cap on his shaven head. Amir Khusrau refers to the dress of Alauddin Khalji's soldiers, viz. *Narmina* (soft silken cloth), *Pashmina* (woollen cloth), *Charmina* (leather cloth), *Ahnina* (robe of iron) and *Rulina* (robe of bronze).¹⁵ Afif refers to the dress of dancers and singers (*Mutrib* or *Ahl-e-tarab*) thus, "They were habituated to wear *Dastar* (turban). Their dress was embroidered with golden and silver brocades. They wore the robes of even forty thousand Tankas."¹⁶ A faqir was even contented to cover his navel by a napkin or *futa*.¹⁷

The dress of the Muslim Sufis mainly consisted of a *Jubba*¹⁸ (a robe coming down to the knees), a *Tahband*¹⁹ (just like banyan), *Jama*²⁰ (a shirt) and *Dastar* (*Pagri*) or *Kulah*²¹ of ordinary type. Later on, *Khirka*²² or *Gudri* (a garment of pitched quilt) was very popular among them. Woollen garments or *Suf*²³ were also very common among Muslim Sufis. Amir Khusrau refers to the use of the four types of four-cornered cap (*tafiya*) prevalent among the Sufis, viz. *ekturki*, *doturki*, *seturki* and *chaharturki*.²⁴ Sometimes, especially in winter, they used leather cloths.²⁵ They habitually applied ashes (*khak*) on their bodies.²⁶

WOMEN'S COSTUMES

Women, during the period under review, wore less varied clothes. 'Sari' (a long piece of cloth worn round the waist passing over the head) and 'Angiya'²⁷ (under-garment or jacket)

appear to have been a common apparel of Hindu women. However, 'Saris'⁶⁶ of different colours, viz. red, white, blue, yellow and black were commonly used. No doubt, their favourite colour in choosing their 'Saris' was red. Babur, in his Memoirs, describes 'Sari' as "a cloth, one end of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head."⁶⁷ The women, in many cases, used 'Kochha' or 'Kachhani'⁶⁸ (a kind of lower garment reaching down the knees) inside their 'Saris'. Thin 'Sari' made of thin muslin or silken fabrics was very much in vogue among the ladies of the well-to-do classes.⁶⁹ 'Sari' was generally worn by the Hindu ladies with an underwear, and at times, a string for tying dress worn round the waist called 'Nibibandha',⁷⁰ was also in common use. 'Angiya' (a short jacket or blouse), as already referred to, was also known as 'Kanchuki',⁷¹ 'Kanchuli',⁷² or 'Choli',⁷³ and was of different colours and designs. It had generally two different patterns, i.e. one, covering only the breasts; and the other, long, reaching down to the waist. The second type was in common use both among the rich and the poor and the first type (or brassiere type) was normally used by the grown up maidens or married ladies for tightening their breasts. The 'Kanchuki', used by the Rajput ladies of those days was open on the front.⁷⁴ Sometimes, ladies of higher classes used very thin brassiere through which their skin was quite visible.⁷⁵ Barbosa refers to the women of Gujarat thus, "They wear silken bodice with tight sleeves, cut low at the back."⁷⁶ 'Lahanga'⁷⁷ (petticoat) and 'Ghanghara'⁷⁸ (a long and loose skirt from the waist to the knees) also appear to have been very popular with the women of our time. 'Ghanghara' was mostly popular among the Muslim ladies. 'Orhni'⁷⁹ 'Chunri'⁸⁰ or 'Dupatta' (a long scarf thrown over to cover the head and the upper parts of the body)⁸¹ was used by the women of the higher classes of Hindu society when they moved out of their houses. Woollen shawls ('shals')⁸² were also popular among the ladies of the well-to-do classes, especially in winter. Ibn Battuta refers to the dress of Mabbar women thus, "The women of this city and of whole of the coast land do not wear sewn clothes, but only unsewn garments (i.e. 'Sari'). They form a girdle with one

of the extremities of their garments and cover their heads and breasts with the other."²² Writing about the dress of the Gujarati women, Barbosa says thus, "Their dress is silk stuff like their husbands as far as the feet and jackets with narrow sleeves of silk stuff, open at the shoulders, and other silk clothes with which they cover themselves . . ."²³

The Muslim ladies were mainly distinguished by their 'Shalwars' (breeches) or 'Payjamans' ('Suthanis')²⁴ and shirts with half-length sleeves. Ladies of higher classes were also habituated to wear 'Qabas'²⁵ embroidered with gold threads and 'Kulah'²⁶ like the Muslim aristocrats. Razia Sultana wore a high cap ('Kulah'), a coat ('Qaba') and other male dresses. She would come out in veils on.²⁷ The dancing girls or harlots (*Muribans*) wore very tight and reticulated dress mostly of silken clothes in order to look attractive.²⁸

Custom of 'Purdah' (seclusion was rigidly observed by the well-to-do Muslim ladies, and so they put on 'Burquas' (a mantle or complete veil) whenever they moved out of their houses. Hindu ladies, on the other hand, went out unveiled. Some of them, of course, observed 'Ghoonghat', i.e. a kind of partial veil which concealed the face only.²⁹ Poor women were habituated to move bare-footed, but the rich ladies generally put on shoes of varied designs and colours.³⁰ The women of Gujarat³¹ and Calicut³² generally moved about bare-footed.

MEN'S TOILETS AND ORNAMENTS

Men belonging to the well-to-do classes followed various contrivances for cultivating their physical attractiveness. It was almost a popular craze to look young though youth had receded beyond recall. Amir Khusrau refers to hair dyes or 'Khizab'³³ meant for darkening grey hair. It was a common practice among both the sexes of higher classes to dress their hair with the help of a comb commonly known as 'Kankahi'³⁴ among the Hindus and 'Shana'³⁵ among the Muslims. The Muslims were also habituated to comb their beards. Referring to the Indians in general, the Moorish traveller Ibn Battuta says, "They used to apply sesame oil ('Simsim') and they were also accustomed to

shampoo their hairs because they thought that that makes their hair clean and lengthy.¹⁰⁹ Perfumed oils were also used for making the hair smooth and decent.

Men and women alike were found of taking baths before they began their daily business. Moreover, bathing was also regarded as a sacred duty among the Hindus from the religious point of view. Barbosa¹¹⁰ refers to the Hindus of Gujarat thus, "They bathe twice a day, both men and women, and they say, when they have finished bathing that they are clear of as many sins as they have committed up to that hour . . ."¹¹¹ In the winter season, hot-water streams or 'hammams' were used especially in the royal palaces and the mansions of the aristocrats.¹¹² Referring to the king of Calicut, Barbosa says, "Before eating he bathes in a very clean and large tank inside the palace where he performs his observances quite naked, worshipping thrice towards the east wind, walking round and dipping thrice under the water, then he attires himself in fresh garments, clean and washed . . ."¹¹³ Alberuni refers to the habit of washing among the Hindus thus, "In washing they begin with the feet, and then wash the face. They wash themselves before cohabiting with their wives."¹¹⁴ They used to anoint themselves with white sandalwood mixed with saffron and other scents.¹¹⁵ The poorer people were contented to use mustard oil, i.e. 'Kurua Ka Tel' as referred to by Vidyapati.¹¹⁶ Besides, numerous perfumes and scented articles like 'Mrigmad'¹¹⁷ or 'Kasturi'¹¹⁸ (musk), 'Agarjah'¹¹⁹ (a kind of yellow perfume),¹²⁰ 'Gorochan',¹²¹ 'Agar'¹²² (aloe-wood), 'Chandan'¹²³ (sandalwood), 'karpur'¹²⁴ (comphor), 'Kesar'¹²⁵ (saffron), 'Kumkum' (a kind of red powder)¹²⁶ etc. were also in common use, during the period under review. The use of 'Sabun'¹²⁷ (soap) is evident from the writings of the contemporary poets like Kabir¹²⁸ and Nanak.¹²⁹ 'Amlaki' (myrobalan)¹³⁰ was also used at the time of bathing, especially in Bengal. Vijaya Gupta in his "Mansamangal" refers to the use of sesame ('til') perfumed oil ('toilo'), soddened turmeric ('gila haridra'), and a mixture of rice with water ('pithhali') by a saint named Jaratkaru at the time of taking his bath.¹³¹ 'Kajal'¹³² (collyrium) and 'Surma'¹³³ (antimony) were applied for enhancing the

radiance of the eyes. As a rule, the Hindus wore a 'tilak'¹²² (caste mark) on their foreheads, especially when they went out of their houses. Amir Khusrau refers to the habit of chewing betel (*Pan*),¹²³ which was commonly prevalent among the Indians for reddening their teeth and making them elegant looking. Special care was taken of teeth, and a fibrous twig known as 'Datan'¹²⁴ was often used for cleansing them early in the morning.

The use of the 'Darpan'¹²⁵ (mirror) was common. The styles of shaving among the Hindus and the Muslims were quite different as the former generally kept long hairs on their heads,¹²⁷ while the latter normally had regular shaving.¹²⁸ Few of the Hindus, except the 'Yogis', kept long beards, but some of them, especially the Rajputs, kept very long moustaches as a sign of bravery and manliness.¹²⁹ Alberuni refers to it thus, "They divide the moustache into single plaits in order to preserve it. As regards their not cutting the hair of the genitals, they try to make people believe that the cutting of it incites to lust and increases carnal desire. Therefore such of them as feel a strong desire for cohabitation never cut the hair of the genitals."¹³⁰ "They", he further says, "let the nails grow long, glorying in their idleness, since they do not use them for any business or work . . ."¹³¹ The Muslims, however, preferred to keep long beards. Writing about the Sultan of Gujarat, Varthema says, "The said Sultan has moustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses, and he has a white beard, which reaches to his girdle."¹³² As the Hindus were in the habit of keeping long hairs, they braided them just like females.¹³³ Alberuni says, "They do not cut any of the hair of the body. Originally they went naked in consequence of the heat, and by not cutting the hair of the head they intended to prevent sunstroke."¹³⁴ The *jogis* were, no doubt, accustomed to shaving their heads,¹³⁵ and their hairs were not removed by a razor but by means of burnt charcoals or ashes.¹³⁶

The Hindus of higher classes had a fancy for costly ornaments¹³⁷ like 'Bazuband'¹³⁸ (armlet), 'Mekhala'¹³⁹ (girdle or waist-band), 'Nupur'¹⁴⁰ (an armlet for the leg), 'Mudrika' or 'Anguthi'¹⁴¹ (finger-rings), necklace or 'Har'¹⁴² and Kundals¹⁴³ (ear-

ornaments). Golden and jewelled 'Mukuts'¹⁴⁴ (diadems for the head) were frequently used by the princes and people belonging to higher classes. Beautiful swords, daggers and other weapons also formed important parts of men's ornaments.¹⁴⁵

The Muslims, on the other hand, had little fascination for ornaments like the Hindus. Timur mentions that his spiritual guide put on his finger a ruby ring. He wore two armlets set with stones on one of his hands.¹⁴⁶

WOMEN'S TOILETS AND ORNAMENTS

Women, in general, were more fond of various types of toilets and ornaments than men. They took keen interest in their ornamentation as well as embellishment. Indian women knew about the sixteen constituents of toilet ('Shodash Shringar') as early as the twelfth century A.D.¹⁴⁷ Jayasi, in his 'Padmavat', gives us a detailed list of the sixteen constituents of women's toilet, viz. 'Majjan', 'Snan' (perhaps according to Jayasi, 'Majjan' and 'Snan' are two different constituents), 'Vastra' (dress), 'Patrawali-Rachna' (marks which they made on the face to beautify it), 'Sindur' (putting a vermilion mark), 'Tilak' (a sectarian mark of caste), 'Kundal' (wearing earrings), 'Anjan' (use of collyrium in the eyes), colouring lips, 'Kusumgandh' (applying flowers' scents), applying black spot (*til*) on the cheek ('kapol'), wearing necklace in the neck ('har'), use of 'Kanchuki' (brassiere for tightening the breasts), wearing waistband ('Chhudraghantika') and wearing 'Payal' (an ornament for the ankles).¹⁴⁸ The sixteen constituents as referred to by Jayasi, seem to have a very long history and they must have varied through successive centuries.¹⁴⁹

In "Kirtilata" of Vidyapati, we get a reference to the toilets of the prostitutes of Mithila, viz. they wore marks on their faces ('Patrawali') had 'tilak' (spot) or some other special figures on their cheeks, breasts and other parts of their bodies with 'Chandan', 'Gorochan' and 'Kasturi'.¹⁵⁰ In Qutban's "Mrigavati" too, there are references to the toilets of Mrigavati, e.g. she put on twelve types of ornaments including jewels and precious stones, applied on her body aloe wood ('Agar'), sandal

('Chandan'), musk ('Kasturi'), saffron ('Kumkum'), scented oils and scents ('Khar') and chewed betel ('Pan').¹²¹

Women of higher and well-to-do classes were very careful about their hair-do.¹²² Among many articles of toilet, flowers occupied an important position. Women stuck flowers in their hairs and wore them as ornaments.¹²³ Young girls made their hairs into tresses (popularly known as 'Kabari', 'Beni', 'Chuda', 'Ambodo', 'Jura', 'Khonpa' or 'Shunp')¹²⁴ and bound them with ribbons. Their hair was always well-dressed carrying an aroma of sweet smell caused by the use of different kinds of perfumed oils.¹²⁵ Putting 'Sindur'¹²⁶ (vermilion) into hair-parting was considered auspicious by married Hindu ladies. A fancy wooden box for keeping vermilion known as 'Sindhora'¹²⁷ was used by the ladies of the well-to-do classes. 'Surma' (antimony) and 'Anjan' or 'Kajal' (collyrium) were applied to the eyes and eyebrows with a *salaka* or pencil to add to their charm.¹²⁸ It was a common practice among the women of the well-to-do classes to chew betel ('Tambul') for colouring their teeth and lips.¹²⁹ Married ladies were also fond of using 'Mehodi'¹³⁰ (myrtle), 'Mahawar'¹³¹ (red colour prepared from lac) as well as 'Alta'¹³² (lac dye) for colouring their nails and legs. Applying of 'Ubtan'¹³³ (an unguent over the face and other parts of the body in order to look brighter and prettier) was also a part of the toilet ritual among the members of both the sexes. Amir Khusrau refers to 'Gaza' (a salve which was painted on the face) or 'Safaida'¹³⁴ used by both men and women among the Muslims. 'Chandan' and 'Kumkum' (saffron and sandalwood paste), besides being used for marking or decorating the forehead and for other toilet purposes, were also applied by the women to their breasts in order to give them a cooling effect.¹³⁵ Sometimes, the ladies of the well-to-do classes took their baths only after they had applied some perfumed oils on their bodies.¹³⁶

The use of 'Darpan' (looking glass) was inseparable from toilet. Whenever a woman was to apply powder or rouge to her cheeks, 'tilak' mark on her forehead, unguent to the eyes and vermilion in the middle-parting of her hair, she did so with the help of a mirror.¹³⁷

The wearing of ornaments on almost every limb of the body from head to foot was a common weakness of Hindu ladies. To a married Hindu woman, 'Suhag' signified the use of ornaments all over the body. No doubt, when she unfortunately became a widow, she threw away her ornaments and jewellery and wiped out the scarlet line of vermilion from her head. Indian women, however, were accustomed to the use of ornaments from their very childhood. At a very early age, their ears were bored.¹⁶⁸

Indian women, during the period under review, adorned every limb of their bodies, from head to foot, with different types of ornaments. Here, an effort has been made to mention only the more important and popular among them.

"Sheeshphul"¹⁶⁹ (generally known as 'Rashadi' or 'Rakadi' or 'Rakhadi' among ladies of Rajasthan and Gujarat) was a very popular head ornament. Balramdas, in his "Jagmohan Ramayana", refers to the Oriya women wearing 'Muktajali' and 'Muktajhara' on their hair as well as 'Mathamani' and 'Motijali' on their heads.¹⁷⁰ Further, 'Mang' or 'Mangtika'¹⁷¹ was worn on the parting of the hairs to enhance its beauty. 'Binduli' or Bindi¹⁷² was another ornament meant for the forehead. Sometimes, the Rajput ladies wore a special ornament on their eyebrows called 'Sohali'.¹⁷³

'Kundal'¹⁷⁴ (a large ring worn on the ears), was very popular among women of well-to-do classes. Among other varieties of ear-rings, mention here may be made of 'Karnphul' (ear-flower),¹⁷⁵ 'Talwatto',¹⁷⁶ 'Bali' or 'Bala',¹⁷⁷ 'Tatank'¹⁷⁸ (also known as 'Tadaki'), 'Jali'¹⁷⁹ (popularly used by Gujarati ladies), 'Khunt'¹⁸⁰ (a round ear-ornament resembling a 'deep' or a lamp), 'Jhumka' or 'Jhumpa'¹⁸¹ (a pendant of an ear-ring) etc.

The nose also was decked with different sorts of ornaments, e.g. 'Nakphuli'¹⁸² (an ornament like a bud, the stalk of which was attached to the nose). 'Nath'¹⁸³ (a ring-shaped ornament worn generally on the left nostril) and 'Basar'¹⁸⁴ (a small semi-circle ornament, decked with pearls and hung from the nose). Women of Orissa wore rose-rings and ornaments like 'Nak Chana', 'Basani' ('Bulaq'), 'Tilphul', 'Chandraguna', 'Gajamoti', 'Ratnaphul' etc.¹⁸⁵ In this connection, it will not be out of place to mention here that the nose-ornaments ('Nath' or 'Nathuni', 'Nathiya' and

others as referred to earlier) became familiar to Indian life and culture in or about 1000 A.D., chiefly as a result of Muslim influence. We find no mention of nose-ring in Sanskrit literature, lexicons included. It may be said that this ornament was not known to Sanskrit literature of the ancient Indian civilization.¹⁸⁵

Women's necks were adorned with ornaments like 'Har'¹⁸⁷ (necklace of strings of pearls inter-connected by golden roses which came down almost to the breast), 'Sikri'¹⁸⁸ (a gold ornament like chain), 'Hansuli'¹⁸⁹ (an ornament of the shape of moon round the neck) and 'Kanthi'¹⁹⁰ ('Kanthimala' or 'Kanthihar').

Among the most important ornaments of arms, wrists and fingers, mention here may be made of 'Bazuband'¹⁹¹ (an ornament for the arm), 'Bahuti'¹⁹², 'Baraya' or 'Balaya',¹⁹³ 'Bahurakha' or 'Borakha'¹⁹⁴ (which was popular among Rajput ladies), 'Bida'¹⁹⁵ (an ornament for the arm which was popular among Oriya ladies), 'Kangan'¹⁹⁶ (bracelet of gold and pearls), which was also known as 'Kankan' among Bengali ladies and 'Churis'¹⁹⁷ (bangles of gold, glass and other materials, which were worn ten or twelve in number over the wrist upto the elbow) were important ornaments for the wrist. The Bengali married women were accustomed to wear 'Shankh Churis'¹⁹⁸ (bangles of conch). 'Angad'¹⁹⁹ and 'Keyur'²⁰⁰ were the two other ornaments for the arms, particularly used by the ladies of Bengal. Various kinds of finger-rings known as 'Anguthi', 'Viti', 'Mundari' or 'Anguri'²⁰¹ were used for arraying the fingers, normally one for each. The women of higher classes were accustomed to the use of finger-rings of jewels and diamonds, and sometimes, they were fitted with costly looking-glasses ('Nag Mundari').²⁰²

'Chhudra-Ghantika'²⁰³ (a golden bell, furnished with golden strings and hanging round the waist) was an ornament for the waist. 'Mekhala'²⁰⁴ (a golden girdle highly decorated) and also 'Kinkini'²⁰⁵ (waist band) were the other two important ornaments for the waist.

The Bengali ladies were habituated to wear 'Khadu' or 'Kharu'²⁰⁶ (an ornament of ankle) and 'Mallator'²⁰⁷ (golden bunch, which was worn on the feet). 'Paijeb'²⁰⁸ (also called 'Khalkhal' in Arabic)²⁰⁹ and 'Payal'²¹⁰ were the most familiar leg-ornaments

among the rich ladies, during our period. Another form of anklet was 'Nupur',²¹¹ which was sometimes lavishly decorated with jewels and pearls of different kinds. Two important ankle-ornaments, more popular among dancing girls were 'Ghungru'²¹² (small golden bells) and 'Jhanjhar',²¹³ Bichhwah²¹⁴ (shaped like a half bell), popularly used by married ladies, was an ornament worn on the toes. The Bengali ladies wore another leg-ornament known as 'Pasuli'.²¹⁵ 'Anwat'²¹⁶ (a silver ring furnished with small knobs, worn by women on the great toe) and 'Chhara'²¹⁷ (an ornament for the ankle) were also other leg-ornaments. Thus, like the other parts of the body, the women of well-to-do classes tended to load their legs also with valuable ornaments of different kinds and designs. More or less, they did not feel comfortable in wearing shoes due to the heavy load of various types of ornaments on their feet.

REFERENCES

1. K. M. Ashraf, "Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan", pub., by Jiwan Prakashan, Delhi, 1959, p. 175.
2. "When Firuz Shah Tughluq ascended the throne, first of all he appeared in mourning dress (*Jama-e-Matam*) and upon that he put on his royal dress or *Khilat-e-Padshahi* . . ." (see T.F.S.(A), ed. by Maulvi Vilayat Husain (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 47).
3. Ibid, p. 268 for 'Kulah'; Also refer to Abdullah's "Tarikh-i-Daudi", Per. MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L., fols. 58(a) and 58(b) for *Kulah-e-Aaj* (head-dress of ivory) of Sikandar Lodi prepared by a craftsman named Miyan Taha; Also see "Tarikh-i-Ferishta", Vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 110; Amir Khusrau's "Sirin wa Khusau", pub. by Muslim University Press, Aligarh, 1927, p. 24 for a reference to *Kulahdoz* (maker of *Kulah*); Also refer to his "Dewal Rani Khizr Khan", ed. by Maulvi Rasheed Ahmad Ansari, Aligarh, 1917, p. 300; "Tarikh-i-Baihaqi" of Sultan Masud, ed. by W. H. Morley, Cal. 1862, p. 78 for white *Kulah*; "Maasir-i-Rahimi", Vol. I, A.S.B., 1924, p. 158; "Tarikh-i-Kashmir", Per. MS No. 80, Boh. Coll., fol. 12(a); The Rehla of Ibn Battuta (Mahdi Husain), O.I.B., 1953, p. 82; Jayasi's "Akhiri Kalam" contained in "Jayasi Granthavali", ed. by Ramchandra Shukla,

- N.P.S., 5th edn., V.S. 2008, p. 358 for references to 'Taj' and 'Kulah'; Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 11, p. 66.
4. Refer to T. F. S. (A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 146 for Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq's *Pairahan*.
5. "Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen" (a historical work in Arabic language), Eng. tr. by M. J. Rowlandson, Lond., 1933, p. 70.
6. References to Qabah used by the Sultans and the well-to-do are available in T.F.S. (B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 273; Also see "Tarikh-i-Ferishta", Vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 110; "Maasir-i-Rahimi", Vol. I, A.S.B., 1924, p. 158; "Tarikh-i-Baihaqi" of Sultan Masud, ed. by W. H. Morley, Cal., 1862, p. 78 for red silken *Qabah* of Sultan Masud; Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda, 11, p. 66.
7. Refer to Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2015, chaupai 488, p. 81 for Sultan Alauddin Khalji's *Baga*; Also Ibid, chaupai 404, p. 65; Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. II, pub. by Sahitya Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, doha 172, p. 672.
8. Refer to T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 273 for Sultan Alauddin Khalji's *Daghla*; Also see Jayasi's "Akhrawat", contained in "Jayasi Granthavali", N.P.S., 5th edn., V.S. 2008, doha 22, p. 319; Also see "Akhrawat", ed. by Mahamahopadhyaya Sudhakar Dwivedi, N.P.S., 1904, p. 15; Also Jayasi's "Akhiri Kalam", contained in "Jayasi Granthavali", N.P.S., 5th edn., V.S. 2008, p. 358.
9. I.C., Vol. XXXI, July, 1957, p. 256.
10. T.F.S.(A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891), p. 101 for a reference to *Jama-e-Khana*.
11. For a reference to *Jama-e-Khwab* (dress of sleep) of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, see Ahmed Yadgar's "Tarikh-i-Shahi", ed. by M. Hidayat Hosain, Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939, p. 49.
12. Refer to "Tarikh-i-Ferishta", Vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 133 for *Moja*; Also see T.F.S.: (A), (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891), p. 268 for a reference to red socks or *Moja-e-lal*; Also refer to "Mirat-i-Sikandari", pub. by Qazi Abdul Karim, Fatehul Karim Press, Bombay, 1st edn., 1308 A. H., p. 6 for Sultan Ibrī Muhammad's (of Gujarat) *Moja*.
13. T.F.S. (A) (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891), p. 104; Also see Amir Khusrau's "Dewal Ranj Khizr Khan", ed. by Maulvi Rasheed Ahmad Ansari, Aligarh, 1917, p. 300 for a referenc to *Kafash*.
14. See "Sirin Wa Khusrau" of Amir Khusrau, ed. by Maulvi Hazi Ali Ahmed Khan, pub. by Muslim University Press, Aligarh, 1927, p. 24 for a reference to *Kafashdoz*.

15. An Arab account of India in the 14th Century, being a tr. of the chapters on India from Al-Qalqashandi's *Subh-ul-A'sha* by Otto Spies, Stuttgart (Germany), 1936, p. 69.
16. Ibid, pp. 69-70.
17. Ibid, p. 70.
18. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta (Mahdi Husain), O.L.B., 1953, p. 181.
19. Refer to Z.W., I, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, Lond., 1910, p. 354 for two different views on the wearing of silken cloths by the Muslims.
20. Firuz Shah Tughluq in his Futuhat says, 'In previous ages most of the robes of the nobility were unlawfully decorated with silk and gold brocades. God gave me guidance so that I could make the general dress conform to such patterns as were permissible by the religious law . . . ' ("Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi", ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rashid pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1924, p. 11); Also see I.C., vol. XV, oct., 1941, p. 458.
21. See Amir Khusrau's "Hasht Bahisht" ed. by Maulana Sayyid Suleiman Ashraf, Aligarh, 1917, p. 126 for a reference to *Kiswat-e-Harir* (silken robe); Also refer to his "Ijaz-i-Khusravi", Vol. IV, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876 p. 274 for a reference to *Poshtsh-e-Abresham* (silken robes); Also see his "Kulliyat-i-Khusravi", pt. I, Aligarh, 1917, p. 153 for *Hajebi* (a thin and fine silken cloth); Also refer to "Mirat-i-Ahmadi", Vol. II, pub. by Qazi Abdul Karim, Fatchul Karim Press, Bombay, 1307 A.H., p. 4 for silken and velvet clothes of Ahmedabad which were very popular with the Muslim aristocrats.
22. Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi (ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rashid, Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954, p. 11) where Firuz Shah says thus, "The nobles were accustomed to use *Kulah* embroidered with gold brocade, but I have put an end to their practice, as it was against our religion"; See also I.C., Vol. XV, Oct., 1941, pp. 458-459.
23. Amir Khusrau's "Dewal Rani Khizr Khan", ed. by Maulana Rashid Ahmad Ansari, Aligarh, 1917, p. 300 for *Kulah* of *Khas*.
24. A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, Duarte Barbosa, tr. by Henry E. J. Stanley, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 180; Also refer to J. N. Das Gupta's 'Bengal in Sixteenth Century A.D.', C.U., 1914, p. 116.
25. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol. I, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, p. 120; Varthema (The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema, tr. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Lond., 1928, p. 48) also refers to the dress of the well-to-do Muslims of Gujarat thus, "Their dress consists of robes or very beautiful shirts of silk, and they wear on their feet, shoes or boots, with breeches . . . "

26. Alberuni, a liberal Muslim, reciprocates the sentiment when he remarks, "When I heard of it, I felt thankful that he (the Hindu king) was gracious enough not to compel us to Indianise ourselves and to adopt Hindu dress and manner" (Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), pp. 20-21; Also refer to G.S. Ghurye's 'Indian Costume', pub. by Popular Book Depot, Bombay-7, 1931, p. 118.
27. Numerous references are available in the contemporary literatures regarding almost universal use of 'tilak' and 'kundan' among the Hindu upper classes, e.g. Shalibhadra Suri's "Bharteshwar Bahu Bali Ras" contained in "Ras Aur Rasanvayi Kavya" (ed. by Dr. Dashrath Ojha and Dr. Dashrath Sharma, N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2016, chhanda 71, doha 71, p. 67) for 'kundan'; Also Vidyapati's "Kirtilata", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi) 1st edn., 1962, 2nd pallava, chhanda 18, p. 76 for 'tilak'; Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso" (ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta and Shree Nagarchand Nahata, Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 95, p. 137) for 'tilak'; Also refer to Ibid, chhanda 102, p. 143 for 'tilak' of 'chandan' (sandal-wood); "Mirabai Ki Padavali" (ed. by Parshuram Chaturvedi, Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, shaka 1884, 11th edn., pada 12, p. 104) for 'tilak' of 'kesar' (saffron and 'kundan'; Also Ibid, pada 2, p. 101 for the same; "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 129, dohas 8 and 10 respectively for 'kundan' and 'tilak'; Also refer to Prakrita-Paingalam" (A Text on Prakrita and Apabhramsa Metres), pt. I, ed. by Dr. Bhola Shastri Vyas, pub. by Prakrit Society, Varanasi, 1959, chhanda 209, p. 303 for 'kundan'.
28. Refer to Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 11, p. 66 for 'Qabah'.
29. For "Baga" refer to Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, chhanda 432, p. 397; Also refer to Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. II, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, doha 172, p. 672.
30. References to 'dhoti' are available in various contemporary literary sources, e.g. "Miran Sudha-Sindu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), pada 20, p. 875; Qutban's "Mrigavati", ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 173; Ishwardas's "Satyawati", pub. by Vidyamandir Prakashan, Gwalior (M.P.), 1st edn., 1958, doha 52, p. 91; "Nanak Bani", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, V.S. 2018, bani 28, p. 344; Jayasi's "Padmavati", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., V.S. 2018 (1961), canto 34, chhanda 409, doha 4, p. 505; Vijaya Gupta's

- "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", ed. by Basant Kumar Bhattacharya, pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 25; Also Ibid, p. 59 for 'Lal dhuti' (red *dhuti*); Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Basantarajan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 133; Also see Vrindabandas's "Shree Chaitanya Bhagavata", pub. by Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954 (Madhya Khanda), p. 27 for 'Dhuti'.
31. Alberuni refers to it as *Sidar* (a piece of cloth covering the head and the upper part of the breast and neck) -- See Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 180; Also refer to Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, 7th edn., Cal., 1928 (Lanka Kanda), p. 287 for Ravan's 'Uttari'; Also Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 130 for red 'Oharan'.
32. While this description of the piece of apparel inclines on to look upon baggy trousers as the garment for the lower part of the body, one is surprised to know that the draw-string was knotted at the back. The fact that Alberuni prefaces his description of this piece of apparel by stating that the Hindus "use turbans for trousers" leads one to the conclusion that here the learned traveller has nodded, and that the voluminous 'dhofi' worn in the 'Kaca' style led him astray to describe it as a sort of a pair of trousers, further mystifying description following from his original misconception-- (Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 180); Also see G.S. Ghurye's 'Indian Costume', pub. by the Popular Book Depot, Bombay-7, 1951, p. 118.
33. Refer to "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), ed. by Bhupendra Balakrishna Trivedi, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Prince Street, Bombay, Jan., 1962, 1st edn., pada 93, p. 70 for a shawl of one lakh, i.e. 'Lakhno Re Salu'. Here, the word 'Lakhno' has perhaps been used by the poetess to indicate the costly shawl and not the exact price of it. Also see "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 358, p. 695; Also "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 233, doha 2, p. 131 for 'Shalu'.
34. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, tr. by Mahdi Husain, O.I.B., 1953, p. 151.
35. For "Kamarband", refer to "Narsai Mahtena Pad", ed. by Shree Keshavram K. Shastri, pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 222, doha 5, p. 125; Also Hemchandra's "Desinamamala", B.O.R.I., 1938, 4th sarga, chhanda 26, p. 68 for a reference to 'Katisutram' (waist-band).
36. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918), p. 116; Also refer to "A Description of the Coasts of East Africa

and Malabar" (Duarte Barbosa), tr. by Henry E.J. Stanley, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, pp. 53-54.

37. Alberuni (Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 180) refers to the Hindus thus, "They use turbans for trousers." References to 'Pag', 'Pagri' and 'Topi' are also available in contemporary literatures, e.g. "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", ed. by Swami Anand Swarup, pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 78, p. 602 for 'Pag'; Also Ibid, padas 24 and 309, pp. 516 and 678 respectively for 'Pagri'; See also "Miran Madhuri", ed. by Brajratnadas, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 8, p. 4; Also "Kabir Saheb Ka Bijak Granth", pub. by Svasamvad Karyalaya, Siyabag (Baroda), 1st edn., 1955, doha 56, p. 131; Also see "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), ed. by Balkrishna Trivedi, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, Jan., 1962, pada 247, p. 171 for 'Kestara Pagh' (turban of saffron colour); Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakanda Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, 7th edn., Cal., 1926 (Adi Kanda), p. 84 for 'Pag' Also "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir Cal., 2nd edn., 1933, p. 203 for 'Paguri'; Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 3, chhanda 23, p. 37 for 'Topi' (cap); Ibid, canto 7, doha 167, p. 62 for cap, embroidered with jewels; Also Ibid, canto 9, doha 85, p. 175 for 'Paghdi' or 'Pagari'.
38. Barbosa (The Book of Duarte Barbosa, tr. by M. L. Dames, Vol. I, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, p. 113) referring to the *Banias* of Gujarat says thus, "These *Banians* grow very long hair, as women do with us, and wear it twisted up on the head and made into a knot, and over it a turban, that they keep it always held together; and in their hair they put flowers and other sweet-scented things."
39. Barbosa refers to the Moors of Gujarat thus, "They always have their heads shaven" (The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, p. 121); Also see "A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar" (Duarte Barbosa, tr. by Henry E. J. Stanley, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 56).
40. A reference to 'Pagna Moja' (stockings in legs) may be found in a Gujarati work entitled "Bimalprabandh", by Lawanyasamay, pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 6, doha 52, p. 110.
41. Nicolo Conti (Travels of Nicolo Conti, contained in Major's 'India in the Fifteenth Century', Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1857, p. 22) refers to the Hindus thus, "They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the same reason they

only wear sandals, with purple and golden ties, as we see in ancient statues . . .

42. Barbosa ('A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar', Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 52) refers to the Gujaratis thus, "They wear embroidered shoes of very good leather"; Also refer to "The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I (Kakluyt Society, Lond., 1918), p. 117 for pointed and richly decorated shoes used by the Gujaratis. References to shoes, commonly known as 'Paduka' or 'Panahi', are also available in contemporary literary works, e.g. Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 97, p. 139 for 'Sabari Panahi' or shoes of chamois's leather; Pandit Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini", pub. by Natwar Chakravarty, Bangabhasi Sanskaran, Cal., 1910, p. 152 for 'Paduka'; Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakanda Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, 7th edn., Cal., 1926 (Ayodhya Kanda), p. 130 for 'Paduka'; Also refer to Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 5, doha 167, p. 62 for 'Pagni Mojdi' (pointed shoes); Also Ibid, canto 9, doha 83, p. 175 for shoes referred to by the poet as 'Khasdan'; Also see "Nath Siddhon Ki Baniyan", ed. by Hajariprasad Dwivedi, N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2014, bani 145, p. 25 for a reference to 'Pawadi' (light shoes or slippers); Also Vidyapati's "Kirtilata", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1962, 2nd pallava, chhanda 27, doha 168, p. 96 for 'Paijjalla' (shoes); For 'Paduka', refer to Durgavari's "Gitā Ramayana" (an Assamese work), ed. by Shree Bishaychandra Bishwashī, 1st edn., 1915, Hajū, Kamrup (Kishkindha Kanda), p. 171; Also Arjundas's "Ram Vibha" (an Oriya work), ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, 3rd edn., Cuttack, 1953, p. 61 for 'Upana' (shoes).
43. Refer to Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 9, doha 81, p. 175 for wooden sandals; Here, they have been referred to by the poet as 'Pawadi'.
44. Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 5, doha 68, p. 95; Here 'rumal' has been referred to as 'Loonchhandun'.
45. Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 120 for a reference to 'Chhati' or umbrella.
46. The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508, tr. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Lond., 1928, p. 79.
47. Ibid, p. 80.

48. For 'Langoti' (loin-cloth), refer to The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508, tr. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Lond., 1928, p. 46; Also see Chandbardai's 'Prithviraj Raso', pt. II. pub. by Sahitya Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyalaya, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 21, doha 7, p. 498.
49. Memoirs of Babur. III (Bev), Lond., 1917, p. 519; Also Ibid, II (King), Lond., 1921, p. 242.
50. Travels of Abd-er-Razzak, contained in Major's 'India in the Fifteenth Century', Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1957, p. 17.
51. The Book of Ser Marco Polo, vol. II, ed. by Colonel Sir Henry Yule, Lond., 1929, p. 393.
52. A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar (Duarte Barbosa), Hakluyt Society, London, 1866, p. 181; Also refer to J.N. Das Gupta's 'Bengal in Sixteenth Century A.D.' (C.U., 1914), p. 116.
53. Lawanyasamay's 'Bimalprabandh', pub. by Gbujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 5, doha 92, p. 99; Here 'Phenta' has been referred to as 'pattakul'.
54. For 'Ijar', refer to T.F.S. (B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 117; Also refer to Amir Khusrau's 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi', pt. V (Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow), p. 109.
55. Hazrat Amir Khusrau's Khazain-ul-Futuh, ed. by Syed Moinul Huq, Muslim University, Aligarh, June, 1927, p. 135.
56. T.F.S. (A), ed. by Maulvi Vilayat Husain, Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 363.
57. For Futa, refer to Abdullah's Tarikh-i-Daudi, Per MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L., fol. 53 (b); Also Ibid, ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rasheed, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954, p. 51.
58. Refer to T.F.S. (A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, pp. 78-79 for 'Jubba' of Shaikh Qutab-ud-din; Also refer to Dr. Rampujan Tiwari's 'Sufimat Sadhana Aur Sahitya', pub. by Gyanmandal Limited, Banaras, 1st edn., V.S. 2013, p. 32.
59. For 'Tahband', refer to Afsana-i-Badshahan or Tarikh-i-Afghani, Vol. I, photo-print of the microfilm copy of the B.M., K.P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Pat., fol. 29.
60. References to 'Jamas' used by the Sufis are available in Amir Khusrau's Afzal-ul-Favid, Rizvi Press, Delhi, p. 94.
61. References to *Dastar* or *Kulah* are found in Abdul Huq's Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1332 A.H., pp. 26, 76 and 78; Also see Amir Khusrau's Ijaz-i-Khusravi, pt. IV, p. 33 for 'Kulah' of the Sufis.
62. References to 'Khirkas' are found in Abdul Huq's Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1332 A.H., p. 26; Amir Khusrau's

- Afzal-ul Favaid, Rizvi Press, Delhi, p. 82; T.F.S. (B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 343 for 'Khirkā-e-Tauba'; Ain (S), Aligarh, 1917, p. 43; Also see his Ijaz-i-Khusravi, pt. IV, p. 33 for 'Hajarmekhi Khirka'; Also refer to Md. Hadi's Qasaid-i-Badr Chach, pub. by Hadi Muhammad Husain, Muhammadi Press, 1261, A.H., p. 12 for green 'Khirkā' of a Sufi; Also 'The Maasir-i-Rahimi', vol. I, A.S.B., p. 142 for a reference to 'Khirkā'; Also see Dr. Rampujan Tiwari's "Sufimat Sadhana Aur Sahitya", Banaras, 1st edn., V.S. 2013, pp. 33-34 for the use and purpose of 'Khirkā'; Also see Nizami's 'The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar', pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1st edn., 1955, p. 107.
63. See Amir Khusrau's Matla-ul-Anwar, Lucknow, 1884, p. 96 for a reference to 'Pashminaposh' (a Sufi in woollen garments); Also see his Afzal-ul-Favaid, Rizvi Press, Delhi, p. 45 for a reference to 'Saf' (woollen cloth) used by the Sufis. Also refer to Dr. Rampujan Tiwari's "Sufimat Sadhana Aur Sahitya", Banaras, 1st edn., V.S. 2013, p. 32.
 64. Amir Khusrau's Afzal-ul-Favaid, Rizvi Press, Delhi, p. 5.
 65. Refer to Amir Khusrau's Ijaz-i-Khusravi, pt. IV, p. 281 for 'Khirkā-e-Poshtin' (leather cloth); Also see Amir Hasan Dehlavi's Favaid-ul-Fuad, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 153 for 'Poshtin'; Also refer to Afsana-i-Badshahan, vol. I, photo-print of microfilm copy of the B.M., K.P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Pat., fols. 35-36 and 93 for 'Charmi' and 'Charmposh'.
 66. Refer to Afsana-i-Badshahan, vol. I, fols. 35-36 for ashes applied by a Sufi, Maulana Jamali.
 67. References to 'Angiya' are available in "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 26, p. 903 and pada 192, p. 641; Also see "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), ed. by Bhupendra Balkrishna Trivedi, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., pada 5, p. 220.
 68. Numerous references to 'Saris' of cotton and silk of different colours are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. Saraladas's "Vilanka Ramayana" (an Oriya work), pub. by A. Maharana, Jaipur (Cutback), 1922, p. 7 for 'Sari' of Sita. Balramdas's "Jagmohan Ramayana" (Uttara Kanda), pub. by Nityanand Pustakalaya, Cutback, 1913, p. 83, for red thin 'Sari'; Arjundas's "Ram Vibha", ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, 3rd edn., 1953, p. 66 for 'Surangini Pat Sari' (red silken 'Sari'); Shankardeva's "Shreemadbhagavata" (Dasham Skandha), pt. I, ed. by Shree Shivanath Bhattacharya, Dibrugarh (Assam), 3rd edn., 1905, p. 37 for 'Net Khota Sari' (netted fine silk 'Sari'), which runs thus, "Pindhi Net Khota Sari Laylase Chale"; Also Ibid, p. 41 for 'Net Sari'; "Miran Madhuri",

- ed. by Brajratnadas, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varnasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 61 for 'Kusumbhi Sari' (Sari of red colour); Also 'Mira Ka Dhan', pub. by Sahitya Niketan, Kanpur, 1942, pada 8, doha 4 for the same; Also refer to "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhillwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 163, p. 630 and pada 291, p. 672; Maulana Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 173, p. 181 for 'Chir' (Sari); Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 203, p. 136 for Mrigavati's 'Sari'; "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", ed. by Shree Rambriksha Sharma Bainipuri, pub. by Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheriasarai, 1st edn., pada 117, p. 156; Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 220, p. 186 for 'Sari' and doha 438, p. 384 for 'Surang Pator' (silken 'Saris' of attractive colours); Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. 1, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 14 (Ichhini Vibhah), doha 83, p. 327 for 'Kasumbhi Reni-Sar' (Sari of red colour); Also refer to "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N.M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 38, p. 18 for 'Sari'; Here, it has been referred to as 'Fateeya'; Also see "Narsai Mahtena Pad", ed. by Shree Keshavaram K. Shastri, pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 16, doha 4, p. 11 for 'Shyamvarni Sadi' ('Sari' of black colour); "Purushottam Panch Pandav Fag" contained in "Prachin Fagu Sangrah" (B.U.P.), 1955, 1st edn., pada 9, doha 8, p. 44 for 'Phali' (Sari); Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 5, doha 92, p. 99 for 'Sadala' or 'Saris' worn by Gujarati ladies; Also refer to Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 32 for 'Pater Sari' (silken 'Sari' of Radha); Narayandeva's "Mansamangal" contained in "Shree Shree Padmapuran Bais Kavi Mansa", ed. by Amullaratan Bandopadhyaya, pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 8th edn., 1940, p. 261; "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 8 for 'Nil Sari' (blue 'Sari'); Also Ibid, p. 70; Here, the 'Sari' has been referred to by the poet as 'Dukul'; Jayadeva's "Gitagovinda", ed. by Bijaya Chandra Majumdar, pub. by Gurudas Chattopadhyaya & Sons, Cal., 1925, p. 88 for 'Nilnicholam' (blue 'Sari').
69. Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), pub. by Luzac & Co., Lond., 1917, p. 519.
70. References to 'Kochha' or 'Kachhani' are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. Qutban's "Mrigavati", ed. by Dr. Shiva-

- gopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 141; Also refer to "Mirabai Ki Padavali", ed. by Parshuram Chaturvedi, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 4th edn., Shaka 1884, pada 8, p. 103 for 'Kachhani'; Also see "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 40, p. 521; Also "Miran Madhuri", ed., by Brajratnadas, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 50, p. 9.
71. Refer to "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, V.S. 2011, pada 314, doha 2, p. 170 for 'Jhini Shadiyan' (thin and fine 'Saris'); Also see "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 164, p. 270 for 'Patal Cheer' (thin 'Sari'); Also Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 27, doha 329/39, p. 395 for a reference to 'Jhilmil Ki Sari' (thin and flicke ring 'Sari'); Also see Dr. Moti Chandra's "Prachin Vesh-Bhusha", pub. by Bharati Bhandar, Prayag, 1st edn., V.S. 2007, p. 183.
72. For "Nibibandha", refer to "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", ed. by Shree Basant Kumar Mathur, pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 76, doha 8, p. 124; Also Ibid, pada 84, doha 2, p. 134; Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., chaupai 580, p. 101 for 'Chhudra Ghantika'; Also see "Miran Madhuri", ed. by Brajratnadas, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 46, p. 17 for a reference to 'Chhudra Ghantika'.
73. References to 'Kanchuki' are found in "Sthulibhadra Fag", contained in "Ras Aur Rasanwayi Kavya", ed. Dr. Dashrath Ojha, and Dr. Dashrath Sharma, N.P.S., 1st edn., canto 3, doha 13, p. 141; Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 72, p. 118; Also Ibid, chhanda 123, p. 162; Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan VishvaVidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 14, doha 83, p. 327 for 'Peet Kanchuki' (yellow bodice); Quthan's "Mrigavati" pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 203, p. 136 and doha 325, p. 181; Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., dohas 144, 145, 178, 192, pp. 14, 19 and 21 respectively; Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, dohas 206 and 451, pp. 174 and 396 respectively; "Dhola-Marura Duha", N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 46, p. 11 and dohas 551, 552, p. 132; "Vasant Vilas", ed. by Prof. Kantilal Baldev Ram Vyas, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 66, p. 33 for 'Kanchuk' "Vasant Fagu" by Gunchandsuri, contained in "Prachin Fagu Sangrah"

- (B.U.P.), 1955, 1st edn., chhanda 13, doha 5, p. 55; Also see Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 5, doha 73, p. 95; "Kabir Granthavali", N.P.S., 4th edn., V.S. 2008, pada 159, p. 140; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., pada 117, p. 76; Also refer to "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, 3rd edn., Cal., 1935, p. 13.
74. For 'Kanchuli' or 'Kanchali', refer to Saraladas's "Vilanka Ramayana", pub. by A. Maharana, Jajpur (Cuttack), 1922, p. 7; Durgavari's "Giti Ramayana" (an Assamese work), ed. by Shree Bishayachandra Bishwashi, 1st edn., Haju (Kamrup), 1915 (Aranya Kanda), p. 13; Vipradas's "Mansa Vijaya", ed. by Sukumar Sen, A.S.B., 1953, p. 20; "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 50; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, pp. 11, 14, 15, 23, 24 and 30; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 134, doha 2, p. 80 and pada 227, doha 1, p. 128.
75. References to 'Choli' are available in contemporary literary sources, e.g. "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", ed. by Swami Anand Swarup, pub. by Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 63, p. 597 for 'Kasumbal Choli' (red 'Choli'); Also Ibid, pada 358, p. 695 for the same. Also see "Mira Na Pado", ed. by Bhupendra Balkrishna Trivedi, pub. by N.M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, Jan., 1962, 1st edn., pada 93, p. 71 for a reference to corset of one and a quarter lakh ('Sawa Lakhs Choli Re'); Here, the poetess perhaps refers to a costly corset and not to its exact cost; Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., chhanda 266, doha 4, p. 232; Chhehal's "Panchsaheli", Vidya Mindir Prakashan, Gwalior, 1st edn., 26th Jan., 1959, doha 24, p. 212; Jyotirivara Kavisekharacharya's "Varnaratnakar" (s Maithili work), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1940, 2nd kalfol, p. 4 for 'Chuli'; Also refer to "Kabir" by Dr. Hajariprasad Dwivedi, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., 5th edn., Nov. 1955, pada 224, p. 350 for 'Pachrang Choli' ('Choli of five colours'); "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 23, doha 4, p. 16; Also pada 57, doha 4, p. 34 and pada 92, doha 2, p. 55; Also refer to pada 219, p. 124 and pada 224, p. 127 for 'Choli' of saffron colour; Also refer to "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 12, p. 6 for 'Choli'; Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, doha 337/7, p. 407 for 'Kusumbhi Chola' (corset of red colour); Also refer

- to "Miran Darshan" by Prof. "Murlidhar Shrivastava, pub. by Sahitya Bhavan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1st edn., 1956, pada 10, p. 133 for 'Pachrang Chola'.
76. See "Uttar Bharati" (Journal of Research of the Universities of Uttar Pradesh), Vol. VI. Oct., 1959, No. 2, p. 60, and art. entitled "Mewar Painting Through the Ages -- 13th to 18th Century A.D." by G.N. Sharma.
77. Refer to "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Shree Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 208, doha 19, p. 347 for 'Jhilmil Kechuan' (flicke ring and thin brassiere).
78. The Book of Duarte Barbosa., I (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918), pp. 113-114.
79. Refer to "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhillwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 163, p. 630 for 'Lal Jari Ka Lahanga' (petticoat woven with red golden threads); Also pada 358, p. 695 for 'Lakhno Re Lahango' ('Lahanga' of one lakh); Here also, Mira perhaps has referred to a costly petticoat, not to its exact price; Also Ibid, pada 23, p. 966 for a reference to 'Lahanga'; Also see "Mira Na Pado", (in Gujarati), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, Jan., 1962, pada 93, p. 73; Also refer to Hemchandra's "Desinamamala", B.O.R.I., 3rd sarga, chhanda 13, p. 134 for petticoat; Here, it has been referred to as "Chinphullanni".
80. Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, ed. by Kavirava Mohan-singh, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 14, doha 83, p. 327 for 'Jarkasa Ghanghara' (petticoat with golden tassel); Also see "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhillwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 10, p. 751; Here, it has been referred to as 'Ghangaro'; Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 141 for 'Ghanghar'.
81. Refer to Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., chaupai 405, p. 65 for red 'Orhni'; Also Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 5, doha 75, p. 96 for "Ghughreeli Ghat" ('Orhni' embroidered with very small jewel bells) which was very popular among Gujarati ladies; Also see Udaibhanu's "Vikramcharita Rasa" (a Gujarati work), ed. by Prof. Balwantrai K. Thakur, B.U.P., 1st edn., 1957 (V.S. 2014), doha 93, p. 9 for a reference to 'Odhani Ghat'; Also refer to Bhalhan's "Nalakhyan" (another Gujarati work), ed. by Prof. Keshavaram K. Shastri (B.U.P.), 1957, (V.S. 2013),

1st edn., canto 7, doha 10, p. 12 for Damyanti's 'Orhni'; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Rasantarajan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961 (Ban Khanda), p. 30 for 'Oharan'; Also Ibid, p. 155 for 'Chariya'; "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 50 for 'Nil Urni' (blue 'Orhni'); "Prachin Fagu Sangrah", B.U.P., 1955, 1st edn., pada 13, p. 55 for 'Orhni'; Also see "Miran Madhuri", ed. by Brajratnadas, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 384, p. 140 for 'Udhaniye To Ratna Kanak Jade' (an 'Orhni' embroidered with gold and jewels).

82. References to 'Chunri' are also found in contemporary literary works, e.g. "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., pada 10, p. 380 for 'Chunri'; Also pada 25, doha 8, p. 386; pada 60, p. 490; pada 121, p. 616 for 'Chunaria'; Also see "Mira Smriti Granth", pub. by Bangiya Hindi Parishad, Cal., 1st edn., V.S. 2006, p. 35 and Padmavati Sabnam's "Mira Ek Adhyayan", pub. by Lok Sevak Prakashan, Banaras, 1st edn., V.S. 2007, p. 125; Also "Kabir" by Hajariprasad Dwivedi, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 5th edn., Nov., 1955, padas 165 and 207, pp. 325 and 343 respectively for 'Chunri'; Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1853, chhanda 27, p. 76 for Princess Rajmati's 'Chunadi'; "Kabir Bachnavali", compiled by Ayodhya Singh Upadhyaya, N.P.S., 2nd edn., 1920, padas 166 and 172 pp. 164 and 166 respectively; Also see "Kabir Sangrah", ed. by Acharya Sitaram Chaturvedi, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 1964, 5th edn., p. 116.
83. For 'Dupatta', a reference may be made to Chandbardai's "Prithvi-raj Raso", pt. IV, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyalaya, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 61, doha 306, p. 1100; Here, it has been referred to by the poet as 'Anchar'; Also Bachhadas's "Kalasha-Chautisha" (14th Cent. Oriya work), contained in "Prachin Gadya-Padya Darsha", Cuttack, 1932, 1st edn., p. 79 for 'Upurana' ('Dupatta').
84. See "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", ed. by Swami Anand Swarup, pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 61, p. 490 for a reference to 'shāl'; Here, the poetess refers to it thus, "Gore Gore Ange Bhala Saluda Biraje" ('Shawl is looking well on the beautiful body of a lady'); Also see "Narsai Mahtena Pad", ed. by Shree Keshavaram K. Shastri, pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 233, doha 2, p. 131.
85. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta (Mahdi Husain), O.I.B., 1953, p. 199.

86. A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar (Duarte Barbosa), Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 53.
87. For 'Suthani' or 'Sunthani', refer to Kavi Padmanabha's "Kanhadde-Prabandh", pt. II, ed. by Prof. Kantilal Baldev Ram Vyas, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, July, 1959, doha 6, p. 28.
88. T.F.S. (B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 158 for 'Qba-i-Zarnigar' ('Qaba embroidered with gold threads).
89. Ibid, for reference to 'Kulah' used by a Muslim lady.
90. Tarikh-i-Haqqi, Per. MS No. 89, Cat. No. 537, O.P.I., fol : 8 (a) ; Also refer to T.M.S., ed. by M. Hidayat Hosain, Bib. Ind., Cal., 1931, p. 26 ; Also Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 118.
91. Refer to Amir Khusrau's "Nuh Sipahr", ed. by Mohammad Walid Mirza, pub. by Islamic Research Association, Geoffrey Cambridge, O.U.P., 1950, p. 379 for 'Chust Pairahan' (tight dress) of dancing girls (Mutribans) ; Also refer to his "Dewal Ranj Khizr Khan", Aligarh, 1917, p. 158 for 'Liwas-e-Tunukdam', i.e. reticulated dress worn by dancing girls.
92. See Ain (A), Aligarh, 1917, p. 134 for a reference to 'Burqa'. For 'Ghoonghat', refer to Jayasi's "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", ed. by Amarbahadur Singh, 'Amresh', pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 92 ; "Narshi Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 16, doha 2, p. 11 ; Also see "A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar" (Duarte Barbosa), Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 53. For the details of 'Purdah' and 'Ghoonghat' refer to the relevant sections of Ch. V of this work.
93. Refer to Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, chhanda 53, p. 15 for leather shoe ; Here, they have been referred to as *Pawru*.
94. Barbosa refers to Gujarati women thus, "They always go barefooted." (The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, p. 114).
95. The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508, tr. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Lond., 1928, p. 58.
96. For 'Khizab' refer to Amir Khusrau's 'Matla-ul-Anwar', Murtjabai Press, Delhi, p. 173.
97. Reference to 'Kakahi' or 'Kankahi' is available in Narayandas's Chhitaivarta", ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., chaupai 650, p. 117 ; Also refer to Manjhan's "Madhumalti", ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, chhanda 452, p. 397 for the use of comb in dressing the hair of Prince Manohar. Also see Maladhar

- Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya", C.U., 1944, p. 145 for a reference to combing of the hairs of milkmaids, which runs thus, "Kesh-marjan Kare Keho . . ."
98. For 'Shana', refer to Amir Khusrau's 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi', pt. I. Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876, pp. 178 and 214; Also see Ain. (S). Aligarh, 1917, p. 134; Also 'Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi', Per MS No. 99, Cat. No. 547, O.P.L., fol: 104 (a).
 99. Voyages D Ibn Battuta (Arabic Text), vol. III, p. 53.
 100. Refer to Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishwavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 96, p. 138 for oil prepared from 'Kewara' (fragrant flower *pandanus*); Also refer to Naryandas's "Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., chaupai 650, p. 117 for the smooth hair of Chhitai after the use of perfumed oils; Also see Abdul Rahman's Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, chhanda 187, p. 46 for 'Champak Tel' (scented hair oil); refer to Sadhan's "Mainasat", ed. by Shree Hariharivas Uday Dwivedi, pub. by Vidyamandir Prakashan, Gwalior, 1st edn., 26th Jan., 1959, chaupai 356, p. 197.
 101. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918), p. 113.
 102. Reference to "Hammam" may be found in Z. W., Vol. I, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, Lond., p. 209.
 103. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, II (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1921), p. 23.
 104. Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 181.
 105. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918), p. 113; Also see The Travels of Ludovic di Varthema, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1863, p. 112 for a reference to the use of sandalwood and other attractive scents by the King of Gujarat; Also refer to Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya" (a Bengali work), C.U., 1944, p. 363, where Satyabhama is seen taking bath after using scented oil. It runs thus:
 "Gandha Narayan Tail Udayarthana Kaila,
 Jal Ani Satyabhama Snan Karaila."
 106. See Vidyapati's "Kirtilata", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1962, 3rd pallava, chhanda 24, doha 101, p. 184, where he refers to it thus, "Kurua Ka Tel Aang Laia."
 107. References to 'Mrigmad' are scattered in contemporary literatures, e.g. Manjhan's "Madhumalti" Varanasi, 1st edn., Nov., 1957, pp. 18 and 27; "Nanak Bani", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, V.S. 2018, p. 428; Here, it has been referred to as 'Mirgamai'; Also "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheriasarai, 1st edn., V.S. 1982, padas 135 and 145,

- pp. 180 and 190 respectively; 'Narsai Mahtena Pad', pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 20, doha 1, p. 54; "Vasant Vilas" pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., p. 5; Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya", C.U., 1941, p. 145; "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", pub. by Vasumatī Sahitya Mandir, 3rd edn., Cal., 1933, p. 18; "Dholamurura Duha", N.P.S., V.S. 2011, doha 466, p. 110.
108. For 'Kasturi', refer to Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 192 p. 131; Arjundas's "Ram Vibha" (an Oriya work), ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, 3rd edn., Cuttack, 1953, p. 69; Narayananda Abdhuta Swami's "Rudrasudhanidhi", pub. by Orissa Sahitya Sabha, 1st edn., Cuttack, 1965, p. 97; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, padas 6, and 32, pp. 12 and 22 respectively. Also Rajshekarsuri's "Neminath Fagu" (a Gujarati work composed about V.S. 1405) contained in "Prachin Fagu Sangrah", B.U.P., 1st edn., 1955, p. 10.
109. References to 'Agarjah' are available in "Mira Smriti Granth", pub. by Bangiya Hindi Parishad, Cal., 1st edn., V.S. 2006, pada 73, p. 73; Also refer to Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 131.
110. For 'Gorochan', refer to Arjundas's "Ram Vibha", ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, 3rd edn., Cuttack, 1953, p. 69; Also see Bhalhan's "Kadambari" (Purva Bhag), pub. by Jayanti Lal Madhav Lal Mehta, Ahmedabad, 1935, canto 2, doha 48, p. 6.
111. For 'Agar' or 'Agaru', refer to Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 192, p. 131; Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 53, p. 44; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 120. For 'Agaru' refer to Narayan Deva's "Mansamangal", contained in "Shree Shree Padmapuran Bais Kavi Mansa", pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 8th edn., 1940, p. 274; Durgavari's "Gitī Ramayana", ed. by Shree Bishayachandra Bishwashi, 1st edn., Haju (Karnāṭp), p. 11; "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., doha 40, p. 20.
112. For references to 'Chandan' as an article of toilet, see Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya", C.U., 1944, p. 195, where the poet says thus, "Tomake Se Bhal Sajē Sugandhi Chandan", i.e. "You are looking beautiful after applying scented 'chandan'"; Also see Kavivar Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", pub. by Bani Nike'an, Cal., 13th edn., p. 26; "Dadudayal Ka Sabad", N.P.S., 1907, pada 32, p. 68; Also Narpatī Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 102, p. 144; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by

- Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 32, p. 22 ; Also see "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, dohas 12 and 40, pp. 6 and 20 respectively.
113. References to 'Karpur' or 'Kapur' are available in contemporary literary works e.g. Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., Nov., 1957, p. 135 ; Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., chaupai 186, p. 20 ; Sadhan's "Mainasat", pub. by Vidyamandir Prakashan, Gwalior, 1st edn., Jan., 1959, chaupai 356, p. 197 ; Jyotirishvara's "Varnaratnakar" (a Maithili work), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1940, 3rd pallava, p. 11 ; Balramdas's "Jagmohan Ramayana" (an Oriya work), Uttara Kanda, pub. by Nityanand Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1913, p. 83 ; Kavj Pitambar Dvije's "Usha Parinay" (an Assamese work), pub. by Barua Brothers, Golaghat (Assam), 1st edn., Shaka 1873, p. 16.
114. For 'Kesar', refer to Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. II, pub. by Sahitya-Samathan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 23, doha 2, p. 599 ; Sandhan's "Mainasat", pub. by Vidyamandir Prakashan, Gwalior, 1st edn., Jan., 1959, p. 177 ; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, padas 16, 18 and 36, pp. 11, 12 and 24 respectively ; "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 32, p. 17.
115. References to 'Kumkum' or 'Kumkuh' are available in Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 192, p. 131 ; Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 439, p. 385 ; Also refer to Jyotirishvara's "Varnaratnakar", Bib. Ind., Cal., 1940, 3rd pallava, p. 11 ; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, padas 36, 90 and 110, pp. 24, 54 and 66 respectively ; Also see "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1959, doha 10, p. 5 for 'Kumkumghol' (saffron water).
116. Refer to "The Poona Orientalist", Vol. XI, Nos. 3 and 4, July, 1946—Oct., 1946, pp. 1-22, an art. entitled "Some Notes on the History of Soap-nuts, Soap and Washerman in India—between B.C. 300 and A.D. 1900" by Mr. P. K. Gode.
117. See "Kabir Bachnavali", compiled by Ayodhyasingh Upadhyaya, N.P.S., 2nd edn., 1920, pada 166, p. 164 for a reference to 'sabun' ; Also see "Kabir" by Dr. Hajariprasad Dwivedi, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 5th edn., Nov., 1955, pada 208, p. 325.
118. Refer to "Nanak Bani", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, V.S. 2018, bani 20, p. 88 ; Here, soap has been referred to as 'sabuni'.

119. Refer to Krittivāsa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, 7th edn., Cal., 1926, (Adi Kanda) p. 86, where Chandramukhi (a companion of Sita) is seen lavishing Sita after applying myrobalan. Here, the poet refers to it thus:

"Sakhidey Sitar Mastake Amloki
Tolajale Snan Karailo Chandramukhi."

Also see "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 34 for a reference to "Amloki".

120. Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", ed. by Basant Kumar Bhattacharya, pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 25; Also refer to Pandit Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shree Natwar Chakravarty, Bangabhashi Sanskaran, Cal., 1910, p. 181 for a description of Lord Shreekrishna's bath with perfumed oil and turmeric. Here, the poet refers to it thus:

"Toilo Jal Haridray Koriya Sehan."

121. References to 'Kajal' are scattered in abundance in contemporary literatures. Here, mention may be made of "Kabir-Sakhi Sar", pub. by Vinod Pustak Mandir, Hospital Road, Agra, 1st edn., 1956, sakhi 2, p. 109; "Kabir Saheb Ka Bijak Granth", pub. by Svasamvad Karyalaya, Siyabag (Baroda), 1st edn., 1955, V.S. 2012, p. 362; "Kavita Kaumudi" (Amir Khusrau), pt. I, pub. by Navneet Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1954, p. 138; "Dhola-Marura Duha", N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 353, p. 82; Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., chhanda 106, p. 26; "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 9, p. 163; Jayadeva's "Gitagovinda", pub. by Gurudas Chattopadhyaya & Sons, Cal., 1925, p. 136; Also see Krittivāsa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, 7th edn., Cal., 1926 (Adi Kanda), p. 31; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, padas 110 and 345, pp. 66 and 185 respectively.

122. References to 'Surma' are available in Amir Khusrau's 'Matla-ul-Anwar', Murtzabi Press, Delhi, p. 194; Also see his 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi', pt. IV, p. 328; Here, it has been referred to as 'Kohal'; Also Z.W., I, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, Lond., 1910, p. 98; Here, it has been referred to as 'Iqtehal'; "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 64, p. 597 for 'Surma'; Also see "Miran Madhuri", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 300, p. 107; Here, it has been referred

- to as "surmaun"; Also refer to 'Nanak Bani', pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, V.S. 2018, p. 273.
123. Voyages D 'Ibn Battuta (Arabic Text), Vol. III, p. 319 for a reference to 'tilak' of sandalwood paste. References to 'tilak' are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 16, p. 12 for 'tilak' of 'kesar'; Also see "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, Jan., 1962, 1st edn., pada 39, p. 29 for the same; Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1959, chhanda 102, p. 144 for 'tilak' of 'chandan'; Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 81, p. 61 for 'tilak' of a 'Mrigmad'; Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 173; Pitambar Dwije's "Usha-Parinay" (an Assamese work), pub. by Barua Brothers, Assam, 1st edn., Shaka 1873, p. 16; Also see "Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1935, p. 26; Vipradas's "Mansa Vijaya", A.S.B., 1953, p. 19.
124. Amir Khusrau's "Ijaz-i-Khusravi", pt. II, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, pp. 252-258.
125. See "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", ed. by Swami Anand Swarup, pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 22, p. 47 for a reference to Lord Shreekrishna's cleansing his teeth with 'Datan' or 'Datun'; Here, the poetess refers to it thus:
- Datan Karo Tamo Adi Deva,
Mukh Dhuo Morari Re."
126. For the use of 'Darpan', refer to Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 429, p. 375; "Kabir-Sangrah", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 1964, 5th edn., p. 120; Jayasi's "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 69; Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 14, doha 82, p. 327; Also "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 2; Also "Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1935, pada 20, p. 15; "Charja-Giti Padavali", ed. by Dr. Sukumar Sen, pub. by Panchugopal Roy, Sampadak Sahitya Sabha, Burdwan, 1956, p. 100.
127. A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, (Duarte Barbosa), Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 52.
128. A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 56.
129. Refer to Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. II, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S.

- 2012, samay 23 (Shashivṛtta Samay), doha 170, p. 671 for a reference to long moustaches of a Rajput warrior, Barbosa (A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 104) says about the Hindus of Malabar thus, "They shave their beards and leave the moustachios very long, after the manner of the Turks . . ."
130. Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 180.
131. Ibid.
132. The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema (tr. by Richard Carnac Temple), Lond., 1928, p. 45.
133. Barbosa refers to the Hindus thus, "They wear very long hair tied upon the top of their heads . . ." (A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 104); Also refer to Arjundas's "Ram Vjha" (an Oriya work), ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, Cuttack, 3rd edn., 1953, p. 19; Also Bhalhan's "Nalakhyan" (a Gujarati work), ed. by Prof. Keshavaram K. Shastri, B.U.P., V.S. 2013, (A.D. 1957), 1st edn., canto 4, doha 7, p. 6 for Raja Nal's locks of hair; Here, the poet refers to it thus: "Nal Shiri Bi Amboda Bandhya."
134. Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 179.
135. See "Kabir" by Dr. Hajariprasad Dwivedi, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 5th edn., Nov., 1955, pada 66, p. 272, where the poet refers to a *jogi* thus: "Mathwa Munday Jogi Kapra Rangaule."
136. Ibn Battuta, refers to *Jogis* thus: "They wrapped themselves with quilts covering their hair with the ashes just as people removed the hairs of their arm-pits" (The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 165).
137. Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 181; where referring to the Hindus, Alberuni says, "They wear articles of female dress; they use cosmetics, wear earrings, arm-rings, golden seal-rings on the ring-finger as well as on the toes of the feet." Barbosa (A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 104) referring to the ornaments of the Hindus of Gujarat says thus, "Their ears are bored, and they wear in them very precious jewels and pearls set in gold, and on their arms from the elbows upwards gold bracelets, with similar jewels and strings of very large pearls. At their wrists over their clothes they wear jewelled girdles three fingers in width, very well wrought and of great value."
138. For 'Bazuband', refer to "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, padas 50 and 63, pp. 485 and 530 respectively.
139. For 'Mekhala', refer to "Kabir Bachnavali", compiled by Ayodhyasingh Upadhyaya, N.P.S., 2nd edn., 1920, pada 393, p. 40; Also "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya

- Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 142, p. 85.
140. References to 'Nupur' or 'Neyur' are found in 'Prakrita Paingalam', pub. by Prakrit Society, Varanasi, 1st edn., 1959, 1st parichheda, padas 21 and 31, pp. 21 and 25 respectively. Kavi Padmanabha's 'Kanhad-de-Prabandh', pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, July, 1959, doha 245, p. 26; 'Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali', pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 12 for 'Sonar Nupur' (golden anklet); Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's 'Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini', ed. by Basanta-ranjan Ray, pub. by Shree Natwar Chakravarty, Bangabhashi Sanskarin, Cal., 1910, p. 17; Also Arjundas's 'Ram Vibha', ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, Cuttack, 3rd edn., 1953, p. 77; Also Kavi Pitambar Dwije's 'Usha Parinay', ed. by Shree Maheshwar Neog, pub. by Barua Brothers, Golaghat (Assam), 1st edn., Shaka 1873, p. 16.
141. References to finger-rings are also available in contemporary literatures, e.g. Maulana Daud Dalmai's 'Chandayan', pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 357, p. 284; Here, it has been referred to as 'Mundari'; Also Hemchandra's 'Desinamamala', B.O.R.I., 1938, 1st sarga, chhanda 6, p. 4 for 'Anguthi'; 'Miran Sudha-Sindhu', pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 72, p. 185 for 'Mudari'; Jayasi's 'Kahranama Aur Maslanama', pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., 1962, p. 76 for 'Mundari'; Also see 'Nanak Bani', pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, V.S. 2018, p. 273 for 'Mundari'; Also see Krittivasa's 'Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana', Cal., 7th edn., 1926 (Adi Kanda), p. 84 for 'Anguri'; Shankardeva's 'Shreemadbhagavata' (Dasham Skanda), pt. I, ed. by Shree Shivanath Bhattacharya, 3rd edn., Dibrugarh (Assam), 1905, p. 138; Here, it has been referred to as 'Angathi'.
142. "The necklace taken from the neck of the Hindu King Jaipal captured by Mahmud in A.D. 1000, was composed by large pearls, rubies etc., and was valued at 200,000 *dinars* or a good deal more than 100,000" (E. & D. II, p. 26); Also see 'Tarikh-i-Ferishta', Vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 41. References to necklace are also found in contemporary literatures, e.g. Shalibhadra Suri's 'Bharteshwar Bahu-Bali Ras', contained in 'Ras Aur Rasanwayi Kavya', N.P.S., doha 67, p. 67 for 'Motiy Har' (necklace of pearls); Also Abdul Rahman's 'Sandeshi Rasak', pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, chhanda 49, p. 14 for 'Haru'; Kavi Padmanabha's 'Kanhad-de-Prabandh' (a Gujarati work), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, July, 1959, doha 231, p. 25 for 'Motihar' (a necklace of pearls); Also 'Prakrita Paingalam', pub. by Prakrit Society, Varanasi, 1959, 1st parichheda, pada 178, p. 153 for necklace of

pearls. For 'Har', also see Durgavari's "Giti Ramayana" (an Assamese work), ed. by Shree Vishaychandra Bishwashi, 1st edn., Haju (Kamrup), 1915, (Aranya Kanda) p. 11.

143. References to 'Kundal' are available in abundance in contemporary literatures, e.g. Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885; doha 207, p. 138; Here, it has been referred to as 'Kondar'; Also "Mirabai Ki Padavali", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1884, 11th edn., pada 2, p. 101; Bhalhan's "Nalakhyan", B.U.P., 1st edn., 1957, canto 11, p. 25; Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 1, doha 5, p. 2; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., pada 53, p. 31; "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, Jan., 1962, 1st edn., pada 247, p. 171; Kavi Pitambar Dwije's "Usha Parinay" (an Assamese work), pub. by Barua Brothers, Golaghat (Assam), 1st edn., Shaka 1875, p. 16; Narayananda Abdhuta Swami's "Rudrasudhanidhi" (an Oriya work), pub. by Orissa Sahitya Academy, Cuttack, 1st edn., 1965, p. 97; Saraladas's "Vilanka Ramayana", pub. by A. Maharana, Jajpur (Cuttack), 1922, p. 6; Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, Bangabhashi Sanskaran, Cal., 1910, p. 13; Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya", C.U., 1944, doha 178, p. 36.
144. Refer to Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Rasu", Pt. II, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 23, doha 169, p. 670 for 'Mannikkam Prati Tajam' ('Mukut' studded with jewels); Vijaysen Suri's "Rewantgiri Rasu" (composed in or about V.S. 1287), contained in "Ras Aur Rasanwayi Kavya", N.P.S. 1st edn., V.S. 2016, chhanda 3, p. 108 for 'Mukut' of emeralds and jewels; "Narmi Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 22, doha 3, p. 14; Kavi Padmanabha's "Kanhad-de-Prabandh", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, July, 1959, p. 20; Here, it has been referred to as 'Mugat'; 'Prachin Fagu Sangrah', B.U.P., 1st edn., 1955, doha 30, p. 19; Also Ibid. doha 38, p. 20 for 'Mukat'; Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya", C.U., 1944, doha 178, p. 36 for 'Manik Mukut' ('Mukut' of precious pearls); Vrindabandas's "Chaitanya Bhagavata", pub. by Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954, p. 137.
145. See Arjundas's "Ram Vibha", ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, 3rd edn., Cuttack, 1953, p. 2 for Lord Jagannath's ornaments, viz. dagger in the right hand and 'Kundal' in the ears; Also see Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 207, p. 138 for the golden-handled dagger ('Katar Sonmutthi')

- of a prince; Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 96, p. 139 for a reference to Rajput King Visaldeva's ornaments, viz. "Kadi Tarkas Chai Jahaun Kirwan" (keeping sword in the scabbard on the waist).
146. Jamila Brij Bhushan's "Indian Jewellery, Ornaments and Decorative Designs", pub. by Taraporevala Sons & Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., p. 71.
147. "Kashi Nagari Pracharini Patrika", Vol. 62, V.S. 2014, Nos. 2-3, an art. entitled "Shodash Shringar" by Bachchan Singh, pp. 169-170.
148. See "Jayasi Granthavali", N.P.S. 4th edn., pp. 131-132; Also refer to Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 27, doha 297/7, p. 347; References to "Shodash Shringar" are also available in "Vidyapati Ki Padavali" pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 73, doha 4, p. 111; "Kabir Sakhi Sar", pub. by Vinod Pustak Mandir, Hospital Road, Agra, 1st edn., 1956, sakhi 23, p. 116; Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 206, p. 174; "Mirabai Ki Padavali", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 11th edn., Shaka 1884, pada 193, p. 154; Also Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 163, doha 1, p. 175. Amir Khusrau (Hasht-Bahisht, ed. by Sayyid Suleiman Ashraf, Aligarh, 1918, p. 31) refers to it as "Hapht wa nuh".
149. "Kashi Nagari Pracharini Patrika", Vol. 62, V.S. 2014, Nos. 2-3, p. 170.
150. "Kirtijata", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1962, 2nd pallava, chhanda 24, doha 136, p. 84; Also see Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 206, p. 174; "Prachin Fagu Sangrah", B.U.P., 1st edn., 1953, pada 3, p. 15 for "Patravali Kapoli" (marks on cheeks).
151. "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, (Siphati Singar Ki), dohas 192, and 193, p. 131.
152. For references to the use of comb in hair-dressing, see the f.n. Nos. 97-98 of this Chapter.
153. See J.U.P. Hist. Soc., New Series, Vol. III, pt. II, 1955, an art. entitled "Cosmetics and Coiffure as Sculptured in the Khajuraho Temples" by Dr. (Mrs.) Urmila Agarwal, p. 146; Also see "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 42, doha 6, where Radha is depicted sticking flowers in her hairs; Also Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd.,

Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, chhanda 106, p. 26; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 224, p. 126, which runs thus, "Beni Gunthi Phulede". Also refer to "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 53, p. 26, which runs thus, "Shunp Bhari Siri Ketaki Set Kiya Singar"; i.e. a woman is applying to her braid of hairs the fragrant flower of *pandanus* or 'Ketaki'; "Prachin Fagu Sangrah", B.U.P., 1st edn., 1955, pada 1, p. 4 for the use of flowers like 'Champak' and 'Ketaki' in decorating the hair.

154. Vijaya Gupta ("Padmapuran or Mansamangal", pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 187) refers to the 'Kabari' of Behula, well-decorated with flowers thus, "Kabari Bandhiya Behula Mathe Dilo Phul"; Also see Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 141 for Mrigavati's 'Beni', viz. "Chihur Gundi Bani Urnai" (a braid of hairs, or 'Beni' was plaited); "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 16, doha 5, p. 11, which runs thus, "Letekawe Beni Lambi Re"; Also Ibid, pada 23, doha 3; p. 16 for "Ambodo", i.e. 'Juda'. For 'Chuda', refer to Hemchandra's "Desinamamala", B.O.R.I., 1038, 3rd sarga, chhanda 35, p. 144; Also "Miran Madhuri", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 113, doha 5, p. 79, which runs thus, "Tyago Chhal Bandhan Chudo"; Also see "Mirabai Ki Padavali", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 11th edn., Shaka 1884, pada 32, p. 111; Bhalhan's "Kadambari" (Purva Bhag), ed. by K. H. Dhurve, pub. by Jayanti Lal Madhav Lal Mehta, Ahmedabad, 2nd edn., 1935, doha 93, p. 10. For 'Khonpa', refer to Maulana Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 207, doha 4, p. 199; Baruchandidas's (Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shanji Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 32) refers to it as 'Khompat'. For 'Shunp' (very popular among the Gujarati ladies), refer to "Vasant Vilas", ed. by Prof. Kantilal Baldev Ram Vyas, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 53, p. 26.
155. For various types of perfumed hair oil, see f.n. No. 100 of this chapter.
156. Maulana Daud Dalmi ("Chandayan") pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 52, doha 2, p. 109) refers to the use of vermilion on the forehead by married ladies as "Sendur Puri". References to the use of 'Sindur' are also available in Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 156; "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 179, doha 10, p. 294; Jayasi's "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub.

- by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 90 ; "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), V.S. 2014, pada 35, p. 389 ; Also Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 451, p. 396 ; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 132 ; Here, Radha is found confessing thus, "Muchhiya Pelaibo Moy Shisher Sindur", i.e. "I shall wipe out the scarlet line of vermilion from my forehead".
157. References to 'Sindhora' are found in Jayasi's "Chitrarekha", pub. by Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., 1959, pp. 103 and 107 ; Also refer to Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 88, doha 2, p. 124 and chhanda 253, doha 1, p. 224.
158. J.U.P. Hist. Soc., New Series, Vol. III, pt. II, 1955, p. 145 ; Detailed references to 'Kajal' and 'Surma' are available in f.n. Nos. 121-122 of this Chapter. Also see Jayasi's "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 90 ; where there is a reference to the making of a portrait of peacock in the eyebrows. The poet says thus, "Bhouhan Bich Sarang Banawahu". Amir Khusrau (Matla-ul-Anwar, Lucknow, 1884, p. 215) refers to the use of "Wasma" in the eyebrow of a Muslim lady ; Also see Sujan Rai's "Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh" ed. by Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 213 for a reference to 'Wasma'.
159. Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 29, where Radha is found chewing betel with camphor ; Here, the poetess refers to its thus, "Karpur Vasit Radha Khayer Tambul" ; Also see "Dhola-Marura Duha", N.P.S., V.S. 2011, doha 353, p. 82 ; Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 409, doha 4, p. 300 for "Mukh Tambol" ; Also see "Prachin Fagu Sangrah", B.U.P., 1st edn., 1955, pada 3, p. 15, which runs thus, "Mukh Rangi Tamboli".
160. For 'Mehadi', refer to "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 55, p. 488, where the poetess says thus, "Mehdi Men Rachya Hath" ; Also pada 144, p. 624. Maulana Daud Dalmai ("Chandayan", Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 287, doha 4, p. 241) refers to it thus, "Hath Hi Mehadi Kiya Singaru" ; Manjhan's "Madhumalti", Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi, Nov., 1957, pp. 63 and 73 for references to 'Mehadi'. Ibn Battuta (Voyages D' Ibn Battuta, III, Paris, p. 275) refers to it as 'Henna'.
161. Vidyapati ("Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali", pub. by Vasumati

- Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1935, pada 4, p. 92) refers to it as 'Jawak'; Also see "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 91, doha 12, p. 145 and pada 129, doha 10, p. 204 for references to 'Mahawar'.
162. See "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 9 for a reference to 'Alta' in the legs of Radha, where the poet says thus, "Alta Ranjii Pai"; Vidyapati (Vidyapati Ki Padavali", ed. by Rambriksha Sharma, Bainipuri, Laheriasarai, 1st edn., V.S. 1982, pada 62, p. 89) refers to it as 'Alak'; Also refer to "Narsai Mahtena Pad"; pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ammedabad, 1st edn., pada 16, doha 5, p. 11, which runs thus, "Alte Paye Rangya Re".
163. For references to 'Ubtan', see Manjhan's "Madhumalti", ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 439, p. 385; Also see Sadhan's "Mainasat", ed. by Shree Hariharivas Dwivedi, pub. by Shree Uday Dwivedi, Vidyamandir Prakashan, Gwalior, 1st edn., 26th Jan., 1959, p. 177.
164. Amir Khusrau's "Matla-ul-Anwar", Murtazabi Press, Delhi, p. 194, for references to 'Gaza' and 'Safaida'; Also see his "Hasht-Bahisht", ed. by Maulana Sayyid Suleiman Ashraf, Aligarh, 1918, p. 30 for 'Safaida'. Also see Sujan Rai's "Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh", ed. by Zafar Hasan, pub. by G. & Sons, Delhi, 1918, p. 213, for a reference to 'Gaza'.
165. J.U.P. Hist. Soc., New Series, Vol. III, pt. II, 1955, p. 145; Also see Qutban's "Mrigavati", ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 141, where Mrigavati is seen applying sandalwood-paste on her breasts, which runs thus, "Chandan Choli Ur Lapan Dinha"; "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 33, doha 8, p. 59) where the poet refers to it thus, "Chandan Charchu Payodhar Re"; Also see Dr. Umesh Mishra's "Vidyapati", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1949, p. 103. For detailed references to 'Mrigmad', 'Kasturi', 'Chandan' and other perfumed and scented articles used by our women, see f.n. Nos. 107-115 of this Chapter.
166. See Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., doha 316, p. 45.
167. J.U.P. Hist. Soc., New Series, Vol. II, pt. II, 1955, p. 148. For detailed references to 'Darpan', see f.n. No. 126 of this Chapter.
168. Ibn Battuta (Voyages D' Ibn Battuta, Vol. III, Paris, p. 71) refers to it thus, "The Muslim women's recognition is that their ears are not to be bored, on the other hand Hindu ladies' ears are bored".
169. For 'Sone Rakadi' (golden 'Sheeshphul'), refer to "Miran-Madhuri", ed. by Brajratnadas, pub. by Hindi-Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 329, p. 118; Narpati Nalha's

- "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 98, p. 106 for jewelled 'Rakadi' of Princess Rajmati; Also Ibid, chhanda 23, p. 76 for a reference to 'Rakhadi'; Also see "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 10, p. 751. For jewelled 'Seesaphul', refer to Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 8 (Bhumi Swapna Katha), kavitta 33, p. 206; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 57, doha 5, p. 34; Also Ibid, pada 60, doha 1, p. 36 and pada 222, doha 3, p. 125; Here, it has been referred to as 'Raghadi'; Also see "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 58, p. 29; Also "Prachin Fagu Sangrah", B.U.P., 1st edn., 1955, pada 21, p. 101.
170. Balramdas's "Jagmohan Ramayana" (Uttara Kanda), pub. by Nityanand Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1913, p. 83; for references to 'Muktajali' and 'Muktajhara'; Also Ibid, p. 117 for 'Mathamani' and 'Motijali'; Also refer to "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 62, p. 31, which says thus, "Motiyanan Siri Jal" ('Motijali' on the head).
171. See "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 68, p. 183 for a reference to 'Mang'; Also refer to Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Sabha Parva), pub. by Radha Raman Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1952, p. 168 for 'Simantini' ('Mang Tika'); Also see Bachhadass's "Kalasachautisa" (an Oriya work), contained in "Prachin Gadya-Padya Darsha", Cuttack, 1932, 1st edn., p. 79 for 'Simanti'; Also "Tarikh-i-Shahi" of Ahmed Yadgar, ed. by Hidayat Hosain, Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939, p. 60 for a reference to 'Mang Tika' made by a Zargar (goldsmith).
172. For 'Binduli' refer to Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 10, p. 751; Also Ibid, pada 163, p. 630. Maulana Daud Dalmai refers to it as 'Vedan' ('Chandayan', pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 256, doha 2, p. 224).
173. See "Dhola-Marura Duha", N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 465, p. 110 for Marwani's 'Sohali', which runs thus, "Bhumuhan Upari Sohlo Parihau".
174. Numerous references to 'Kundal' are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 171, doha 2, p. 277 for jewelled 'Kundal' ('Manimay Kundal'); Also Jayasi's "Mahri Baisi", contained in Jayasi Granthavali", pub. by Ashok Prakashan, Naya Sarak, Delhi, 1st edn., Sept., 1962, p. 697; Also see

- his "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 90; Also see "Dhola-Marura Duha", N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 480, p. 114; Maulana Daud Dalmaj's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 95, doha 1, p. 131; Here, it has been referred to as 'Kundar'; Bhalhan's "Kadambari" (Purva Bhag), ed. by K. H. Dhruve, pub. by Jayanti Lal Mehta, Ahmedabad, 2nd edn., 1935, canto 2, doha 49, p. 6; Also Ibid, canto 9, doha 101, p. 57; "Mira Na Pado", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., Jan., 1962, pada 247, p. 171; "Charja-Giti Padavali", pub. by Sahitya Sabha, Burdwan, 1956, p. 82; Also see Narayan Deva's "Mansamangal", contained in "Shree Shree Padmapuran Bais Kavi Mansa", ed. by Shree Amullaratan Bandopadhyaya, pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 1940, edn., p. 157 for Usha Devi's 'Kundal'; Shankardeva's "Rukmini-Haran Nat", C.U., 1950, p. 41 for Rukmini's 'Kundal'.
175. For 'Karnphul', refer to "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 163, p. 261; Also see Kavivar Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", ed. by Basant Kumar Bhattacharya, pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 26 for Mansa's "Suvarner Karnphul" (golden ear-flower); Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramananda Chattopadhyaya, 7th edn., Cal., 1926 (Adi Kanda), p. 86 for a reference to 'Karnphul'; Also refer to Arjundas's "Ram Vibha", ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, Cuttack, 3rd edn., 1953, p. 77.
176. See Hemchandra's "Desinamamala", B.O.R.I., 1938, 5th sarga, chhanda 21, p. 191, for a reference to 'Talwatto' (a kind of ear-ornament).
177. Ibid, chhanda 23, p. 90 for 'Kannabalam'; Also see "Mahakavi Chandidas's Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 9 for a reference to 'Karnabaladheri'.
178. References to 'Tatank' or 'tadaki' are available in contemporary literatures; e.g. Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., V.S. 2015, doha 404, p. 65 for 'Tatank' of 'Hira' (diamond); Also Ibid, doha 651, p. 117; Here, it has been referred to as 'Tarika'. Abdul Rahman ("Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, chhanda 46, p. 13) refers to it as 'Tadanki'. While Chandbardai ("Prithviraj Raso", pt. IV, pub. by Sahitya Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 61, kavitta 8, p. 947) refers to it as 'Tratank'; Also see "Prakrit-Paingalam" (a Text on Prakrit and Apabhramsa Metres), pt. I, pub. by Prakrit Society, Varanasi, 1959, 1st parichheda, padmsankhya 31, p. 25. Maulana Daud Dalmaj refers to it as 'Taruwan' ("Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 359, doha 2;

- p. 285); Also refer to "Prachin Fagu Sangrah", B.U.P., 1st edn. 1955, pada 3, p. 15 for "Motalag Tatang Kanni" ('Tatang' embroidered with pearls); Also see "Ram Vibha" (an Oriya work composed in or about first half of the 16th cent.), ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, Cuttack, 3rd edn., 1953, p. 69 for golden 'Tadaki'; Balramdas's "Jagmohan Ramayana", pub. by Nityanand Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1913, (Uttara Kanda), pp. 49 and 117.
179. For 'Jali' see Udaibhanu's "Vikramcharit Ras" (a Gujarati work), ed. by Prof. Balwantrao K. Thakur, B.U.P., 1st edn., 1957, doha 64, p. 7.
180. References to 'Khunt' are available in Maulana Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 266, doha 2, p. 124; Also Ibid, chhanda 9, doha 2, p. 131; Also refer to Jyotirishvara's "Varnaratnakar", (a Maithili work), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1940, 2nd kollo, p. 4; Also see Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., V.S. 2018, canto 10, doha 110/4, p. 124 and also canto 41, doha 479/7, p. 605 for 'Khunt'.
181. For 'Jhumka', refer to "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 29, p. 479; Also Ibid, pada 50, doha 7, p. 486 for 'Phul Jhumka'. Also see Saraladas's "Sachitra Vilanka Ramayana", pub. by A. Maharana, Jajpur (Cuttack), 1922, p. 7 for jewelled 'Jhumka' of Sita.
182. Refer to Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., doha 173, p. 18 for jewelled 'Nakphul'; Also Maulana Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 95, doha 3, p. 131; Here, it has been referred to as 'Nak Kai Phul'; Also "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 328, p. 177 for 'Phul'.
183. Mira ("Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 29, doha 4, p. 478) refers to it as 'Nathadi'. Referring to it the poetess says thus, "Nak Mahli Nathadi De Dun..."; Also Ibid, pada 50, doha 6, p. 486 for a reference to 'Nath'; Also see pada 196, p. 642 for a reference to 'Nathali'; Maulana Daud Dalmi ("Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., chhanda 359, doha 5, p. 285) refers to it as 'Nathi'; Also see "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1962, pada 5, p. 220 for a reference to 'Nathani'.
184. References to 'Besar' are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. Jayasi's "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 90; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965

- pada 16, doha 3, p. 11; Also Ibid, pada 23, doha 4, p. 16; padas 262, p. 146, and pada 328, p. 177; Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn., 1928 (Adi Kanda), p. 86; Vijaya Gupta's "Padma-puran or Mansamangal", pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 26 for Mansa Devi's 'Besar', i.e. 'Nakete Besar'; "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 163, p. 261.
185. Balramdas's "Jagmohan Ramayana" (Uttara Kanda), pub. by Nityanand Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1913, p. 49 for 'Nakchana' and pp. 83 and 117 for 'Basani'; Also see Bachhadass's "Kalasha-chautisha", contained in "Prachin Gadya-Padya Darsha", Cuttack, 1st edn., 1932, p. 79 for 'Gajamoti'; Also see "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., pada 16, doha 3, p. 11 for 'Gajamoti'; Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Sabha Parva), pub. by Radha Raman Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1952, p. 79 for 'Gajamoti'. References to ornaments like 'Ratnaphul', 'Tilphul' and 'Chandraguna' are also found in Dr. K. C. Sahoo's art. entitled "Ornaments in Mediaeval Orissa", pub. in the Journal of Historical Research, Department of History, Ranchi University, Ranchi, Vol. II, No. 1, Aug. 15, 1959, p. 38; Also refer to Amir Khusrau's "Nuh Sipahr", O.U.P., 1950, p. 384 for a reference to 'Gauhr-e-Beeni' ('Bulaq') in the nose of a dancing girl.
186. Refer to "The Poona Orientalist", Vol. XXI, Nos. 1 to 4, an art. entitled "References to the Nose Ornaments in the Samarahasyopanishad on its Date (after A.D. 1000)", pp. 44-46; Also see P.K. Gode's art. entitled "Antiquity of Hindu Nose-ornaments called Nath", pub. in "Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XIX, 1938-39, pp. 324-331; A reference may also be made to an art. entitled "The Nose-ring as an Indian Ornament" by Mr. N. A. Divitja, pub. in J.P.R.A.S.B., New Series, Vol. XIX, 1923, pp. 78-80; Also see Dr. P. N. Ojha's "Some Aspects of North Indian Social Life (1956-1707 A.D.)", pub. Nagari Prakashan (P) Ltd., Pat., 1st edn., 1961, p. 52.
187. Abundant references are available in contemporary literatures relating to the different types of 'Hars' of gold, pearls, diamond and also of scented flowers, e.g. Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 17, p. 72 for necklace of elephant gem (pearl); Also see Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., Nov., 1957, p. 133 for 'Giwahar' (Necklace); Also "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 24, doha 4, p. 45 for 'Motim Hara' (necklace of pearls); Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, canto 2, doha

- 27, p. 9 for 'Nawasarhariaya' (necklace of pearls); Also see "Prakṛita-Paṅgalam" (a Text on Prakṛit and Apabhraṃsa Metres), pt. I, 1st paṛichheda, paḍamsaṅkhyā 178, p. 153 for 'Motiahar' (necklace of pearls); "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, paḍa 219, p. 124 for 'Har'; Udaybhanu's "Vikram Charita Rās", B.U.P., 1st edn., 1957, paḍa 66, p. 7 for 'Nawār' (necklace of pearls); Bhalhan's "Kadambari" (Purva Bhag), Ahmedabad, 2nd edn., 1935, canto 11, doha 73, p. 63 for 'Har Muktaphal' (necklace of pearls); Also see "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 57, p. 28 for 'Mutahal Har' (pearl-necklace); Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, pp. 53 and 61 for Radha's "Satesari Har" (golden necklace); Ibid, p. 132 for 'Gajamukta Har', where Radha confesses thus, "Chhindiya Pelaibo Gajamukta Har", i.e. "I will break my necklace of elephant gem ('Gajamuktahar') by throwing it down." Also see Shankardeva's "Rukmini Haran Nat" (an Assamese work), C.U., 2nd edn., 1950, p. 41 for Rukmini's 'Hemhar' (golden necklace). For "Ekawali Har" (a garland of one string), see Kavi Padmanabha's "Kanhad-de-Prabandh", pt. II, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, July, 1960, doha 7, p. 28; Also see "Mṛga Na Pado" (in Gujarati), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1962, paḍa 5, p. 4. References to necklaces of flowers are found in "Dhola-Marura Duha", N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 5589, p. 142 for 'Phulan-kua Gali Har' (necklace of flowers); Narayan Deva's "Mansa-mangal", contained in "Shree Shree Padmapuran Bais Kavi Mansa", pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 8th edn., 1940, p. 157 for Usha-Devi's 'Kusumer Har' (necklace of flowers) and 'Gajamoti Har'.
188. For 'Sikri', refer to Maulana Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 95, doha 4, p. 131.
189. Ibid, chhanda 359, doha 2, p. 285 for 'Hansa' ('Hansuli').
190. Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 451, p. 396 for a reference to 'Kanthahar'; Also Narayandas's "Chhitaivaria", N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2015, doha 404, p. 65 for 'Griwamal' ('Kanthamala'); Also see Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. III, V.S. 2021, doha 51, p. 82 for a reference to 'Sitarami' (a neck-ornament with the word 'Sitaram' written in its middle part. It was also known as 'Ramnam'); Also see Bhalhan's "Kadambari" (Purva Bhag), ed. by K. H. Dhruve, pub. by Jayanti Lal Madhav Lal Mehta, Ahmedabad, 2nd edn., 1935, canto 24, doha 43, p. 151 for a reference to 'Kanthi' (another type of neck-ornament which was very much popular among Gujarati women).

191. For 'Bazuband', refer to "Miran-Madhuri", ed. by Brajratnadas, pub. by Hindi-Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 133, p. 52; Also "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 50, p. 485; Also Ibid, pada 63 and 65 p. 530; "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., pada 39 and 134, p. 29 and 93 respectively. Also see "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 219, p. 124; Saraladas's "Sachitra Vilanka Ramayana" (an Oriya work), pub. by A. Maharana, Jajpur (Cuttack), 1922, p. 7 for Sita's golden 'Bazuband'.
192. References to 'bahuti' are found in contemporary literatures, e.g. Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 53 for Radha's 'Bahuti'; "Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1935, pada 40, p. 169; Also Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Sabha Parva), pub. by Radha Ramān Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1952, p. 233.
193. For 'Baraya' see Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, dohas 203 and 260, pp. 136 and 159 respectively.
194. For a reference to 'Bahurakha' or 'Borakha', used by a Rajput lady named Marwani, refer to "Dhola-Marwara Duha", N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2011, doha 481, p. 114.
195. For 'Bida', refer to Balramdas's "Jagmohan Ramayana" (Uttara Kanda), pub. by Nityananda Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1913, p. 49.
196. References to 'Kangan' or 'Kankan' are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 203, p. 136 for 'Kangan'; Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., Nov., 1957, p. 63; "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 171, doha 6, p. 277 for 'Kankan'; Jyotirishvara's "Varnaramakar", Bib. Ind., Cal., 1940, 2nd kallol, p. 4 for 'Kangan'; Jayasi's "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 90 for 'Kangan'; Also see "Nath Siddhon Ki Baniyan", N.P.S. 1st edn., V.S. 2014, bani 152, p. 26 for 'Kankan'; "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 8, p. 323 for 'Kangana'; Also Ibid, pada 50, p. 485 for 'Kankan'; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 142, doha 1, p. 85; Also Ibid, pada 285, p. 156; "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 68, p. 34 for 'Kankan'; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 53 for (Kanak Kankan) (golden bangles); Kritti-

- vasa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, 7th edn., Cal., 1926 (Adi Kanda), p. 86 for 'Sonar Kankan' (golden bangles); "Charja-Giti Padavali", pub. by Sampadak Sahitya Sabha, Burdwan, 1956, p. 88 for 'Kankan'; Also Saraladas's "Vilanka Ramayana", pub. by A. Maharana, Jajpur (Cuttack), 1922, p. 7 for golden 'Kankan' of Sita; Shankardeva's "Rukmini-Haran Nat", C.U., 2nd edn., 1950, p. 41, for Rukmini's 'Kankan'.
197. References to 'Churis' (also known as 'Balay', 'Balaya' or 'Tar') of various metals and colours are also available in contemporary literatures, e.g. Manjhan's "Madhumalti" (Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., 1957, p. 42) for 'Balaya'; 'Vidyapati Ki Padavali', pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 38, doha 8, p. 67; Here, it has been referred to as 'Balaa'; Also Ibid. pada 97, doha 10, p. 145 for a reference to 'Balay'; "Dhola-Marura Duha", N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 349, p. 81 for 'Chudi' ('Churi'); "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 64, p. 597 for 'Hari Hari Chudiyan' (green 'Churis'); "Also Ibid. pada 305, p. 676 for 'Sona Karo Chudi' (golden 'Churis'); "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 16, doha 5, p. 11 for 'Chudi Kanak' 'golden 'Churis'); Also see Ibid. pada 233, p. 131 and pada 328, p. 177 for references to 'Chudis'; Also Kavi Padmanabha's "Kanhad-de-Prabandh", pt. I, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, July, 1959, doha 170, p. 16 for 'Kanak Choriya' (golden 'Churis'); Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 150 for 'Kanak Chudi'; Also see Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn. (Adi Kanda), p. 86 for 'Tar Swarnmay' (another name of golden 'Churis'); "Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., pada 74, p. 109 for 'Kanchak Chudi', i.e. bangles of glass.
198. Refer to Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn., 1926 (Ayodhya Kanda), p. 110 for Sita's 'Sankhchuri', which says thus, "Dui Hathe Sankhtar Adbhuta Nirman"; Also see "Hindi Anusheelan", Prayag, Vol. 12, an art. entitled "Krittivasa Ki Maulikta" by Dr. Ramanath Tripathi, p. 13; Also refer to "Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1935, pada 29, p. 166 for 'Sankher Churi'; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 132 for a reference to 'Sankh Churi'.
199. For 'Angad' refer to Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya", C.U., 1944, doha 179, p. 30; Here, it has been referred to as 'Angaj';

Also Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 150, which runs thus, "Angad Bhuj Yugale" ('Angad' on both the arms of a lady); Also see Vipradas's "Mansa-Vijaya", ed. by Dr. Sukumar Sen, A.S.B., 1953, pada 6, p. 28, where there is a reference to 'Angad' thus, "Angad Bahu Jhalakai".

200. Refer to "Prakrita-Paingalam" (a Text on Prakrit and Apabhramsa Metres), pt. I, pub. by Prakrit Society, Varanasi, 1959, 1st parichheda, padmsankhya 31, p. 25 for 'Keur' ('Keyur'); Also see Bhalhan's "Kadambari" (Purva Bhag), ed. by K. S. Dhruve, Ahmedabad, 2nd edn., 1935, canto 2, doha 41, p. 6 and also conto 9, doha 104, p. 58; "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 68, p. 34; Also Shankardeva's "Rukmini-Haran Nat" (an Assamese work), C.U., 2nd edn., 1950, p. 41 for Rukmini's 'Keyur'; Also refer to his "Shreemadbhagavata" (Dasham Skanda), pt. I, ed. Shivanath Bhattacharya, 3rd edn., Dibrugarh (Assam), 1905, pp. 138 and 343; Also see Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya", C.U., 1944, p. 295 for Radha's 'Keyur'.

201. References to various types of finger-rings are numerous in contemporary literatures, e.g. "Kabir Bachnavali", compiled by Ayodhya-singh Upadhyaya, N.P.S., 2nd edn., 1920, Sakhi 172, p. 166 for 'Mundari'; Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 136, p. 114. Mira ("Miran-Madhuri", pub. by Hindi-Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 207, p. 76) refers to it as 'Mundado'; Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh-Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1960, canto 2, chhanda 81, p. 20; Here, it has been referred to as 'Mundaud'; Also see Jayasi's "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 96 for 'Mundari'; "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 138, p. 622 for 'Anguthi'; Also Maufana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 357, p. 284 for 'Mundari'; Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 187 for Behula's 'Anguri'; "Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., pada 40, p. 169 for 'Anguthi'; Also Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya", C.U., 1944, p. 141 for 'Suvarna Anguri' (golden finger-ring). For 'Viti' (known among the Gujaratis), refer to "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1956, pada 17, p. 12; Also "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., Jan., 1962, pada 134, p. 93.

202. Refer to Jayasi's "Maharj Baisi", contained in "Jayasi Granthavali", pub. by Ashok Prakashan, Nayi Sarak, Delhi, 1st edn., Sept., 1962,

- doha 20, p. 671 for 'Nag Mundari'; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kiran", pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 156 for 'Raton Mundari' (finger-rings of jewels); Kritivasa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn., 1926 (Ayodhya Kanda), p. 110 for Sita's 'Hirak Angurite' (diamond finger-ring); Also see Narayan Deva's "Mansa-mangal", contained in "Shree Shree Padmapuran Bais Kavi Mansa", ed. by Shree Amullaratan Bandopadhyaya, pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 8th edn., 1940, p. 157 for Usha Devi's diamond finger-rings in all the ten fingers, which runs thus, "Dash Anguli Te Pore Ratan Anguri".
203. Refer to "Miran Madhuri", ed. by Brajratnadass, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 46, p. 17 for 'Chhudraghantika', which runs thus, "Chhudraghantika Kati Tata Sobhit"; Also see Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., 1st edn., doha 580, p. 101 for a reference to "Chhudraghantika".
204. References to 'Mekhala' are found in contemporary literatures, e.g. "Kabir Eachnavali", compiled by Ayodhyasingh Upadhyaya, N.P.S., 2nd edn., 1920, sakhi 393, p. 40; Jyotirisvara's "Varnaratnakar", Bib. Ind., Cal., 1940, 2nd kallol, p. 4; Also Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh Rasak", Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, chhanda 52, p. 14 for 'Rayannibadhau Mehal' (jewelled girdle); "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 222, doha 5, p. 125; Also refer to "Prachin Fagu Sangrah", B.U.P., 1st edn., 1955, pada 22, p. 113 for "Madanmeshali Hira Jadi" (girdle embroidered with diamond); Jayadeva's "Gitagovinda", pub. by Gurudas Chattopadhyaya & Sons, Cal., 1925, p. 32; Also see "Vaishnav Padavali", ed. by Shree Harekrishna Mukhopadhyaya (Sahitya Sanshad), Cal., 1st edn., 1961, p. 7; Also Shankardeva's "Shreemadbhagavata" (Dasham Skanda), pt. I, 3rd edn., Dibrugarh (Assam), 1905, p. 68 for 'Sonar Mekhla' (golden girdle) of Yasoda; Also Balramdas's "Jagmohan Ramayana" (Uttara Kanda), pub. by Nityanand Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1913, p. 49; Arjundas's "Ram Vibha", ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, Cuttack, 3rd edn., 1953, p. 70 for Sita's 'Mekhla'; Also Kavivar Durgavari's "Giti Ramayana", ed. by Shree Bishaychandra Bishwashi, 1st edn., Haju (Kamrup), 1915 (Aranya Kanda), p. 13 for Surpanakha's 'Mekhla'; Bhalhan's "Kadambari", (Purva Bhag) pub. by Jayanti Lal Madhava Lal Mehta, Ahmedabad, 2nd edn., 1935, canto 9, doha 99, p. 97 for 'Kati Mekhlani'; "Vasant Vilas", pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 67, p. 34 for 'Samekhal' (a lady with 'Mekhla' in her waist).
205. For 'Kinkini' or 'Kinkin', refer to "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952, pada 13, doha 2, p. 26 and pada 171, doha 2, p. 277; Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st

- edn., March, 1960, canto 3, chhanda 179, p. 44 ; Also see "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 62, p. 530 for 'Kati Kinkini' ; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 1961, p. 63 for Radha's "Kanak Kinkini" (golden waistband) ; "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali", pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 50 ; Also see Shankardeva's "Rukmini-Haran Nat" (an Assamese work), C.U., 2nd edn., 1950, p. 75 for Rukmini's 'Kanak Kinkini'.
206. For 'Kharu' used by Bengali ladies, refer to Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", pub. by Banj Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 26 for Mansa Devi's "Kharu" ; Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 31 for Radha's 'Kharu'.
207. Refer to Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 150 for 'Kanak Mallator' (golden bunch).
208. For 'Paijeb', refer to Jayasi's "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 91, which runs thus, "Paijeb Sohe Chaurasi" (eightyfour 'Paijeb's are shining) ; Also see "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 78, p. 602 ; Here, it has been referred to as 'Penjan'.
209. See "Tarikh-i-Kashmir", per. M.S. No. 80, Boh. Coll., fol. 8(a) for a reference to 'Khalkhal'.
210. Refer to Narpati Nalha's "Vimaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 58, p. 106 for 'Sone Ki Pail' (golden 'Payal') ; Also see Jayasi's "Mahri Baisi", contained in "Jayasi Granthavali", pub. by Ashok Prakashan, Nayi Sarak, Delhi, 1st edn., Sept., 1962, p. 697 for 'Payal' ; Also see his "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 91 ; Also "Dholamarura Duha", N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, for Marwani's "Sonari Pal" (golden 'Payal') ; "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 196, p. 642 ; Also see Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 95, doha 6, p. 131.
211. References to 'Nupur' also known as 'Nepur', 'Neyur' or 'Newar', are in plenty in contemporary literatures, e.g. "Kabir" by Dr. Hajariprasad Dwivedi, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 5th edn., Nov., 1955, pada 67, p. 272 ; Here, it has been referred to as 'Newar' ; Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2015, doha 134, p. 13 ; Also Ibid., doha 580, p. 101 for 'Neyur' ; Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960,

canto 2, chhanda 26, p. 9 and chhanda 52, p. 14 for a reference to 'Newar'; 'Prakrita-Paingsam' (a Text on Prakrit and Apabhramsa Metres), pt. I, pub. by Prakrit Society, Varanasi, 1959, 1st parichheda, padmsankhya 31, p. 25 for 'Neyur'; 'Miran Sudha-Sindhu', pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 62, p. 530 for 'Nupur'; See also 'Narsai Mahtena Pad', pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 53, p. 31 for 'Nepur'; Udaybhanu's 'Vikramcharit Rasa', B.U.P., 1st edn., 1957, doha 291, p. 27; Here, it has been referred to as 'Neuri'; Also see Bhalhan's 'Kadambari' (Purva Bhag), pub. by Jayanti Lal Madhav Lal Mehta, Ahmedabad, 2nd edn., 1935, canto 9, doha 101, p. 57; 'Vasant Vilas', pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, doha 68, p. 34 for 'Neyur'; Also see Kavi Padmanabha's 'Kanhad-de-Prabandh', pt. I, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, July, 1959, doha 245, p. 26 for 'Neyur'; Also Vijaya Gupta's 'Padmapuran or Mansamangal', pub. by Banj Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 26 for 'Kanak Nupur' of Mansa Devi. Krittivasa's 'Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana', ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn., 1926 (Ayodhya Kanda), p. 110 for Sita's 'Nupur'; Shankardeva's 'Shreemadbhagavata' (Dasham Skand), pt. I, p. 37 for 'Nupur'; Also see Balramdas's 'Jagmohan Ramayana' (Uttara Kanda), pub. by Nityanand Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1913, p. 49; Also Saraladas's 'Vilanka Ramayana', pub. by A. Maharana, Jaipur (Cuttack), 1922, p. 7 for Sita's 'Nupur'.

212. References to Ghunghru (also known as 'Ghughari' or 'Ghughra') are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. Qutban's 'Mrigavati', pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 17, p. 72; Also see "Gorakh Bani", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 3rd edn., V.S. 2017, doha 3, p. 87; Here, it has been referred to as 'Ghunghari'; 'Dhola-Marura Duha', N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 539, p. 129; Also see "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 61, p. 491, where the poetess refers to it thus,

"Ghunghari Ghunghari Ghunghari Re,
Mere Paun Chal Baje Ghunghari Re."

Also see "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., Jan., 1962, pada 10, p. 8; Here, it has been referred to by the poetess thus, "Ghunghara Bandhi Ne Mira Nachi"; Also Durgavari's 'Giti-Ramayana' (an Assamese work), ed. by Shree Bishaychandra Bishwashi, 1st edn., Hajit (Kamrup), 1915, Aranya Kanda, p. 10 for 'Ghunghura'; Also see

"Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 34, p. 23, which mentions thus, "Ghunghardi Re Ghamke"; Also Ibid, pada 60, p. 36, which says thus, "Ghunghari Ghamke Re"; A reference may also be made to "Miran Madhuri", ed. by Brajratnadas, Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 1st edn., V.S. 2013, pada 88, pt. 35, which says thus, "Pag Ghunghru Bandhi Miran Nachi Re."

213. See "Dhoila-Marura Duha", N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 481, p. 114 for a reference to 'Jhanjhar'; Also see "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 62, p. 530; Also "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 222, doha 6, p. 125; which mentions thus, "Mahare Jhanjharo Jhanakar"; Also Ibid, pada 264, p. 146, where the poet refers to it thus, "Jhanjhariyan Jhankar Kare Re."
214. References to "Bichhwah" are found in Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 14, doha 82, p. 327 (Here, it has been referred to as 'Bichhiyani'); "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 242, p. 657, where the poetess refers to it thus, "Anwat Upar Bichiya Sowe"; Also Maulana Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 359, doha 7, 286 (Here, it has been referred to as 'Bichhawa'); "Narsai Mahtena Pad", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 60, doha 1, p. 36 and also pada 257, p. 143; Here, it has been referred to thus, "Bichhida Thamkavati Chale"; Also Ibid, pada 264, p. 146, which runs thus, "Bichhida Paye Baje Re."
215. Refer to Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn., (Adi Kanda), p. 31 for 'Pasuli' of Indumati (mother of King Dashrath); Also see Ibid (Ayodhya Kanda), p. 110 for Janaki's 'Pansuli'; Also refer to Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961, p. 53.
216. References to "Anwat" are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 14 (Ichini Vibhah), doha 82, p. 327 for "Anot Khont Nag Mandit" ('Anwat' of fine gold in which gems were set. Here, 'Anwat' has been referred to as 'Anot'); "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 78, p. 602; Also Ibid, pada 163, p. 630; Maulana Daud Dalmi's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P)

Ltd., chhanda 359, doha 6, p. 286; "Prachin Fagu Sangrah", B.U.P., 1st edn., 1955, pada 22, p. 113; where it has been referred to as "Anwaji Pagi".

217. Refer to Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", ed. by Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 95, doha 6, p. 131 for 'Chhara'; Here, it has been referred to as 'Chura'.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

The early Muslim period marks an important epoch in the history of Indian education. Every aspect of learning was developed during the period under review.¹ Though there was nothing like a State Department of education to look after the educational institutions and their activities, yet education made notable progress under the Delhi Sultans, and it produced a number of talented scholars in different fields.

MUSLIM EDUCATION

Islam attaches immense importance to acquisition and extension of *Ilm* or knowledge, which, with all its scholastic appurtenances involved in the study of the *Qur'an*, the *hadith* and other sciences, is the only road to the attainment of truth.² During the period under review, Muslim education in India could spread through threefold agencies, viz.,

- (a) *Makhtabs* and private houses, which were generally attached to mosques;
- (b) *Khanqas*,^{2a} religious establishments for holy men commonly known as monasteries for Sufis or *Darvishes*; and
- (c) *Madrasas*, which were very much like our modern colleges and were also mostly attached to mosques.

It appears that religion in those days formed the backbone of education as most of the *makhtabs* and *madrasas* were attached to mosques (*masjids*), *khanqas* (Muslim monasteries) or *dargahs* (saintly shrines).

Muslim children usually began their primary education with a formal ceremony commonly known as *bismillakhani* or the *makhtab* ceremony. When a child attained the age of four years, four months and four days, the parents performed the

ceremony with great splendour and zeal.⁴ At an hour fixed in consultation with an astrologer, the child took his first lesson from the teacher.⁵ However, the sons of the nobles and other higher classes were generally placed in charge of private tutors or 'Ustads' for their elementary education.

In the elementary schools, study and recitation of the *Qur'an* was the principal element in instruction and, along with it writing and simple computation were also learnt. To this was added rudimentary knowledge of Islam enabling Muslims to fulfil their religious duties.⁶

Secondary education, generally speaking, was imparted in the mosques and 'dargahs' (shrines) of celebrated 'darvishes' or saints, which were spread all over India. However, the *dargahs* or shrines were the tombs of celebrated saints, who, on account of their profound knowledge, were loved and respected by the people as their *Murshids* or spiritual preceptors (mentors). One of the most renowned of these saints was Nizam-ud-din Auliya (an erudite scholar of *hadith*), who was born in Badaun in A.D. 1236 and was buried in the neighbourhood of Delhi, where he lived for a long time and died in 1325 A.D. in the reign of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah.⁷ Another such savant was Muin-ud-din Chishti, who seems to have preceded Nizam-ud-din Auliya. Such centres of learning supplemented very substantially the educational works done by *makhtabs* and *madrasas* established by the State.⁸ Thus, Muslim *Khanqas*, analogous to the monasteries of Mediaeval Europe, made provisions for imparting instruction which was mostly religious.⁹

*Madrasas*¹⁰ of Mediaeval India were very much like our modern colleges, and were situated in important towns or cities. The highest type of education in arts and sciences was generally imparted to the advanced students in these institutions. Elements of Grammar, Poetry (selections from poets), Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Biography (*Ahadithu'l-Anbiya*—Lives of Prophets) and Traditions generally constituted the courses of studies for the secondary schools or the *madrasas*, and the remaining subjects formed the basis for higher studies. Specialization in a particular branch followed it.¹¹ No doubt,

religious studies formed the backbone of higher education as Barni writes, 'No other sciences were allowed to be publicly taught in the kingdom of Sultan Mahmud except Quranic commentary (*tafsir*), the traditions of the Prophet (*hadis*) and law (*fiqh*), diverted of all false interpretations. In short, apart from the sciences which are based on the affirmations, 'God has said', and 'the Prophet has said, 'all other sciences were banned'.¹²

During the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq various types of *Madaris* (*Madrasas*) appear to have flourished for various kinds of *ilms* or knowledge, viz. *Ilm-e-Fiqh* (Jurisprudence), *Ilm-e-Qirat* (how to pronounce the letters of the *Qur'an* correctly), *Usul-e-Fiqh* (theory of *Fiqh*), *Usul-i-Kalam* (branch of philosophy, i.e. theory of *Ilm-e-Kalam* or rhetoric or elocution), *Ahadis* (knowledge of Muhammedan tradition), *Ilm-e-Mani* or *Bayan* (rhetoric and prosody), *Nahw* and *Sarf* (grammar), *Ilm-e-Nazr* (discussion), *Ilm-e-Riyazi* (Arithmetic), *Ilm-e-Tabbii* (Natural Philosophy), *Ilm-e-Ilahi* (Theology), *Ilm-e-Tibb* (Medicine), *Tahrir* (Style of writing) etc. Students acquiring these *ilms* were awarded *wazifa* (scholarship) and they were provided with *Nafakat* (food) and good accommodation. The *Muddarasin* (teacher) and *Talib-e-Ilm* (student) had an urge to do their duty attentively.¹³ However, the *Firuz-Shahi-Madrasa* was the greatest of all the Indian *madrasas* of the time. As regards the learned men to whom the responsible task of educating the young alumni of the college was entrusted, we hear only of two. There was Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi, the famous master of many subjects, who used to lecture on theology, the *Fiqh*, the *Qur'an* and the *Hadis*. The other one was a great religious teacher Maulana Samarqandi, who hailed from Samarqand. He was a great *Ustad*. The *Muttalims* (students) were taught *Usul-i-Din* (theology) by him. The *Hafizes* (those, who had learnt the *Qur'an* by heart) had to recite the whole of the *Qur'an* and pray for the Sultan and all the *Musalmans*.¹⁴ Both the students and the teachers had to reside within the college campus, and so, there was a constant communion among the students themselves as well as between the teacher and the taught. The college was not a place exclusively for secular studies, rather ample care

was also taken there about the spiritual well-being of the students. There was a big *Masjid* attached thereto, in which the five compulsory as well as the extra prayers were regularly offered, the former performed in gatherings conducted by the Sufis, who at other times remained engaged in counting beads and praying for the well-being of the Sultan.¹⁵ There were separate apartments in the college for the reception and accommodation of the travellers, who were attracted by its reputation, paid visits from distant countries. Besides, there was provision for the award of stipends and scholarships to the successful students, and over and above these, every inmate of the madrasa whether he was a student, professor or traveller residing there, received a fixed daily allowance for his maintenance. All these expenses were defrayed out of the State endowments and, in this particular case, out of the amount of money that had been set apart by the State for charity and endowments.¹⁶

The teaching of history or *Ilm-e-Tarikh*, it seems, occupied an important place in the curriculum for higher studies. In this connection, it is interesting to note Barni's conception of history. Before the advent of Islam, history did not enjoy in this sub-continent the status of a science and, consequently for its ancient history we have to depend upon the indirect sources in supplementing and verifying the contents of historical works. The Muslims, on the other hand, had started studying history from very early times. The collection and collaboration of *hadith* had acquainted them with the methods of weighing evidences and judging their authenticity. Indeed, it developed into a separate and a very important branch of study under the Muslims. Barni's age, in short, was fully conscious of the importance of history. The rulers, statesmen, officers and administrators needed help of history more than the man in the street. History, therefore, had become a very important part of the educational attainment of respectable men, because it was indispensable for understanding practical politics. To a modern student, Barni's emphatic remarks relating to the utility of history for the men of noble birth and high position only and the inability of the lower classes to profit by its study appear grotesque. But this

tendency, apparently, visible in his political thought, reflects the spirit of the age.¹⁷

Furthermore, the study of *Ilm-e-Tibb* (Medicine) was also an important subject in the curriculum meant for higher studies. Great patronage was extended by the Sultans in this field. Writing about Ala-ud-din Khalji, Barni says, "During his reign there were such *Tabibs* (Physicians), who have even defeated Bukarat and Jalinoos and such *Tabibs* were not seen during the reign of other Sultans. There were physicians (*Ustad-ul-Alibba*) like Maulana Badruddin Damishqi, to whom people flocked to get lessons in medicine and he could realise the nature and origin of disease by simply feeling the patient's pulse."¹⁸ About Maulana Badruddin Damishqi, Barni says further that if the urine of a human being mixed up with that of some animals was brought before him in a glass, he would smile and say what animals had been used for the purpose. In studying the movement of pulses Maulana Damishqi was next only to Maulana Hamid Muttraz. Besides, Maulana Damishqi lectured so eloquently and gave such clear and lucid expositions of the *Qanun*, *Qanuncha* and other works on *Tibb* that people prostrated themselves before him in admiration.¹⁹ Another *Ustad* of *Tabibs* (physicians) was Maulana Hasan Mari Kali. Both father and son were proficient in *Ilm-e-Tibb* and their diagnosis of a disease was perfect, and a patient was cured without any delay. Besides, during Ala-ud-din's reign *Tibb-i-Yami* Ilmuddin, Maulana Izzuddin Badauni and Badruddin Damishqi were also acknowledged experts in *Ilm-e-Tibb*. Barni says that the Naguri Brahmans were especially skilled in the art of healing in the capital city, and he refers to the noted physician and intellectual, Mohachand. Besides, a noted surgeon like Jaja Jarrah and a famous eye-specialist like Ilmuddin Kuhhal are said to have been matchless in India of their times.²⁰ Shams Siraj Afif prefaces his account of the contributions of Firuz Shah Tughluq to the practical side of medicine with another Hadis: 'knowledge of twofold—of the body and knowledge of religion'.²¹

Sultan Sikandar himself encouraged such education by ordering the compilation of a treatise on the basis of the Sanskrit

Ayurvedic texts. The Greek treatise on Medicine by Hippocrates and Galen had for long become the property of the civilized world after being rendered into Arabic. It was an original idea to study and evaluate the ancient Hindu texts on the diagnosis, treatment and cure of diseases and prepare a digest after comparing other systems. Sikandar's efforts bore fruit in the great compendium known as *Tibb-i-Sikandari* alias *Madanush Shifa-i-Sikandar Shahi*, which was compiled from Sanskrit by Miyan Bhuwa or Bahwa, son of Khwas Khan, the learned Prime Minister of the Sultan in 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.).²²

In a MS in the Oriental Public Library, at Patna (*Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*) containing selections from books on *Mualijat-i-Tujur* (treatment of birds) there is a piece divided into 29 sections called *Tibb-i-Firuz Shahi* or *Baznama-e-Firoz Shahi*. A treatise on veterinary science called *Qusrat-ul-Mulk*, a Persian translation of a Sanskrit work, mentions Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Malwa. *Kitab-i-Tibb*, a compendium of medical science dealing with anatomical, physiological and medical problems, was compiled by Yusuf Shahabi for Bahram Shah, the ruler of Ghazni and Lahore, who ascended the throne in 574 A.H. or 1152 A.D. Sultan Zainul Abedin, the 'Akbar of Kashmir' (1423-72), ordered the translation of several works and patronized among others great physicians like Sribhata and Mansur bin Ahmad. The latter dedicated to him one of his medical manuals known as *Kefaya-i-Mujahidiya*, which was profitably used by later physicians.²³

During the period under review, a number of individuals practised in various branches of medicine, such as pharmacy (*Dawasazi*) surgery (*Jarrah*), physiology (*Manafi-ul-Aza*), anatomy (*Tashrihul-Aza*), therapeutics (*Tashkhis-o-Mualija*), ophthalmology (*Ilm-i-Amraz chashm*), dietetics (*Ilm-ul-Ghiza*) etc. There were physicians (*Tabib* or *Hakim*), phlebotomist (*Fassad* or *Ragzan*), *Kuhhal* (optics or eye-specialists) and bone-setters. History has preserved the names of various physicians, who were attached to and received honour and privileges at the court of kings and also of those, who were especially renowned in medical profession. Knowledge of medicine was not confined

to a few professional classes only, as its acquisition was a part of the normal accomplishment of an educated Muslim.²⁴

In accordance with the system of elementary Muslim education, during the period under review, every child, after learning the alphabets and vocabulary, had to read the Holy *Qur'an* under a *Muqri*, i.e. one who knew how to read it. Next, the student had to read literature, romance, history and ethics. He made himself familiar with such works as *Pandnamah*, *Amudnamah*, *Gulistan*, *Bostan*, *Jamiul-Qawanin*, *Ruqqat Amanullah Hussiaini*, and *Bahardanesh-Sikandarnamah*. Those, who stopped at this stage were given the title of *Munshi*. But others who continued further were called *Maulvi*, *Maulana* or *Fazil* according to the standard of education that they had acquired. Those, who studied Arabic had to read, in addition, works on the life and teaching of Prophet Muhammad, and commentaries on the *Qur'an*, *Aquaid*, *Tasawwuf*, Logic, Philosophy and *Ilm-e-Kalam*.²⁵

Students were given free education, and were supplied with food, clothing and books by zealous patrons of learning. The teachers everywhere kept open the gate of education. Every man of means was expected to support at least one student. The work entitled *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, composed in the fourteenth century, provides, among other things, a catalogue of worldly advice said to have been given by Sultan Firuz Shah to his officials with regard to the line of action that the latter were expected to pursue in private life. One piece of such advice was 'all should secure knowledge and learning for themselves and should not neglect to educate their fellow Muslims. The knowledge that is acquired must not be forgotten but brushed up by constant discussion. Learning should be imparted to the deserving only.'²⁶

In the *madrasas*, individual care was taken of the students. Sometimes, the boy at the top, known as *Moid*, explained his own ideas to his classmates; this was followed by further discussions with the teacher, rounding off the debate by making his own observations. This method of training was generally called *Edu*.²⁷

The system of examination was simple. At the time of test discussions, candidates, who showed their worth, were declared successful. The fortunate candidate had then, to appear before an assembly of *Ulemas* and go through a ceremony called '*Rasm-i-Dastarbandi*', which was something like a convocation of today. The main attraction of the function was to fasten a turban on the head of the successful candidate, who was, thus, raised to the rank of an *Ulema* or a *Sheikh*.²⁸

Yet, the study of the sciences received due attention. Learning in the fourteenth century and even later consisted of acquiring knowledge in theology, politics, astronomy, astrology, physiology, medicine, zoology and veterinary sciences.²⁹

North India in those days had a number of important educational centres. Amir Khusrau writes, "Greece has been famous for *Hikmat* (philosophy), but India is not devoid of that science. If we look carefully, we shall find all branches of philosophic knowledge here, such as *Mantiq* (logic), *Tanjim* (astronomy), *Ilm-e-Kalam* (the art of reasoning), *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), *Maqulat* (philosophy and logic and its various branches) etc . . ."³⁰ Of the most important educational centres of North India, mention here may be made of Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Allahabad, Ajmer, Patna and Ahmedabad.³¹ Some centres were renowned for specialisation in certain subjects. For example, the Punjab for astronomy and mathematics, Delhi for the traditions of Islam, Rampur for logic and medicine, and Lucknow for theology.³² Among the renowned *madrasas* located in Bihar during the period were the *madrasas* of Makhdum Sharf-ud-din Yahiya, Ahmad Chiramposh (of Ambair), Sheikh Badh Sufi, Malikku-ulema, Sheikh Abdur Nabi (son of Sheikh Badh) and Qazi Abdus Shekur at Maner Sherif; Yahiya and Chiramposh were noted for their erudition in poetry and theology . . . The *madrasas* of Qazi Ziaullah at Mohalla Mirdar Bihar-sharif of Shamsul Huq, alias Buddha Haqqani at Bazidpur near Barh in Patna district, those of Mulla Mansoor Danishmand and Mulla Abdus Sami at Rajgir, that of Amir Ataullah Zainabi at Phulwarisharif and the *madrasas* of Mulla Shafi and Mulla Afaq at Amuthu have earned wide reputation as centres of learning through the ages.³³

HINDU EDUCATION

Hindu education, during the period under review, was imparted mainly through the agencies like *Pathshalas* or elementary schools, *Tols*³⁴ or Colleges and private tutor schools. Precisely speaking, there were two types of courses, viz. elementary or primary and higher. There was not much difference between the two types of institutions so far as nature of education was concerned. To be more precise, *tols* were seats of higher education and served more or less like our modern colleges. A *tol* consisted generally of a thatched chamber in which the teacher and the taught met and a collection of mud howls round a quadrangle in which the students lived in the simplest possible manner. Each student had his own hut, in which there was scarcely any furniture except his brass water-pot and mat. A student stayed at the *tol* sometimes for eight or ten years according to the nature of courses covered by him. The teacher did not always live in the *tol*, but came there every day when classes were held from the early hours till the sunset. No fees were charged and the teacher even helped to provide his pupils with food and clothing. He himself managed the necessary funds by means of grants and presents which his fame as a teacher could attract. The usual number of students in a *tol* was about twenty-five. These, in most cases, had no means of subsistence. The teacher provided them with shelter and free tuition, and they got food and clothes either from him or from the shopkeepers and landlords or by begging.³⁵ *Pathshalas*³⁶ imparted elementary or primary education. Besides, the academic debates and discussions³⁷ among learned scholars, in which some others also took part from time to time, as well as poetical symposia and 'Kirtans'³⁸ also considerably helped the cause of popular education and refinement. The students in these institutions were either day-scholars or resident boarders. The teachers working in them were, in most cases, Brahmins. It appears that from very early times these Brahmins had practically monopolised the teaching profession.³⁹

A Hindu boy generally began his normal schooling when he attained the age of five. There was, however, no fixed and rigid rule regarding the age for the commencement of his

schooling.⁴⁰ Hindu children generally began their daily lessons after writing the words 'Ram', 'Krishna', 'Murari', 'Om', 'Shree', 'Hari', 'Banmali' etc. with chalk (*khari*) on the earth. This ceremony came to be known as "Hathe Khari" (the ceremony of taking the chalk in the hand) and it formed an important and interesting stage in a child's early educational career. It was only after this function (taking chalk in his hand) that his academic career started.⁴¹ In Krittivasa's "Ramayana", there is a reference to the ceremony of "Hathe Khari" of Prince Ram, where he is seen beginning his early education in the 'Ashram' of Guru Vashishth. He starts with eighteen alphabets ('Atharah Phala'), eight words ('Ashta Shabda'), Vyakaraṇa (grammar), 'Kavyashastra' (poetical science), 'Smṛiti' and 'Chatushruti'. He is also not unfamiliar with the 'Shastras' and in fourteen days he becomes an expert in the sixtyfour kinds of knowledge ('Vidyas'). It runs thus,

"Panchavarsh Gata Hoy Hathe Dilo Khari,
 Porite Pathan Raja Vashishtar Bari,
 'Ka', 'Kha', Athharah Phala Vanan Prabhruti,
 Ashta Sabda Patha Korilen Raghupati,
 Vyakaran, Kavyashastra Porilen Smṛiti,
 Avasheshe Porilen Ram Chatushruti,
 Kono Shastra Nahi Tar Hoy Agochar,
 Chaude Dine Chatushashthi Vidyate Tatpar".⁴²

In Saraladas's "Mahabharata", there is valuable information regarding the education of Oriya boys as is evident from the description of Shreekrishna's early education. Here, Lord Shreekrishna is seen going to a Brahman named Shantipanni for his study and beginning it after saluting 'Vakyadevi' (Goddess 'Sarasvati'). Shreekrishna studies 'Ekphala', thirty letters, 'Barah Matra' (twelve vowels), 'Yuktakchhara' (combination of letters such as 'Kya', 'Kra', 'Kua', 'Kla', 'Kna', 'Kma' etc.), 'Anusvar' (nasal signs written above a letter) used in writing Devanagari and 'Visarga', 'Shloka', study of sixtyfour languages, the most important among them being Oriya, Telangi (Telugu), 'Nagari', 'Dakhini', 'Kanauj' and 'Dravid', etc.; then writing on 'Talpatra' (palm leaf)—all these were called 'Akshara Vidya'

(knowledge of reading and writing letters). After this, Shreekrishna is seen studying different 'Vedas' ('Yajur', 'Sam', 'Atharva' etc.), 'Jyotish' ('Mahamantra' 'Navagrahmantra' etc.), 'Ratishastra' or Sexual Science (viz. 'Kam', 'Lohan', 'Stambhan', 'Mohan' etc.), 'Garudavidya' ('Jogabrahm Trikal Garud Mahamantra'), 'Bhut Bhavishyat Vartman Ashruti Vadya Vidya' (knowledge of past, future and present respectively), sixtyfour types of 'Aishvarya Vidya' (Science of Wealth), different types of 'Dhanurvidyas' or archery (viz. 'Dhanu', 'Shayak', 'Kuntaphala', 'Chheda' 'Bheda', Mantrabheda', 'Devashar' etc.). Altogether 5064 types of 'Vidyas' are said to have been studied by Shreekrishna. Furthermore, there are also some references to teacher-taught relations as prevalent in those days and 'Chat' (a student) took keen interest in the domestic works of his 'Guru' (e.g. cutting wood etc.). When a 'Chat' finished his education, he was entitled to give 'dakshina' (presents or fees) to his teacher, and without giving it his education was deemed to be incomplete or fruitless.⁴³

In a Gujarati work entitled "Bimalprabandh" by Lawanyasamay, we find references to the school-going ceremony of a child at the age of five. This ceremony was celebrated with great pomp, and all the relatives were invited on this occasion. The relations as well as the Brahmans were fed on such an occasion and with a great rejoicing, the child was sent to a school on a horseback with 'Dhanichina' (fried barley), 'Sundala' (basket of bamboo), 'Kharia' (inkpot) and flowers. On reaching the school, the child saluted his 'Guru' and after pronouncing 'Sarasvati Mantra' (incantation of Goddess of Learning), the teacher started teaching. In this work, we also get references to punishments given by a teacher to his students, e.g. when they did not come prepared in the class, they were beaten.⁴⁴

The *tols* or colleges were the highest seats of learning. Sanskrit language and literature formed the chief subject of study in the *tols*. The curriculum consisted of Kavya⁴⁵ (poetry), 'Vyakaran'⁴⁶ (grammar), 'Jyotish' (astronomy and astrology), 'Chhanda'⁴⁷ (rhetoric), 'Nirukta' (lexicon) and 'Nyaya Darshan'⁴⁸ (philosophy). In some colleges, the Puranas, the Vedas, the

philosophy of various schools of thought and medicine, astronomy, astrology, chronology, history and geography were taught. There were some schools where music and *Bhaktiyog*, *Alankar*, *Kosh* (encyclopaedia), *Tantra* and *Malla Vidya* (art of duelling) were also taught.⁴⁹ Vijay Gupta in his "Mansamangal" makes an elaborate reference to the education of Lakhendar. It throws much light on the courses of higher studies in those days. According to him, Lakhendar paid serious attention to the study of 'Sutra', 'Vyakarana', 'Bhatti' and 'Raghu', (Kalidas's 'Raghuvansha-Kavya'), 'Sahitya', 'Alankar', 'Abhidhana' (dictionary), 'Jyotish' 'Natak' 'Kavya', 'Ashtadash Puran' (eighteen Puranas) and many others.⁵⁰

In "Rudrasudhanidhi" of Narayananda Abdhuta Swami, we find almost a similar reference to the curriculum for primary and higher studies followed in Orissa (16th century). Here, Rudrasudhanidhi, the hero of the work, goes to his teacher Udayana Acharya for studies and his curriculum consist of 'Varna' and 'Akshara' (letters and the alphabets), 'Anka' (arithmetic), 'Vyakaran' (viz. 'Mahabhashya', 'Panini', 'Shrutisagar', 'Sarasvata', 'Aindra', 'Chandramasa', 'Shaktashayan' 'Aunadika', 'Sampadasika', 'Kalap', 'Vardhamana'), 'Upavyakaran' (viz. 'Rasvat', 'Jumar', 'Kaunudi', 'Akhyatchandrika' etc.). Besides, in this work, we find a detailed description of the study of 'Vyakarana' e.g. Rudrasudhanidhi learning the following stages of grammar one by one, viz. 'Varnasansthan', 'Sangya', 'Harsva Dirgha', 'Padadvaya Sandhi', 'Agam', 'Adesh', 'Upadha', 'Linga', 'Vibhakti', 'Nipat', 'Sabda Linga Traya', 'Shatakarak Pada', 'Samasa', 'Dhaturupa' etc. Then, he begins to study different 'Shastras', e.g. 'Dharmashastra', 'Mimansa', 'Patanjal', 'Vashashik', 'Komarak', 'Pancharatratarka', 'Agama', 'Chariveda', 'Upanishad', 'Manu', 'Yajnavalkya', 'Sankha', 'Vrihaspati', 'Smritis', 'Baudhanushasam', ('Baudh Shastra'), 'Baudha Kapalik', 'Chhapnak', 'Charbak', 'Ashtadashapuram' and 'Upapuram'. Further, he is seen studying various types of 'Jyotishshastra', viz. 'Bar', 'Tithi', 'Nakchhatra', 'Chandra', 'Yoga'; 'Karan', 'Grahayoga', 'Lagnajataka', 'Yatraprashana', 'Khari-chakra', 'Ayushnirnaya' 'Vaikakhyadharan', 'Samuchaya' etc. After all these, Rudrasudhanidhi studies 'Mahakavyas', e.g.

'Kadambari', 'Naishadha', 'Ramacharita', 'Bharatyogarnav', 'Gita', 'Vashishta Ramayana'. Here, we find references to the different names of 'Gita', e.g. 'Bhagavata', 'Bharat', 'Pandav', 'Uttara', 'Dhama', 'Avadhuta', 'Ganga', 'Yajnavalkya', 'Parvati', 'Matreyi', 'Ananda', 'Kapot', 'Janak', 'Bhavishya', 'Shiva', 'Jara', 'Shuka', 'Pankaj', 'Bhikshu', 'Bhishma', 'Brahma'. Then, he is seen reading some more 'Kavyas', e. g. 'Agampahal', 'Yamalyantra', 'Rasavishakalpa', 'Manimantra Mahaushadhi'. Besides, he studies 'Nataka', 'Upanataka' and 'Abhinaya' like 'Bharat', 'Pingalchhanda', 'Deshachar', 'Shutacharbhasha' and afterwards, some 'Upavidyas' like 'Ashvalakshanadikhya', 'Gajalakhan', 'Narchikitsa', 'Samudrik', 'Rathakaushal', 'Hastashilpa', 'Chitra' etc. Rudrasudhanidhi, thus, remains devoted to his studies for full ten years. After this, he goes to another teacher named Ganakacharya for prosecuting his studies in 'Dhanurveda' (archery) and learns various types of 'Dhanurveda', viz. 'Adan', 'Sandhan', 'Akarshan', 'Amanchan', 'Gatirvar', 'Matisthir', 'Drushtisthir', 'Mushtidridha', 'Ropan', 'Jrumhana', 'Stambhan', 'Vyagrayatan', 'Achhadanaropana', 'Arambha Aushadha', 'Ashtra Smaran', 'Mantra Upasana', 'Yagnalakshana', 'Tronbikhyana', 'Aropana', 'Mukchhana', 'Grahan', 'Chandan', 'Bhraman', 'Dharan', 'Akasha-khepan', 'Khadagphala', 'Gadashakti', 'Mallavidya' and 'Ashtravidya'. He completes the study of archery in two years. Rudrasudhanidhi, thus, takes twelve years to complete his education. We also find here that in Orissa people of the well-to-do classes were married after they had completed their education.⁵¹

CHIEF CENTRES OF HINDU LEARNING:

VARANASI (BANARAS)

Among the most famous centres of higher Hindu learning in Northern India, mention first of all, may here be made of Banaras (Varanasi or Kashi). Referring to Banaras, Amir Khusrau writes, "Scholars from all parts of the world have come from time to time to study in India, but no Indian Brahmin has found it necessary to go abroad in quest of knowledge. Abu Ma'shar (the famous 'Munajjim' or astrologer of the 9th century A.D.) for instance came to India and learnt *Fan-e-Tanjim*

(astronomy) from Hindu scholars at *Banarasi* (Banaras), where he studied for ten years.¹² In the days of Alberuni, astronomy was especially cultivated at Banaras, where Vijayanandin composed his astronomical handbook entitled *Karana-tilaka*.¹³ Moreover, Banaras was pre-eminently the centre of studies in Vedanta, Sanskrit Literature and Grammar. In these fields, Banaras's contribution to learning was greater than that of any other contemporary seat of educational activities in India. For the study of these subjects, students from all parts of the country flocked to this city. Waman Pandit applied himself rigorously to the study of Sanskrit for not less than twelve years, and having completed his education in all departments of knowledge, returned to his native place.¹⁴

MITHILA

In Bihar, Mithila was another famous centre of higher Hindu learning.¹⁵ Its reputation as a centre of Brahmanical learning dates back from the days of the Upanishads.¹⁶ Renowned for its scholastic activities, Mithila attracted numerous students from different parts of India for advanced and specialised studies in Nyaya or logic, of which it was then the chief centre. The "Tattva-Cintamani" (a thought-jewel of truth) otherwise known as "Pramana-Cintamani" (a thought-jewel) of valid knowledge was written by a Brahman logician of Mithila named Gangesa Upadhyaya. Ever since its composition in the 12th century A.D., this book has been a subject of close study by the Pandits of Mithila, and about the middle of the fifteenth century its study was introduced in Bengal by Sarvabhauma, who had been educated in the academies of Mithila. Since 1503 A.D., when the University of Navadvipa was established, the Tattva-Cintamani was much popularised in Bengal through the endeavours of the famous Raghunatha Siromani and others.¹⁷ The Mithila School of Nyaya flourished from the 12th to the 15th centuries A.D. Among the veteran scholars were Gangesa and Pakshadhara (1257 A.D.)¹⁸ to mention only a few. Their style of writing was terse, and they discussed the meaning of *Nyapti* more than their predecessors did. In the sixteenth century, the study of Nyaya in Mithila was on the wane, though it made a headway in Nadia.¹⁹

The glory of Mithila was then at its height, and its greatness was recognised by all other centres of oriental learning in India. On finishing their education in Mithila, the students had to undergo Needle examination, '*Salaka-Pariksha*'. They were asked to explain the contents of a page pierced last by a needle. In this way, they had to show their skill in any part of a book. After passing the examination, they received a diploma of the Mithila University.⁶⁰ Thus, Mithila was the principal seat of Hindu learning in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries A.D., and was the resort of a large number of students who flocked there from all parts of India to specialise either in Logic or in Nyaya philosophy.

NAVADVIPA (NADIA)

Navadvipa (popularly known as Nadia in Bengal) was another famous seat of Hindu education, during the period under review. In the fifteenth century A.D. it became the nucleus of intense intellectual activities; a University was founded there. It is not known how much aid was directly given by the Muhammedan rulers towards the establishment of this University, but it cannot be denied that at a time when the Buddhists were being expelled from every corner of Bengal, it formed a bastion against all foreign invaders, enabling the Brahmans to lay the foundation of this new university on strictly orthodox Hindu principles.⁶¹

In this city, flourished numerous institutions having scholars whose reputation attracted students from distant parts of the country. Vrindaban Das, who flourished in the sixteenth century A.D., gives us the following description of the city of Navadvipa as a famous seat of Hindu learning in his celebrated work entitled "*Chaitanya Bhagavata*".⁶² It runs thus,

"Sarasvati Drishtipate Sabhe Mahadakasha,
Sabe Mahadhyapaka Kari Garva Kore,
Balakeo Bhattacharya Sane Kaksha Kare,
Nana Desha Hoite Loka Navadvipa Jai,
Navadvipa Padhile Se Vidya Ras Pai,
Ataeva Padhuwara Nahi Samuchchaya,
Lakshakoti Adhyapaka Nahika Nirnaya".

It appears that what the poet says is not far from truth, especially when he describes Navadvipa's educational activities and academic atmosphere in such high terms, "It is impossible to describe the glories of Navadvipa. By the grace of Sarasvati (the Goddess of Learning) all people of Navadvipa have acquired scholarship. There are many professors who are fond of displaying their learning. Even a boy there, will challenge a veteran professor to an intellectual discussion. People from various countries flock to the *Tols* of Navadvipa, and when they have finished their studies there, their education become complete. Even the professors can be counted by lakhs, not to speak about the number of students."⁵⁰

Nadia was mainly famous for the school of *Navya-Nyaya*⁵¹ as Banaras was famous for the study of Sanskrit literature and grammar. Prior to the establishment of the *Navya-Nyaya* School at Nadia, students from the different parts of the country came to Mithila for the study of *Nyaya*. Raghunath Siromani of immortal memory established in the University of Nadia a special Chair of Logic which had once been occupied by the best and foremost logician of Bengal.⁵² Besides, *Navya-Nyaya*, *Smriti*, *Geeta*, *Bhagwat* and subjects like *Gyan* and *Bhakti* were also taught at Nadia.⁵³

SOME OTHER CENTRES OF HINDU LEARNING

Besides these famous centres of Hindu learning, during this period, there were also some other centres in Northern India. Among them mention here may be made of Kashmir, Nalanda, Vikramshila and Gujarat.

Kashmir, during our period, was also an important centre of Hindu learning.⁵⁴ Alberuni says, "The most generally known alphabet is called *Siddhamatrika*, which is by some considered as originating from Kashmir, for the people of Kashmir use it. But it is also used in Varanasi. This town and Kashmir are the high schools of Hindu sciences . . ."⁵⁵ Referring to the plundering exploits of Mahmud, Alberuni says, ". . . Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places."⁵⁶

Nalanda, the renowned seat of Hindu learning in Bihar, was destroyed by the Muhammedans in or about 1205 A.D.⁷⁰ Minhaj-us-Siraj, a contemporary chronicler, writes thus, "Bakhtiyar Khalji went to the gate of the fort of Behar with only two hundred horses, and began to war by taking the enemy unawares. Muhammad Bakhtiyar with great vigour and audacity rushed in at the gate of the fort and gained possession of the palace. Great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Most of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmans with shaven heads. They were put to death, large number of books were found there and when the Muhammedan saw them, they called for some persons to explain their contents, but all the men had been killed. It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a palace of study. In the Hindu language the word Behar means a College."⁷¹ Nalanda, like Paris and Oxford, specialised in religion and philosophy, though there are evidences to show that logic, grammar and mathematics were also taught there and that its students took part in debating, chariot-racing, mimicking other people's acts and dancing. The academic standard must have been fairly high, for the Entrance Examination (conducted by professors who kept the gate!) was so stiff that eight out of every ten 'external' candidates failed in it.⁷²

Thus, did Nalanda, which treasured the culture down from the times of Buddha, Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu, Santaraksita and Dipamkara in its three-storeyed libraries, and which for a thousand years diffused knowledge among Indians and spread it to the distant lands of Java, Sumatra, China and Japan, meet its end.⁷³

Vikramshila, mentioned in Sanskrit Sragdharastotratika, Vrhata-Svayambhurpurana, Tibetan Iangyun etc., was a great collegiate monastery or a University founded by King Dharma Pala at the close of the 8th century A.D. It was situated on a precipitous hill in Behar at the right bank of the Ganges, possibly at Silasamgama, now called Patharghata, near Colgong in the Bhagalpur district.⁷⁴ At the head of the University was always a most learned and pious sage. Thus, at the time of Dharma Pala, Acharya Buddhajnana-pada directed the affairs of the University, and during 1034-1038 A.D., Dipankara or Srijnana Atisa was at its head and Sthavira Ratnakara was the Superior

of the monastery. The famous Tibetan scholar Nag-tshul-Khrimsrgyal-wa, better known as Nag-tsho Lotsava, who came to take Dipankara Srijnana *alias* Atisa to Tibet, resided in the monastery of Vikramshila for three years (1035-1038 A.D.). Kamalakulisa, Narendra Sri-jnana, Dana Raksita, Abhayakara Gupta, Subhakara Gupta, Sanayakasri, Dharmakara Santi and Sakyasri Pandita also belonged to the University of Vikramshila. Provision was made in the University especially for the study of grammar, metaphysics (including logic) and ritualistic books.⁷⁵ 'Chikitsa Vidya' or medical science formed one of the principal subjects of study in the Universities of Nalanda and Vikramshila in Bihar.⁷⁶ The most erudite sages were appointed to guard the gates of the University. These were six in number, each of which had to be guarded by scholars acting as "Gate-Keepers" (called *G. Srun*, in Tibetan, corresponding perhaps to our *Dvarapandita*). During the reign of Canaka (955-985 A.D.), the under mentioned eminent logicians acted as gate-keepers :—

1. At the eastern gate—Acharya Ratnakara Santi ;
2. At the western gate—Vagisvarakirti of Banaras ;
3. At the northern gate—the famous Naropa ;
4. At the southern gate—Prajnakaramati ;
5. At the first central gate—Ratnavajra of Kasmira ; and
6. At the second gate—Jhana-sri-mitra of Gauda.⁷⁷

Besides, the six gate-keepers, the professional staff consisted of a hundred and eight professors. Like the Senate or the Academic Council of our modern Universities, there was a Board of eminent professors, whose main function was to supervise and issue instructions to the various professors. This Board also kept watch over the affairs of the University.⁷⁷ The University of Vikramshila is said to have been destroyed by the Mohammedan invader, Bakhtiyar Khalji, about 1203 A.D., when Sakya-sri-Pandita of Kashmira was at its head.⁷⁸ Besides Nalanda and Vikramshila, Rajgriha⁷⁹ (Rajgiri) and Patliputra⁸¹ (Patna) were also important centres of learning, famous for 'Shastrarth' (discussions).

Gujarat was also an important centre of learning, during the period under review, and it was famous for Medicine.⁸² Sodhala

(an eminent scholar of Medicine) made substantial contributions to medical literature of Gujarat. A Book written by him entitled "Gada Nigraha" consists of ten chapters—all important topics on medical science, viz. (i) *Prayoga* (collection of formulae); (ii) *Kayachikitsa* (medicine); (iii) *Salya* (surgery); (iv) *Salakya* (minor surgery); (v) *Bhutvidya* (medicine for mental diseases); (vi) *Balatantra* (diseases of children); (vii) *Rasayana* (science of the prolongation of life); (viii) *Vijikaran* (aphrodisiac); (ix) *Vijatantra* (toxicology); and (x) *Pancakarma* (method of medical treatment).¹² Another famous scholar of medicine was Govindacarya, who flourished during the thirteenth century A.D. He was the author of *Rasasara*, a book dealing mainly with Chemistry. It dates back to the old (*tantric*) period when Chemistry was not so much in vogue in medical science. However, it seems to belong to a period later than the twelfth century, for it mentions opium, which was brought to India along with the advent of the Mohammedans, and no work earlier than the thirteenth century known of opium.¹³ Lakshminrsimha (15th century A.D.) appears to have been a famous medical man of Ahmedabad.¹⁴

FEMALE EDUCATION

In India, even from the Vedic times the women have been treated on the same level as men in the matter of acquisition of knowledge and scholarship.¹⁵ No doubt, during the period under review, due to the influence of the custom of *Purdah*, both the Mislms and the Hindus avoided to take keen interest in female education.¹⁶ Still, the mediaeval Indian girls, and especially those belonging to the aristocratic and other well-to-do clases, generally received their education under private tutors, appointed by their parents or guardians for that purpose.¹⁷ Among the Muslims, there were *makhtabs* in some private houses also for imparting secular and religious education to girls. This was mostly done by educated elderly ladies, especially widows of middle-class families. Jafar Sharif makes an elaborate reference to the various customs and practices relating to female education in Muslim India.¹⁸ Apart from these educational institutions and the private tutors, mediaeval Indian women had also another important

source of receiving education, i.e. through popular amusements and folklores.

In Chandbardai's monumental work "Prithviraj Raso", we get a reference to Princess Sanjogita's education under a lady Brahman teacher named Madana. In this work, Sanjogita is seen receiving instructions in 'Dharma' and 'Grahastha' (knowledge of household affairs).¹⁰ Besides, she was also taught 'Vinay Patha' (the art of humility).¹¹ In Malik Muhammad Jayasi's "Chitrarekha" too, we get some information about female education. Here, the heroine Chitrarekha begins her study at the age of five. A number of great teachers (*gurus*) teach her in succession till she herself becomes a great *Pandit*.¹² Unfortunately, other contemporary sources are practically silent about the education of Hindu women.

Some of the more enlightened and accomplished kings of Muslim India, whether in the paramount Sultanate of Delhi or in its Dependencies, were pioneers of female education. They founded and maintained schools for girls in their kingdoms and took care to promote their interest.¹³ The Sultan of Malabar, who was of Arab descent, seems to have been particularly keen about the education of his female subjects. Ibn Battuta, the famous globe-trotter, who visited his kingdom, refers to the Malabar women thus, "One of their qualities is that they all know the great Qur'an by heart. In this city I saw thirteen schools for girls and twenty-three for the boys, the like of which I had not seen elsewhere."¹⁴ Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Khalji of Malwa (1463-1500 A. D.) was also very keen about the education of young girls. Among the fifteen thousand women of his seraglio, we are told that there "were school-mistresses, musicians, women to read prayers, and persons of all professions and trades."¹⁵

There were educated and accomplished ladies belonging to the royal families too. Sultana Raziah, the gifted daughter of Iltutmish, on whom devolved the difficult task of the administration of the realm and who fills a high place in the illustrious roll of Indian woman-rulers, owed her success, in no small degree, to her education.¹⁶ Ferishta records that she was well-versed in the Qur'an which she could read with correct pronunciation.¹⁷ She was also a patron of learned men and scholars.¹⁸

Another educated princess was Mah Malik, also called Jalal-ud-Dunya-ud-Din, the grand-daughter of Ala-ud-Din Jahanroz. Minhaj-us-Siraj the wellknown historian of the reign of Sultan Nasir-ud-Din of the Slave Dynasty and the author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, speaks highly of her erudition, and has referred to her hand-writing as 'royal pearls'.¹⁰

Thus, the education of Hindu and Muslim girls, in our period, was mainly confined to the royal families and the well-to-do classes. The growing curtailment of their freedom, consequent upon the introduction of the *Purdah* system, was largely responsible for the decline in their education. Women coming from the poorer sections of society had hardly any time and opportunity to read. No wonder, if the vast mass of Indian women, particularly those living in the rural areas, remained illiterate.

ROYAL EDUCATION

Education of the princes of royal blood almost always attracted the attention of the Delhi Sultans, who personally took great interest in this matter. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, the eldest son of Subuktigin, for example, received his early education on orthodox lines under the guidance of a learned teacher. Well-grounded in various branches of Islamic literature, he knew the Holy Qur'an by heart and was fully conversant with Muslim law and traditions. His father was particularly keen about the education of his children. He himself had instructed Mahmud in the science of statecraft and crystallized its principles as propounded by himself into a *Pand-Namah*. Mahmud, moreover, seems to have undergone a regular course of apprenticeship in the art of administration. We find him acting as the Deputy of his father during his absence from Ghazni. He was hardly seven years of age at that time. Later, he was entrusted with the administration of the province of Zamin-Dawar. He was given a regular training in the military arts and sciences of his day.¹⁰⁰ Besides, Mahmud, whose knowledge of Islamic theology was undisputed, cannot be said to have been ignorant of such injunctions of the Qur'an as *Laikraha fid din*

(let there be no compulsion in religion).¹⁰¹ He was also a fine poet as some of his poetical compositions are preserved by Awfi in his *Lubab-ul-Albab*.¹⁰² He was very fond of Islamic law and traditions, and his proficiency in these subjects was recognised even by the most practised theologians of the day. *Fiqh* seems to have been his most favourite subject, for his name is intimately associated with the authorship of a standard work on the subject called *Tafriid-u'l-Furu*.¹⁰³ Allama Ibn Khalkan informs us that Imam-ul-Haramain Abul Ma'ali Abdul Mulk Juwain has recorded in his work entitled *Mughis-ul-Kha'lq fi Ikhtiyar-ul-Haq* that Mahmud was deeply interested in *Ahadith* (Traditions); that *Ulama* possessing a profound knowledge of the subject used to meet at his court and recite *Ahadith* in his presence; and that he listened to them with great avidity and asked them to explain the points which he did not understand.¹⁰⁴ Besides, he took part in the religious and literary discussions of the scholars at his court, not with the morbid scepticism of Akbar, the Great Moghul, but with the healthy interest of a learned Muslim.¹⁰⁵

Masud, a worthy successor of Mahmud, excelled in the art of fine writing cultivated in the East by the Muhammedan Emperors as a separate subject of study requiring particular attention, and like many a Musalman monarch before and after him, sent two copies of the Qur'an which he had transcribed with his own hand during his leisure hours to Mecca and Medina as presents to the Caliph to be deposited in their respective sacred libraries.¹⁰⁶

The founder of the Slave Dynasty, Qutb-ud-din Aibak, received his early education in a school at Nisapur, where he became proficient in Persian and Arabic, and acquired also some knowledge of science.¹⁰⁷ When he came from Turkistan, he had studied the Qur'an under Qadi Fakhr-ud-din Kufi, a great scholar of the time.¹⁰⁸

Sultan Iltutmish faithfully discharged the duty of giving sound education to his son Mahmud, for whom a separate arrangement was made at Loni befitting his position.¹⁰⁹ Barni refers to the early education of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud and his

brother thus, "Sultan Nasir-ud-din told his son that when he and his elder brother had learnt *Mufredat-e-Loghut* (knowledge of word meaning) and *Nabistan* (writing), then our *Muallims* (teachers) had advised our father to give them teaching of *Nahw* (Syntax) and *Sarf* (Etymology) and *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence). His father afterwards appointed *Muwarrkhan-e-Dana* (historian). The experienced men were appointed for this purpose who were well-known to *Ilm-e-Tarikh* (history) and those who knew the events of preceding Sultans. The mischievous persons were not allowed to come in contact with them. Then both of us read a book concerning administration and politics known as *Kitab-i-Adabas-Salarin* . . ."¹¹⁰ The above account throws considerable light on the curriculum meant for the princes' education.

Sultan Nasir-ud-din also seems to have been highly educated, as Ibn Battuta says, "He was a virtuous king. He used to write in his own hand copies of the Qur'an which were disposed of, and lived on the proceeds thereof. Qazi Kamal-ud-din showed me a copy of the Qur'an in the Sultan's artistic and elegant writing."¹¹¹

Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of Sultan Balban, was a youth of very promising talents and evinced great taste for literature. He himself made a choice collection of poems extracted from the most celebrated authors. This work contained twenty thousand couplets, which were esteemed as the most select specimens then extant. This prince, with his marked literary tastes, took the lead in the formation of literary societies. Amir Khusrau, the famous poet, was the tutor of this prince and used to preside in the prince's literary society; the place chosen for the meeting of the members of this society was the prince's palace.¹¹² Barni remarks thus, "The court of this prince was frequented by the most learned and accomplished men of the time. His *Nadims* (attendants) used to recite the immortal works, i.e. *Shah-Namah*, the *Diwani-Sana'i*, the *Diwani-Khaqani* and the *Khamsah*. Learned men discussed the merits of those poets in his presence. Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan were his *Chakars* (menials). He often used to give them costly presents."¹¹³

Muhammad Tughluq was another of those erudite sovereigns, who sat upon the throne of Delhi. He was an accomplished

writer and somewhat of a poet too.¹¹⁴ In the ease of his composition, the play of his fancy and the sublimity of his style, he left the most accomplished teachers and professors far behind.¹¹⁵ He was so fond of history and had such retentive memory, that he recollected almost every event, if read of, along with its date.¹¹⁶ He was well-acquainted with the *Sikandar-Namah*, the *Tarikh-i-Mahmudi*, and *Bumi-Salim-Namah*. He was very eloquent and quite a master of debates. He could beat any literary man or scientist in his own weapon by his convincing arguments. In calligraphy, the Sultan abashed the most accomplished scribes.¹¹⁷ Besides, he was skilled also in the science of physics (*Hikmat*), logic (*Mantiq*), astronomy (*Nujum*) and mathematics (*Riyazi*), and he had the talent of discovering the character of persons from a very slight acquaintance.¹¹⁸ He was proficient in *Ilm-e-Tibb* (medicine), and he even went so far as to attend himself on patients afflicted with remarkable diseases. He also took part in discussions with *Hakims*.¹¹⁹ No scholar, poet, *Dabir* (*Munshi*) and *Tabib* (doctor) dared to take part in *Takrir* (discussion) with him in their *ilms*.¹²⁰ According to Barni, the character of Muhammad bin Tughluq had been moulded as a young man by his association with atheist philosophers like S'ad,¹²¹ Najam Intishar and Maulana Alim-ud-din. As a result of his prolonged discussions with these philosophers, his belief in Islam and even in God had been weakened.¹²² We do not hear much as to who had the charge of educating the Sultan in his infancy and youth, except that Outlugh Khan was one of his preceptors, whom he appointed Governor of Daulatabad.¹²³

Firuz Shah Tughluq, in his youth, was trained in the art of government by his uncle, Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, who in his long tours throughout his dominions took Firuz Shah with him in order to acquaint him with the political problems of the realm. When Muhammad Tughluq came to the throne, Firuz was treated with same care and attention; Muhammad made him Deputy of the Lord Chamberlain, with the title of Na'ib Barbak and gave him the command of 12,000 horses. The Sultan used to keep him constantly near his person and explain to him all affairs of State that came up for consideration; and when the territory was divided into four parts by the Sultan, he was placed in-charge of one of them in order that he might acquire experience in the

art of government. Thus, Firuz was kept constantly in touch with various matters concerning State which made him well-versed in the duties of royalty and taught him to bring to bear on administration the good sense with which he was endowed.¹²⁸ His literary education was equally satisfactory. He was himself the author of an elegant autobiography entitled *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi*.

Bahlol Lodi, the founder of the Lody Dynasty, studied with much care, the Muhammedan law with which he made himself well-acquainted, as also the best institutes for the able conduct of his government, and was very much helped in the practical dispensation of justice and the discharge of the royal duties by the knowledge, thus, acquired. The reputation which this monarch enjoyed for his impartial justice was no less due to his innate virtues than to these studies.¹²⁹

Sultan Sikandar Lodi was himself a good poet and composed verses under the pen-name of *Gulrukhi* as well as he took part in discussions with poets.¹³⁰ He had studied a book on Arabic Grammar, i.e. *Nizam-Sarf* under an eminent Sufi Shaikh Samauddin Dehlavi.¹³¹ He used to submit his verses to Shaikh Jamali, the author of the *Siyar-ul-Arifin* (Biographies of the Saints). His *diwan* is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.¹³²

Some of the Hindu kings too did not lag behind the Delhi Sultans in the acquisition of knowledge. Chandbardai in his work "Prithviraj Raso" refers to the education of the Rajput king, Prithviraj Chauhan. In this work, we find Prithviraj studying under his *Purohit* (the family priest) named Gururam, and after becoming expert in fourteen branches of learning (*Chaudeh Vidyas*) he learns to write on the *Patti*. Furthermore, he is said to have been acquainted with seventy-two arts and also with distinctive treatises (*Nibandhas*) as well as eighty-four sciences.¹³³ Besides, it appears, he had received training in thirty-six types of armoury (*Shastras*) and had acquired proficiency in the study of twenty-seven types of *shastras* as well as in pronouncing difficult words.¹³⁴ Elsewhere Chandbardai, referring to Prithviraj, observes that he was acquainted with six languages, viz. 'Sanskrit', 'Prakrit', 'Apabhramsha', 'Pishachika', 'Magadhi' and 'Surseni'.¹³⁵ Besides, he was also well-versed in

'Sangitam' (music), and 'Chitram' ('Chitrakala' or the art of painting).¹²¹ Prithviraj was also conversant with 'Dhanur-Vidya' (archery) just like 'Partha' (an epithet given to famous Arjuna of the Mahabharata).¹²²

In another contemporary work, i.e. Qutban's "Mrigavati",¹²³ we find some more references to the curriculum of royal education followed by the hero of the work Kunwar, e.g. he was trained in six languages. He learnt by heart the *Bharath Pingal* (an epic) and he could explain music with its meaning; he was also fairly acquainted with fourteen *Nidans* (diagnosis, causes, symptoms and methods of cure of diseases).

In another contemporary work entitled, "Madhumalti"¹²⁴ by Manjhan, we find that the father of Prince Manohar himself took his son to a *Pandit* for initiation in schooling, when he was five years of age. Besides, we also come across some detailed references to the curriculum followed by Prince Manohar, viz. the *Pandit* had accustomed the Prince to a single utterance with different meanings, which he got him to learn by heart. Besides, the *Pandit* made him learn by rote the principles of *Yoga* and *Kok-Shastra* (the science of sex expounded by Koka); these were inculcated in his mind by means of pictures. Thus, the Prince with the help of the *Pandit*, acquired skill in different branches of learning. He even explained the ideas contained in the *Vedas*. Under the guidance of the *Pandit*, the Prince committed to memory the basic principles of *Yoga*, *Amar-Kosha* (dictionary), *Pingal* (science of poetics) and *Kok-Shastra*. Besides, the Prince was invincible in *Vyakaran*, *Jyotish*, *Gita* (theological episode of the Mahabharata called *Bhagavadgita*), *Geet* (songs, and *Kavitta* (metrical-composition). Besides, he also studied other *Granthas* (literary compositions) of *Gyan* (knowledge) and *Yoga*. He had become so well-versed in different subjects that nobody could venture to hold discussion with him.¹²⁵ Besides, Prince Mahohar also learnt *Ashtra-Vidya* (science of arms and of war) especially the throwing of *Khanda* (sword) *Fari* (a shield of leather used in fencing), *Kunta* (*barchha* or lance) *Katar* (dagger) etc., and became so much well-skilled in the art of archery (*Dhanur-Vidya*) that he could

even break the pearls placed on the hair of a man's head with an arrow.¹¹⁷

Thus, we may conclude that there was a well-devised system of royal education prevalent in those days both among the Hindus and the Muslims. The princes were imparted instruction in various branches of education and learning, including military training, so that they might be able to shoulder their responsibilities successfully when they were destined to become rulers.

EDUCATION OF SOME SUFI SAINTS

During the period under review, the Sufis had made considerable progress in the field of education and learning. Their *khanqas*, besides being of religious importance, seem to have been centres of their educational activities. Qadi Hamid-ud-din Nagauri¹¹⁸ was a great scholar. He was the author of two books, viz. *Quwwat-ul-Qulub* in Arabic and *Ruhul-Arwah*.¹¹⁹ Sheikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265), popularly known as Baba Farid, after finishing his education in Kahtwal, proceeded to Multan. He was then only eighteen years of age. He joined the *madrasa* in the mosque of Mau'ana Minhaj-u'd-din Tirmidhi, near the Sara'i-Halwa'i. Here, he committed to memory, the entire text of the Qur'an and began to recite it once in twenty four hours.¹²⁰ He was also proficient in reading *Nafa*—a book on Muslim law.¹²¹ According to the *Siyar-u'l-Arifin*, Baba Farid remained in Multan and completed his education there. Besides, the Shaikh went to Qandhar for higher studies and stayed there for five years.¹²² Most of the scholars and learned men, who frequented the Shaikh's company, applied themselves to books on devotion and mysticism. The books entitled *Qut-u'l-Qulub*, *Ihya-u'l-Ulum* and its translation *Awarif*, *Kashf-u'l-Mahjub*, *Shrh-i-Ta'arruf*, *Risalah-i-Qushairi*, *Mirsad-ul-Ibad*, *Mektubat-i-Ain-u'l-Qudat* and the *Lewa'ih* and *Lewana* of Qadi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri found many purchasers, as also did the *Fava'id-u'l-Fu'ad* of Amir Hasan owing to the sayings of the Shaikh contained in it.¹²³

True to the highest traditions of mediaeval mysticism, Shaikh Farid strove for the best education that was possible in his days. Early in his life, he had desired to abandon his studies and

follow Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, but the saint advised him to complete his education first. After years of strenuous efforts and struggles, he completed his education and attained a high degree of scholarship.¹⁴⁴ Pedantic display of knowledge, so common a characteristic of the *Ulama-i-Zahir*, was regarded by the Shaikh with contempt. Knowledge, he said, should bring its wake humility, sympathy and understanding. If it created arrogance and pride, the very purpose was defeated. He used to say, "The aim of acquiring knowledge of the religious law (*Ilm-i-Shari'at*) is to act upon it and not to harass people."¹⁴⁵ Himself a profound scholar, he never used his scholarship to overawe others. Maulana Dia-u'd-din was an eminent scholar of Delhi. He knew many sciences, but had no knowledge of *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *Nahw* (syntax). Once he went to Shaikh to display his learning. But, to make others feel the meagreness of their knowledge was not the Shaikh's habit. He asked Maulana Dia-u'd-din about only those things which he had fully mastered and the Maulana returned from his company self-confident and elated.¹⁴⁶ Besides, Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ishaq, who later on became the Shaikh's disciple and son-in-law, was an eminent scholar of his day. He was held in high esteem in the literary circles of Delhi. In the course of his studies, he came across some difficulties which, in spite of his efforts, he could not overcome. The scholars of Delhi failed to help him in the matter. At last, he thought of undertaking a journey to Bukhara and explain his difficulties to the scholars of that renowned centre of Muslim learning. He left Delhi with a heavy load of books. While passing through Ajodhan, he heard about the erudition and scholarship of Baba Farid. He decided to see the saint. Much to his surprise, the saint solved all his difficulties in a few unassuming words. Shaikh Badr-u'd-din fell at the feet of the saint and became his disciple.¹⁴⁷

Baba Farid's main subject of study was the *Qur'an*. He had devoted much of his time and energy to it and, in fact, his knowledge and understanding of the Holy Book was remarkable. He taught six parts of the *Qur'an* to Shaikh Ni'am-u'd-din Auliya, who could never, during his lifetime, forget the Shaikh's charming manner of reciting it.¹⁴⁸ Besides, Baba Farid had a wide and

extensive knowledge of mystic literature. He laid special emphasis on the *Awarif-u'l-Ma'arif* of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din Suhrawardi and considered it to be an indispensable study for a mystic selected by his master for the grant of *Khilafat*.¹⁴⁹ Besides, Baba Farid was also interested in the works of Qadi Hamid-u'd-din Nagauri, a close friend and companion of his master, Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki. The Qadi's works formed a very difficult reading.¹⁵⁰ However, Baba Farid had full grasp of these works and he could very effectively explain them before his disciples. Some anecdotes about the Shaikh mentioned in the *Siyar-ul-Auliya* and other works show that he had a very thorough knowledge of Arabic grammar.¹⁵¹ He composed verses in Arabic, Persian and in some local dialects.¹⁵²

The greatest disciple of Shaikh Farid, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya, seems to have been highly educated. He began his education with the study of the Holy *Qur'an* and *Loghut* (knowledge of word-meaning) in a makhtab when he was twelve years old. Afterwards, he came to Delhi for further study. Under his tutor Samsul-Malik, he studied *Mukamat-e-Hariri*, an Arabic literary work, and *Ilm-e-Hadis*. He was also a great discussant (*Bahaas*). When he was twenty years old, he went to Shaikh Farid and learnt *Tajwid* (the method to read and pronounce the letters of the *Qur'an* correctly) and many other books.¹⁵³ Besides, Shaikh Nizam-ud-din had also studied a book on *Fiqh*, i.e. *Quduri* under Maulana Ala-ud-din Usuli Badaoni.¹⁵⁴ Thus, we find that education and learning also progressed satisfactorily under the guidance of some of the talented Sufi saints during the period under review.

LIBRARIES

The educational institutions, mosques and *khanqas* during the period were the places where the books were preserved, and this is the reason why historians do not say much about the libraries of the period.¹⁵⁵ Mahmud of Ghazni founded a University at Ghazni, with a rich collection of valuable books in various languages and a museum containing rare specimens.¹⁵⁶

Jalaluddin Khalji, the founder of the Khalji Dynasty, patronised the library and also collection of books. A noticeable

feature of his reign was that he chose the right person to fill the office of the Librarian for the *Imperial Library* at Delhi. This high post, which carried with it considerable honour, was conferred on Amir Khusrau, who was held in very high esteem by Sultan Jalaluddin.¹⁵⁷

Baba Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar was keenly interested in books, and it seems that he maintained a library of standard works on religion and philosophy.¹⁵⁸ Besides, we also find references to the library of the well-known saint, Nizamuddin Auliya, who was a contemporary of Khalji and Tughluq Sultans. This library was in Nizamuddin Auliya's *khanqah* at Ghiyathpur in Delhi, which even today stands under the name of Nizam-ul-Auliya. This library was the property of the *Waqf* and was open to every man of letters. Shaikh Abdul Haq, the Muhaddith of Delhi, while writing about Shaikh Siraj Uthman, says, "After this, he acquired proficiency in *Kafiya*, *Mufasssal*, *Qaduri*, *Majma-ul-Bahrain*, under Maulana Ruknuddin's supervision. And after Shaikh Nizamuddin's death, he acquired other kinds of education for three years and carried with him some books from the Shaikh's library, which was a *Waqf*, and the clothes and *Khilafat-Nama* which he had obtained from the Shaikh."¹⁵⁹

Sultan Firuz Shah also seems to have been a patron of libraries. His royal library has not been mentioned in history, but his love of learning leads us to believe that he must have had one. About thirteen hundred books were obtained by him from the temple of Juwala Mukhi (Nagarkot), and they must have been treasured in some library.¹⁶⁰

Besides, Tatar Khan, who was one of Firuz Shah's courtiers, was also an accomplished scholar. He had acquired a high degree of proficiency in the Holy Qur'an and had compiled a commentary on it. The commentary known as *Tafsir Tatar Khani* is said to have been his work. It is said that when he intended to write this book, he collected various commentaries, and called a group of learned scholars for discussions. And he gleaned the differences which the various commentators had in some verse or sentence, and incorporated them in his book. He had prepared this commentary with great labour and pains. He made references to every commentator in case of variance. One

will, thus, find the various commentaries in a single book. After it was completed, it was named *Tafsir Tatar Khani*. Tatar Khan also contemplated, after the model of *Durr-i-Mukhtar* and *Shami*, compiling a book of *Fatawa* dealing with all the controversial questions of Islamic Jurisprudence. In like manner, he (Tatar Khan) collected all the books on *Fatawa* and rendered in his book all the controversies which the jurists had on various matters and named it as *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*. On this way, the *Fatawa* was completed in thirty volumes. On the basis of the above, there can be no denying the fact that Tatar Khan had some personal library of his own.¹⁶¹

During the period under review, Ghazi Khan, the most distinguished courtier of Ibrahim Lodi, also had a private library in the Delhi Fort, which Babur took into his possession in 933 A.H. He captured Milwat and got control over the library of Ghazi Khan, took out some books from it and gifted them to his son, Humayun, and also sent some others to his second son, Kamran. He writes in his Memoirs thus, "I went into Ghazi Khan's book room; some of the precious things found in it, I gave to Humayun, some sent to Kamran (in Qandhar). There were many books of learned contents, but not so many valuable ones as at first appeared."¹⁶²

Thus, with the advent of the Muslims in India, libraries along with other institutions of social and cultural value received considerable impetus.

THE SULTANS' PATRONAGE OF LEARNING AND SCHOLARSHIP

Almost all of the Delhi Sultans were patrons of learning and refinement. Being accomplished men of letters, some of them encouraged learning in various ways, e.g. by establishing several schools and colleges, giving proportionate financial aids and emoluments to learned scholars and teachers appointed from different parts of the country and abroad, and by granting scholarships to the students who were both needy and promising.

During the time of Mahmud Ghazni, the literary Renaissance of Persia found in him its most magnificent, if not its most discriminating, patron. Four hundred poets with Unsuri, the

poet-laureate at their head, were in constant attendance at the Sultan's court.¹⁰² The Sultan was a great patron of learning and his court was the meeting-ground of scholars from different parts of the Muslim world. A host of poets sang his praises, and he is said to have spent on them 400,000 *Dinars* annually. The most celebrated of them were Abu'l-Qasim, Firdausi, Unsuri, Farrukhi, Asjadi and Ghada'iri. Firdausi composed a large portion of his immortal *Shah-Nama* at his court, and probably at his request. His merit, however, did not receive proper recognition from Mahmud because Unsuri, the poet-laureate, being jealous of his genius, used his influence to bring him into disgrace with the Sultan.¹⁰⁴ The famous Raihan al-Biruni, commonly known as Alberuni, was the court astrologer of Mahmud. He was well-versed in *Ilm-e-Nujum* (astronomy) and *Ilm-e-Tarikh* (history).¹⁰⁵

Alberuni's main contribution lies in his unprejudiced study of Hindu religion which did not appear to him to be mere idol-worship, as it did to the most of the Muslims during the first five hundred years of Muslim rule in India between Mahmud of Ghazna and Akbar. He regarded the essence of the Hindu religion as a form of monotheism and the Hindu idol-worship as merely the manifestation of the dark and ignorant passions of the crowd. He was the first to introduce the study of *Bhagavad Gita* to the Muslim world, and the first Muslim to study the *Puranas* and to translate 'Patanjali' and 'Samkhya' into a Muslim language. He was critical of the caste-system, but observant of the escape possible from it in the sublime path of Vedantic mysticism. In considerable detail, he outlined the principles of Hindu sciences, astronomy, geography, mathematics and medicine. He observed that the Hindus had not worked out their astronomical notions as scientifically as the Greeks, but acknowledged piecemeal Hindu influences on Arab writers like Abu Ma'shar. He wrote on the Sanskrit language and Hindu dialects and the multiplicity of their vocabulary, and paid tributes to the boundless literature of the Hindus and their cultivation of arts. The Turco-Persian elite, for whom he had written the *Kitab al-Hind*, did not derive much benefit from his researches in this field and continued to honour him as an astronomer rather

than an Indologist, until Abu'l Fazl resurrected him some five hundred years later.¹⁶⁶

Besides, during the reign of Mahmud, some more works were written in prose and poetry, the most important among them being *Danish-Nama* by Bu Ali Sina, *Khajistanamah* by Bahrami, *Tarjuman-ul-Balagha* by Farrukhi etc.¹⁶⁷ Mahmud was also a patron of Hindi verses. He is credited with having bestowed several forts and a robe of honour on the defeated Chandella ruler of Kalinjar for composing 'Hindi' verses in his honour.¹⁶⁸

In Masud, we find a worthy successor of Mahmud, maintaining the traditions of his father, erecting magnificent public buildings including schools and colleges, making provisions for their maintenance through rich and adequate endowments, keeping up the attractiveness of Ghazni for learned men, paying particular attention to diffusion of learning, and placing its benefits within the easy reach of the general public by establishing educational institutions in several cities of his vast dominions. Mirkhund, the author of *Rauzatul-Safa* tells us that he was very fond of the company of the learned, whom he helped in various ways; for which, many an author dedicated to him his book. During his reign so many colleges, mosques, and religious edifices were built in the various parts of his dominions that it is impossible to enumerate them.¹⁶⁹ Alberuni bears testimony to the Sultan's liberality towards the learned and the cause of learning. He could not rise in the good grace of Sultan Mahmud most probably for the political antagonism that existed between him and Mahmud's chancellor, Maimandi. And so, like Firdausi, he took a literary man's mild revenge upon the Sultan by accusing him of "having failed in the duties of a protector of art and science imposed upon him by his royal office", and by lavishing his praise upon his successor, in whose regime he could obtain his full share of royal protection and encouragement.¹⁷⁰ Besides, Qadi Abu Muhammad Nasiri wrote the *Fiqh-i-Masudi*.¹⁷¹

Sultan Behram was a distinguished patron of letters. The famous Persian poet Nizami resided at his court, and dedicated one of his five great poems to Behram.¹⁷² Furthermore, the Sultan caused several works in foreign languages to be translated

into Persian, among which was the Indian book *Kalilah-Damnah*.¹⁷³

Sultan Sahab-ud-din of Ghor (or Muhammad Ghori) was the first Muslim king of India who deemed it his duty to spread education in India proper.¹⁷⁴ At Ajmer, he set up some schools or *madrasas* and seminaries for the spread of Islamic culture and erudition in that province.¹⁷⁵ He had a great fancy for adopting some of his promising young slaves and giving them good education. Such education combined training in the art of administration with literary instructions. Among such slaves was Qutb-ud-din, a man of literary taste, and although, like many other Mohammedan rulers, he destroyed Hindu temples, he built many mosques, which were centres not only of religious worship but also of education. One of his officers named Bakhtiyar destroyed at Vikramshila in Bihar a Buddhist monastic institution which was a seat of learning, but he is also said to have been a founder of mosques and colleges.¹⁷⁶ Qutb-ud-din had fixed the salaries and *jagirs* of different men of letters, such as *Ahl-e-Ilm* (those who wanted to read different *ilms*), *Ahl-e-Fiqh* (the students of Jurisprudence), *Qirat* (those who knew how to read *Qur'an* correctly) etc.¹⁷⁷

Sultan Samsud-din Iltutmish excelled most of the Delhi Sultans as a patron of letters. His court was as grand and magnificent as that of Mahmud or Sanjar. Poets, priests and courtiers from foreign countries flocked to his court, and made his capital a great centre of learning, culture, and refinement. The Sultan was a man of broad views, perfectly tolerant, possessing philosophical disposition. Religious studies were respected, toleration was extended to men of secular learning and handsome allowances were granted to poets, who composed verses as nicely as they were paid. His reign is consequently marked by remarkable achievements in science, literature and art, greatly extending the frontiers of human knowledge. A new atmosphere of refinement prevailed in the court and the camp, and a taste for poetry and fine arts was shared by the high and the low alike.¹⁷⁸

Sultanah Raziyah, the gifted daughter of Iltutmish, was also a patron of learned men. During her reign, we hear of a college

at Delhi called the Muizzi College.¹⁷⁹ This College had Maulana Badru'd-Din Ishaq Bukhari at its head.¹⁸⁰

Nasir-ud-Din occupies a prominent place in the educational history of Muslim India. Himself a man of scholarly disposition and sedantary habits, he greatly appreciated and freely rewarded scholarship. Consequently, his court was a regular rendezvous of literary geniuses. Of the scholars who enjoyed his patronage, the most renowned was Minhaj-us-Siraj, the well known author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.¹⁸¹ During his reign, there was a college at Jalandhar wherein Balban, the Prime Minister, and his followers offered their Id-uz-Zuha prayers on their way back to Delhi after a successful campaign.¹⁸² Minhaj-us-Siraj was the Principal of the Nasiriyyah College at Delhi established by Nasir-ud-Din, the scholar-scribe Sultan of the Slaves of Delhi.¹⁸³

Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban continued with great vigour and wisdom the policy of his predecessors. He extended his support to all those men of letters, who being swept into India by the storm of the Mongol invasions, took shelter at his court, which at once became the most splendid and cultured all through Asia.¹⁸⁴ "Spare no pains", said Balban to his officers, "to discover men of genius, learning and encourage them. You must cherish them by kindness and munificence that they may prove the soul of your councils and instruments of your authority."¹⁸⁵ Maulana Hamid-ud-Din, who flourished during the reign of Balban, was incomparable in the science of astronomy (*Tanjim*) and medicine (*Ilm-e-Tibb*).¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, Maulana Badru'd-Din of Damascus and Maulana Hasamuddin were also unrivalled in the science of medicine. In short, as Barni says, "the period of Balban was the period of scholars and men of eminence."¹⁸⁷

Balban's son Prince Muhammad was also a great patron of education as he was a youth of very promising talents and evinced great taste for literature.¹⁸⁸ Besides Amir Khusrau, his tutor, the Prince had several other literary companions, among whom may be mentioned the name of Amir Hasan, also a great poet. The prince delighted to honour the two poets and marked his appreciation of their merits by grants of lands and suitable allowances.¹⁸⁹ Delhi had been gradually rising to eminence as a centre of learning and a resort of learned men on account of the

efforts of the Sultans. Its literary status, during the period under review, was so high that it inspired Amir Khusrau to write quite a number of verses, wherein he confirms with just pride, that Delhi could successfully compete with Bukhara, the great university-city of Central Asia.¹⁹⁰

The establishment of the Khalji rule in India was highly conducive to the progress of education and learning. Jalal-ud-din, the first ruler of the new dynasty, was a great lover of learning. He invited eminent men of letters to his private parties and listened to them with great avidity.¹⁹¹ Among those who wrote copiously on history, philosophy, poetry and other sciences under his auspices were Amir Khusrau, 'the Prince among Poets', Khwajah Hassan, Taj-ud-Din Iraqi, Amir Arsalam, Saadud-Din, Yaghi and Qazi Mughlis of Jhansi.¹⁹² Jalal-ud-Din Khalji was probably the first Muslim Sultan of Delhi who showed some intellectual curiosity for Hindu learning and Sanskrit studies.¹⁹³

Though himself unlettered,¹⁹⁴ Alauddin Khalji was also a patron of learning and refinement. Ferishta has given a list of those powerful intellectuals, who were attracted to his court from distant places and were the recipients of cordiality from him and honoraria from the State.¹⁹⁵ Barni also mentions about the forty-six scholars of great repute who devoted their time and energy towards the development of traditional and rational sciences, and a large number of students who flocked round them to receive instruction in these branches of learning.¹⁹⁶ Barni says, "During his reign, Delhi, the *Darul-Mulk* (capital) of India, had such eminent scholars and men of letters that their competitors could not be found in Bukhara, Samarqand, Baghdad, Khwarizm, Damascus and even in whole universe."¹⁹⁷ These scholars were eminent in various *Ilms* or branches of knowledge like *Manqulat* (logic), *Maqulat* (philosophy), *Tafsir* (*Qur'an*), *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), *Usul-i-Din* (theory of Religion), *Nahw* (syntax), *Lughat* (knowledge of word-meaning), *Badi* and *Bayan* (rhetoric and prosody). Many students took lessons in various branches of learning under these scholars. Some of them were compared favourably with Razi and Gazali.¹⁹⁸

During the last years of Alauddin's reign, Maulana Ilmuddin Nabisa and Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya became prominent.¹⁹⁹ Besides, during Alauddin's reign, Abu Yusuf Qazi and Muhammad Shaibani were eminent teachers and they were so great scholars that even experts (*Mufti-e-Iamtarag*) from Khurasan, Khwarizm and other countries came to Delhi, became their students and learnt many new things under their able guidance. Any *Ustad* (teacher) of a country, when he came to Delhi with his books dealing with any branch of knowledge, the *Ustads* of that place judged their standard and, if approved, they were called standard works.²⁰⁰ Besides, there were talented men who turned their attention towards the development of the science of *Ilm-e-Qirat* (reading of the Qur'an). Among such men were Maulana Jamal U'd-Din Shatbi, Maulana Ala'u'd-Din and Khwaja Zaki, a nephew of Hassan of Basra, who acquired very high reputation throughout the length and breadth of the country.²⁰¹ The most note-worthy preacher of the time was Maulana Imadu'd-Din of Oudh. He used to deliver weekly lectures on religious and spiritual subjects to a large congregation. The efforts of such scholars had brought about a change in the mental outlook of the people of the capital and contributed a good deal towards their moral advancement.²⁰² "There were poets", says Barni, "in the reign of Alauddin, such as never existed before or after".²⁰³ Besides Amir Hasan Sanjari and Amir Khusrau, who headed the list, there were other men of high poetic talent, such as Sadr-u'd-Din Ali, Fakhr u'd Din Qawwas, Hamid u'd Din Rajah, Maulana Arif, Ubaid Hakim, Shihab Ansari and Sadr Busti, who adorned the court of Delhi. Each of these poets was in receipt of allowances from the State and each one of them is said to have left us a *Diwan*. Amir Hasan Sanjari was, however, regarded as the Sadi²⁰⁴ of Hindustan.²⁰⁵ Of the historians (*Muwarrikhs*) at the court of Alau'd-Din, there were two men noted from their proficiency in this branch of learning. The one was Amir Arslan-Kuhani and the other Kabir u'd-Din, son of Taj ud-Din Iraqi.²⁰⁶ Amir Arslan had such a wonderful memory that when Alau'd-Din asked him any question on the history of the past kings, he could enlighten him on those points without any reference to the texts. Kabir

u'd-Din was held in great esteem by the Sultan, and was given the chair of the Chief Judge of the Imperial Army.²⁹⁷ He wrote the history of the reign of Ala'ud-Din, i.e., "Fatahnamah", describing in detail all the conquests and achievements of his sovereign. Barni has used it as one of the sources for completing his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*. But, he complains that history is rather a eulogium than a mere statement of fact. All the defects of Ala'ud-Din's administration have been deliberately suppressed and his achievements and character have been extolled beyond limit. We cannot blame this historian for his one-sided view, as he had to present every part of his history to the Emperor for his approval, and as such, he had to guard against writing anything which could incur the displeasure of the monarch.²⁹⁸

During Sultan Alauddin's reign, the science of medicine was studied at par with other similar branches of learning. A large number of talented physicians grew up at the capital and people of different castes and creeds—the Brahmins, the Jats and the Muslims—took keen interest in the development of this science.²⁹⁹

There was also another group of scholars who devoted their time and energies to the development of the science of astronomy and astrology. The services of such scholars were equally appreciated as much by the King as by the nobility. The chief of the astronomers of the court was Maulana Sharaf u'd-Din, who was granted by the Sultan a substantial allowance and income from several villages.³⁰⁰ Besides, there were three eminent *Rammals* (experts in *Ilm-e-Raml* or geomancy), viz. Maulana Sadr-ud-Din, Gharli and Malik Zubairi.³⁰¹

While describing the state of science and literature during Ala'ud-din's reign, Barni complains that the Sultan did not consider the merit of the scholars of his times. If these scholars had remained at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni, each of them might have been rewarded with the income of a principality. But, in spite of this alleged indifference on the part of the Sultan, we find his reign to be one of the most flourishing periods of Indo-Persian scholarship. Barni calls it one of the most wonderful phenomena of his times, which he fails to explain. No doubt, he has rather exaggerated the Sultan's indifference. It is, of course, true that the Sultan did not squander money on men of

letters as some of the oriental potentates had done, but, it cannot be said that he was entirely without any generosity to them. His bounty was regulated by the consideration of the economic conditions of the State, and consequently, he paid the poets of his court what he considered to be most reasonable.²¹² Thus, it can be said that Alauddin's reign was a triumph of political as well as literary activities. It is, indeed, a strange phenomenon in the history of the Sultanate as well as of the Mughals that although both Alauddin and Akbar were almost illiterate, yet their periods were extraordinarily bright with literary glories.²¹³

However, the House of the Tughluqs presented a more brilliant epoch of the royal patronage of education and learning. Amir Khusrau resided at the court of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq and received 1000 *tankas* a month from the State treasury.²¹⁴ The isolated hillock, a mile beyond the walls of Tughlaqabad, called *Nai-Ka-Qila* (Barber's Fort) is believed by some to have been a college founded by him.²¹⁵

His successor Muhammad bin Tughluq was the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time and his letters, both in Arabic and Persian display so much elegance and good sense that the most able secretaries of later times studied them with admiration.²¹⁶ He was generous, courteous and proficient in religious learning. He knew the *Hidaya* or *Hanafite* jurisprudence by heart. He was also an expert in the science of medicine. Once a Persian gentleman presented to him in one volume a manuscript copy of *Shifa* of Ibn Sina (Avicenna), calligraphed by Jaqut, for which he gave him a large amount in reward amounting to more than a thousand *mirhquals* (an Arabian weight about 73 grams).²¹⁷ He studied the philosophy of the Greek Schools,²¹⁸ and he entered into intellectual disputes with a great *Alim-e-Falasafa* (philosopher), Maulana Alimu-d-din.²¹⁹ Besides, Muhammad bin Tughluq's intellectual curiosity for Hindu learning forms a landmark. He enjoyed the society of Hindu *Yogis* and extended his patronage to Jain divines. Ziya-al-Din Nakhshabi's adaptation of fifty-two short stories from Sanskrit into Persian in 1330 under the title *Tuti Nama*

(Book of the Parrot) is by far the most outstanding achievement of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign in this field.²²¹

Education, during the reign of Firuz Tughluq, could make a remarkable advance, because the Sultan himself was an eminent educationist and he strove zealously for its propagation. He was very fond of history, and among the historians who lived at his court were the famous Ziyauddin Barni and Siraj Afif.²²² Despite Firuz Tughluq's theocratic policies, the official patronage of Sanskrit learning continued. He commissioned translations of medical works from Sanskrit. A treatise on Hindu astronomy and astrology was translated into Persian under the title *Dala'il-i-Firuz-Shahi*, while other translations from Sanskrit during his reign include works on music and wrestling.²²³ However, comparative peace during his reign enabled him to organise a regular system of public instruction. Not only he patronised learning and encouraged men of letters, as had been done by his predecessors but also sent eminent teachers to reside in the different parts of his dominions for the sake of imparting education to the people at large. This was undoubtedly a far reaching reform in the realm of education. It led to an extensive diffusion of education and produced a large number of capable scholars.²²⁴ He not only provided funds for the repair and reconstruction of old *madrasas*, but also built many new ones.²²⁵ Ferishta says, "30 Colleges with mosques attached were constructed during the reign of this Prince".²²⁶ Firuz Shah had fixed up the salaries or scholarships of the *Ulema* (theologians), *Masayakhs* (Sufis), *Modarresan* (lecturers and professors) and *Hafezans* (those who memorized the Qur'an by heart). Teachers were, at the same time, given extensive *jagirs* and numerous villages.²²⁷ Needy and promising students received scholarships of hundred, two hundred and even three hundred *tankas*.²²⁸

The Sayyid Kings, Khizr Khan and Mubarak Shah in particular, were also interested in the promotion of education and learning in their kingdom. Under them, the two obscure cities of Badaun and Cuttair successfully rivalled the cities of Delhi and Ferozabad in their intellectual activities. They contained mosques and *madrasas* which supplemented very

substantially the educational achievements of the two Imperial cities named above.²²⁸

Bahlol Lodi, the founder of the Lodi Dynasty, was also an enlightened patron of letters.²²⁹ He started some schools and colleges in his kingdom for the moral as well as intellectual enhancement of his subjects.²³⁰

Sultan Sikandar Lodi, too, had an encouraging and healthy attitude towards education and learning. He is said to have built a *madrasa* at Mathura.²³¹ The discovery of a MS of *Luhjat-i-Sikandar Shahi* proves beyond doubt that he was deeply interested in music, and he rendered laudable services with regard to the promotions of this important, though neglected, branch of fine art.²³² It was during the reign of Sikandar Lodi that the Hindus (Brahmans), particularly the Kayasthas, took to the study of Persian language and literature.²³³

But, Ibrahim Lodi was not like his father, Sikandar. The literary and educational progress of India under his rule showed definite signs of perceptible decline largely due to the politically disturbed conditions of the country.

REFERENCES

1. Amir Khusrau (Nuh Sipihr, ed. by Muhammad Wahid Mirza, O.U.P., 1950, p. 166) writes thus, "Everywhere in the world there are 'ilms' or knowledges, but nowhere 'ilms' (knowledge) and 'Hunars' (Arts) are found as in Hindustan. The most important thing is that the Indians are accustomed to speak all the languages of the world clearly and correctly, but the inhabitants of other countries cannot speak the languages spoken by the Indians." The statement of Amir Khusrau, however, suffer from some amount of exaggeration.
2. S. M. Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, Peshawar, 1st edn., 1936, p. 1.
- 2a. F. Steingass, A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary. Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, Boardway, 68.74, Carter Lane, London, p. 443; Also refer to John T. Platts' A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English, Vol. I, London, 1959, p. 446. J. N. Sarkar, however, does not admit that these *khanqas* during

the Mughal period served as seats of learning like the monasteries of Christian Europe. He writes thus, "Some of the monasteries (*khanqas*) contained scholars and theologians, but the lazy illiterate dervishes outnumbered them; hence the monasteries of Mughal India, were not, as a rule, seats of learning like the monasteries of Christian Europe." (J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, 2nd edn., Cal., 1919, p. 300).

Though the *khanqas* were primarily centres of Sufis and missionary activities, yet during the period under review, they might have imparted instruction, both secular and religious, to the youths of the day.

3. See the *Journal of Annamalai University*, Vol. III, No. 1, 1934, p. 92, for *Makhtabs* and *Madrasas* of Muslim India.
4. This ceremony was very much similar to that of 'Hathe-Khari' of the Hindus—Refer to *Qanoon-i-Islam*, tr. by Herkloits, 2nd edn., Madras, 1863, pp. 27-29 for a detailed account of the *Makhtab Ceremony*; Also see K. M. Ashraf's *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, pub. by Jiwan Prakashan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1959, p. 145.
5. K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, pub. by Jiwan Prakashan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1959, p. 145.
6. G. M. D. Sufi, *Al-Minhaj*, pub. by Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, 1st edn., Aug., 1941, pp. 3-4.
7. Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Mediaeval Indian Culture*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 2nd edn., 1959, pp. 39 and 41; Also refer to Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964, p. 133.
8. S. M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, Peshawar, 1st edn., 1936, pp. 18-19.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
10. For the origin and development of Mediaeval *Madrasas*, refer to an art. entitled "Some Aspects of the History of the *Madrasa*", pub. in the *Journal of Islamic Culture*, Vol. III, Oct., 1929, pp. 525-537.
11. G. M. D. Sufi, *Al-Minhaj*, Lahore, 1st edn., Aug., 1941, p. 8.
12. Ziauddin Barni's "Fatwa-i-Jahandari", tr. by Dr. Afsar Begum, pub. by Kitab Mahal, Delhi, p. 5.
13. *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, Per. MS No. 99, Cat. No. 547, O.P.L., fol. 72(a); Also refer to the art. entitled "A Review of the Reign of Firoz Shah (1351-88 A.C.)" by Riazul Islam, pub. in I.C., Vol. XXIII, Oct., 1949, pp. 291-292; Also see I.H.Q., Vol. XVII, 1941, pp. 388-389.
14. Refer to T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, pp. 562-566 for a detailed description of the *Firuz-Shahi Madrasa*. Also see Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Longmans, Green & Co., Cal., 1916, p. 62; Also refer to Prof. Syed

- Hasan Askari's art. entitled "Side-Lights on Firuz Shah and His Times", pub. in Pr. I.H.C., 21st Session, Trivandrum, 1958, 256-257.
15. Law's Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule, Longmans, Green & Co., Cal., 1916, p. 62.
 16. Ibid, p. 63.
 17. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, pp. 1-21; Also Barni's History of the Tughluqs, being a critical study of the relevant chapters of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, by Dr. S. Moinul Haq, pub. by Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, Sept., 1959, pp. 12-14; Also see P. Hardy's Historians of Med. India, pub. by Luzac & Co., Ltd., 46, Great Russell Street, Lond., 1960, pp. 22-23.
 18. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind. Cal., 1862, p. 362.
 19. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 362; Also see Prof. Syed Hasan Askari's art. entitled "Medicines and Hospitals in Muslim India", pub. in the Pr., I.H.C., 20th Session (Anand), 1957, pp. 175-176; Also Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Vol. I (Per. Text), Bombay, 1832, p. 214; J.P.R.A.S.B., Vol. VII, 1941, p. 24.
 20. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, pp. 362-363; Also refer to Pr. I.H.C., 20th Session (Anand), 1957, pp. 175-176.
 21. Pr. I.H.C. Anand Session, 1957, p. 170.
 22. See Niamatullah's History of the Afghans (pt. I), tr. by N. B. Roy, Santiniketan, 1st impression, Dec., 1958, p. xxii; Also refer to Abdullah's Tarikh-i-Daudi, Per. MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L., fol. 41(a).
 23. Quoted by Prof. Syed Hasan Askari in his art. entitled "Medicines and Hospitals in Muslim India", pub. in the Pr. I.H.C., Anand Session, 1957, p. 174.
 24. Ibid, p. 175.
 25. R. R. Diwakar, Bihar Through the Ages, Orient Longmans, 1959, pp. 435-436.
 26. R. R. Diwakar, Bihar Through the Ages, Orient Longmans, 1959, p. 436.
 27. Ibid.
 28. Ibid, pp. 436-437.
 29. Ibid, p. 437.
 30. Nur Sipihr, ed. by Muhammad Wahid Mirza, O.U.P., 1950, p. 162.
 31. F. E. Keay, Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times, 2nd edn., Lond., 1938, p. 147.
 32. Ibid, p. 148.
 33. Refer to R. R. Diwakar's Bihar Through the Ages, Orient Longmans, 1st edn., Jan., 1959, p. 435.
 34. Refer to T. N. Siqueira's The Education of India, Oxford, 4th edn., 1952, p. 7.
 35. F. E. Keay, Ancient Indian Education, O.U.P., Humphrey Milford, Lond., 1918, p. 53. "When Chaitanya was twenty, or at an age when many Brahman youths would be seeking entrance into a *Tol*

for the completion of their education, Nimai had acquired so great a reputation that he established a *Tol* of his own on the bank of the Bhagirathi, the branch of the Ganges, which flows by Nudiah, and many pupils gathered round him, for he was famed for his wit and the brilliancy of his dialectics"—Refer to E. B. Havell's 'The History of Aryan Rule in India', George C. Harrap & Company, Ltd., Lond., p. 412.

36. See Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Madhya Parva), pub. by Abhinna Chandra Dan, Cuttack, 2nd edn., 1939, p. 351 for a reference to *Pathshala*. A student of Orissa was known as *Chat*: Also see "Padmapuran or Mansamangal" by Kavivar Vijaya Gupta, ed. by Basant Kumar Bhattacharya, pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 95 for a reference to *Pathshala*.
37. In Vrindaban Das's "Shree Chaitanya Bhagavata" (Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954, p. 83), we find references to such debates and discussions at Navadvipa, which runs thus,

"Prabhu Bole Vyakhya Koro Aji Je Podhila,
Vyakhya Kore Gupta Prabhu Khandite Lagilen,
Gupta Bole Ek Artho Prabhu Bole Aar,
Prabhu Britte Keho Kare Nare Jini Bar,
Prabhu Shaktite Gupta Param Pandit,
Murari Vyakhya Sunj Hon Horosit."

Here, Chaitanya is depicted taking part in discussion with his teacher, Murari Gupta. His teacher is seen interpreting the meaning of different words and Chaitanya refuting his interpretations. Both the student (Nimai) and the teacher (Murari Gupta) appear to have been consistent in their knowledge.

38. "Shree Chaitanya Bhagavata" (Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954, p. 125) for a reference to 'Sankirtan' or 'Kirtan' which was also an important medium of education. It runs thus, "Shree Chaitanya Sankirtan Kare S'ree Purushe".
39. See Santosh Kumar Das's The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus, Cal., 1931, pp. 116-117; Alberuni also (Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 125) says thus, "The Brahmins teach the Veda to the Kshatriyas. The latter learn it, but are not allowed to teach it, not even to a Brahmin. The Vaisya and Sudra are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce and recite it. If such a thing can be proved against one of them, the Brahmins drag him before the magistrate, and he is punished by having his tongue cut off"; Also refer to Vrindaban Das's "Shree Chaitanya Bhagavata", pub. by Sucharu Kanti Ghosh, Patrika House, Cal., 6th edn., 1948, p. 11 for references to celebrated Brahmin teachers of Navadvipa. Amir Khusrau (Nur Sipihr, ed. by Muhammad Wahid Mirza, O.U.P., 1950, p. 162) referring to the Brahmins says, thus, "In India there are such Brahmins, who have been

compared with Aristotle in *Ilm-o-Danai* (learning and knowledge). Although the people of Greece know *Tabballi* (natural philosophy), *Riyazi* (mathematics) and *Hafyyat* (anatomy), yet the Indian Brahmins know much more than them about all these branches of knowledge".

40. Guru Nanak was sent to school at the age of seven (Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, Oxford, 1909, Vol. I, pp. 2-3). "It was at the age of seven that Mehta Kalu took his son (Nanak) to his family *prohit* asking him to give his son the knowledge of the 'three Rs'" (Refer to the Sikh Review, Vol. IX, No. 11, Nov., 1961, an art. entitled "The Child Nanak" by H. S. Bhatia); Also see "Guru Khalsa Panth" by Gyani Lal Singh (a Gurumukhi work), pub. by Sardar Jawahar Singh Kripal Singh Pustakalaya, Amritsar, 1948, pp. 17-18, where there is a reference to Nanak's early education beginning from 'Ka', 'Kha', 'Ga', 'Gha' etc. under his teacher Pandit Gopal Das. Later, his father Kalu Mahta took him to Pandit Brijlal for studying Sanskrit. Nanak later began to write Sanskrit words on wooden 'patti' (strip); Also refer to Dr. Tarachand's 'Influence of Islam on Indian Culture', Allahabad, 1936, p. 136. Padmavati began her studies at the age of five (Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), V.S. 2018, canto 2, doha 53, p. 62); Also refer to Udaybhanu's "Vikramcharit Rasa" (a Gujarati work), ed. by Prof. Balwantrai K. Thakur, B.U.R., 1st edn., 1957, doha 230, p. 22, where the son of Vikram is seen beginning his schooling at the age of five. It runs thus,

"Kunwar Panchvarsh Nu Thayaun Tab Nishalaii Bhanva Gayun".

41. See Chaitanya Bhagavata" (Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954, p. 41) regarding Nimai's 'Hathe Khari' ceremony. Here, we also get some light on primary education and its curriculum, i.e. Nimai is seen writing the name of 'Krishna' and afterwards he is found writing words like 'Ram', 'Murari', 'Mukund', 'Banamali' etc. Here, we also get references to the *Varnamalas* like 'Ka', 'Kha', 'Ga', 'Gha' etc. It runs thus,

"Henomote Krida Kore Gaurang Gopal,
Hathe Khari Dibar Hoilo Ashikal,
Subhadiney Subhakhaney Mishra Purandar,
Hathe Kharir Patrer Dilen Dijobar,
Kichchhu Sheshey Milia Sakal Bandhugan,
Karnbedha Korilen Shrichuda Karan,
Drishmatra Sakal Akshar Likhi Jay,
Porom Vishrit Hoi Sarvogane Chay,
Dindui Tine Likhilen Sarvophala,
Nirantar Likhilen Krishner Namamala,

Ram, Krishna, Murari, Mukund, Banamali,
 Ahranisi Likhen Podhen Kutuhali,
 Shishugana Sange Padhe Boikunthe Rai,
 Param Sukriti Sab Dekhe Nodi Aay,
 Ki Madhuri Kori Prabhu 'Ka', 'Kha', 'Ga', 'Gha' Bole,
 Taha Suniteya Matra Servo Jiba Bhole".

Also see Balramdas's "Jagmohan Ramayana" (Adi Kanda), pub. by Nityanand Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 2nd edn., p. 57, for a reference to 'Khari Chhua' of Ram, Lakshman, Bharat and Shatrughan after worshipping mother Goddess Saraswati and God Ganesha; Also see Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Madhya Parva), pub. by Abhinna Chandra Dan, Cuttack, 2nd edn., 1939, p. 352 for a reference to 'Khari Path'.

42. Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana", pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn., 1926, Adi Kanda, p. 61.
43. Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Madhya Parva), pub. by Abhinna Chandra Dan, Cuttack, 2nd edn., 1939, pp. 347-352.
44. Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, dohas 35-37, p. 39.
45. Vijay Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 95 for a reference to 'Kavyashastra'.
46. Referring to the Hindus, Alberuni says thus, The two sciences of grammar and metrics are auxiliary to the other sciences. Of the two, the former, grammar, holds the first place in their estimate, called *Vyakarana*, i.e. the law of the correctness of their speech and etymological rules, by means of which they acquire an eloquent and classical style both in writing and reading. We Muslims cannot learn anything of it, since it is a branch coming from a root which is not within our grasp—I mean the language itself." Then, Alberuni concludes it by giving a list of titles of books on this science, viz.:

1. *Aindra*, attributed to Indra, the head of the angels.
2. *Candra*, composed by Candra, one of the red-robe-wearing sect, the followers of Buddha.
3. *Sakata*, so called by the name of its author. His tribe, too, is called by a name derived from the same word, viz. *Sakatayana*.
4. *Panini*, so called from its author.
5. *Katantra*, composed by Sarvavarman.
6. *Sasidevavritti*, composed by Sasideva.
7. *Durgavivritti*.
8. *Sishyahitavritti*, composed by Ugrabhuti.

—(Refer to Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 135; Also see Ibid. p. 136 for a tale relating to the origin of grammar).

47. Referring to 'Chhanda', Alberuni says, "Grammar is followed by another science, called *Chhandas*, i.e. the metrical form of poetry,

corresponding to our metrics—a science indispensable to them, since all their books are in verse. By composing their books in metres they intend to facilitate their being learned by heart, and to prevent people in all questions of science ever recurring to a *written* text, save in a case of bare necessity. For they think that the mind of man sympathises with everything in which there is symmetry and order, and has an aversion to everything in which there is no order. Therefore, most Hindus are passionately fond of their verses, and always desirous of reciting them, even if they do not understand the meaning of the words, and the audience will snap their fingers in token of joy and applause. They do not want prose compositions, although it is much easier to understand them" (Alberuni's *India*, I (Sachau), pp. 136-137).

48. A. L. Srivastava, *Med. Indian Culture*, pub. by Shiwa Lal Agarwala & Co. (P) Ltd., Agra, 1st edn., 1964, p. 110.
49. Ibid. In a contemporary Bengali work, i.e. Pandit Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini" (ed. by Basantarajan Ray, pub. by Shree Natwar Chakravarty, Bangabhashi Sanskaran, Cal., 1910, p. 276) a Brahman is found teaching his students various 'Shastras', 'Vedas' ('Dhanurveda', 'Yatirveda' etc.), 'Tantra' (thought), 'Dharmashastra', 'Nyaya Shastra' (logic), 'Alankar Shashtra' (rhetoric), 'Atmavidya' (the science of the knowledge of soul), 'Rajniti' (the science of government and statecraft) etc. It runs thus:

"Sarvoshastra Brahman Padhay Tushta Hoia,
Sangopange Chari Veda Brahman Padhay,
Dhanurveda, Yatirveda Vivedh Upaya,
Tantra Mantra Dharmashastra Nyaya Alankar,
Attavidya Rajniti Nana Vyavahar".

Also see Ibid. p. 358 for a reference to 'Dharmashastra', 'Purana' and 'Itihasa' which runs thus.

"Vedacharya Munigana Bahusakha Kori,
Padhailo Bahushishya Ved Adhikari,
Purantakhan Kahi Suna Savadhane,
Svarga Visarga Vritti Pakshamanyantar,
Vanshavali Rajvansha Charita Sundar,
Pralap-Vashna Aar Jiver Ashraya,
Ei Das Lakhan Puran Parichaya,
Ashtadash Purana Bakhane Munivane,
Brahmapuran Padm Vishnu Shiva Name,
Lingapuran Aar Garuda Purana,
Narhdiva Purana Mahabhabagavatnam,
Agni Purana Skanda Bhavishya Purana,
Brahmvaivarta Aar Markandev Nam,
Baman Barah Mata Kurma Namdhari,
Brahmanda Puran Aar Ashtadash Buli".

50. Vijay Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", ed. by Basant Kumar Bhattacharya, pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., p. 95; Here, Vijay Gupta refers to the courses and books read by Lakhendar thus,

"Padhishale Toilek Bala Lakhendar,
Prathama Padhay Sutra Sukhe Diji Bara,
Tarpay Vyakarana Padhe Rajsute,
Bhottiraghu Sahitya Padhilo Harshite,
Alankar Kumar Padhilo Abhidan,
Jyotish Natak Kavya Padhilo Vidhan,
Ashtadash Puran Podhilo Anivarya,
Hoilo Pandit Bado Rajar Kumar."

Also refer to Asit Kumar Bandopadhyaya's "Bangla Sahityer Itibritta", pt. II, pub. by Modern Book Agency (P) Ltd., Cal., 1st edn., 1959, p. 53.

51. For a detailed information regarding Rudrasudhanidhi's education, refer to Narayananda Abdhuta Swami's "Rudrasudhanidhi", ed. by Dr. Karunakar Kar, pub. by Orissa Sahitya Academy, Cuttack, 1st edn., 1965, pp. 100-104. The statements with regard to the curriculum for higher studies in Orissa, no doubt, suffer somewhat from exaggeration.
52. Nuh Sipihr, ed. by Muhammad Wahid Mirza, Oxford University, Press, 1950, p. 167.
53. Alberuni's India, I (Sachau), p. 156.
54. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Lond., Vol. IV, 1926-28, p. 305.
55. See Asit Kumar Bandopadhyaya's "Bangla Sahityer Itibritta", pt. I, pub. by Modern Book Agency (P) Ltd., Cal., 1st edn. 1959, pp. 439-440.
56. See Ramesh Chunder Dutta's The Literature of Bengal, Thacker Spink & Co., Cal., 1895, p. 84.
57. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana's A History of Indian Logic, C.U., 1921, p. 405; Also refer to A. S. Bandopadhyaya's "Bangla Sahityer Itibritta", pt. II, pub. by Modern Book Agency (P) Ltd., Cal., 1st edn., 1959, p. 49.
58. He was called Pakshadhara on account of his gaining victory in a debate which he conducted for fortnight or a *Paksha*. With regard to Pakshadhara it is observed, "Sankara and Vachaspati are comparable to Siva and Brihaspati, but there are none who could be compared to Pakshadhara..." He was the author of the following works:—(i) Tattva-Cintamanyoloka; (ii) Dravyakiranavali-Prakasha and (iii) Lilavati-Viveka. In spite of his being a logician, he was the author of two charming Sanskrit plays, viz. "Prasanna Raghava" and "Chandraloka" (Vidyabhushana's A History of Indian Logic, C.U., 1921, p. 455).

59. Vidyabhushana's 'A History of Indian Logic', C.U., 1921, p. 454.
60. Ibid, f.n. No. 1, p. 522.
61. Vidyabhushana's 'A History of Indian Logic', C.U., 1921, p. 524.
62. Pub. by Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954 (Adi Kanda), p. 14.
63. Vrindaban Das, "Chaitanya Bhagavata", pub. by Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954 (Adi Kanda), p. 110, where the poet says thus,

"Yadyapih Navadvipe Pandit Samaj,
Kuttar Buda Adhyapak Nanashashtre Raj,
Bhattacharya, Chakravarti Mishra Wa Acharya,
Adhyapan Bina Karo Nahi Kono Karya".

i.e. "Navadvipa is famous for *Adhyapaks* (teachers) of *Nana shastras* (different branches of knowledge) and there are Bhattacharya, Chakravarti, Mishra and Acharya whose only work is teaching and nothing else." Also refer to Dinesh Chandra Sen's 'History of Bengali Language and Literature, C.U., 1911, pp. 409-410; J. N. Sarkar's 'Chaitanya's Life and Teaching', pub. by M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Cal., 1932, p. 19; Also Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XI, pt. III, 1930, p. 250.

64. For "Navya-Nyaya" in Navadvipa, refer to Vidyabhushana's 'A History of Indian Logic', C.U., 1921, pp. 461-489; Chintaharan Chakravarti in his art. entitled 'Bengal's Contribution to Philosophical Literature in Sanskrit', pub. in Ind. Ant. Vol. LVIII, 1929, pp. 201-202, writes thus,

"... It was about the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century that the study of *Nyaya Vaisesika* began in right earnest and within a very short time absorbed almost the entire attention of the people, and the study of other branches of philosophy was almost totally eclipsed".

Also see Melville F. Kennedy's *The Chaitanya Movement*, O.U.P., 1925, p. 4; Also refer to P. C. Sen's *Chaitanya and His companions*, C.U., 1917, p. 80; Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XI, pt. III, 1930, p. 249, an art. entitled *Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature* by Chintaharan Chakravarti: Also see J. G. Ghosh's *Bengali Literature*, O.U.P., Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1948, p. 10.

65. Vidyabhushana's 'A History of Indian Logic', C.U. 1921, p. 525.
66. A. L. Srivastava, *Med. Indian Culture*, pub. by Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. (P) L'd., Agra, 1st edn., 1964, pp. 111-112.
67. Refer to R. K. Mookherjee's *Ancient Indian Education*, Lond., 2nd edn., 1951, p. 601.
68. Alberuni's *India*, I (Sachau), p. 173.
69. Ibid. p. 22.
70. Hasmukh D. Sankalia's *The University of Nalanda*, Madras, 1934, p. 214.

71. Tab. Nas., E. & D., II, p. 306 ; Also refer to History of Bengal, vol. II, ed. by J. N. Sarkar, pub. by Dacca University, 1st edn., Aug., 1948, p. 3.
72. T. N. Siqueira, The Education of India, Oxford, 4th edn., 1952, p. 8.
73. Sankalia's The University of Nalanda, Madras, 1934, pp. 214-215.
74. Vidyabhushana's A History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, C.U., 1909, p. 150.
75. Ibid, p. 151.
- 75a. Pr. I.H.C., Anand Session, 1957, p. 172.
76. Vidyabhushana's A History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, C.U., 1909, pp. 150-151.
77. Hasmukh D. Sankalia's The University of Nalanda, Madras, 1934, p. 186.
78. Vidyabhushana's A History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, C.U., 1909, p. 151.
80. Refer to Samdeva's "Kathasaritsagar", ed. by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kashinath Pandurang Parab, pub. by Tukaram Javaji, Bombay, 2nd edn., 1903, p. 5.
81. Ibid, Tarang 10, lambak 10, pp. 346-347.
82. For Gujarat's contribution to Medicine, refer to 'The Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. VII, April and July, 1945, pp. 79-83, an art. entitled "Medical Science in Ancient Gujarat", by D. K. Shastri.
83. Ibid, p. 80.
84. The Journal of Gujarat Research Society, Vol. VII, April-July, 1945, p. 82.
85. Ibid, p. 83.
86. Refer to "Nagari Pracharini Patrika", Vol. X, V.S. 1986, an art. entitled "Shtreesiksha" by Mrs. Annapurna Devi, pp. 533-538. "Women students were divided into two classes, *Brahmavadinis* and *Sadyodvahas*. The former were lifelong students of theology and philosophy; the latter used to prosecute their studies till their marriage at the age of 15 or 16. During the eight or nine years that were thus available to them for study, they used to learn by heart the vedic hymns prescribed for the daily and periodical prayers and for those rituals and sacraments in which they had to take an active part after their marriage..." (Dr. A. S. Altekar's The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, pub. by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 3rd edn., 1962, pp. 10-11).
87. "... Amongst Mohammedans the education of women was just as restricted as amongst Hindus. The *Purdah* system which shut up all Mohammedan women, except young girls, in seclusion, made their education a matter of great difficulty even where it may have been desired" (Refer to F. E. Keay's Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times, O.U.P., 2nd edn., 1938, p. 77).

88. Ibid.
89. Qanoon-i-Islam, tr. by Herklots, Madras, 2nd edn., 1863, pp. 47-50.
90. "Prithviraj Raso", pt. III by Kavirava Mohansingh, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, Samay 42, doha 17, p. 221.
91. Ibid, Samay 42, dohas 47-48, p. 234.
92. Jayasi's "Chitrarekha", pub. by Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., April, 1959, p. 81. Here, Jayasi refers to the education of Chitrarekha thus,

"Panch Barasi Anha Bhar So Bari,
Rasna Ambrit Bain Sanwari
Lag Padhavai Guru Ganesu,
Bhaee Pandit Subha Suni Naresu".

Also refer to Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon, (Jhansi), 2nd edn., canto 2, doha 54, p. 63, where Padmavat is found reading the 'Shastras' and the *Vedas*.

93. S. M. Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, Peshawar, 1st edn., 1936, p. 189.
94. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 179; Also refer to H.A.R. Gibb's Ibn Battuta's Travels in India and Africa (Broadway Travellers, Lond., 1929), pp. 330-331; Also see Voyages D' Ibn Battuta, Vol. IV, p. 67.
95. Brigg's Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Vol. IV, p. 236; Also see Mulla Abd Ul-Baqi Nahavandi's Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, vol. I, ed. by Shams-ul-Ulama M. Hidayat Hosain, A.S.B., 1924, p. 145; where we find references to the education of girls in the Harem of Ghiyas-ud-Din Khalji thus, "Some were taught to play on a musical instrument named *Mujamir*, some were taught *Kushiigiri* (wrestling); and five hundred girls were taught the use of shield".
96. Law, Promotion of Learning During Muhammadan Rule in India, Longmans, Green & Co., Cal., 1916, p. 21.
97. Brigg's Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 217.
98. Raverty, Tab. Nas., p. 637.
99. Ibid, p. 392; Also refer to S.M. Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, Peshawar, 1st edn., 1936, p. 192.
100. S. M. Jaffar, The Rise and Fall of the Ghaznawids, Peshawar, 1940, pp. 25-26.
101. S. M. Jaffar, The Rise and Fall of the Ghaznawids, Peshawar, 1940, p. 100; Also refer to "Sanadid-e-Azam", Allahabad, 1941, p. 70 for Sultan Mahmud's poetical compositions.
102. The "Sanadid-e-Azam", Allahabad, 1941, p. 109.
103. Ibid, p. 110.
104. Ibid.
105. Nazim Muhammad, The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, Camb. University Press, Lond., 1931, pp. 156-157.

106. Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 137; Also refer to Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 14.
107. Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, pp. 189-190; Also Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 19.
108. *Tarikh-i-Fakhru'd-Din Mubarakshahi*, R.A.S., 1927, p. 21.
109. Raverty, *Tab. Nas.*, p. 670.
110. T.F.S.(B), *Bib. Ind.*, Cal. 1862, pp. 144-145.
111. *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, O.I.B., 1953, p. 35.
112. Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 24.
113. T.F.S.(B), *Bib. Ind.*, 1862, pp. 66-67; Also refer to S. M. Jaffar's *Education in Muslim India*, Peshawar, 1936, p. 43.
114. T.F.S.(B), *Bib. Ind.*, Cal., 1862, p. 463; Also refer to E. & D., III, pp. 235-236; *Ferishta* writes thus, "He was the prince of his time, and his letters both in Arabic and Persian display so much elegance, good taste, and good sense that the most able secretaries of later times study them with admiration" (Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, pp. 410-411).
115. Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 43.
116. Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 411; Also refer to *Ibid*, vol. I (Per. Text), Bombay, 1832, p. 236.
117. Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 44; Also see Dr. Ishwari Prasad's *A History of Qaraunah Turks in India*, The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1936, pp. 310-312.
118. Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 411; Also refer to *Ibid*, vol. I (Per. Text), Bombay, 1832, p. 236.
119. T.F.S.(B), *Bib. Ind.*, Cal., 1862, p. 464.
120. *Ibid*.
121. S'ad-ud-din Mantiqi (metaphysician) was a well-known philosopher, whom Barni calls in ridicule, S'ad Mantiqi. He was a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya and a companion of Amir Khusrau. Along with the latter, he was recommended by Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya to Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji. The Sultan had accordingly made him as well as Amir Khusrau his courtiers (vide T.F.S.(B), *Bib. Ind.*, Cal., 1862, pp. 197-198; *Ibid*, pp. 297-299, where Barni mentions that Malik S'ad-ud-din Mantiqi was also a courtier of Sultan Alaud-din Khalji). Mantiqi had reported to Sultan Alaud-din about the treatise of Maulana Sams-ud-din Turk, the famous professor of *Hadis* (sayings of the Prophet), which some of the *Ulama* withheld from the Sultan (*Ibid*, p. 299).
122. *Ibid*, p. 465.

123. Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 424; Also refer to Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 45.
124. E. & D., III, pp. 274-275.
125. Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 562; Also see E. & D., IV, p. 436.
126. *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Makhzan-i-Afghani*, MS No. 82, Cat. No. 529, O.P.L., fol. 145(a) and 145(b).
127. Ibid, fol. 140(a).
128. Badaoni, I (Ranking), p. 430.
129. Refer to Chandbardi's "*Prithviraj Raso*", pt. I, ed. by Kavirava Mohansingh, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, canto 1, *Adi Katha*, dohas 60-61, p. 28; Here, the poet refers to the education of Prithviraj thus,

"Koik Din Gur Ram Pai, Padhi Su Vidya Appa,
 Chaude Vidya Chatur Var, Lai Sikha Patta Lippa,
 Kala Bahuttari Kari Kushal, Ati Nibaddha Jiy Jani,
 Het Adi Janan Nipun, Chatura Siti Vigyan".
130. Chandbardi's "*Prithviraj Raso*", pt. I, ed. by Kavirava Mohansingh, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, canto 1, *Adki Katha*, doha 64, p. 29, where the poet refers to the education of Rajput kings thus,

"Sabda Adi Dai Nipun Ati, Sastrah Sattavisa".
131. Chandbardi's "*Prithviraj Raso*", pt. I, ed. by Kavirava Mohansingh, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, shloka 65, p. 29, which runs thus,

"Sanskrit Prakratam Chaiva, Apabhramshah Pishachika, Magadhi Sur Senicha, Shata Bhashashchaiva Gyayate".
132. Ibid, doha 63, p. 29.
133. Ibid, Samay 6 (*Akheta Vir Vardan*), kavitta 63, p. 128, which runs thus, "*Prithiraj Chahuan, Ban Parath Bali-Bandah*".
134. "*Mrigavati*", ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, shaka 1885, pp. 101-102.
135. Manjhan's "*Madhumalti*", ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, chhanda 56, pp. 47-48; Here, the poet refers to the education of Prince Manohar thus,

"Panchaye Baris Dharesi Bhui Paun.
 Pandit Kai Vaisareu Rao,
 Dorab Koti Dui Agai Rakha,
 Tehi Par Vachan Rau Asa-Bhakha,
 Jais Mor Sut Taisan Tora,
 Vidya Det Na Lagai Bhora,
 Mohi Tum Son Nahi Lagahi Khor,
 Din Din Karab Sev Main Tori".

It reveals to us that the learned *Pundits* in royal courts were highly revered by the kings, for they imparted education to the Princes.

136. Manjhan's "Madhumalti", ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, p. 47; Also Ibid, ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., Nov., 1957, p. 19.
137. Ibid ed. by Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., Nov., 1957 (Janmanti Khand), p. 19; Also see Ibid, ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, p. 48, which runs thus,

"Khand Farj Jo Kota Katara,
 Mal Saraun Jo Sadhu Kumara,
 Dhanush Ban Lawon Kehi Jora,
 Baar Bandhi Niti Moti Sir Fora".
138. Hamid-ud-din Nagauri was one of the disciples of Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chisti of Ajmer. It is said that Hamid-ud-din was the first Muslim baby to have been born in Delhi after its conquest by Qutb-ud-din Aibak (See Dr. A. L. Srivastava's *Med. Indian Culture*, Agra, 1st edn., 1964, pp. 80-81).
139. Favaid-ul-Fuad, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 83.
140. Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1st edn., 1955, p. 16.
142. Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1st edn., 1955, p. 16.
143. Ibid, p. 18.
144. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, pp: 345-346; Also refer to Nizami's *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1st edn., 1955, pp. 76-77.
144. Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1st edn., 1955, p. 81.
145. Ibid.
146. Ibid.
147. Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1st edn., 1955, p. 82.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid, p. 83.
150. Ibid.
151. Nizami, *Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1st edn., 1955, p. 83.

152. Ibid, p. 84.
153. Shaikh Abdul Huq Muhaddis, *Akhbarul-Akhyar*, Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1332, A.H., p. 55.
154. Ibid, p. 77.
155. I.C., XIX, No. 4, Oct., 1945, an art. entitled "Libraries During the Muslim Rule in India" by S. A. Zafar Nadvi, p. 329.
156. M. Elphinstone, *The History of India (The Hindu and Mahometan Periods)*, 9th edn., Lond., 1916, p. 333; Also refer to Sanadid-e-Azam, Allahabad, 1941, p. 70; Also Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 61; *Law's Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 5.
157. *Law's Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 31.
158. Nizami, *The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar*, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1st edn., 1955, p. 83.
159. 'Akhbarul-Akhyar' by Shaikh Abdul Huq Muhaddis Dehlavi, pub. by Md. Hashim and Md. Abdul Aziz, Hashimi Press, Meerut, 1178 A. H., p. 80.
160. I.C., XII, 1938, p. 426; Also Ibid, XIX, No. 4, Oct., 1945; p. 330; Ferishta observes, "The name by which the idol was known at the time of the contest was Jwalamookhi. In the temple of this idol was a fine library of Hindu books consisting of 1300 volumes. Firuz ordered one of those books which treated of philosophy, astrology and divination, to be translated into prose in the Persian language, by Eiz-ood-Deen Khalid Khany, and called it *Dulayil Firoze Shahy*" (Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 460); Also *Law's Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, pp. 64-65.
161. Quoted by S. A. Zafar Nadvi in his art. entitled "Libraries During the Muslim Rule in India", pub. in I.C. XIX, No. 4, Oct., 1945, p. 330.
162. *Memoirs of Babur*, II (Bev.), p. 460; Also *Tazkiratul-Salatin*, per. MS. Boh. Coll., fol. 104; Also refer to Z.W., III, Lond., 1928, p. 937; Also *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 378; Also see I.C., XIX, No. 4, Oct., 1945, p. 331.
163. H. Mohammad, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin, A Study* (Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1927), p. 62.
164. Nazim Muhammad, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, Camb. University Press, Lond., 1931, pp. 157-158.
165. Maulana Mehdi Husain Nasir, *Sanadid-e-Azam*, pub. by Rai Saheb Lala Ram Dayal Agarwala, Allahabad, 1941, p. 71; Also refer to *Alberuni's India*, I (Sachau), Preface, p. ix.
166. Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964, p. 114; Also refer to Maulvi Mohammad Zakaullah's *Tarikh-i-Hindustan*, vol. I, Delhi, 1897, p. 299; Also see the art. entitled "Literary Progress of the Hindus

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 168. Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964, p. 218; Also refer to 'Ma'asir-i-Rahimi', vol. I, A.S.B., 1924, p. 75; Badaoni, I (Ranking), pp. 26-27; Also see Dr. Kamaldhari Singh 'Kamlesh', "Musalmanon Ki Hindi Seva", pub. by Sahitya Bhavan Ltd., Prayag, 1st edn., 1935, pp. 3-4.
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 171. G. M. D. Sufi, Al-Minhaj, pub. by Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, 1st edn., Aug., 1941, p. 13.
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 174. G. M. D. Sufi, Al-Minhaj, pub. by Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore, 1st edn., Aug. 1941, p. 14; Also refer to Law's Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule, Cal., 1916, pp. 17-18.
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 176. F. E. Kaey, Indian Education in Ancient and Later Times, Lond., 2nd edn., 1938, p. 109.
 177. Tarikh-i-Fakhru'd-din Mubarkshahi, ed. by E. Denison Ross, R.A.S., 1927, p. 35.
 178. Refer to I.H.Q., vol. XIII, 1937, p. 239, an art. entitled "Sultan Shamsud-Din Iltutmish" by Aziz Ahmad.
 179. Law's Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule, Cal., 1916, p. 22; Also Raverty's Tab. Nas., p. 637.
 180. G. M. D. Sufi, Al-Minhaj, Lahore, 1st edn., Aug., 1941, p. 16.
 181. S. M. Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, Peshawar, 1st edn., 1936, p. 41.
 182. Tab. Nas., tr. by Major Raverty, pp. 678-679.
 183. G. M. D. Sufi, Al-Minhaj, Lahore, 1st edn., Aug., 1941, p. 15.
 184. S. M. Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, Peshawar, 1st edn., 1936, p. 42.

185. John Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 251.
186. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 112.
187. Ibid.
188. Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 24.
189. Ibid, p. 25 ; Also see the relevant section of this chapter dealing with Prince Muhammad's education.
190. Amir Khusrau's poem entitled "*Ashiqah*", quoted in Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 28.
191. S. M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, Peshawar, 1936, p. 44.
192. S. M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, Peshawar, 1936, p. 44 ; Also refer to T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 201 ; Also Badaoni, I (Ranking), p. 245 ; *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 156.
193. Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964, p. 218.
194. The statement of Barni that "Alauddin Khalji was unlettered and never associated with men of learning", refers only to the early years of his reign, when he was not only indifferent, but also positively hostile to the peaceful cause of education, for the weight of evidence is in the favour of the fact that subsequently he applied himself diligently to the study of Persian and succeeded in acquiring some proficiency in it and when he found himself in a position to understand learned discourses and conversations, he began to show favour to all men of eminence—Refer to Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, Bombay, pp. 347-348 ; S. M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, Peshawar, 1936, p. 46 ; Also Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 33 ; Also see Dr. N. C. Banerjee's art. entitled "Life and Times of Sultan Alauddin Khalji", pub. in Pr. I.H.C., 3rd Session, Calcutta, 1939, p. 808.
195. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 213.
196. Refer to T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, pp. 353-354 for a detailed list of these forty-six scholars ; Also I.C., XII, Jan., 1938, an art. entitled "Ziauddin Barani" by Syed Massan Barani, p. 81 ; Also Law's *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 38 ; J.P.R.A.S.B., vol. VII, 1941, p. 22.
197. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 352.
198. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 359 ; Also I.C., XII, Jan., 1938, p. 80 ; Ghazali was born at Tus (Iran) in 450 A.H. He was well-skilled in *Fiqh* and *Hikmat*. After completing his education, he used to devote his time in study and composing works. His important works are: 'Ahya-ul-Ulum', 'Muqased-ul-Falasafa', 'Tuhafat-ul-Falasafa' and 'Meyar-ul-Ilm'. He made an important

- contribution to Islamic theology—Refer to Allahabad University Studies, vol. V, 1929, pp. 128-129 for the life-sketch of Ghazali.
199. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 354.
 200. Ibid, p. 355.
 201. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 355; Also J.P.R.A.S.B., VII, 1941, p. 23; Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 213.
 202. J.P.R.A.S.B., VII, 1941, p. 23.
 203. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 359.
 204. Barni, the author of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, compares the poet, Amir Hasan Sanjari (who flourished during Alauddin's reign) with the great poet, Sadi Siraj, who was born in 655 A.H. in Iran. However, Sadi (1134-1291 A.D.) had spent his thirty years in travelling hither and thither in search of knowledge and rest of the thirty years in strenuous study, writing prose and poetry. He was the author of two masterpieces—*Gulistan* and *Bostan*—Refer to John A. Subhan's "Sufism, Its Saints and Shrines", pub. by Lucknow Publishing House, Hazratganj, Lucknow, 1938, pp. 41-42 for the life-sketch of Sadi Siraj.
 205. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, pp. 359-360; Also refer to J.P.R.A.S.B., VII, 1941, p. 23; Sultan Hameed Warsi's History of Ala-ud-Din Khilji, pub. by Rai Sahib Ram Dayal Agarwala, Allahabad, 1930, pp. 89-91.
 206. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 361.
 207. Ibid.
 208. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 361; Also J.P.R.A.S.B., VII, 1941, p. 23.
 209. J.P.R.A.S.B., VII, 1941, p. 24.
 210. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, pp. 363-364.
 211. Ibid, p. 364; Also Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 214.
 212. J.P.R.A.S.B., VII, 1941, pp. 25-26.
 213. I.C., Vol. XII, 1938, p. 81.
 214. S. M. Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, Peshawar, 1936, p. 47.
 215. S. M. Jaffar, Education in Muslim India, Peshawar, 1936, p. 48.
 216. John Briggs's Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol. I, pp. 410-411.
 217. The Poona Orientalist, IX, Nos. 1 and 2, Jan., 1944—April 1944, pp. 59-60; Also see Dr. Mahdi Husain's 'Tughluq Dynasty', Thacker, Spink & Co. (P) Ltd., Cal., 1963, pp. 482-483.
 218. John Briggs's Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol. I, pp. 410-411.
 219. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 465.
 220. Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964, p. 219.
 221. Law's Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule, Cal., 1916, pp. 50-51; Also see Briggs's Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Vol. I, p. 461.
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- in Mediaeval India, Cosmopolitan Publishers, Badar Bagh, Aligarh, 1956, p. 69.
223. S. M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, Peshawar, 1st edn., 1936, p. 50.
224. *Ibid* ; Also see I.C., XXX, April, 1956, p. 108.
225. John Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 465 ; Also refer to T. N. Siqueira, *The Education of India*, Oxford, 4th edn., 1952, pp. 10-11.
226. T.F.S.(B), *Bib. Ind.*, Cal., 1862, p. 559.
227. *Ibid*.
228. *Law's Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule*, Cal., 1916, p. 71.
229. S. M. Jaffar, *Education in Muslim India*, Peshawar, 1st edn., 1936, p. 54.
230. *Ibid*.
231. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Per. MS No. 99, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L., fol: 37(a) and 37(b) ; Also refer to A. L. Srivastava's *Med. Indian Culture*, pub. by Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. (P) Ltd., Agra, 1st edn., 1964, p. 103.
232. Refer to the art. entitled "The *Luhjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*, a unique book on Indian Music of the Time of Sikandar Lodi", pub. in I.C., vol. XXVIII, July, 1954, p. 410.
233. Badaoni, I (Ranking), p. 426 ; Also Brigg's *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, vol. I, p. 344 ; I.C., vol. XXVIII, July, 1954, p. 426 ; A. L. Srivastava, *Med. Indian Culture*, Agra, 1st edn., 1964, p. 103.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN

The status of women in a country reflects the standard of its civilization, culture and refinement. In India, from the earliest days, our women have enjoyed a subordinate yet honourable status in society. The code of Manu, the ancient Hindu law-giver, has ascribed to our women a dependent, but by no means a dishonourable position in society. Manu says thus, "By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent. She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons; by leaving them she would make both (her own and her husband's) families contemptible."¹ Then again, "She must always be cheerful, clever in (the management of her) household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economical in expenditure."² At another place, Manu holds, "Day and night women must be kept in dependence by the males (of) their (families), and, if they attach themselves to sensual enjoyments, they must be kept under one's control. Her father protects (her) in childhood, her husband protects (her) in youth, and her sons protect (her) in old age; a woman is never fit for independence. Reprehensible is the father who gives not (his daughter in marriage) at the proper time; reprehensible is the husband who approaches not (his wife in due season), and reprehensible is the son who does not protect his mother after her husband has died. Women must particularly be guarded against evil inclinations, however trifling (they may appear); for, if they are not guarded, they will bring sorrow on two families. Considering that the highest duty of all castes, even weak husbands (must) strive to guard their wives. He who carefully guards his wife, preserves (the purity of) his offspring, virtuous conduct, his family, himself, and his (means of acquiring) merit."³

Though Manu has ascribed to our women a thoroughly dependent status, yet he does not forget to refer to the honourable position enjoyed by them in society. He remarks thus, "Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire (their own) welfare. Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields rewards. Where the female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy ever prospers. The houses on which female relations, not being duly honoured, pronounce a curse, perish completely, as if destroyed by magic. Hence men who seek (their own) welfare, should always honour women on holidays and festivals with (gifts of) ornaments, clothes, and (dainty) food. In that family, where the husband is pleased with his wife and the wife with her husband, happiness will assuredly be lasting."¹ Moreover, Manu also seems to be in favour of their employment in royal service, industry and agriculture. He says, "For women employed in the royal service and for menial servants, let him fix a daily maintenance, in proportion to their position and to their work."² Thus, Manu reveals that the Hindu women in pre-Muslim period enjoyed an honourable status in society, both in theory as well as in practice.

During the period under review, a change did occur in their status, as a result of the advent of the Muslims in India. The Muslim women, too, enjoyed a dignified status in society as it is evident from the Prophet's sayings in the Holy Qur'an. He says, "O you who believe! it is not lawful for you that you should *take women as heritage* against (their) will; and do not straiten them in order that you may take part of what you have given them, unless they are guilty of manifest indecency, and treat them kindly; then if you hate them, it may be that you dislike a thing while Allah has placed abundant good in it."³ Referring to the Hindus, Alberuni observes, "In all consultations and emergencies they take the advice of the women."⁴ Speaking about the Mabar women, Barbosa writes, "These nairs show much respect to their mothers, and support them with what they gain... They also have much respect for their elder

sisters, which they treat as mothers. And do not enter into a room with those that are young girls, nor touch them; nor speak to them, saying that it would give occasion to sin with them, because it could not happen with the elder ones, on account of the respect they have for them."¹⁰ Though women were treated with honour, yet the birth of a female child was looked upon as an inauspicious incident in a family. Amir Khusrau seems to express profound grief over the birth of his daughter in his famous poem "Laila Majnun" thus, "I wish you were not born, and if you were, it would have been better if you had been a boy. No one can alter the decrees of fate."¹¹

The general destiny of our women, during the period under review had an obvious relevance to some of the almost universally prevalent contemporary social features. First of all, a reference here may be made to the practice of *Purdah* (veil), which had become almost a general feature of Indian womanhood in those days.

PURDAH

The word 'Purdah' is of Persian origin, which literally means 'curtain'. In addition to the original sense, it has also acquired a secondary meaning, viz. 'the seclusion of women', which may, however, differ in degree according to the social status of a family. Although our ancient literature such as the Arthashastra of Kautilya alludes occasionally to the practice of seclusion of women, other evidences indicate that the seclusion, even among the wealthy and leisured classes, though strictly practised, was not as strict as it is now in the most parts of India. The examples of the dominant Muslims combined with the desire of the Hindus to give the female members of their families every possible protection against the alien masters, made the practice of living 'behind the curtain' more popular and more widely prevalent, during the period under review, than what it used to be in the ancient times.¹² In this context, one would like to refer to Dr. A. S. Altekar's observations that "even in pre-Muslim times there was a section in society from C. 100 B.C. which advocated the use of the veil for royal ladies for the purpose of increasing their prestige."¹³

Purdah, at that time, was observed generally by the Muslim women, as also by a section of the Hindu women, particularly those belonging to the upper and well-to-do classes. The vast mass of peasant women did not wear any shroud or veil and did not live in seclusion; rather they moved the lapel of their *saris* or other head-dresses slightly over their faces when they passed a stranger, their arms and their faces were otherwise quite exposed.¹²

However, the Muslim women, especially those belonging to the royal as well as aristocratic classes, adhered to the practice of *Purdah* with greater rigidity. References to *Purdah* among the Muslim women can be found in abundance in contemporary literatures,¹³ foreign travellers' accounts as well as in Persian Chronicles.¹⁴ Amir Khusrau¹⁵ frequently refers to this practice in his different works and says thus, "The good woman is one who habitually observes *Purdah* and wears *Burqa* (mantle) on her face; A woman who used to wander about in streets is not a woman, rather she is a bitch. The women should maintain *Purdah* (privacy) in their house even being as narrow and as constricted as eye of a needle..."¹⁶ Sultana Raziyah was an exceptional lady, and she violated the prevailing custom, when she laid aside her female dress and went out in public.¹⁷

The Sultans of Delhi, however, made attempts to enforce *Purdah* on the subjects of the kingdom. Firuz Shah Tughluq was the first monarch to stop the visit of Muslim women to mausoleums outside the city of Delhi, as, according to him, Muslim law (*Shar'at*) forbade such outdoor movements. He writes in his *Futuhat* thus, "Bevies of women, mounted on palanquins, carts, litters, horse and camels, and flocks of pedestrians used to come out of the city on holy occasions and repaired to the tombs. Rakes and ruffians, given to sensuality and averse to piety, committed wild and rowdy deeds which were common knowledge. By religious law women are forbidden to go out. We strictly forbade the women to visit the shrines, and whoever were to go, would be punished. None, by the grace of God, the veiled Muslim women living in *Purdah* have not the courage to go out and visit the shrines. This innovation was too suppressed..."¹⁸ Sultan Sikandar Lodi also

forbade the Muslim women to visit the *Mazars* (tombs of Sufis)¹⁹ But, in spite of the enforcement of *Purdah* by the Sultans, the women of ruling chiefs and higher nobles came out in heavily covered and even locked litters (*dolis*).²⁰

In the highest sections, Hindu women also were known to observe *Purdah* rigidly. Referring to the Hindu women of Gujarat, Barbosa says, "... These women are kept much at home and shut up. They seldom leave their houses and when go forth, they are wrapt up in long garments covering their heads, 'much as to women with us cover themselves, with the mantle'."²¹ Like their Muslim sisters, they went out (of their houses) on special occasions, in covered and well-guarded palanquins or litters which were known as 'Palkis', 'Dolis', 'Chaundols' or 'Hindolas'.²² A moderate and less elaborate form of *Purdah* commonly known as 'Ghoonghat'²³ (a kind of partial veil which concealed the face) appears to have been observed by the Hindu women of the well-to-do classes in almost all the regions of Northern India during our period.

It may well be said that *Purdah* might have impeded, to a great extent, the progress of women both Hindu and Muslim. It became a potent factor responsible for their feeling of inferiority and mental deficiency; The term 'Purdah' may also signify the seclusion of women in a separate building or an isolated apartment of the building. This came to be known as 'Harem', during the period under review, which has been discussed later in this chapter.

MARRIAGE, MENSTRUAL COURSES, CHILDBIRTH ETC.

Marriage is, no doubt, a very important and interesting phase in the life of a woman. Referring to the importance of marriage in a society, Alberuni writes, "No nation can exist without a regular married life, for it prevents the uproar of passions abhorred by the cultivated mind, and it removes all those causes which excite the animal to a fury always leading to harm. Considering the life of the animals by pairs, how the one member of the pair helps the other, and how the lust of other animals of the same species is kept aloof from them, you cannot help declaring matrimony to be a necessary institution;

whilst disorderly cohabitation or harlotry on the part of man is a shameful proceeding, that does not even attain to the standing of the development of animals, which in every other respect stand far below him."²⁴ There was no age restriction in respect of marriage during the period under review. But, child-marriage had become almost a universal feature both among the Hindus and the Muslims, and the girls seldom passed the age of nine or ten years and the boys sixteen or seventeen before they were united in wedlock.²⁵ Referring to early marriages in Muslim families during Firuz Tughluq's reign, Afif writes, "With the mercy of Sultan the *Sad'daats* (*Saiyyids*), *Qazis* (judges), and *Omrahs* (nobles) used to marry their daughters at a very early age. The poorer people, who were not able to afford money for this purpose, were granted money from Sultan for their daughter's wedding."²⁶

In a Rajasthani work entitled "Dhola-Marura Duha", we find a reference to the marriage of Marwani when she was only one and half years of age and her bridegroom of only three years. Sometimes there was much difference between the age of a boy and that of a girl.²⁷ It appears that the more orthodox sections among the Brahmans favoured early marriage of girls as it was in accordance with the ancient Hindu law. Manu says, "A man, aged thirty years, shall marry a maiden of twelve who pleases him, or a man of twenty-four a girl eight years of age; if (the performance of) his duties would (otherwise) be impeded, (he must marry) sooner."²⁸ This law of Manu might have encouraged among the Hindus the custom of entering into matrimonial relations of old men with young girls.²⁹ Sometimes a child was carried to a young girl, much older in age than the former. Vidyapati has referred to this type of child-marriage in his "Padavali".³⁰

Referring to the institution of marriage and its various types in ancient times, Manu says, "Now listen to (the) brief (description of) the following eight marriage-rites used by the four castes (*varna*) which partly secure benefits and partly produce evil both in this life and after death. (They are) the rite of Brahman (*Brahma*), that of the gods (*Daiva*), that of the Rishis (*Arsha*), that of Prajapati (*Pragapatya*), that of the

Asuras (Asura), that of the Gandharvas (Gandharva), that of the Rakshasas (Rakshasa), and that of the Pisakas (Paisaka)... one may know that the first six according to the order (followed above) are lawful for a Brahmana, the four last for a Kshatriya, and the same four, excepting the Rakshasa rite, for a Vaisya and a Sudra".³¹

Mirza Muhsin Kashmiri, in his work entitled "Dabistanu'l Mazahib" also refers to the different types of Hindu marriages (*khastari*), viz. 'Audah', 'Asroodah', 'Kandarva Vibhaha', 'Chhe-Vibhaha', and 'Yashachya Vibhaha'. In the first type, i.e., 'Audah', the father of a girl used to search out his son-in-law, and after giving some money to him, he gave him his daughter. In another type known as 'Asroodah' (marriage by capture), marriage was always attended with the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home by a man, married or unmarried, while she wept and her relatives were wounded while offering resistance. This type of marriage compares with the *Rakshasa* form as referred to by Manu. *Kandarva Vibhaha* was a marriage by mutual consent of the intending bride and the bridegroom, but without the express sanction of the society and a solemn ceremony. It was often done in a trice, as a result of love at first sight. *Chhevibhaha* was also observed by the power of sword. *Yashachya Vibhaha* as already mentioned, was celebrated after negotiations with the respective guardians with the help of some type of magic.³²

Referring to the laws of marriage among the Hindus, Alberuni says, "Every nation has particular customs of marriage, and especially those who claim to have a religion and law of divine origin. The Hindus marry at a very young age; therefore the parents arrange the marriage for their sons. On that occasion, the Brahmans perform the rites of the sacrifices, and they as well as others receive alms. The implements of the wedding rejoicings are brought forward. No gift is settled between them. The man gives only a present to the wife, as he thinks fit, and a marriage gift in advance, which he has no right to claim back, but the wife may give it back to him for her own will . . ."³³ The act of settling marriage, no doubt, was, to a large extent, very much similar to that it is today.

The settlement of marriage was entirely the concern of the respective parents. They examined the *Tippanis* (horoscopes) of the boy and the girl with the help of *Josis* or *Jyotisis* (astrologers), who decided the auspiciousness of the marriage ceremony.³⁴ The boy and the girl had the least say in any matter pertaining to their marriage and the decisions of their parents were almost always final and binding upon them. The ancient practice of 'Svayambara'³⁵ (self-chosen marriage) has been referred to in some of the contemporary works, but it was very rarely prevalent among some of the royal families at that time. In some cases, the parents, out of their affection, might consult the boy and the girl before they were married.³⁶ Marriage generally took place between a boy and a girl, stranger to each other, in the same caste, sub-caste or profession. Alberuni refers to these caste-marriages among the Hindus thus, "According to their marriage law it is better to marry a stranger than a relative. The more distant the relationship of a woman with regard to her husband the better. It is absolutely forbidden to marry related woman both of the direct *descending* line, viz. a grand-daughter or great-grand-daughter and of the direct ascending line, viz. a mother, grand-mother, or great-grand-mother. It is also forbidden to marry collateral relations, viz. a sister, a niece, a maternal or paternal aunt and their daughters, except in case the couple of relations who want to marry each other be removed from each other by five consecutive generations. In that case the prohibition is waived, but, notwithstanding, such a marriage is an object of dislike to them."³⁷ Alberuni goes on to say, "The child belongs to the caste of the mother, not to that of the father. Thus, e.g. if the wife of a Brahman is a Brahman, her child also is a Brahman; if she is a Sudra, her child is a Sudra. In our times, however, the Brahmans, although it is allowed to them, never marry any woman except one of their own caste."³⁸ Referring to the marriage ceremonies and customs of the Hindus in Gujarat, Barbosa says, "At their wedding they have great festivities which continue for many days, wherein are gathered together much people well-clothed and adorned; entertaining them in noble style. For the most part both men and women marry very young, and

on the day appointed for their reception the bride and bridegroom are seated on a dais; they are covered with gold and gems and jewels, and in front of them they have a mosque with an idol covered with flowers with many oil lamps burning around it. There must both of them stay from morn till eve keeping their eyes fixed on that idol, neither eating, nor drinking, nor speaking one to the other nor to any person else. During this time they are entertained by the peoples with dances and songs, firing of bombs and rockets in plenty for their pleasure . . .³⁹

Like the Hindus, the Muslims also might have observed some rigid rules in this regard, and marriages within the same blood-group or between foster relations were considered unlawful. Prophet Muhammad has also said in the Holy Qur'an thus, "Forbidden to you are your mothers and your daughters and your sisters and your paternal aunts and your maternal aunts and brother's daughters and sisters' daughters and your mothers that have suckled you and your foster-sisters and mothers of your wives and your step-daughters who are in your guardianship, (born) of your wives to whom you have gone in; but if you have not gone in to them, there is no blame on you (in marrying them), and the wives of your sons who are of your own loins, and that you should have two sisters together, except what has already passed; surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful."⁴⁰ Like the Hindus, again, they had certain marriage rituals held on an auspicious day, and the astrologers also played an important role in the settlement of marriages. When Sultan Ala-ud-din, for example, get some respite from his wars and conquests, he set himself to the task of celebrating the marriage of his son. He ordered that those who were in charge of (preparing) the almanac, and those who calculated the events according to the position of the stars could specify and fix up an auspicious date for the celebration of marriage of the Prince. Accordingly, an auspicious day was fixed up. On that (auspicious) day, big domes were raised, and they were decorated with folds. The Muslim and the Hindu musicians played musical instruments; the heaven was made to revolve in an orbit.⁴¹

Some of the Sultans of Delhi were known to be keenly interested in giving financial assistance to poor Muslims for getting their daughters married in time. For example, Firuz Shah Tughluq made provisions for the marriage of poor girls. A separate department was created for this purpose, which was known as *Diwan-i-Khairat*. He had made it public that any one who had a daughter of marriageable age and lacked the wherewithal for her marriage, could apply to the 'Diwan-i-Khairat'. One of its officers was Saiyyid Amir Miran. The officials of the 'Diwan' made enquiries about the circumstances and financial conditions of the applicants and fixed the grade in which they were to be placed according to their status. Those of the first grade were given fifty *tankas*, those falling in the second thirty *tankas* and those in the third received twenty-five *tankas*. Poor *Mussalmans* and widows came to the capital from all parts of the Empire to get the names of their daughters registered in the 'Diwan-i-Khairat'. Several thousand poor girls were, thus, married with the royal assistance.⁴²

Referring to the menstrual courses of the Hindu women, Alberuni says, "The longest duration of the menstrual courses which has been observed is sixteen days, but in reality they last only during the first four days, and then the husband is not allowed to cohabit with his wife, nor even to come near her in the house, because during this time she is impure. After the four days have elapsed and she has washed, she is pure again, and the husband may cohabit with her, even if the blood has not yet entirely disappeared; for this blood is not considered as that of the menstrual courses, but as the same substance-matter of which the embryos consist."⁴³ Referring to the customs with regard to the menstrual courses of the women of Malabar, Barbosa says, "... These nair women every month set themselves apart in their houses for three days without approaching anyone; at which a woman has to prepare her food in separate pots and pans. And when the three days are ended, she bathes with hot water which is brought there, and after bathing dresses in clean clothes, and so goes out of the house to a pool of water and bathes, again, and again leaves those clean clothes, and takes other fresh ones, and so returns home, and talks with her mother

and sisters and the other people. And the room where she was for those three days is well swept and wetted and plastered with cow dung because otherwise no one would dwell there. These women, when they are confined, three days afterwards, are washed with hot waters, and after getting up from their confinement, they bath many times each day, from head to foot. They do no business, eat the bread of idleness, and only get their food to eat by means of their bodies . . ."¹¹⁴

The Muslims, too, must have kept themselves aloof from their wives during their menstruation period as the Qur'an says, "And they ask you about menstruation. Say : It is a *little harmful*, therefore keep aloof from the women during the menstrual discharge and do not go near them until they have become clean ; then when they have cleansed themselves, go in to them as Allah has commanded you : surely Allah loves those who turn much (to Him), and He loves those who purify themselves."¹¹⁵

Referring to pregnancy and childbirth, Alberuni says, "It is the duty (of the Brahman), if he wants to cohabit with a wife to get a child, to perform a sacrifice to the fire called *garbhadhana* ; but he does not perform it, because it requires the presence of the women, and therefore he feels ashamed to do so. In consequence he postpones the sacrifice and unites it with the next following one, which is due in the fourth month of the pregnancy, called *simantonmayanam*. After the wife has given birth to the child, a third sacrifice is performed between the birth and the moment when the mother begins to nourish the child. It is called *jatakarman*. The child receives a name after the days of the childbed have elapsed. The sacrifice for the occasion of the name-giving is called *namakarman*."¹¹⁶ Alberuni further says, "As long as the woman is in childbed, she does not touch any vessel, and nothing is eaten in her house, nor does the Brahman light there a fire. These days are eight for the Brahman, twelve for the Kshatriya, fifteen for the Vaisya, and thirty for the Sudra. For the low-caste people which are not reckoned among any caste, no term is fixed. The longest duration of the suckling of the child is three years, but there is no obligation in this matter. The sacrifice on the occasion of the first cutting of the child's

hair is offered in the third, the perforation of the ear takes place in the seventh and eighth years."⁴⁷

DOWRY AND DIVORCE

The practice of dowry was generally prevalent during the period, chiefly because of the excessive emphasis put on the caste-marriages. However, this was favoured by people who were rich and well-to-do. The commoners were least drawn to it. The nature of dowry varied according to the economic standard and social status of the parties concerned. Generally speaking, the term 'dowry' may be used in two broad senses, viz. that taken at the time of or prior to the performance of the marriage ceremony and that taken after the consummation of the marriage ceremony in form of presents or gifts. The former was known as 'Shreephal', 'Pan' or 'Tilak', while the latter was generally called 'Jautuka' or 'Dahej'. References to both these forms of dowry, during the period under review, are available in contemporary literatures, and Persian chronicles. Chandbardai in his "Prithviraj Raso", refers to 'Shreephal' (dowry) prior to the marriage of Indravati with the famous Chauhan King Prithviraj.⁴⁸ In Bengal, Orissa and Assam, this practice was popularly known as 'Jautuka',⁴⁹ while it was known as 'Dahej' or 'Daeej'⁵⁰ in Bihar and portions of modern Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. It appears that these presents were made in accordance with the status of the contracting parties, and they mostly comprised costly jewels and metals, ornaments, landed property, horses, elephants, chariots, servants and maids and other items of necessities and luxuries of life.

The Muslims also, like their Hindu brethren, and especially the richer and higher sections, very often practised it. It was popularly known among them as 'Jahej'.⁵¹ Prophet Muhammad has also referred to dowry as a duty of the guardians towards their orphan wards, and according to him it should be given to every woman taken in marriage, whether she is a free woman or an orphan girl of a prisoner of war. Every woman, as the Prophet has said, begins her married life as the owner of some property, and thus, marriage is the means of raising her status and, in many respects, elevating her to a level of equality with her husband.⁵²

The Muslim laws and customs permitted divorce with certain limitations,⁵³ as is the case even today. Barbosa, referring to divorce practised among the Moors Cambaya, says, "They can divorce themselves wherever they wish on paying to the wife certain money which they promise her at the time of marriage, if they change their minds after a certain time. The wife has the same liberty."⁵⁴

Among the Hindus also, before the beginning of the Christian era, divorce was permitted under certain well-defined circumstances.⁵⁵ The ancient Hindu law-giver Manu observes thus, "For one year let a husband bear with a wife who hates him; but after (the lapse of) a year let him deprive her of her property and cease to cohabit with her. She who shows disrespect to (a husband) who is addicted to (some evil) passion, is a drunkard, or diseased, shall be deserted for three months (and be) deprived of her ornaments and furniture. But she who shows aversion towards a mad or outcaste (husband), a eunuch, one destitute of manly strength, or one afflicted with such diseases as punish crimes, shall neither be cast off nor be deprived of her property. She who drinks spirituous liquor, is of bad conduct, rebellious, diseased, mischievous, or wasteful, may at any time be superseded (by another wife)"⁵⁶ At another place, Manu says, "If a woman abandoned by her husband, or a widow, of her own accord contracts a second marriage and bears (a son), he is called the son of a re-married woman (Paunarbhava). If she be (still) a virgin, or one who returned (to her first husband) after leaving him, she is worthy to again perform with her second (or first deserted) husband the (nuptial) ceremony."⁵⁷ Kautilya has also defined the circumstances in which divorce was permissible for the couples who found it difficult to live together. He says thus, "A woman, who hates her husband, who has passed the period of seven turns of her menses, and who loves another, shall immediately return to her husband both the endowment and jewellery she has received from him, and allow him to lie down with another woman. A man, hating his wife, shall allow her to take shelter in the house of mendicant woman, or of her lawful guardians or her kinsmen. If a man falsely denies his intercourse with his wife, though it be proved by

eyewitnesses (*drishtilinge*)—or through a spy, he shall pay a fine of 12 panas. A woman hating her husband, cannot dissolve her marriage with him against his will. Nor can a man dissolve his marriage with his wife against her will. But from mutual enmity, divorce may be obtained (*parasparam aiveshanmokshah*). If a man, apprehending danger from his wife, desires divorce (*moksamichechhet*), he shall return to her whatever she was given (on the occasion of her marriage). If a woman, under the apprehension of danger from her husband, desires divorce, she shall forfeit her claim to her property; marriages contracted in accordance with the customs of the first four kinds of marriage (viz. Asura, Gandharva, Kshatra and Paisacha) cannot be dissolved.⁵⁵ But, during our period, the Hindu women of higher castes did not enjoy such privilege in any case. Alberuni clearly says, "Husband and wife can only be separated by death, as they have no divorce."⁵⁶ However, among lower castes like the 'Doms', 'Chandalas' and the 'Shudras', this might have continued in those days as even today.⁶⁰

POLYGAMY AND POLYANDRY

The practice of having more than one living wife was common both among the Hindus and the Muslims, especially belonging to the richer sections of society. Normally, a man used to have only one wife, but those with adequate means could afford to indulge in the expensive luxury of having a number of wives. But, the practice of monogamy seems to have been generally common among the lower sections of society in both the communities during our period.

The Qur'an, no doubt, allows a Muhammedan to marry four wives,⁶¹ but only the richer and well-to-do sections could enjoy polygamous life with all its pleasures and pains.⁶² Referring to the polygamous life of Sultan Machamuth of Cambaya, Varthema says thus, "This Sultan has also three or four thousand women, and every night he sleeps with one, she is found dead in the morning."⁶³ Referring to the Moors of Cambaya, Barbosa says, "... They have very beautiful white women, very well clad, and they marry as many as they can maintain, in accordance with the law of Mafamedo; so many of them have four or five, all recognised and maintained."⁶⁴

The well-to-do Hindus, especially the ruling classes and the aristocrats, also did not lag behind their Muslim counterparts in this regard. Alberuni refers to this practice among the Hindus thus, "A man may marry one to four wives. He is not allowed to take more than four; but if one of his wives die, he may take another one to complete the legitimate number. However, he must not go beyond it."⁶⁵ At another place, Alberuni says, "Some Hindus think that the number of the wives depends upon the caste; that, accordingly, a Brahman may take four, a Kshatriya three, a Vaisya two wives, and a Sudra one . . ."⁶⁶ Nicolo Conti speaks of this practice thus, "The inhabitants of Central India are only allowed to marry one wife, in the other parts of India polygamy prevails generally, excepting among those Christians who have adopted the Nestorian heresy, who are spread over the whole of India, and confine themselves to one solitary mate."⁶⁷ The commoners among the Hindus, however, appear to have been monogamous. Referring to the kingdom of Gujarat, Barbosa says, ". . . The *Bramenes* and also the *Bateanes* marry one wife only, according to our practice, but once only, not a second time."⁶⁸

The prevalence of the practice of polygamy among the richer sections of the Hindus is also corroborated by literary evidences. In Qutban's "Mrigavati", we find the hero Kunwar having two wives named Mrigavati and Rukmini.⁶⁹ Maulana Daud Dalmai, in his "Chandayan", refers to the eighty-four queens of Ras Mahr.⁷⁰ In Krittivasa's "Ramayana", we also find King Dashrath, who was issueless, marrying seven hundred and fifty girls, the three important queens being Kaushalya, Sumitra and Kaikeyi.⁷¹ Chandbardai also refers to the Chauhan King Prithviraj as a great polygamist in his monumental work "Prithviraj Raso". There are references to his different marriages, viz. 'Ichhani Vibaha',⁷² 'Pundir-Dahinee Vibaha',⁷³ 'Pritha Vibaha',⁷⁴ 'Hansavati Vibaha'⁷⁵ etc. Varthema refers to the practice of exchanging wives among the Pagan merchants of Calicut,⁷⁶ which also reveals to us the polygamous life of the Hindus during our period.

Polyandry also was prevalent among some women, mostly belonging to the low castes. Referring to the Hindu women of

Calicut, Varthema says, "... And amongst the other classes of Pagan abovementioned, one woman has five, six and seven husbands, and even eight. And one sleeps with her one night, and when the woman has children, she says it is the child of this husband or of that husband, and thus the children go according to the word of the woman."⁷⁷

HAREM

The Turkish word 'Harem' is derived from Arabic 'Haruma', normally meaning thereby forbidden, not permitted or illegal, but at the same time wholly protected and inviolate.⁷⁸ No other word has been used with so little regard for its meaning as the word 'Harem', since it has been generally employed to denote that part of the house, or the palace in which the women lived.⁷⁹ During the period under review, some of the Sultans, Hindu *Rajav*, as well as the members of aristocracy lived a highly sensuous and colourful life. Women and concubines, as we have come to know, kept them mostly occupied during their leisure hours. Some of them even maintained a regular department for the supply of choicest beauties, without being very much satisfied in their sexual appetite.⁸⁰ The harem at that time signified mainly the totality of the female inmates, than those who were excluded from the view of the public. The seraglio included other women besides the wives and the concubines of the ruler. Among them were included their mothers, sisters and other female relations. No definite idea has yet been formed about the organisation of the royal harem during this period. It seems that the internal administration was not so elaborately chalked out as in the reign of Akbar, the Great Mughal, who placed it on a systematic basis.⁸¹ The royal harem was supervised from within by a regular *hakima* or governess belonging to a noble family and from without by a *Khvaja-S-rai* (The chief eunuch) whose office was considered as one of great trust and responsibility.⁸²

Purdah, as already mentioned earlier, was observed strictly; faithful eunuchs and maids, with a hundred of other male and female servants provided the domestic staff.⁸³ Equally serious was the problem posed by the question of the non-forbidden

(*mahram*), and Muhammad bin Tughluq was so very cautious when he entered his harem that his eyes might not fall upon a *na-mahram*.⁴⁴

Detailed references to the harem maintained by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khalji of Malwa are available. He is said to have filled his harem with beautiful slave girls and daughters of *zamindars* and Hindu *Rajas*. Every girl of his harem was trained in particular *Hunar* (art) and profession. Besides, he had made provision for a separate *bazar* within his *Haramsara* (area of harem). All the commodities which were available in the market were sold in the market inside the harem. It was much like a miniature market accessible only to those who lived in the harem. The harem of Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Malwa contained about sixteen thousand slave girls. Every slave girl was provided daily with two *tankas* of silver and two mounds of grains. Queen Khurshid was the chief of the harem and she wielded considerable influence in politics also.⁴⁵

Some sort of Harem or Seraglio was also maintained by the Hindu *Rajas* even during the pre-Muslim period. During the time of Harsha, for example, the apartments meant for women were called *Vasara*, *Antahpura* or *Ranivas*. It is just possible that in these quarters eunuchs were employed, along with guards.⁴⁶

HINDU WIDOWS AND SATI

The death of husband was, no doubt, the greatest tragedy in the life of a Hindu woman. Widow-remarriages were not allowed among the Hindus except among the lower social classes. A widow either had to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband or on a separate pyre soon after his death, or she had to live a simple and pure life devoid of all earthly charms. Referring to the pitiable lot of Hindu widows and the practice of *Sati*, Alberuni says, "If a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things—either to remain a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself; and the latter eventuality is considered the preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives. As regards the wives of the kings, they are in the habit of burning them, whether they wish it or not, by which they

desire to prevent any of them by chance committing something unworthy of the illustrious husband. They make an exception only for women of advanced years and for those who have children ; for the son is the responsible protector of his mother."¹⁰

The religious rites connected with *Sati* were carried out both with the corpse of the husband and without it. In the former case, it was called 'Saha-Marana' (dying in company with) or 'Saha-Gamana' (going in company with) and in the latter case, it was known as 'Anu-Marana' or 'Anu-Gamana' (going in accordance with). The practice of 'Saha-Marana', however, became more popular.¹¹ The women who wanted to observe *Sati* were expected to pass their days with their parents in devotion and austerity. It was a common belief among the people that the women who burned themselves with their husbands were redeemed of their past sins and they went straight in paradise.¹² Further, it was commonly believed that if a husband went to hell after his death, the wife who observed 'Sati' could bring her husband away from hell. Besides, the woman who burnt herself with her husband was not supposed to be re-born and, even if she was re-born, she was expected to be a male rather than a female in her next birth. A woman who did not observe 'Sati' and lead the life of a widow was not supposed to get salvation from women's life. So, all women, except those who were pregnant, embraced the holy fire along with their husbands. A Brahman woman was expected to follow the practice of dying-in-company with her husband and the women of other castes were to burn themselves in separate pyres. A woman desirous to burn herself was not to be stopped.¹³

The practice of widow-burning seems to have prevailed even in ancient times.¹⁴ In the Rig-Veda there is a reference to it. It runs thus, "Om ! let these women, not to be widowed, good wives adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire ! Immortal, not childless, not husbandless ; well adorned with gems, let them pass into the fire, whose original element is water."¹⁵

Originally, however, the practice was voluntary as the classical canonist Manu, referring to the perpetual dependence of a woman, says thus, "Him to whom her father may give her, or

her brother with the father's permission, she shall obey as long as he lives, and when he is dead, she must not insult (his memory)...At her pleasure let her emaciate her body by (living on) pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but she must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died... A virtuous wife who after the death of her husband constantly remains chaste reaches heaven, though she have no son, just like those chaste men."⁵⁴ Manu seems to have made provisions for leading the life of simplicity and austerity for a widow, and he does not mention about her compulsory death on the funeral pyre of her husband. During the period under review, the practice of *Sati* became obligatory and binding in nature. The element of compulsion, in fact, turned *Sati* into a distressing and dreadful practice.

Foreign travellers invariably refer to it with all its rituals underlying among other things, the constraint attached to it which was normally exercised by Brahman priests. The Moorish traveller, Ibn Battuta, has a story to tell concerning a detailed account of this practice along with its rituals. He says, "... After this, I used to see in India a woman from among the infidel Hindus adorned and seated on horseback and the people followed her—Muslims as well as infidels—and drums and bugles playing before her and the Brahmins, who are the great ones from among the Hindus, accompanying her. When this happens in the Sultan's territory, they ask him for permission to burn the widow. He gives them permission and they burn her."⁵⁵ He further says, "The self-burning of widows is considered praiseworthy by the Hindus, without, however, being obligatory. When a widow burns herself, her kinsfolk acquire glory and her faithfulness is highly esteemed. If she does not burn herself, she puts on coarse clothes and lives with her relatives as one who is despised for faithlessness. But she is not compelled to burn herself."⁵⁶ Referring to an interesting story of three widows and the rituals concerning *Sati*, Ibn Battuta says, "... When the three aforesaid widows had agreed to burn themselves they passed three days preceding the burning—eating and drinking amidst music and joys as if they wished to bid the world farewell. Women came from all parts to see them. In the morning of the

fourth day each was brought a horse which she mounted—adorned and perfumed. In her right hand each held a coco-nut with which she played; and in the left a mirror in which she saw her face. The Brahmins stood around her, and her relatives accompanied her. In front drums and bugles were played and timbals were beaten. Each of the infidels then spoke to her thus, 'Give my greetings to my father or my brother or my mother or my companions'. And the widow replied smiling, 'I shall.'¹⁷ "I mounted horse with my companions". Ibn Battuta goes on to say, "so as to see how these women would behave during the burning ceremony. We walked with them about three miles and came to a dark spot with abundant water and trees shaded by thick foliage. In the midst of the trees stood four pavilions each containing a stone idol. Between the pavilions lay a cistern of water completely shaded by trees with their locking branches through which the sun's rays could not pass. It was as if this spot was one of the valleys of hell; may God keep us far from it! . . . When I came to these pavilions the three women dismounted near the cistern, plunged in, removed their clothes and ornaments and gave these away as alms. Then each of them was brought a coarse cotton cloth which was unsewn, part of which they tied round their waist and part over their head and shoulders. Meanwhile, fires had been lit near the cistern in a sunken spot, and the *kunjut* oil—that is the oil of the sesame—was poured intensifying the fury of the flames. There were about fifteen men holding thin wooden faggots, and ten others with large poles. The drum and bugle players stood waiting for the widow to come. The fire was hidden from her view by a blanket held by the men, so that the woman should not be afraid. I saw one of these women come up to the blanket, tear it from the hands of those holding it and say smiling the following words:—"Mara mitarsani az atish, Man mi danam oo atish ast; riha kuni ma ra.* And this means 'Do you want to frighten me with the fire? I know that it is fire; let me be'. Then she put her hands together over her head as if to salute the fire and threw herself in headlong. At that instant drum, timbals and bugles sounded and the men threw on her the wood they carried. Others placed poles over her lest she should move. Shouts went up and the noise augmented considerably.

On beholding this scene I would have fallen from my horse, had not my companions brought water which they threw over my face and so restored me."¹⁰⁰ Referring to the women of Mabar, Marco Polo writes, "Many of the women also, when their husbands die and placed on the pile to be burnt, do burn themselves along with the bodies. And such women as do this have great praise from all."¹⁰¹ Varthema¹⁰² also refers to this practice. Nicolo Conti says thus, ". . . In Central India, the dead are burned, and the living wives, for the most part, are consumed in the same funeral pyre with their husband, one or more according to the agreement at the time the marriage was contracted. The first wife is compelled by the law to be burnt, even though she should be the only wife. But others are married under the express agreement that they should add to the splendour of the funeral ceremony by their death, and this is considered a great honour for them. The deceased husband is laid on a couch, dressed in the best garments. A vast funeral pyre is erected over him in the form of a pyramid, constructed of odoriferous woods. The pile being ignited, the wife, habited in her richest garments, walks gaily around it, singing, accompanied by a great concourse of people and amid the sounds of trumpets, flutes, and songs. In the meantime one of the priests, standing on some elevated spot, exhorts her to a contempt of life and death, promising her all kinds of enjoyment with her husband, much wealth, and abundance of ornaments. When she has walked round the fire several times, she stands near the elevation on which is the priest, and taking off her dress puts on a white linen garment, her body having first been washed according to custom. In obedience to the exhortation of the priest she then springs into the fire. If some show more timidity (for it frequently happens that they become stupefied by terror at the sight of the struggles of the others, or of their sufferings in the fire) they are thrown into the fire by the bystanders, whether consenting or not. Their ashes are afterwards collected and placed in urns, which form an ornament for the sepulchres . . ."¹⁰³ Referring to the priests, Nicolo Conti observes, ". . . They have only one wife, who is burnt with her dead husband. Lying by the side of the corpse, with her arm under its neck, she submits herself to the flames, without giving way to any expression of pain."¹⁰⁴

It may be mentioned here that the Sultans of Delhi had made it obligatory to obtain a license for the burning of widow. Probably such provision was designed to discourage the use of compulsion or social pressure in the observance of this practice, but in the absence of very strong reasons to the contrary, necessary permission was given as a matter of course.¹⁰⁰ On account of contact with their Hindu sisters, some of the well-to-do Muslim women also seem to have observed a custom very much similar to *Sati*, viz. entering the husband's grave alive.¹⁰¹ The custom of *Sati* appears to have continued even during the later times in varying degrees,¹⁰² till it died out in the 19th century partly on account of social reforms and partly under the pressure of State legislation.

JAUHAR

Mention here may also be made of an equally dreadful, yet much revered, custom known as 'Jauhar'.¹⁰³ It was, by and large, confined to the brave Rajputs, though other cases are not altogether lacking.¹⁰⁷ When a Rajput chief and his warriors were reduced to despair in a campaign, they usually killed their women and children or locked them inside an underground enclosure and set fire to the building. Then, sword in hand, they sallied forth to court a certain but heroic death.¹⁰⁸ The Chauhan warrior of Ranthambhor, when faced with agitated numbers of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji, committed 'Jauhar' after putting up a hardy resistance for a long time.¹⁰⁹ We are told how 'Jauhar' was committed by the *Rai* (*Raja*) of Kampila, when his fortress was besieged by Sultan Muhammad Tughluq in order to inflict punishment on him for giving shelter to a State rebel named Baha-ud-din Gushtasp (*Gushtash*). Ibn Battuta begins his description thus, "... When Baha-ud-din fled to him (*Rai*), the royal forces came in pursuit and laid siege to the dominion of the *rai*, who was pressed hard and spent all his provisions. Fearing lest he should fall into the hands of the enemy, he said to Baha-ud-din, 'You see how things have developed. In these circumstances I have resolved to perish with my family and followers. You had better go to such and such *Sultan*', and he gave the Hindu ruler's name to Baha-ud-din. 'You should stay with him', he added, 'he will defend you'. Then he sent along

with Baha-ud-din some one who took him to that ruler.¹²⁰ Ibn Battuta further says, "After this, the *rai* of Kampila ordered a large fire to be made. The fire blazed into flames in which he burnt all his property and he said to his wives and daughters, 'I wish to perish'; those of you who desire to follow me may do so'. Thereupon the ladies took to washing and rubbing their bodies with the *muqasari* sandal one by one. Then each prostrated herself before the *rai* and threw herself into the fire, till at last all perished. The same was done by the ladies of the amirs as well as by those of the vezirs and government officers and even by some of the volunteers from the rest of the women . . . Then the *rai* washed himself, rubbed his body with sandal and put on his arms, but bore no shield. Those of his subjects who wished to die with him did the same. Then they sprang on the royal forces and fought until all were killed . . ."¹²¹ Some of the contemporary literary works also refer to this universal practice among the Rajputs.¹²² No doubt, 'Jauhar' symbolized the dignity of Rajput womanhood.

PUBLIC WOMEN OR PROSTITUTES

Before concluding this chapter, it would not be out of place to give a brief account of the prostitutes or the dancing and public women whose number in our period was also quite considerable. These courtesans and dancing girls were engaged for the sake of amusement from time to time, e.g. feasts, festivals, marriages etc. They were commonly known as 'Nartaki', 'Veshya', 'Patur' or 'Ganika'.¹²³ Referring to prostitution, Alberuni observes thus, "People think with regard to harlotry that it is allowed with them . . . The Hindus are not very severe in punishing whoredom. The fault, however, in this lies with the kings, not with the nation. But for this, no Brahman or priest would suffer in their idol-temples the women who sing, dance, and play. The kings make them an attraction for their cities, a bait of pleasure for their subjects, for no other but financial reasons. By the revenues which they derive from the business both as fines and taxes, they want to recover the expenses which their treasury has to spend on the army."¹²⁴ Speaking about the city of Calicut and the public women there,

Nicolo Conti writes thus, "... Public women are everywhere to be had, residing in particular houses of their own in all parts of the cities, who attract the men by sweet perfumes and ointments, by their blandishments, beauty, and youth; for the Indians are much addicted to licentiousness: but unnatural crimes are unknown among them..."¹¹⁵ Chandbardai, in his "Prithviraj Raso", refers to a prostitute named Chitrarekha patronised by Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori, whose brilliance and beauty was reminiscent of those of 'Rati' (the wife of Cupid). She was well-versed and proficient in music and songs.¹¹⁶ Vidyapati, in his "Kirtilata", too, gives us a detailed description of the beautiful public women of Jaunpur. The courtesans there used to maintain their livelihood through immoral means and the people depended on them for the gratification of their physical pleasures.¹¹⁷ These captivating women flocked to the market and induced young maidens to join their camps.¹¹⁸ Vidyapati further refers to the shameful activities of the prostitutes thus, "Their shame was unnatural and their youth was artificial. They loved money and they were modest in order to covet others and were greedy to better their fortunes. Deprived of their husbands, the vermilion ('Sindoor') on their foreheads symbolised their ill-repute."¹¹⁹ Prostitutes of Jaunpur had a happy and prosperous life under the patronage of Sultan Ibrahim Shah.¹²⁰ From this description of these public women of Jaunpur, it appears that prostitution was a legalised social evil.¹²¹

Jayasi, in his "Padmavat", also refers to the description of the public women of Simhala who sat in the balconies to attract men by their various accomplishments.¹²² Thus, during our period, prostitution was prevalent on a larger scale. Under Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji, the ever-increasing number of prostitutes in Delhi appears to have given cause for official anxiety. As a result, some of the prostitutes were given in marriage, relieving the profession of too much congestion.¹²³ Referring to these prostitutes during the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji, Amir Khusrau says, "Moreover, all prostitutes, who with their locks under their ears, had broken their chains and stretched their feet, have now been lawfully married. From the ribbon, that tied their hair, they have now turned to the 'ribbon' that

ties them in marriage. Those whose skirts had obtained a bad reputation, because they earned their living by prostitution, have now been so reformed that they sit in their houses, patching up their skirts with the greatest repentance and rubbing their hands together."¹²⁴

A careful study of the preceding pages clearly reveals that the social status of women, during the period under review, was not very much different from what it is today, in spite of the changes under the pressure of modern social forces. The women belonging to the well-to-do classes and the richer sections undoubtedly compared favourably with their modern counterparts in their social activities, and even in their high cultural and literary accomplishments. On the other hand, the condition of the vast mass of women, especially those living in the scattered rural areas, can hardly be called satisfactory, as they were mostly illiterate and were buried behind the evils of ignorance and superstitions.

REFERENCES

1. The Laws of Manu, Ch. V, Secs. 147-149 as quoted in *The Sacred Books of the East* (ed. by F. Max Muller), vol. XXV, Oxford, 1886, p. 195.
2. *Ibid.*, Ch. V, Sec. 150, p. 195.
3. The Laws of Manu, Ch. IX, Secs. 2-7 as quoted in "The Sacred Books of the East" (ed. by F. Max Muller), Vol. XXV, Oxford, 1886, pp. 327-328.
4. The Laws of Manu, Ch. III, Secs. 55-60 as quoted in "The Sacred Books of the East", (ed. by F. Max Muller), vol. XXV, Oxford, 1886, pp. 85-86.
5. *Ibid.*, Ch. VII, Sec. 125, p. 236.
6. The Holy Qur'an, tr. by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, pub. by Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, Lahore, 2nd edn., 1920 Ch. IV, Sec. 3, teaching 19, pp. 205-206; Also refer to "The Moslem Outlook", vol. XXVIII, 1938, an art. entitled "Women's Status in Islam" by Begum Sultan Mir Amiruddin, pp. 153-163.
7. Alberuni's *India*, I (Sachau), p. 181.
8. *A Description of the Coasts of the East Africa and Malabar* (Durate Barbosa), Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 132.

9. Shibli, "Shair-ul-Ajam", pt. II, p. 123 ; Also quoted in Dr. Ishwari Prasad's *History of Mediaeval India*, p. 479 (f.n.), the Indian Press, Allahabad, 2nd edn., 1928 ; Also refer to an estimate of women in "Padavali Bangiya of Vidyapati Thakur" (tr. by Coomaraswami and Arun Sen, Lond., 1915, p. 256). Here, Radha makes a characteristic confession about her sex, "I, a weak girl of scanty wisdom".
10. Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Clarendon Press Oxford, 2nd edn., 1923, p. 261.
11. Refer to Dr. A. S. Altekar's *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, pub. by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 3rd edn., 1962, pp. 166-179 ; Also see 'Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute', Allahabad, vol. VII, pt. I, Nov., 1949, an art. entitled "The Purdah" by Miss Sakuntala Rao Sastri, pp. 109-124 ; Also see "The Muslim World", vol. XXV, 1935, p. 276, Mirza A. Hamid's art. entitled "Purdah" ; Also refer to the art. entitled "The Purdah System" by Pandit Sheo Narayan, pub. in 'The Muslim Review', vol. IV, No. 4, 1930, pp. 35-39 ; Also 'Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XXVII, 1956, p. 200 ; Also see Elizabeth Cooper's 'The Harim and the Purdah', pub. by T. Fisher Unwin Ltd., Lond., 1915, p. 102.
12. K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Delhi, 1959, p. 139. Referring to these women, Barbosa says thus, "... These women are not secluded like those of other places, but go about the city in the day-time attending to their business, with the face uncovered as in our parts" (*A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 67).
13. Refer to "Miran Madhuri", ed. by Brajratnadas, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, pada 94, p. 37 for a reference to 'Purdah'.
14. Refer to T.F.S.(A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 118, for the 'veiled' and 'shrouded' women inside the Ikadala Fort in Bengal waiting for mercy in front of the besieging army of Firuz Shah Tughluq. Mirza Muhsin Kashmiri in his "Dabistanu'l Mazahib" (pub. by Karim Qazi Ibrahim Ibn Qazi Nur Muhammad, Bombay, p. 125) says, "Women should conceal their beauty before men and they should wear clothings down to their heels".
15. Refer to Ijaz-i-Khusravi, pt. II, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, pp. 314-318 ; Also Ibid. p. 117, where Amir Khusrau says thus, "Female virginity can only endure with an entire abnegance of relations with the outer world" ; Also see his "Dewal Rani Khizr Khan", ed. by Maulana Rashid Ahmad Ansari, Aligarh, 1336 A.H. (1917 A.D.), p. 87 ; Also see his "Matla-ul-Anwar", Lucknow,

- 1884, p. 195; Also "Kavita Kaumudi", pub. by Navneet Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1954, p. 136 for a reference to 'Burqa'.
16. Amir Khusrau's "Hasht-Bahisht", ed. by Maulana Sayyid Suleiman Ashraf, Aligarh, 1918, pp. 29-30.
 17. Refer to Amir Khusrau's "Dewal Rani Khizr Khan", ed. by Maulana Rashid Ahmad Ansari, Aligarh, 1917, p. 49; Also see Tarikh-i-Haqqi, Per. MS No. 89, Cat. No. 537, O.P.L., fol: 8(a); Also Tarikh-i-Ferishta, vol. I, Bombay, 1832, p. 118; Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi, tr. by K. K. Basu, O.I.B., 1932, p. 25; Minhaj-us-Siraj's Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Eng. tr. by Major Raverty, Lond., 1873, pp. 638 and 643.
 18. "Futuh-i-Firushahi", ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rashid, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954, pp. 8-9; Also see I.C., XV, Oct., 1941, p. 456.
 19. "Tarikh-i-Ferishta", vol. I (Per. Text), Bombay, 1832, p. 344.
 20. See The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 118 for a reference to palanquin (*dola*); Also Ibid, p. xxiv; Refer also to Ahmed Yadgar's "Tarikh-i-Shahi", Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939, p. 53, for 'dola'.
 21. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, vol. I, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, p. 114; Also see 'A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 53.
 22. References to these kinds of palanquins or litters are available in abundance in the contemporary literatures, e.g. "Kabir" by Hajari-prasad Dwivedi, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 5th edn., Nov., 1955, pada 218, p. 349 for 'Doliya'; Also "Kabir Bachnavali", N.P.S., 2nd edn., 1920, pada 175, p. 167; Hemchandra's "Desinamamala", B.O.R.I., 1938, 4th sarga, chhanda 11, p. 161 for 'Dola'; Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I (Sahitya-Sansthan), Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 6 (Nahar Rai Katha), doha 65, p. 169 for 'Dola'; Also Ibid, samay 18 (Pritha Vyaha), kavitta 56, p. 396 for 'Doliya'; Also Ibid, pt. II, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 23 (Shashivrita Samay), doha 142, p. 659 for 'Chaundol'; Also see kavittas 145-146, pp. 661-662 for 'Palki' and 'Chaundol'; Ibid, samay 39 (Jaitrarai), doha 25, p. 964; Also see Manjhan's "Madhumalti", ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 439, p. 385 for 'Palki'; Ibid, doha 510, p. 455, where Madhumalti is seen proceeding in a beautiful 'Hindola' on the occasion of her 'Gauna' ceremony. Nanak ("Nanak Bani", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, V.S. 2018, p. 292) refers to it as 'Hindoli'; Durgavari's "Giti Ramayana" (an Assamese work), Haju (Kamrup), 1951 (Aranya Kanda), p. 161; Here, it has been referred to as 'Chaundol'; Also Bhalhan's "Nalakhyan" (a Gujarati work), ed. by Prof. Keshavaram K. Shastri, B.U.P., 1957, 1st edn., canto 25, doha 18, p. 59, where Damyanti is seen moving in a 'Vahan' (another

name of litter). References to this type of litter are also available in an Oriya work entitled "Ram Vibha" (Arjundas), ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, Cuttack, 3rd edn., 1953, pp. 63 and 85; Here, they have been referred to as 'Chaudol', 'Doli', 'Handola' and 'Sukhasan'.

23. References to 'Ghoonghat' are to be found scattered in the contemporary vernacular literatures, e.g. "Miran Madhuri", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, doha 15, p. 80; Also pada 89, p. 35; "Mira Ka Dhan", pub. by Sahitya Kiketan, Kanpur, 1942, pada 12, p. 9; "Mira Smriti Granth", pub. by Bangiya Hindi Parishad, 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Cal., 1st edn. V.S. 2006, pp. 132 and 160; "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, padas 9, 71, 309, 13 and 14, pp. 380, 404, 678 and 898 respectively; Narayandas's Chhitaivarta", N.P.S., V.S. 2015, 1st edn., chaupais 161, 194 and 580, pp. 16, 21 and 101 respectively; also "Kabir", by Dr. Hajariprasad Dwivedi, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 5th edn., Nov., 1955, pada 11, p. 239 and pada 224, p. 350; Also see "Kabir Sangrah", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 5th edn., 1964, pada 23, p. 115, which runs thus, "Ghoonghat Ka Pat Khol Re Tokon Peev Milange"; "Kabir Bachnavali", N.P.S., 2nd edn., 1920, pada 170, p. 165; Also refer to Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. IV (Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur), 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 58, doha 286, p. 684; Here, 'Ghoonghat' has been referred to indirectly, which runs thus, "Dhakoun Siru Laj"; Also doha 288, p. 684, which runs thus, "Sakuchi Sisa Yah Dhanpi"; Also doha 290, p. 685. Also see Jayasi's "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1962 (Dec.), 1st edn., pp. 88 and 92, where Jayasi refers to it and says that the well-to-do married Hindu ladies observed 'Ghoonghat' in their homes with their husbands and fathers-in-law. It runs thus,

"Boli Na Sakab, Sajjan Sang Gohne,
Ghoonghat Jai Na Khola Re...
...Kunwar Sasur Dekhe Kas Bolab,
Nisu Din Ghoonghat Kadhi Ke".

Also refer to Manjhan's "Madhumalti", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1961, doha 491, p. 435; Nanak ("Nanak Bani", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, V.S. 2018, bani 12, p. 518) refers to it as 'Ghugtu'; Also Ibid, bani 14, p. 685, which runs thus, "Jab Nachi Tab Ghugtu Kaisa"; Also "Narsai Mahtena Pad", ed. by Keshavaram K. Shastri, pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 16, doha 2, p. 11, which runs thus, "Ado Ghoonghat Khanchiyo Re"; Also pada 126, doha 1; pada 262, doha 1; pada 371, pp. 76, 146 and

- 195 respectively; Also refer to Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., canto 3, doha 8, p. 34.
24. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), p. 154.
25. Nanak was fourteen when he was married (Macauliffe, Sikh Religion, vol. I, Oxford, 1909, pp. 18-19). Amir Khusrau (Dewal Rani Khizr Khan, Aligarh, 1917, p. 93) refers to the marriage of Prince Khizr Khan and Dewal Rani when they were ten and eight respectively; Also refer to "Nagari Pracharini Patrika", vol. II, V.S. 1987, p. 415, an art. entitled "Dewal Rani Aur Khizr Khan".
26. T.F.S.(A), Bib: Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 180; Also Ibid, p. 292, where Afif says thus, "During the rule of Firuz Tughluq, people were so pleased and satisfied that they used to wed their daughters in *Khurdsalgi* (at a very early age)".
27. Refer to "Dhola-Marura Duha", N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 91, p. 21. It runs thus,

"Daudha Varsari Maruvi, Trihun Barsanrukant,
Balpanai Paranyan Pachai, Antar Padayaun Anani".

Also see doha 450, p. 106.

28. The Laws of Manu, Ch. IX, Sec., 94, as quoted in "The Sacred Books of the East" (ed. by F. Max Muller), vol. XXV, Oxford, 1886, p. 344; Also refer to B.A. Saletore's Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire, vol. II, p. 185.
29. For example, in a contemporary Oriya work (Bachhadas's "Kalashachautisa", contained in 'Prachin Gadya-Padya Darsha', Cuttack, 1st edn., 1932, p. 77) there is a reference to an old man marrying young girl, and the girl confessing thus, "Death is inevitable after marrying an old and poor man". It runs thus,

"Daridra Heen Budhaku Jabe Mote Debu,
Chhui Naynare Mor Maran Dekhibo".

- Also see Bachhadas's "Kalashachautisa", contained in 'Prachin Gadya-Padya Darsha', Cuttack, 1st edn., 1932, p. 78 for a reference to such type of marriage by giving money to the girl's guardians, which runs thus, "Budhaku Dei Dhoni Loda Biti".
30. Refer to "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", ed. by Shree Vasant Kumar Mathur, Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn. 1952, pada 258 (Bal Vibhaha), p. 460; Here, we find a married girl talking to her handmaid thus, "O 'Shakhi'! (handmaid), my life is good for nothing, as I am completely mature and young, while my husband is, now an ignorant infant. May be, it is due to some bad deeds committed in my previous birth. My other handmaids used to please and attract their husbands by wearing beautiful clothes from South (*Dakshin Desh*); but what use the good dresses and toilets have for me. I felt red-hot even when I had a momentary look

at my infant husband. O handmaid ! My husband is so innocent-looking that when I visit the market, carrying him in my lap, men come to me and ask, 'O beautiful woman ! Is this child yours ? 'O handmaid ! I, on my part, said, 'The ignorant infant is neither my husband's younger brother nor is he my younger brother. Due to some sins committed in previous birth, this child happens to be my husband'. The poem runs thus,

"Piya Mor Balak Ham Taruni,
Kaun Tay Chuklaunh Belauh Janani,
Pahir Lel Sakhi Ek Dakshinak Cheer,
Piya Ke Dekhat Moi Dagadh Sarir,
Piya Lenin Gode Kaj Chalali Bajar,
Hatiyak Log Puchhe Ke Lagu Tohar,
Nahi Mor Devar Ki Nahi Chhot Bhai,
Purab Likhal Chhal Balamu Hamar".

Though, the above description suffers beyond doubt from exaggeration, yet it gives us some idea about the evils of early marriage in our society of those days.

31. The Laws of Manu, Ch. III, Secs. 20, 21 and 23, as quoted in "The Sacred Books of the East" (ed. by F. Max Muller) vol. XXV, Oxford, 1886, p. 79 ; Also Ibid, Ch. III, Secs. 25-39, pp. 80-82 ; Also refer to S. N. Sinha and N. K. Basu, 'History of Prostitution in India', vol. I, pub. by the Bengal Social Hygiene Association, 28A, Maniktolla Spur, Cal., Sept., 1933, pp. 6-9 for detailed description of these eight types of marriages described by Manu.
32. Mirza Muhsin Kashmiri, "Dabistan-i-Mazahib", pub. by Karim Qazi Ibrahim Ibn Qazi Nur Muhammad, Bombay, pp. 123-124. Though the above information of marriage suffers from exaggeration, yet it gives us some idea about the marriage customs of the Hindus. It can be said that different castes followed different types of marriage customs. Abul Fazl also refers to the eight types of marriage customs as well as some marriage rites and rituals prevalent among the Hindus, viz. *Brahmya*, *Daiva* (of the *Devas*), *Arsha* (of the *Rishis*), *Prajaparya* (of the *Prajapatis*) *Asura* (of the *Asuras*), *Gandharva* (of the *Gandharvas*), *Rakshasa* (of the *Rakshasas*), *Paisacha* (of the *Pisachas*)—Refer to Ain (A), III, tr. by Colonel H. S. Jarrett, A.S.B., 1894, pp. 307-311.
33. Albertini's India, II (Sachau), p. 154.
34. Refer to Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., canto 4, doha 68, p. 76 for a reference to the examining of a *Tippani* of a boy and a girl by a *Jyotisi* before their actual marriage ceremony.
35. The Laws of Manu, Ch. IX, Secs. 92, p. 343. References to the practice of 'Svayambara' are available in the contemporary literatures, e.g. Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. II, pub. by Sahitya-

Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 30 (Karhera Yuddha), doha 2, p. 89; Also Ibid, pt. III, samay 40 (Hansawati Vibhaha), doha 58, p. 175 for Princess Hansawati's 'Svayambara'; Also samay 46, doha 1, p. 253 (it has been referred to as 'Sambhar'); Also Ibid, samay 54, doha 40, p. 459 (here, it has been referred to as 'Suyamvar'); Ibid, samay 47, kavitta 6, p. 264, for Princess Sanjogita's 'Svayambar'; Also refer to "Bharatesvar Bahu Bali Ras", contained in "Ras" Aur Rasanwayi Kavya", N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2016, chhanda 145, p. 77; Shalibhadrasuri's "Panchpandavcharitras", contained in Ras Aur Rasanwayi Kavya", N.P.S. 1st edn., V.S. 2016, pp. 160-161 for Dropadi's "Svayambara"; Also see Pandit Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini", Bangabhashi Sanskaran, Cal., 1910, p. 322 for 'Svayambara' of Rukmavati with Pradumna (son of Lord Shree-Krishna); Krittivasa's "Sachitra Saptakanda Ramayana", ed. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn., 1926 (Adi Kanda), p. 32 for 'Svayambara, of Kaikei; Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya", C.U., 1944, p. 33, which runs thus, "Vibhayogge Hoil Kanya Racha Svayambara"; Also Arjundas's "Ram Vibha", ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, Cuttack, 3rd edn., 1953, p. 50; Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Madhya Parva), p. 227; Also see "Prachin Fagu Sangrah", B.U.P., 1st edn., 1955, pada 18, doha 32, p. 85; (it has been referred to as 'Sayvar'); Also see Bhalhan's "Nalakhyan", B.U.P., 1st edn., V.S. 2013, p. 15 for Damyanti's 'Svayambara'.

36. In an Oriya work, e.g. Saraladas's "Mahabharata" (Madhya Parva), pub. by Abhinna Chandra Dan, Cuttack, 2nd edn., 1939, p. 227, we find a reference to the showing of the pictures of both the boy and the girl to each other before their marriage.
37. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), p. 155.
38. Ibid, p. 156.
39. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, pp. 116-117.
40. The Holy Qur'an, tr. by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, pub. by Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, Lahore, 2nd edn., 1920, Ch. IV, Sec. 4, teaching 23, p. 207.
41. T.M.S., tr. by K. K. Basu, O.I.B., 1932.
42. Refer to T.F.S.(A), ed. by Maulvi Vilayat Hussain, Bib: Ind., Cal., 1891, pp. 349-350; See also "Maarif", Azamgarh, July, 1949, vol. 64, pp. 117-118, an art. entitled "Islami Hindi Ke Tamadduni Karname Rifahe Aaam Ke Kam" by Abdus Salam Nadvi; Also I.C., XXIII, Oct., 1949, p. 291, an art. entitled "A Review of the Reign of Firuz Shah" by Riazul Islam.
43. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), p. 156.
44. A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, pp. 132-133.

45. The Holy Qur'an, tr. by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, pub. by Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, 2nd edn., Lahore, 1920, Ch. II, Sec. 28, teaching 222, p. 102.
46. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), p. 156.
47. Ibid, pp. 156-157.
48. Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. II, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 30 (Karhara Yuddha), doha 55, p. 898.
49. In Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya" (C.U., 1944, p. 25), we find a reference to rich 'Jautuka' in the marriage of Kansa's sister with Vasudeva, which runs thus, "Jautuka Dilo Nana Dhane"; Also Ibid, p. 400 for 'Jautuka' of jewels, horses, chariots and elephants in Anjrudha's marriage with Usha, which runs thus,

"Nana Ratna Diya Kaila Usha Kanyadan ;
Hasti Ghora Rath Dilo Jautuk Koriya".

Also refer to Vipradas's "Mansavijaya", A.S.B., 1953, p. 43 for 'Jautuka' of various jewels and huge amount of money in the marriage of Mansa Devi with Jaratkar Muni. It runs thus, "Nana Ratna Jautuka Nana Dhane"; Also see Kaviraj Madhavakandali's "Ramayana" (an Assamese work), ed. and pub. by Shree Kanak Chandra Sharma Kavyatirth, Bevejia, Newgong (Assam), 1941 (Adj Kanda), p. 15 for 'Jautuka' of horses, elephants, chariots, servants, maids, lands and villages, gold, silver and pearls in the marriage of Dashrath and Kaikeyi. It runs thus,

"Utsuke Manat, Hayhasti Rath,
Dasa Dasi Gram Desh,
Suvarna Rajat, Mukuta Manik,
Jautuka Dila Ashesh".

Also Ibid, p. 16, for the presents given in the marriage of Dashrath with Sumitra.

50. References to marriage-presents ('Dahej') are available in Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. II (Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur), 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 31 (Indravati Vibhaha), doha 38, p. 912; Also doha 46, p. 935. For 'Daeej' refer to Narpati Nalha's "Visaldev Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 20, p. 74; Also see Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 103; Also "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1961, canto 26, doha 286/12, p. 327 for 'Daeej' in the marriage of Raja Ratnasen and Padmavat. Maulana Daud Dalmai ("Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., chhanda 44, p. 104), refers to it as 'Chhayji'. In "Dhola-Marura Duha" (N.P.S.), V.S. 2011, doha 595, p. 143), we find, a reference to marriage-presents like jewelled ornaments, good elephants and many maids which were

given by Raja Pingal in the second marriage between Dhola and Marwani. It runs thus,

"Sovan Jatit Singar
Bahu Marwani Muklai,
Gay, Hewanr, Daasi, Bahut,
Dinhin Pingal-Shai".

51. Refer to "Afsana-i-Badshahan", or "Tarikh-i-Afghani", photoprint of the microfilm copy of B.M., K.P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Pat., vol. I, fol. 39 for 'Jahej'.
52. The Holy Qur'an, tr. by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, Lahore, 2nd edn., 1920, Ch. IV, Sec. I, teaching 4, p. 200; Here, Prophet Muhammad says, "And give women their dowries as a free gift, but if they of themselves be pleased to give up to you a portion of it, then eat it with enjoyment and with wholesome result".
53. The Holy Qur'an, tr. by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, Lahore, 2nd edn., 1920, ch. II, Secs. 28-31, pp. 102-112, for the various terms and conditions for divorce among the Muslims; Also see Mr. Richard Bell's art. entitled "Muhammad and Divorce in the Qur'an", pub. in the Journal of 'The Moslem World', vol. XXIX, 1939, pp. 55-62; Also 'The Moslem Outlook', vol. XXX, 1940, pp. 14-19 in Vera Elizabeth Flory's art. entitled 'Women and Culture in Islam'; Also see Princess Dajvidan Hanum's "Harem Life", pub. by Noel Douglas, Lond., 1931, p. 15.
54. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, 1, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, p. 121.
55. Dr. A. S. Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, pub. by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 3rd edn., 1962, p. 83.
56. The Laws of Manu, Ch. IX, Secs. 77-80, as quoted in "The Sacred Books of the East", (ed. by F. Max Muller), vol. XXV, Oxford, 1886, pp. 341-342.
57. Ibid, Ch. IX, Secs. 175-176, p. 363.
58. Kautilya's "Arthashastra", tr. by Dr. R. Shamasastri, pub. by Mysore Printing and Publishing House, Mysore, 7th edn., 1961, Book III, Ch. III, pp. 176-177.
59. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), p. 154.
60. In a contemporary Bengali work entitled "Charja-Giti Padavali", (ed. by Dr. Sukumar Sen, pub. by Sampadak Sahitya Sabha, Burdwan 1956, pada 10 (Kanha Pada), p. 58), we find a reference to the marriage ('Sang') of a woman of low caste ('Dombi'). This shows that the practice of divorce might have been prevalent among the low caste Hindus.
61. The Holy Qur'an, tr. by Maulvi Muhammad Ali, pub. by Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Ishaat-i-Islam, 2nd edn., Lahore, 1920, Ch. IV, Sec. 1, teaching 3, p. 199, where Prophet Muhammad says, "And

if you fear that you cannot act equitably towards orphans, then marry such women as seem good to you, two and three and four ; but if you fear that you will not do justice (between them), then (marry) only one or what your right hands possess ; this is more proper, that you may not deviate from the right course."

62. Tatar Khan Ghuri, the Sultan of Junagarh, for example was so much addicted to it that he used to marry a girl every day and every night (Ses. Z.W., II, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, Lond., 1928, p. 492). The statement, however, seems to suffer from exaggeration.
63. The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, ed. by G. P. Badge (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1863), p. 110.
64. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, p. 120.
65. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), p. 155.
66. Ibid.
67. Travels of Nicolo Conti, contained in Major's 'India in the Fifteenth Century', Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1857, p. 23.
68. The Book of Duarte Barbosa, I, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918, p. 116 ; Also see 'A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar', Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1866, p. 54.
69. Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 202.
70. Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 13, pp. 95-96.
71. "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana" by Krittivasa, ed. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn., 1926 (Adi Kanda), p. 35. It runs thus,

"Putraheen Maharaj Mane Dukha Dah,
 Korilen Satsat Panchase Vibha,
 Satshato Panchase Mukha Tin Gun,
 Kaushalya Sumitra Kaikei Sotini."
72. Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, Sahitya-Sanshan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, V.S. 2011, samay 14, pp. 293-328.
73. Ibid, samay 16, pp. 347-353.
74. Ibid, samay 18, pp. 369-396.
75. Ibid, pt. III, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 40, p. 148.
76. The Travels of Ludovico Varthema, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1863, pp. 143-146 ; Also refer to "The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508", tr. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Lond., 1928, p. 59.
77. The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1863, pp. 146-147 ; Also see 'The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502-1508', Lond., 1928, p. 59.

78. Princess Djavaidan Hanum's "Harem Life", pub. by Noel Douglas, Lond., 1931, p. 11.
79. Ibid.
80. K. M. Ashraf, Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, Delhi, 1st edn., April, 1959, p. 26.
81. I.C., XXXIV, Jan., 1960, p. 3.
82. Refer to "Dewal Rani Khizr Khan", by Amir Khusrau, Aligarh, 1918, p. 101 for a reference to 'Khwaja-Sarai'; Also see T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 274 for Sultan Alauddin Khalji's Harem, which was well-guarded; Also refer to Narayandas's "Chhitai-varta", N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2015, chaupai 358; p. 92 and also chaupai 660, p. 119 for the harem of Alauddin Khalji; Here, it has been referred to as 'Harmani'; Also refer to Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. III, Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 42; kavitta; 2; p. 194 for Sultan Shahabuddin Ghori's harem. Also see Ashraf's Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, Delhi, 1959, p. 29.
83. I.C., Vol. XXXIV, p. 3.
84. T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 506; Also T.F.S.(A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 100 for a reference to Sultan Muhammad Tughluq's harem.
85. Refer to "Ma'asin-i-Rahimi", vol. I, ed. by M. Hidayat Husain, A.S.B., 1924, pp. 145-146; Also see Sikandar Ibn Muhammad's "Mirat-i-Sikandari", pub. by Qazi Abdul Karim, Bombay, 1st edn., 1303, A.H., p. 71; For references to the education of slave girls within the Harem of Sultan Ghiyasuddin of Malwa, see the relevant portions dealing with female education in this work in Ch. IV.
86. For 'Antahpur' or 'Antahpuri', refer to Bhalhan's "Kadambari" (Purva Bhag), ed. by K. H. Dhurve, Ahmedabad, 1935, canto 12, doha 64, p. 74; For 'Ranivas', refer to Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), canto 1, doha 49, p. 57; For 'Antahpur', also see Narpati Nalha's "Visaldeo Raso", pub. by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1953, chhanda 7, p. 63; Also refer to Rajaram Narayan Saletore's Life in Gupta Age, pub. by The Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1943, p. 189; Also see I.C., XXXIV, Jan. 1960, p. 1.
87. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), p. 155.
88. References to the practice of *Sati* ('Saha-Gamana' or 'Saha-Marana') are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. in Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. IV (Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012) samay 61, dohas 397-398, pp. 1155-1157) we find, the two queens of the Chauhan King Prithviraj named Sanjogita and Prithakumari burning themselves on the receipt of the news of the heroic death of their husband (Prithviraj) while fighting with Shahabuddin Ghuri; Also Ibid., doha

- 399, p. 1157, where we find, that along with Queen Prithakumari other ten queens of Prithviraj also burned themselves; Ibid, doha 400, p. 1157, where we get references to the wives of the brave aristocrat warriors observing 'Saha-Gamana' with their husbands. All the women were adorned with ornaments and all the sixteen constituents of toilets and, while they were burning, they were pronouncing the word 'Hari' loudly. In Qutban's "Mrigavati" (pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 202), we find the two women (viz. Mrigavati and Rupmini) and selected eighty-four ladies of the seraglio burning themselves after the death of Kunwar; Also refer to "Kabir Sakhi Sar", pub. by Vinod Pustak Mandir, Hospital Road, Agra, 1st edn., 1956; sakhis 34-36; pp. 172-173 for the practice of *Sati*; Also Somadeva's "Kathasaritsagar", Bombay, 1903, lambak 10, tarang 2, p. 301; Also see Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi) 1st edn., 1961, canto 57 (Padmavati-Nagmati Sati Khanda), dohas 648/1, 649/2, 650/3 and 651/4, pp. 872-875 for the story of the two wives of Raja Ratnasen named Padmavati and Nagmati, who sat on either side of the corpse in perfect amity and were quietly consumed by the flames. This was an instance of 'Saha-Gamana'; Also see Sujan Rai's "Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh", ed. by Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 26; B.P.P., LXXVI, pt. I, Jubilee Number, 1957, an art, entitled "Sati as a Social Institution in Bengal", pp. 99-101.
89. Mirza Muhsin Kashmiri, "Dabistanu'l Mazahib", pub. by Qazi Ibrahim Ibn Qazi Nur Mahammad, Bombay, p. 125.
 90. Ibid.
 91. It has been referred to in the Vedic literature (Dr. S. C. Sarkar, Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India, Humphrey Milford, O.U.P., Lond., 1928, pp: 82-83) and mentioned in the "Pauranic Traditions" (Ibid, pp. 186-187). Dr. Sarkar writes thus, "... Evidently, widow-burning was a defunct custom at this time, represented only by a ritual 'semblance', and positively prevented from being renewed in anyway by an immediate remarriage ..." (Ibid, p. 83); For earlier texts on this subject, also refer to H. H. Wilson's 'Essays and Lectures' (chiefly on the Religion of the Hindus), vol. II, Trubner & Co., 60, Paternoster Row; Lond., 1862, p. 270; Also see Edward Thompson's "Suttee" (Lond., 1928), 1st edn., pp. 19 and 28 for how the soldiers of Alexander found it prevalent in the Punjab; Also see Dr. P. N. Ojha's "Some Aspects of North Indian Social Life (1556-1707 A.D.)", pub. by Nagari Prakashan (P) Ltd., Patn., f.n. no. I, p. 167.
 92. Quoted in F. Max Muller's "Selected Essays on Language, Mythology and Religion, vol. I, Longmans, Green & Co., Lond., 1881, p. 335.
 94. The Laws of Manu, Ch. V, Secs. 151, 157, and 160; as quoted in "The Sacred Books of the East" (ed. by F. Max Muller), vol.

XXV, Oxford, 1886, pp. 195, 196 and 197 respectively.

95. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 21.

96. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 22.

97. Ibid.

* Presumably these women did not speak Persian. They spoke Hindustani as it was then developing; and their Hindustani words were probably reproduced in Persian to Ibn Battuta by his fellow-men, for the former was on horseback and not within hearing distance (See The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, Mahdi Husain, O.I.B., 1953, f.n. no. 1, p. 23).

98. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, tr. by Mahdi Husain, O.I.B., 1953, pp. 22-23; Also refer to Voyages D' Ibn Battuta, III, pp. 136-141; Also H.A.R. Gibb's "Ibn Battuta's Travels in Asia and Africa," pub. by George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, Lond., 1929, pp. 191-193; Also see Travels of Ibn Battuta, tr. by Rev. Samuel Lee, Lond., 1829, pp. 108-110.

99. Travels of Marco Polo, II (Yule), Lond., Sept., 1929, p. 341.

100. The Travels of Ludovico Varthema, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1863, pp. 206-207.

101. Travels of Nicolo Conti, contained in Major's 'India in the Fifteenth Century', Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1857, p. 24.

102. Ibid, p. 25.

103. K. M. Ashraf, Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, Delhi, 1959, p. 157; Also refer to The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 21.

104. For example, in Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I (Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 11 ((Hussain Katha), doha 7, p. 269), we find that after hearing the news of Hussain's death, his courtier named Chitrarekha managed to place herself in the grave of Hussain. It runs thus,

"Paryo Hussain Su Patra Suni,
Chitiya Chitta Iman,
Sajyo Ghor Hussain Satha,
Karyo Pravesh Appan."

105. Even in the mid-19th century, we find famous Bengali poets like Bharat Chandra and Ramprasad, referring to *Sati*—Refer to "Bharat Chandra Granthavali" (Vasumati Sahitya Edition), pp. 17 and 22; Also "Ramprasad Granthavali" (Vasumati Sahitya Edition), p. 65; For details regarding the practice of *Sati* during the Mughal period, refer to Dr. P. N. Ojha's "Some Aspects of North Indian Social Life (1556-1707 A.D.), pub. by Nagari Prakashan (P) Ltd., Pat., pp. 165-172.

106. Refer to Tod, I, pp. 310-311. The term 'Jauhar' is derived from *Jatu-griha*, a house built of lac or other combustibles in allusion to the story in the Mahabharata (I, Ch. 141-151) of the attempted

- destruction of the Pandavas by setting such a building on fire.
107. Tod, I, pp. 363 and 381 for 'Jauhar' among the Rajputs; Also Ibid, II (1920), pp. 744-746; Also refer to Sujan Rai's 'Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh', ed. by Zafar Hasan, Delhi, 1918, p. 25. For the account of 'Jauhar' by the Hindi Assassins who killed the Sayyid Sultan, Mubarak Shah, refer to T.M.S., Bib. Ind., Cal.; 1931; p. 462; Also see "Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi", per. MS, K. P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Pat., p. 174 for a reference to this practice.
 108. K. M. Ashraf, Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, Delhi, 1959, p. 159.
 109. Refer to Amir Khusrau's 'Khazain-ul-Futuh', ed. by Maulvi Sayyid Mojnul Huq, pub. by Aligarh Printing Works, Aligarh, 1927, pp. 57-58; Also see The Campaigns of Ala'u-d-din Khilji, being the "Khaza'inul Futuh" (Treasure of Victory) of Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi, tr. into Eng. by Muhammad Habib, pub. by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay, 1931, pp. 38-39.
 110. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 95.
 111. Ibid, p. 96; Also refer to Voyages D' Ibn Battuta, III, pp. 318-319.
 112. Kavi Padmanabha's "Kanhad-de-Prabandh" ed. by Prof. Kantilal Baldev Ram Vyas, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, July, 1959, pt. II, dohas 152-153, pp. 42-43; Here, the queens of brave Kanhad-de named Umade, Kamla Devi, Jayapaladevi and Bhavaldevi are seen performing 'Jauhar'; Also see Govardhanram Madhavaram Tripathi's "The Classical Poets of Gujarat", Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959, p. 155; Also refer to Jayasi's "Fadnavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., 1961, canto 41; dohas 493/5 and 502/4, pp. 624 and 647 respectively.
 113. References to these types of women are found in contemporary literatures, e.g. "Kabir Saheb Ka Bijak-Granth", pub. by Svasamvad Karyalaya, Siyabag (Baroda), 1st edn., 1955, p. 252 for 'Veshya'; "Mira Smriti-Granth", pub. by Bengiya Hindi Parishad, Cal., 1st edn., V.S. 2006, p. 153 for 'Ganika'; Also Jyotirisvara's "Varnaratnakar", Bib. Ind., Cal., 1940, 4th kallol (Atha Veshya-varnana), pp. 26-27; "Prakrita Paingalam" (A text on Prakrit and Apabhramsa Metres), pub. by Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi, 1959, 1st parichheda, padmsamkhyas 63 and 83, pp. 58 and 74 respectively; Here, they have been referred to as 'Vesa' and 'Besi' respectively; Also "Dadudayal Ka Sabad", N.P.S., 1909, sabad-3, p. 132 for 'Natani'; Also refer to "Gorakhbani", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 3rd edn., V.S. 2017; bani 55; p. 161; Here, it has been referred to as 'Vesuan'; Also Narayandas's 'Chhitaivarta', N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2015; chaupai 553; p. 95 for 'Patur'. For 'Patar' or 'Patur' also see Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. III (Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajas'han Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012) samay 42, doha 26; p. 204; Ibid;

pt. I, V.S. 2011, samay 13 (Chitrarekha), doha 9; p. 289 for 'Veshya'. Also see Somadeva's "Kathasaritsagar", Bombay, 2nd edn., 1903, tarang 3, p. 5 for a reference to a prostitute named Vanchanpravan. For 'Veshya' also see Kavivar Vijaya Gupta's "Padmapuran or Mansamangal", ed. by Basant Kumar Bhattacharya, pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., pp. 80-81; Also Vidyapati's "Purush Pariksha", tr. into Bengali by Shree Bihari Lal Sheel and Shree Anand Lal Sheel, pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 1851, p. 150 for the two prostitutes of Dharnagar named Ketaki and Jataki. Nanak ("Nanak Bani", pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, V.S. 2018, p. 629) refers to them as 'Besua'; For a reference to 'Patur' also see Afsana-i-Badshahan or Tarikh-i-Afghani, photo-print of microfilm copy of B.M., K.P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Pat., vol. II, fols. 2(a); 31(a) and 32(b). In the "Chaitanya Bhagavata" (Patrika House, Baghbazar, Cal., p. 60), we find a reference to a 'Nartaki' in the first marriage of Nimai (Chaitanya).

114. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), p. 157.
115. Travels of Nicolo Conti, contained in Major's India in the Fifteenth Century, Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1857; p. 23.
116. "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011; samay 11, (Hussain Katha), kavitta 3, p. 243, which runs thus;

"Ikka Patra Sahaab,
Chitrarekha Su Nam Tas,
Rup Rang Rati Anga,
Gan Pariman Vichakhkhan."

117. Vidyapati's "Kirtilata", ed. by V.S. Agarwala, pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaoni (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1962; 2nd pallava, chhanda 19; dohas 113-118, pp. 78-79.
118. Ibid, 2nd pallava, chhanda 24, doha 138; p. 85; where Vidyapati refers to them thus, "Sakhijan Prerante."
119. Ibid, 2nd pallava, chhanda 22, dohas 132-133; pp. 82-83; where Vidyapati refers to the public women thus,

"Lajja Kittim Kapat Tarunna,
Dhan Nimitte Dhae Prem,
Lobhe Binaa Saubhage Kaman,
Binu Svami Sindur Para Parichaya Apaman."

Also see Dr. Jayakanta Mishra's "A History of Maithili Literature, vol. I, Allahabad, 1949, p. 149.

120. "Kirtilata", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1962, 2nd pallava, chhanda 25, doha 153, p. 91, which runs thus; "Sirf Ibrahim Shah Gune Nahin Chinta Nahin Shoka".

121. Refer to J.U.P. Hist: Soc., vol. IV (New Series), Pts. I-II, 1956, an art. entitled "Jaunpur in Vidyapati's Kirtilata", pp. 110-111.
122. Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., V.S. 2018, canto 2 (Simhaldvip Varnana Khanda), chhanda 38, pp. 44-45.
123. K. M. Ashraf, Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, Delhi, 1959, p. 228.
124. The Campaign of Ala'u-d-Din Khilji being the 'Khaza-i nul Futuh' (Treasures of Victory) of Mazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi, tr. into Eng. by Muhammad Habib, pub. by D. B. Taraporewala & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay, 1931, p. 12; Also refer to Barni's "Fatwa-i-Jahandari", tr. by Dr. Afsar Begum, p. 4 for the prohibition of shameless and dirty acts of the prostitutes by the Delhi Sultans.

CHAPTER VI

GAMES, SPORTS, FESTIVALS AND OTHER PASTIMES

The Turcko-Afghan period is remarkable for its various sources of pleasure and recreation. These, it may be said, seems to have originated from different kinds of games, sports, festivals and various other kinds of pastimes. In this connection, it may be noted here that some of them are still popular despite the changes that they might have undergone in their nature. However, the outdoor games and amusements, during the period under review, more or less bear the stamp of the characteristic military and adventurous spirit of the age. The games like 'Chaugan' (Polo), 'Shikar' (hunting), animal-fights etc. were the monopoly of the ruling classes and the aristocrats, while those like chess, 'chaupar', playing-cards etc. were popular with the rich and the poor alike. Here, an attempt has been made to discuss some of such games, sports and other amusements as seem to have been prevalent during the period.

INDOOOR GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS:

Chess: The game of chess or *shatranj* has remained, through the ages, one of the most popular means of recreation for the Indian people. It was rightly regarded as the most aristocratic of all the indoor games. The Indian origin of chess is incontestable.¹ In Firdausi's "Shahnama", composed during the rule of Mahmud of Ghazni, we find an interesting account of the game of 'Shatranj' (chess) and 'Nard' (backgammon), which leads us to believe that both these games were popular in India and Persia respectively. Firdausi's account in this regard runs thus, "Once the *Rai* of Hind (Kanauj) sent many things to the *Shah* of Persia with his messenger. Token of message, as they were, the gifts consisted, besides gold and jewellery, of a new thing called 'Shatranj'. After having a word about that with the Indian messenger, the Shah was told that it was a game meant only for the kings and emperors. The game, however, gave them knowledge of warfare. The messenger of *Rai* of Hind revealed to the

Shah how sharpness of mind could be developed by playing this game . . ."¹² He concludes, "There is a thing known as intelligence just as there is a thing called 'Shatranj'; but both are analogous to each other. Intelligence comes from playing 'Shatranj' alone. Nausherwan, however, has very much liked the sentiments of the messenger of the *Rai* of Kanauj, and he also asks him how the game is played."¹³ The messenger devoted a week in training the attendants of the *Shah* to pick up the game of 'Shatranj'. The above account of Firdausi clearly shows that chess originated in India and, later on, in the wake of India's growing contact with other countries, it could spread all the world over.

Alberuni also refers to the fondness of the Hindus for playing the game of chess. He says thus, "In playing chess they move the elephant straight on, not to the other sides, one square at a time, like the pawn, and to the four corners also one square at a time, the queen (*firzan*). They say that these five squares (i.e. the one straight forward and the others at the corners) are the places occupied by the trunk and the four feet of the elephant . . . They play chess—four persons at a time—with a pair of dice . . ."¹⁴ At another place, he refers to the ignorance of the Muslims in this respect. He says, ". . . this kind of chess is not known among us . . ."¹⁵ He then describes in details the method of playing this game.¹⁶ Amir Khusrau¹⁷ also refers to 'Shatranj' as a favourite game of the Sultans and the aristocrats. He says, "The game of chess came about in India. The elaborate and intricate technique of this game has seldom been mastered by a single man, and it holds the pride of place among pastimes of a kindred kind."¹⁸ Malim Muhammad Jayasi, in his "Padmavat", refers to a scene where Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji and Raja Ratan Sen are seen playing the game of chess inside the Rajput fortress of Chittor.¹⁹

Nard: Of the other games popular among the Sultans and the aristocrats, mention here may be made of the game of *Nard*²⁰ (backgammon), which was introduced in Hindustan by the Muslims. Firdausi, in his "Shahnama", writes thus, "When Nausherwan, the *Shah* of Persia, had realised the intelligence of the Indian Brahmans in inventing the game of 'Shatranj', he

ordered his intelligent prime minister Buzurj Mihr to make some new inventions for sending presents to the *Rai* of Kanauj. Then, Buzurj Mihr came to India with a new game, i.e. *Nard*. The *Rai*, too, did not know much about the game of *Nard* and how it was played. Through Buzurj Mihr the Indians were accustomed to playing the game of *Nard*.¹¹ The account given by Firdausi leads us to believe that *Nard* was brought to India from Persia in exchange for chess.¹² Referring to this game, Alberuni says, "If two men play at *Nard* (backgammon), a third one throws the dice between them".¹³ This game was played on a wooden board, square in shape and divided into twentyfour squares of equal size. It was played with thirty pieces in two sets of fifteen, each set being of one distinctive colour.¹⁴

Chaupar: The antiquity of the game of *Chaupar*, *Chausar* or *Pachisi* in India has never been disputed. Even in modern times, the differences of opinion are not over the manner of playing, but over certain minor details.¹⁵ This game was particularly popular among the Hindus, especially the Rajputs.¹⁶ In Malik Muhammad Jayasi's "Padmavat", princess Padmavati is seen playing the game of 'Chaupar' with Raja Ratan Sen. There are also detailed references to the technique of playing this game.¹⁷

PLAYING CARDS AND THE GAME OF DICE (GAMBLING).

The history of the game of cards goes back to the ancient times.¹⁸ Babur in his Memoirs refers to this game as *Ganjifa*.¹⁹ Unfortunately, other contemporary records as well as vernacular literatures have very little to say about the game. Understandably, it must have been popular during that period.

Gambling had been as much popular with the rich as with the poor.²⁰ In almost all the indoor games, there is a subtle enticement for stakes. In the ordinary game of 'Chaupar', for example, 'pasa'²¹ (dice) was used. Generally, this 'pasa' was a four-sided piece, usually made of ivory, the sides marked with one, two, five and six dots respectively. Three such sets were used in playing for stakes.²² The game was popularly known as 'Juua'.²³ Lawanyasamay refers to it as 'Deut'.²⁴ Among the Muslims, it was known as "Qimarbazi".²⁵ Though gambling was

prohibited by Islam,²¹ yet it was very popular among the Muslims. Besides, gambling was by no means confined to the lower classes only, rather it was very popular among the kings and aristocrats.

Jashns or social parties, feasts, dancing, music and various other means of entertainment also provided sufficient recreation to the ruling and well-to-do classes. *Jashn* was usually accompanied by vocal and instrumental music, dainty wines, dried fruits and indoor games like chess, *chaupar*, etc. It was a common practice among the upper-class people to decorate the rooms with rich carpets where the guests assembled. Aloe-wood and incense were constantly kept burning there. Rose-water was frequently sprinkled over the party, which had a refreshingly cool effect.²² But, the most amusing item was the wine which was served by very handsome cup-bearers together with some spices and seasonal dishes. Referring to wine, Amir Khusrau says, "The covers of the goblets of wine looked holier than a prayer carpet."²³

Outdoor Games and Amusements: An attempt has been made here to describe briefly some of the important outdoor games and amusements prevalent during the period under review.

Chaugan and Horse-Racing: 'Chaugan', called polo today, was, in fact, the most aristocratic of the outdoor games, especially popular among the Sultans of Delhi and the well-to-do classes. It was introduced into India by the Muslims. Almost all the Sultans and their nobles were fond of it.²⁴ Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak died of an accident while playing 'Chaugan' at Lahore.²⁵ The Hindus, especially the Rajputs, were also familiar with the techniques of this game.²⁶

Horse-racing was also a popular outdoor game. Referring to this game Barbosa writes, "... They are also very skilful horsemen; they ride on horses covered with silk. Every man carried two swords, a dagger, and a Turkish bow with very good arrows; others carry steel maces. ... The foreparts of their horses are caparisoned with steel. They are so light and skilful in the saddle that they play the game of *choqua* on horseback, which game they hold in as much estimation as we do in respect of *jogo das canas*, the 'read game'.²⁷"

Hunting (Shikar or Chase): Hunting was a very important source of recreation and amusement at that time. It was parti-

cularly encouraged by the ruling classes, both Hindus and Muslims. The nobles, in particular, indulged in this game. Almost all the Sultans of Delhi had a liking for this game, and they spent lavishly over it as much time as they could spare. Sultan Masud (1030-1040 A.D.) was a great lover of tiger-hunting. He was such an expert in tiger-hunting that he could kill one without taking any assistance from his attendants.³³

Amir Khusrau, in his work entitled "Hasht Bahisht", refers to Sultan Bahram Shah's (1240-1242 A.D.) love for hunting and writes, "The Sultan was very fond of *Sa'id* (hunting) and often hunted the *Gors* (wild asses) and he used to drink wine with *Kabab* even in *Shikargah* (hunting ground). He usually did hunting with bow and arrows, sitting on the horseback. Sometimes he went out to catch wild asses alive and he sealed them with his name and then left them alive. This is why he was called *Bahram Gor*".³⁴

Sultan Balban was also very fond of hunting. He played this game mostly in winter and he had given clear orders to his men to keep ten or twenty *Shikargahs* (hunting grounds) and *Mugrjars* (jungles) ready for the purpose. During his reign, the post of *Mir-e-Shikaran* was highly honoured. The *Mehtaran-e-Shikaradar* (the head of falconers) enjoyed a high status. The falcons were quite numerous in the royal *Shikarkhana* (house of falcons) and they were maintained by a large number of *Shikaradars*.³⁵ The Sultan's favourite season for hunting was winter when he used to start very early in the morning towards Rewari and returned home generally next day by midnight. He was accompanied by a thousand horsemen whom he knew individually and a thousand troopers who were fed from the royal kitchen. His return to the capital was announced by beat of drums.³⁶

Amir Khusrau has made detailed references to Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak's (1316-1320 A.D.) hunting expedition in his monumental work entitled "Nuh Sipihr".³⁷ He also refers to Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak's habit of hunting rabbits with the help of hounds and also hunting other wild animals like tiger and nilgai (the white-footed antelope).³⁸

Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji was also fond of hunting, and his favourite method was *Narga* or the formation of beaters' circle

(which, in a way, was the predecessor of the Mughal *Qamragha*), which assembled about sunrise when they were joined by the Sultan.³⁹

Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, too, had a liking for hunting. He had employed 10,000 falconers, who rode on horseback in the chase, 3,000 beaters, 3,000 provision-dealers and others. Four collapsible double-storied houses were carried in his train by 200 camels together with tents, canopies and variety of pavilions.⁴⁰

But of all the Sultans, Firuz Tughluq was especially interested in this game, and during his reign the *Shikar* Department was regarded as one of the "Pillars of the State". It was organised under an *Amir-i-Shikar*, who was usually a noble of high rank, together with some other officials of high status. Under these senior officials, there were a number of subordinate officers for the upkeep of royal falcons as well as other hunting animals and birds, the last three known as *Arizan-i-Shikar*, *Khassa-daran* and *Mihtaran* respectively. Besides, there were under them *Shikra-dars* who carried the animals and birds on the day of the chase.⁴¹

Referring to Sultan Firuz Tughluq's fondness of hunting, Barni writes, "If I write about the fondness of hunting of Sultan Firuz Shah in detail, I have to write a separate book, viz. "*Shikar-nama Firuz*". I have never seen other Sultans use the method which he has adopted in hunting. It is said Sultan Shams-ud-din was fond of hunting; Balban, too, delighted in this game; Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji too found this game close to his heart. These Sultans were accustomed only to bird-hunting which was usually done during winter. Firuz Shah, who is an exception, was the only Sultan who did hunting all the year round. Bird-hunting, apart, he went after big game, which included carnivorous and wild animals. When, on expedition, he seldom left any animal, be it a tiger, a wolf, *nilgai* or a deer. The army of the Sultan was fully satisfied with the meat from the *Shikargah* of the Sultan, and *Kassabs* (the butchers) did not think it necessary to kill goats for selling meat. The Sultan was so much fond of hunting that the *Amir-e-Shikar* of his court was very much honoured and *Shikra-dars* spent their lives in honour and esteem. The hunters of *Dar-ul-Mulk* (capital) Delhi were the servants of *Shikarkhana*

Khas and they supplied all kinds of animals for the royal *Shikrakhana*.⁴²

Afif gives us a detailed account of Firuz Shah Tughluq's love for hunting. He writes thus, "The Sultan was fond of hunting, and during his lifetime he had hunted innumerable animals of various kinds. He had a rich collection of the carnivorous ; such as leopard, *Yuz*, tigers, *Baz* (falcon), *Shahin* (royal white falcon) for hunting purposes. These animals were under the supervision of servants and, two or three of them looked after each animal. When he was out on the chase, a big procession formed. Forty to fifty special standards and two especially designed emblems adorned with peacock feathers, accompanied him. The emblems were carried in front of the Sultan on both sides. Just behind them were four trained wild animals and birds of prey, to the left and right of the monarch respectively. A vast number of other animals, namely *cheetahs*, panthers, lynxes, hounds, eagle and falcons with their keepers on horseback followed the Sultan. A great many nobles went with the Sultan on the chase with their tents and canopies and a big crowd of porters and attendants. Besides, the Sultan used to maintain many horses and tied them in five places which was known as *Panj Mahal* and this *Panj Mahal* contained a *Shikrakhana* too. On a hunting expedition horses in thousands went on with *Shikras*. At the time two distinguished nobles of the rank of *Maliks* supervised the *Shikar* Department of Sultan Firuz Tughluq, viz. Malik Dain was *Amir-e-Shikar* and Malik Khizr Behram was *Naib-Amir-e-Shikar*. The great *Omrahs* took great pains in training the *Shikrahs*."⁴³ We may, on the authority of Afif, say that the Sultan Firuz Shah was interested in different kinds of animals. First, Afif starts with a description of the hunting of the *Gorkhar* (wild ass). This animal was found in the dry areas of Devalpur and Sravasti. Summer was considered to be the ideal time for hunting this animal, because it was during this time that it collected at one place before break-up for winter. We also get a reference to Firuz Shah's hunting a *Gorkhar*, when he instructed his attendants to carry a stock of drinking water for at least three days for the use of his men and animals. The nobles also carried water.⁴⁴ Further, Afif gives us a detailed description of Sultan

Firuz Shah Tughluq's hunting expeditions of deer, *nilgai*, *gau-mesh* (buffalo), tiger etc.⁴⁵ Fishing was also very much liked by Firuz Shah and he caught fish with the help of big nets, carried by elephants.⁴⁶ Besides, he took special interest in elephant-hunting, and whenever he was told about *Pilan-e-Dasti* (wild elephants), he at once proceeded to the jungle with his attendants.⁴⁷ In 1358 A.D., the Sultan set out towards Samana, and engaged himself in hunting there. From there, the Sultan fell back and hunted in Badmavati and Baram Talaoli, the grazing-grounds of elephants. He killed two of them, and caught as many as thirtythree alive. Zain-ul-Mulk composed the following quatrain to celebrate the occasion :

"Aj Bahre Shikare Pil Dar Jajnagar,
Amad Do Bakusht Shee Base Jinda Girift."

i.e. "To Jajnagar he came, the elephants to hunt. Two he killed and three and thirty captured."⁴⁸

Sultan Sikandar Lodi was also fond of hunting, and especially of *Shikar-e-Mahi* (fishing).⁴⁹ The aristocrats, too, like the Sultan, were fond of this game. Haibat Khan Gurg Andaz, an *Amir* of Ibrahim Lodi, had killed two wolves in a hunting expedition at Biana. He is rightly called the "*Gurg Andaz*"⁵⁰ (wolf-killer).

The Hindu *Rajas* and aristocrats, especially the Rajputs, also did not lag behind the Sultans of Delhi in the cultivation of the game of *Shikar* or chase. The princes, from a very early age, took a keen interest in this game.⁵¹ Chandbardai in his "*Prithviraj Raso*" frequently refers to the famous Chauhan King Prithviraj's fondness of this game.⁵² Very often, he went on hunting with his *Samants* (nobles) and, sometimes, with other brave men.⁵³ In the above work, there is a reference to Rajput King Prithviraj's hunting in a forest, where he is seen with a hundred and five elephants and five hundred hunters for entrapping the deer; besides, there were one thousand and ten hunting dogs and five hundred leopards ready on the leash. There were also some hawks for the purpose of catching birds. Besides, there were attendants, who were equipped with bows and arrows as well as cages for entrapping big lions and rabbits.⁵⁴ Literature of the time also refers to the popularity of the game among the people in general.⁵⁵

SOME OTHER OUTDOOR DIVERSIONS:

Of the other important outdoor diversions, mention here may be made of animal-fights prevalent mostly among the ruling classes and the aristocrats. Chandbardai in his "Prithviraj Raso"⁵⁰ refers to elephant-fights in the court of Prithviraj, which must have been a favourite pastime of the king. Besides, the Muslims indulged in cock-fighting.⁵¹

Bird-flying (especially *Baz* and pigeon) was a popular pastime, which amused the rich and the poor alike. Amir Khusrau frequently refers to this popular outdoor diversion.⁵² Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji maintained a regular pigeon-house, a legacy from his predecessors.⁵³ Amir Khusrau also refers to *Raqsh-e-Kabutar* (dancing of pigeons), which was popular among the masses.⁵⁴

Wrestling ('Kushti', 'Dangal' or Duelling)⁵⁵ was also a favourite recreation at that time. Princes, aristocrats as well as the commoners alike received some training in this art.⁵⁶ 'Pahalwans' (wrestlers) were patronised by the well-to-do classes.⁵⁷ Archery was also a favourite pastime. In Orissa, it appears to have been an important subject in the curriculum for higher studies.⁵⁸ Besides, sword-playing⁵⁹ was also another important diversion among the people.

The most popular sources of recreation among the boys, during the period under review, were the playing of 'Gulis'⁶⁰ (the game of tip-cat), ball-playing, ball-throwing⁶¹ and kite-flying ('guddi'-flying).⁶² Jayasi refers to 'Jal-Krida'⁶³ (water-sports and 'Chanchari'⁶⁴ (play of hiding among Hindu women. Curiously enough, there is no reference to 'Kabaddi' and 'Chikka' in contemporary records, but, one feels that they might have continued in some form or the other.

HINDU FESTIVALS, PILGRIMAGES ETC.

An effort has been made here to mention some of the popular festivals and pilgrimages of the Hindus and the Muslims, during the period under review.

The festivals (*teohars*) of the Hindus were, indeed, numerous, occurring in almost all important seasons of the year. Mention here may be made of only the most popular among them.

Alberuni gives us a detailed description of the Hindu festivals.⁷¹ He refers to them thus, ". . . Most of the Hindu-festivals are celebrated by women and children only."⁷² On the occasion of a military triumph, the Hindu kings used to celebrate a festival. Alberuni points out thus, "The 2nd of the month Caitra is a festival to the people of Kashmir, called *Agdus* (?), and celebrated on account of a victory gained by their king, Muttai, over the Turks. According to their account he ruled over the whole world. But this is exactly what they say of most of their kings . . ."⁷³ Referring to another festival, Alberuni says, "On the 11th there is a festival called *Hindoli-Caitra*, when they meet in the *devagriha*, or temple of Vasudeva, and swing his image to and fro, as had been done with him when he was an infant in the cradle. They perform the same in their houses, during the whole day and make merry."⁷⁴ Alberuni further says, "On the full moon's day of Caitra there is a feast called *Bahand* (*vasanta* ?), a festival for the women, when they put on their ornaments and demand presents from their husbands. The 22nd (of the month of Caitra) is a festival called *Caitra-cashati*, a day of merriment holy to Bhagavati, when people use to wash and to give alms."⁷⁵ Then, again, he says, "The 3rd Vaisakha is a festival for the women called *Gaur-t-r* (*gauri-tritiya* ?), holy to Gauri, the daughter of the mountain Himavant, the wife of Mahadeva. They wash and dress gaily, they worship the image of Gauri and light lamps before it, they offer perfumes, abstain from eating, and play with swings. On the following day they give alms and eat . . . In this month occurs the vernal equinox, called *vasanta*. They determine the day by calculation and make it a festival, when people invite the Brahmans."⁷⁶ Further, he observes, "On the 1st Jyaishta, or new moon's day, they celebrate a festival and throw the first-fruits of all seeds into the water in order to gain thereby a favourable prognostic . . . The full moon's day of this month is a festival to the women, called *rupa-panca* (?) . . ."⁷⁷ While referring to the festival of *pitri-paksha*, Alberuni says, "In the month Bhadrapada, when the moon stands in the tenth station, Magha, they celebrate a festival which they call *pitripaksha*, i.e. the half of the month of the Fathers, because the moon's entering this station falls near the

time of new moon. They distribute alms during fifteen days in the name of the Fathers."⁷⁹

The most popular festival of the Hindus were 'Vasant Panchami', 'Holi', 'Dipavali', 'Sivaratri',⁸⁰ 'Eka-dasi'⁸¹ and others connected with the various incidents in the life of Krishna. The festival of 'Vasant Panchami'⁸² was the fore-runner of spring and was observed in the month of Magha. It was highlighted by the singing of songs, folk-dances⁸³ and dispersing of coloured powders ('Abir', 'Gulal' etc.).⁸⁴

'Holi'⁸⁵ was, as even today, a very important and popular festival of the Hindus. It was observed on the last day of the bright half of *Phalguna* (February-March). For three days on the eve of 'Holi', the Hindus of all castes and classes drenched everybody, including the passers-by, with saffron and coloured water. On the third day in the evening, practically the entire population crowded round a huge bonfire and prayed for the prospects of the next harvest.

'Purnmashi' of the month of *Sravana* was the favourite festival of the Brahmanas. *Rakhis* (strings made of the silk thread and tinsel) were put as wristlets on the hands of young men by their sisters or other maidens as a token of good luck and affection.⁸⁶

The festival of 'Dasehra' was very popular with the *Kshatriyas* as well as the agricultural classes. The festival occurred on the 10th of the 'Shuklapaksha' in the month of *Asvin* (September-October). The worship of the favourite goddess Durga was performed with great enthusiasm, particularly in Bengal. Its another important aspect was the worship of the implements of trade, profession or occupation followed by different sections among the Hindus.⁸⁷

'Dipavali'⁸⁸ better known as 'Diwali' (the festival of lamps), was one of the most popular and mirthful festivals of the Hindus. Referring to this festival, Alberuni says, "The 1st Karttika, or new moon's day, when the sun marches in Libra, is called *Dibali*. Then people bathe, dress festively, make presents to each other of betel-leaves and areca-nuts; they ride to the temples to give alms and play merrily with each other till noon. In the night they light a great number of lamps in every place so that the air

is perfectly clear. The cause of this festival is that Lakshmi, the wife of Vasudeva, once a year on this day liberates Bali, the son of Virocana, who is a prisoner in the seventh earth, and allows him to go out into the world. Therefore the festival is called *Balirajya*, i.e. the principality of Bali. The Hindus maintain that this time was a time of luck in the *Kritayuga*, and they are happy because of the feast-day in question resembles that time in the *Kritayuga*.¹⁰⁸ In Gujarat, the game of *Deut*¹⁰⁹ (gambling), played on the eve of this festival, was popular among the people.

'Ratha Yatra' was another important festival held at Puri (in Orissa). The famous car-festival of Jagannath fell on the second day of the waxing moon of *Asarh* (July).¹¹⁰

Referring to the Hindu pilgrimages, Alberuni says, "Pilgrimages are not obligatory to the Hindus, but facultative and meritorious. A man sets off to wander to some holy region, to some such venerated idol or to some of the holy rivers. He worships in them, worships the idol, makes presents to it, recites many hymns and prayers, fasts, and gives alms to the Brahmans, the priests, and others. He shaves the hair of his head and beard, and returns home."¹¹¹ The solar and lunar eclipses were also celebrated by the Hindus from time to time amidst scenes of great rejoicing.¹¹² On these occasions, men, women and children bathed in the holy waters of the Ganges, Jamuna or any other sacred river, and made pilgrimages to holy places.¹¹³ Alberuni observes, ". . . In every place to which some particular holiness is ascribed, the Hindus construct ponds intended for the ablutions. In this they have attained to a very high degree of art, so that our people (the Muslims), when they see them, wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them . . . In Multan there is a pond in which the Hindus worship by bathing themselves, if they are not prevented."¹¹⁴

Speaking about the holy places, Alberuni observes that some places had become popular for the pilgrimage of the Hindus. "The Hindus", he says, "have some places which are venerated for reasons connected with their law and religion, e.g. Benares (Baranasi). For their anchorites wander to it and stay there for ever, as the dwellers of the Ka'ba stay for ever in Mekka. They want to live there to the end of their lives, that their reward

after death should be the better for it. They say that a murderer is held responsible for his crime and punished with a punishment due to his guilt, except in case he enters the city of Benares, where he obtains pardon . . ."⁹⁶ He continues, "Another place of the kind is Taneshar, also called *Kurukshetra*, i.e. the land of Kuru, who was a peasant, a pious, holy man, who worked miracles by divine power. Therefore, the country was called after him, and venerated for his sake. Besides, Taneshar is the theatre of the exploits of Vasudeva in the wars of Bharata and of the destruction of the evil-doers. It is for this reason that people visit the place."⁹⁷ Referring to other sacred places, Alberuni says, "Mahura, too, is a holy place, crowded with Brahmans. It is venerated because Vasudeva was there born and brought up, in a place in the neighbourhood called *Nandagola*. Nowadays the Hindus also visit Kashmir. Lastly, they used to visit Multan before its idol-temple was destroyed."⁹⁸

MUSLIM FESTIVALS, PILGRIMAGES, ETC.

Some festivals and pilgrimages also became popular among the Muslims. To them, as to the Hindus, they also afforded opportunities for diversion. Most of the Muslims performed pilgrimages to Mecca while the rest attended the *Id*-prayers. However, Indian environments and traditions were bound to influence them in course of time in this regard.⁹⁹ Like their Hindu brethren, for example, they came to realise in course of time the social and recreational significance of their festivals.

First of all, mention here may be made of the State festival of 'Nauroz', which was held normally on the Persian New Year's Day. Being a spring festival, it was celebrated in big gardens and riverside parks, the chief attractions being music and flowers.¹⁰⁰ However, its observance was mainly confined to the upper classes among the Muslims, who were closely associated with the Sultan.¹⁰¹

The orthodox sections, however, attached greatest importance to 'Id' (*Id-ul-Fitr*) and *Id-ul-Zoha*.¹⁰¹ Their dates depended, as even today, upon the visibility of the moon. Ibn Battuta particularly refers to the royal procession on the eve of the two 'Ids'. Referring to Sultan Abul Majahid Muhammad Shah, son of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah, the Moorish traveller writes, "The

night preceding the Id the Sultan sends robes to the amirs, the courtiers, the notable personage, and the *a'izza* as well as to the secretaries, chamberlains, palace officers (*nuqaba*), military chiefs, slaves and new correspondents without exception. On the Id morning all the elephants are adorned with silk, gold and jewels, and there are sixteen of them whom no one rides as they are reserved for the Sultan's use only. Over each of them a silk parasol studded with jewels and with a handle of pure gold is raised; and on the back of each is placed a seat, covered with silk and studded with jewels . . .¹⁰² Ibn Battuta continues, "On the day of 'Id', the whole palace is hung with tapestry and magnificently decorated. All along the council-hall is set up an awning which is a kind of a big tent supported by numerous thick posts; and around it are many other tents. Artificial trees made of silk of varying colours and covered with blossoms and flowers are arranged in three rows in the council-hall. Between every two trees is placed a gold chair with a covered seat; and in the forepart of the council-hall is placed the high throne, the whole of which is of pure gold and the legs are studded with jewels. It is twenty-three spans long and half of that measurement wide; and it consists of separate pieces, which are fitted together when desired. Several men jointly lift a piece on account of the heaviness of the gold; and over the throne they place a cushion; and over the Sultan's head a parasol studded with jewels is raised. As soon as he ascends the throne, the chamberlains and the palace officers call out '*Bismillah*' with a loud voice. Then the people advance to salute him; first the judges, then the orators, then the '*ulama*', then the *saiyids*, then the saints (*mashaikh*), then the Sultan's brothers, his relations and brothers-in-law, then the *a'izza*, then the *vazirs*, then the military chiefs, then the senior slaves of advanced age and then the commanders of the troops. Each presents his greetings one after the other without any confusion or pressure. It is a custom on the day of Id for every one who possesses a village bestowed on him to bring some gold dinars wrapped up in a piece of cloth on which his name is written; this is put in a gold plate there. Enormous wealth is thus collected, and the Sultan gives it away to whomsoever he likes."¹⁰³

The other important festival was 'Shab-i-Barat'¹⁰⁴ (the night of record) which was celebrated on the 14th night of the month of Sha'ban. It appears that in India the prayers were sometimes offered in congregation only.¹⁰⁵ The religious enthusiasts among the Muslims, however, spent the whole night in offering special prayers and reading the Holy Qur'an. Amir Khusrau refers to the popular custom of sending 'candle lamps' to the mosques and displaying of fire-works on that occasion.¹⁰⁶ The use of the fire-works and crackers in order to celebrate the festival of 'Shab-i-Barat', introduced at the popular level, was probably imitated from the Christians and the Hindus.¹⁰⁷ The Sultans of Delhi took keen interest in this festival. For instance, Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq celebrated the festival for four days. On the approach of 'Shab-i-Barat', he used to collect loads of fire-works and crackers. On the successive nights of the 13th, the 14th and the 15th Sha'ban, the fire-works were lighted. Four big trays full of these fire-works, accompanied by musicians, were distributed among the crowds of people who gathered at Firuzabad.¹⁰⁸

'Muharram'¹⁰⁹ (a festival of mourning) was also one of the most important festivals of the Muslims, particularly of the Shias. Orthodox and religious minded Muslims spent the first ten days of *Muharram* in reading the accounts of the martyrdom of the heroes of Karbala and in offering special prayers for their eternal peace. They did not proceed beyond these limits under the Sultans of Delhi.¹¹⁰ 'Taziyas' (imitation mausoleums of the martyrs of Karbala) were brought out in procession.

The popular Muslim pilgrimages were generally confined to such places which had the graves (*Dargahs*) of reputed saints and divines. The 'Urs'¹¹¹ or death anniversaries of these saints were celebrated with great enthusiasm. Referring to the Sultan of Cambay, Varthema says, ". . . It is the custom of this King to perform a pilgrimage once in a year with accompanying three or four thousand of his people, and with his wife and children."¹¹²

MUSIC, SINGING, DANCING, DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES, JUGGLERS, ACROBATS ETC.

Among other diversions, mention here may be made of music as a favourite pastime. Indian music has a history that

goes back to the ancient times. Amir Khusrau writes, "Indian music, which is like fire that lightens the heart and soul is of a higher order than the music of any other country. No foreigner, even if he stays in India for a number of years, has been able to grasp its principles thoroughly or even to render a single melody correctly. This music has a peculiar charm not only for human beings, but for animals also. Deer have been hypnotized and caught by means of music alone."¹¹¹ Besides, Amir Khusrau has left behind a permanent contribution to the music of Hindustan, inasmuch as it was he who introduced into the country—the *quavaali* mode of singing for the first time. He is also credited with having introduced several of our modern *ragas* like *Zilaph*, *Sazagiri*, *Sarpada* and others.¹¹² Amir Khusrau has given us an account of the musical instruments used by the musicians such as *chang*, *rabab*, *duff*, *tanbur*, *shahnai*, *bablik*, *batira*, *dhul*, *ud* etc.¹¹³ Raja Man Singh of Gwalior (1486-1516) was a great lover of music. It is said that he brought the 'Dhrupad' style of song to its present state and that he composed songs in this style. Sultan Husain Shirqi (of the Shirqi dynasty which flourished in the 15th century) introduced a style of music which has come to be known as *Kheyal*.¹¹⁴ The Sultans of Delhi also patronised music, and their *Jashns* were enriched by the presence of famous singers, both men and women.¹¹⁵ The Sufis also had a great liking for music, known as '*Sama*', which was especially practised on the occasion of 'Urs' (death anniversary of a saint).¹¹⁶

Among other pastimes, dancing and singing, individually or in groups, as well as dramatic performances were equally popular among the people. The festival of 'Holi', described earlier, afforded a suitable occasion for such a mass-scale expression of joy. The 'Savan' (*Shravana*) songs (for which special melodies of 'Jhoola', 'Hindola' and 'Savani' were composed during the period) were universally popular among the masses, and they were sung in groups on the swings.¹¹⁷

The art of dancing had made considerable progress during that period and the Krishnaite cult had given a new fillip to it.¹¹⁸ Among others, the famous Gujarati dance (now known as 'Garbha' dance) was very popular on the west coast.¹¹⁹

Besides, the popular accounts of the gallant adventures of the great heroes like Alha and Uddal as well as Sagar and Bharat were recited and dramatized on festive occasions.¹²² The professional singers and dancers entertained the masses from time to time, especially on the occasions of marriage ceremonies.¹²³ Qutban in his "Mrigavati"¹²⁴ gives us a detailed description of singing and dancing as well as different 'Ragas', like 'Deshakh', 'Hindol', 'Malsiri', 'Sarang', 'Bairari', 'Dhanasiri', 'Gandhari', 'Meghrag', 'Shreerag', 'Hemkari', 'Malar', 'Gujari', 'Bhimpalasi' etc. Besides, singing and dancing, the 'Kirtaniya' performances in mediaeval Mithila, organised at nights, also added to the diversion of the people.¹²⁵

During the period under review, acrobats and jugglers¹²⁶ also performed various types of surprising tricks, both with or without the help of animals. They entertained the masses by their 'rope-tricks'¹²⁷ by making their monkeys¹²⁸ or rams dance at public places, or by performing various kinds of physical feats. These classes of people were also known as 'Nats' or 'Natwas', and they were employed by the rulers and nobles for their own recreation as well as that of their guests.¹²⁹

So far, we have been discussing some of the popular types of amusements and pastimes, during the period under review. Mention here may also be made of jokers, jesters, clowns, buffoons and pantaloons ('Bhands' or 'Bhants'), who entertained the people by their antics, tricks, caricatures as well as witty remarks.¹³⁰ Amir Khusrau¹³¹ very often refers to such men who were employed and patronised by the Sultans of Delhi, as well as the leading nobles.¹³² Besides, the 'Bahu Rupis' or 'Bahuru-piyas',¹³³ both male and female, went from door to door assuming different roles and wearing varied dresses. Thus, they also provided recreation to the people. The 'Bazigars'¹³⁴ (magicians), moreover, kept the masses entertained by means of their manifold tricks and antics.

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14. K. M. Ashraf, Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, pub. by Jiwan Prakashan, Delhi, 1959, p. 200.

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17. "Padmavati", ed. by Vasudev Sharan Agarwal, Sahitya Sadan Chirgaon, (Jhansi), 2nd edn., V.S. 2018, canto 27, dohas 321/22 and 313/23, p. 365.
18. Abul Fazl (Ain(A), I (Bloch.), p. 318) refers to this game thus, "Ancient sages took the number twelve as the basis, made the suit consisting of twelve cards, but they forgot that the twelve kings should be of twelve kinds; Also see Ibid, pp. 318-319, where Abul Fazl refers to the names of all the twelve suits which were in Sanskrit rather than in Persian until the days of Akbar, viz. 'Ashwapati', 'Gajapati', 'Narapati', 'Gadhapati', 'Dhanapati', 'Dalapati', 'Nawapati', 'Tipati', 'Surapati', 'Asrapati', 'Banapati' and 'Ahipati'. The statement of Abul Fazl, however, clearly shows that this game was popular in India even in the pre-Muslim days.
19. Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), Lond., 1917, p. 584.
20. Refer to Hastings, Encyclopaedia, IV, p. 284 for the rules of gambling among the Hindus.
21. References to 'pasa' (dice) are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", ed. by Svami Anand Svarup, pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, pada 64, p. 597; Also see Krishna Prabhakar and Banke Bihari's "Braj-Chandra Chakori Miran", pub. by Radhika Pustakalaya and Prakashan Trust, Radha Krishna Bhavan, Vrindaban, 1st edn., 1951, p. 6; Also "Mira Na Pado" (in Gujarati), pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., Jan., 1962, pada 59, p. 45; "Kabir-Granthavali", ed. by Shyam Sundar Das, N.P.S., 4th edn., V.S. 2008, sakhi 32, p. 4; "Kabir-Sakhi Sar", pub. by Vinod Pustak Mandir, Hospital Road, Agra, 1st edn., 1956, sakhi 32, p. 10.

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"Patila Pashar Harite,

Asitant Pare Ram,

Sita Same Khela Pasa Ram Gadhadhare,

... Tini Lakhkha Taka Rame Pasat Harila."

22. K. M. Ashraf, Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, Delhi, 1959, p. 200.
23. For 'Juua', refer to Narayandas's "Chhitaivarta", ed. by Dr. Mata-prasad Gupta, N.P.S. 1st edn., V.S. 2015, chaupai 89, p. 7; which runs thus, "Juua Khel Ko Sacho Kahaii" (i.e. "Who will tell the truth in the game of gambling"); Also "Kabir Bachnavali", compiled by Ayodhyasingh Upadhyaya, N.P.S., 2nd edn., 1920, sakhi 712, p. 71; Ibid, pt. II, sabdavali 142, which runs thus, "Juua Khela Punji Hari, Ab Chalne Ki Bhaii Taiyari." Also see Qutban's "Mrigavati", ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, shaka 1885, p. 10 for a reference to 'Juari' (gambler); Also Jayasi's "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., Dec., 1962, p. 97, for a reference to a couple playing *Juua*; Also see Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, chhanda 101, p. 25; Also Somadeva's "Kathasaritsagar", ed. by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kashinath Pandurang Pareb, printed and pub. by Tukaram Javaji, Bombay, 2nd edn., 1903, tarang 10, lambak 10, p. 346; Here, it has been referred to as 'Jut'.
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 27. K. M. Ashraf, Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, Delhi, 1959, pp. 193-194.
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 45. Ibid, pp. 321-328.
 46. Ibid, p. 328.
 47. Ibid, pp. 167-168 for elephant-hunting of Sultan Firuz Shah; Also see 'Ma'arif', Azamgarh, vol. 67, March, 1951, p. 280; Also refer to 'Sirat-i-Firuzshahi', Per. MS no. 99, Cat. no. 547, O.P.L., fols. 22(b), 28(a), 30(a), 30(b), 34(a), 39(b), 44(b), 45(b), 50(a), and 50(b) for detailed references to Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq's hunting of various kinds of birds and animals like tiger, gor (wild ass), deer, nilgai, elephants, *buz-e-kohi* (wild goats), wolf, cheetah, *gowazn* (a kind of mountain ox), *rubu* (fox), *darraje-surkh* (red partridge), *ahw-sufed* (white deer), *khargosh-sufed* (white rabbit), *khargosh-surkh* (red rabbit), *tuti-zard* (yellow thrush), *tuti-e-sufed* (white thrush), *zagh-sufed* (white crow), *sarik sufed* (white merle) etc.

48. T.M.S., Bib. Ind., Cal., 1931, pp. 129-130; Also see Ibid, tr. by K. K. Basu, O.I.B., 1932, p. 136; Also Badaoni, I (Ranking), p. 328; Brigg's "Tarikh-i-Ferishta", vol. V, p. 451; Also see J.P.R.A.S.B. (New Series), vol. XXVI, 1930, p. 256.
49. "Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Makhzan-i-Afghani", Per. MS No. 82, Cat. No. 529, O.P.L., fol. 118(b) for *Shikar-e-Mahl* of Sultan Sikandar Lodi at Agra; Also Ibid, fol. 125(a) for Sikandar Lodi's fondness of hunting.
50. Ahmed Yadgar's "Tarikh-i-Shahi", ed. by M. Hidayat Husain, Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939, p. 109.
51. In a contemporary Hindu work, e.g. Qutban's "Mrigavati", composed about 1503 A.D. (ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, doha 11, p. 70), we find a reference to the hero of this work taking interest in the game of *Henguri* (hunting) even at the age of ten; Also Ibid, pp. 195-198 for detailed references to the hunting of various birds and animals like *savaj* (jackal), tiger, *sadul* (a kind of bird), *paj* (elephant), *kharrah* (rabbit), *haj* (hawk), *singhni* (a lioness) etc. by Kunwar (hero of the work).
52. Mahakavi Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, ed. by Kavirava Mohansingh, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidya-pith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 6 (Akhet Vir Vardan), doha 50, p. 121 for references to Prithviraj's hunting of *hiran* (deer) and *singha* (lion); Also Ibid, samay 8 (Bhumi Svapna), pp. 192-199 for references to his hunting of lion in the jungle of Jovaner; Also doha 14, p. 199 for elephant-hunting; Ibid, doha 16, p. 200 for the hunting of bear, *neelgai* and reindeer; Also Ibid, pt. II, V.S. 2012, samay 23, dohas 25, 27 and 30, pp. 607, 609 and 611 respectively; Also samay 32, doha 3, p. 938 for further details regarding Prithviraj's hunting expeditions.
53. Mahakavi Chandbardai's "Prithviraj-Raso", pt. I, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 12 (Akhet Chuk), kavitta 4, p. 272, where Prithviraj is seen indulging in this pastime with some of his brave attendants. The poet says thus, "Samant Sur Sathhe Na Ko, Bar Birantan Khillaiya". Also Ibid, pt. II, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 23 (Shashivrita Samay), p. 606, where Prithviraj is seen indulging in this game with his Sur Samant (brave nobles); Also samay 25 (Reva Tat), doha 2, p. 757, where the King (Prithviraj) is seen consulting his noble named Chamund Rai before starting for elephant-hunting in Reva Tat; Also see samay 30 (Karhera Yuddha), doha 2, p. 897, where Prithviraj is seen hunting in the province of Malwa with his sixty four nobles.
54. Ibid, pt. I, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 12 (Akhet Chuk), kavitta 11, pp. 275-276, where Chandbardai refers to hunting by Prithviraj thus:

"Sitta Panch Deepeey, En Fandait Panchsau,
 Sahas Svan Das Dori, Grahai Panchan Panch Sau,
 Panch Agga Panchas, Karu Chauddisi Sajjai,
 Kuhi Baj Uttang, Pankh Aghat Su Bajjai,
 Khargos Sinh Panjar, Guha-Dhanukh Dhanankhiya Dhar Ghan,
 Prithiraj Raj Mandai Ravani, Akhetan Khattu Su Ban".

55. See "Charja-Giti Padavali", ed. by Dr. Sukumar Sen, pub. by Sampadak Sahitya Sabha, Burdwan, 1956, pada 6, p. 54 and pada 76, p. 23 for references to deer-hunting; Also see Pandit Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, Bangabhashi Sanskaran, Cal., 1910, p. 42 for a reference to 'Mrigaya' (hunting); Also Jyotirishvara's "Varnaratnakar" (a 14th cent. Maithili work), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1940, pancham kallola (Athashetakvarnana), pp. 35-37.
56. "Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, ed. by Kavirava Mohansingh, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V. S. 2011, samay 6 (Akhet Vir Vardan), dohas 78-86, pp. 133-135.
57. K. M. Ashraf, Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, Delhi, 1959, p. 200.
58. Refer to Ain (S), ed. by Maulana Saeed Ahmed Faruqi, Afigarh, 1917, p. 144 for references to hawk and pigeon-flying; Also 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi', pt. I, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 179; Also see T.M.S., ed. by M. Hidayat Hosain, A.S.B., 1931, pp. 42 and 75 for references to hawk-flying, which was a common recreation among the Sultans of Delhi.
59. An indirect reference to Ala-ud-din Khalji's pigeon-house may be found in T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 318.
60. Amir Khusrau's "Matla-ul-Anwar", Murtazabai Press, Delhi, p. 182.
61. See Pandit Raghunath Bhagavatacharya's "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, Bangabhashi Sanskaran, Cal., 1910, p. 339 for a reference to 'Malla Krida' in 'Rangabhumi' (stadium), which runs thus, "Rangabhumi Majhe Katha Malla Krida Kare"; Also Ibid, p. 387, for a reference to "Rangashala" (an amphitheatre); Also refer to Shankardeva's "Shreemadbhagavata" (Dasham Skanda), pt. I, ed. and pub. by Shivanath Bhattacharya, Dibrugarh (Assam), 3rd edn., 1905, p. 415 for 'Malla Mahotsava'; Also see Jyotirishvara's "Varnaratnakar", Bib. Ind., Cal., 1940, 6th kallol, p. 45 for references to 'Malla Yuddha' (duelling).
62. In an Oriya work, e.g. Narayananda Abdhuta Svami's "Rudrasudhanidhi" (Orissa Sahitya Academy, Cuttack, 1st edn., 1965, p. 103), we find the hero of the work, Rudrasudhanidhi, learning the art of duelling ('Mallavidya').
63. For 'Pahalwan', refer to Sarisda's "Mahabharata" (Sabha Purva), pub. by Radha Kaman Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1952, p. 10; Also see

T.F.S.(A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, p. 367 for Sultan Firuz Shah's encouragement to 'Pahalwans'.

64. See Narayananda Abdhuta Svami's "Rudrasudhanidhi", ed. by Dr. Karunakar Kar, pub. by Orissa Sahitya Academy, Cuttack, 1st edn., 1965, p. 103, where we find Rudrasudhanidhi learning the art of archery ('Dhanurveda').
65. Amir Khusrau ("Nuh Sipahr", ed. by Muhammad Wahid Mirza, O.U.P., 1950, p. 378) refers to sword-playing as 'Samsheerbazi'.
66. Refer to Somadevabhutta's "Kathasaritsagar", ed. by Pandit Durgaprasad Parekh, printed and pub. by Tukaram Javaji, Bombay, 2nd edn., tarang 9, lambak 10, p. 345, where there is a reference to the playing of 'gulis' ('Gulika Krida') by a boy named Hiranyaksha.
67. See Ahmed Yadgar's "Tarikh-i-Shahi", ed. by M. Hidayat Hosain, Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939, pp. 2-3, where Prince Bahlol Lodi at the age of seven is seen playing 'gua' (ball) with some boys; Also see Baruchandidas's "Shreekrishna Kirtan", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., p. 120, where the boy Shreekrishna is seen playing 'Gendun': See Ibid, p. 86, where it has been referred to as 'Gendu'.
68. Amir Khusrau ("Kavita-Kaumudi", pt. I, ed. by Dr. Ramnaresh Tripathi, pub. by Navneet Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1954, p. 138), refers to 'Guddi' in a riddle thus,

"Ek Kahani Main Kahun,
Tu Sun Le Mere Put;
Bina Paron Wah Ud Gaya,
Bandh Gale Men Sut."

i.e. "I am telling you a story, listen O my son; he flew away without wing, tying thread in his neck."

69. Jayasi's "Padmavati", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., V.S. 2018, canto 4, doha 63, p. 73.
70. Jayasi's "Akhrawat", contained in "Jayasi-Granthavali", ed. by Ramchandra Shukla, N.P.S., 5th edn., V.S. 2008, p. 319.
71. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), pp. 178-184.
72. Ibid, p. 178.
73. Ibid.
74. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), p. 178.
75. Ibid, pp. 178-179.
76. Ibid, p. 179.
77. Ibid.
78. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), p. 180.
79. Chandbardi ("Prithviraj Raso", pt. I, ed. by Kavirava Mohansingh, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2011, samay 6 (Nahar Rai Katha), doha 2, p. 139) refers to it as 'Siv-Ratti': Alberuni (Alberuni's India, II (Sachau).

- p. 184) also refers to this popular festival thus, "On the following night, i.e. that of the 16th (of Phalguna), called *Sivaratri*, they worship Mahadeva during the whole night; they remain awake, and do not lie down to sleep, and offer to him perfumes and flowers."
80. For a reference to 'Ekadasi', see Qutban's "Mrigavati", ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 79.
 81. For 'Vasant Panchami', refer to "Dhola-Marura Duha," N.P.S., 2nd edn., V.S. 2011, doha 145, p. 82 : Also refer to "Mirabai Ki Padavali", ed. by Parshuram Chaturvedi, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 11th edn., Shaka 1884, pada 77, p. 125 ; Also see Jayasi's "Padmavat" (Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., V.S. 2018, (1961 A.D.), canto 21, doha 204/4, p. 232 ; Also see his "Akhravat", contained in "Jayasi-Granthavali", ed. by Ramchandra Shukla, N.P.S., 5th edn., V.S. 2008, p. 319.
 82. Jayasi ("Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., V.S. 2018, canto 32 (Ratnasen Bidai Khand), doha 352/12, pd. 426) refers to dancing and singing in 'Vasant', which was known as 'Chanohari' ; Also refer to "Ras Aur Rasanwayi Kavya", N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2016, p. 15 for 'Charchari'.
 83. Jayasi's "Padmavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., V.S. 2018, canto 32 (Ratnasen Bidai Khand), doha 377/4, p. 462 and also canto 36 (Nagmati-Padmavati Vivad Khand), doha 433/1, p. 534 for references to 'Gulal'.
 84. Refer to "Mira Na Pado" (a Gujarati work), ed. by Bhupendra Balkrishna Trivedi, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., Jan., 1962, pada 77, p. 209, where the poetess describes the festival of 'Holi' thus,

"Rangbhari Ragbhari Ragsun Bhari Ri,
Holi Khelyan Syam Sang Rang Shun Bhari Ri,
Udat Gulal Lal, Badalaro Rang Lal,
Pichhakau Udavan, Raneri Jhari Ri,
Chova Chandan Argaja, Mohan Kesar No Gagar Bhari Ri."

Also see "Mirabai Ki Padavali", ed. by Parshuram Chaturvedi, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 11th edn., Shaka 1884, padas 78, 115 and 148, pp. 125 and 136 respectively. Also see pada 175, p. 153, where the poetess refers to this festival thus,

"Holi Khelat Hai Girdhari
Murli Chang Bajat Daf Nyaro.
Sang Juvati Brajnari,
Chandan Kesar Chhirkat,
Mohan, Agne Hath Bihari,
Bhari Bhari Muthi Gulal,
Lal Chahun Det Savan Pai Pai Dari."

- Also see "Mira Smriti-Granth", pub. by Bangiya Hindi Parishad, Cal., 1st edn., V.S. 2006, p. 160 ; Also "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", ed. by Svami Anand Syarup, pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2014, padas 3-4, p. 894 ; Also "Miran Madhuri", ed. by Brajratnadas, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 2nd edn., V.S. 2013, padas 162-163, pp. 61-62. For references to 'Holi' and the use of 'Gulal' also see "Kabir Saheb Ka Bijak-Granth", pub. by Svasamvad Karyalaya, Siyabag, Baroda, 1st edn., 1955, p. 362 ; Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 409, p. 308 ; "Dhola-Marura Duha", N.P.S., V.S. 2011, doha 145, p. 32 ; Sadhan's "Mainasat" (Vidyamandir Prakashan, Gwalior), 1st edn., Jan., 1959, chaupais 333-338, p. 195 ; Also "Dadudayal Ka Sabad", N.P.S., 1907, pada 99, p. 34 ; Hemchandra's "Desinamamala", B.O.R.I., 1938, 3rd sarga, chhanda 82, p. 243 for 'Faggu' ; "Narsai Mahtena Pad", Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, pada 92, p. 55 ; Also refer to William Crooke's 'Religion and Folk-lore of North India', Lond., 1926, p. 343.
85. K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 203-204.
 86. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
 87. Refer to Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, canto 3, chhanda 176, p. 43 ; Here, it has been referred to as 'Diwaliy' ; Also see "Padnavat", pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., V.S. 2018, canto 30, p. 421 ; Lawanyasamay ("Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 7, doha 106, p. 129) refers to this festival and says that Gujaratis were accustomed to burn thousand 'Diyas' (lamps) in their houses ; Also canto 2, doha 57, p. 27 ; Sadhan's "Mainasat", pub. by Vidya-Mandir Prakashan, Gwalior, 1st edn., Jan., 1959, chaupai 258, p. 190 ; Here, it has been referred to as 'Diwari'.
 88. Alberuni's *India*, II (Sachau), p. 182 ; Also refer to William Crooke's 'Religion and Folk-lore of North India', Lond., 1926, p. 346 for a description of this festival.
 89. Lawanyasamay's "Bimalprabandh", pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965, canto 8, doha 89, p. 156.
 90. "Jagmohan Ramayana", pub. by Nitvanand Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1913 (Lanka Kand), p. 320.
 91. Alberuni's *India*, II (Sachau), p. 142.
 92. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-114 for a detailed description of the solar and lunar eclipses.
 93. For a detailed list of the holy rivers of the Hindus, refer to Alberuni's *India*, I (Sachau), pp. 257-262. Referring to the Ganges, Ibn Battuta (The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, O.I.B., 1953, p. 23) says thus, "... The people of India have the same custom in connection

with drowning. Many do so voluntarily in the Ganges where they go on pilgrimage. There they throw the ashes of those who have been burnt. The Indians claim that the river has its source in paradise . . ."; Also see *Voyages D' Ibn Battuta* (Arabic Text), III, Paris, p. 96.

94. Alberun's India, II (Sachau), pp. 144 and 145.
95. Alberuni's India, II (Sachau), pp. 146-147.
96. Ibid, p. 147.
97. Ibid, pp. 147-148.
98. K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, pub. by Jiwan Prakashan, Delhi, 1959, p. 204.
99. Refer to Amir Khusrau's 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi', pt. IV, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, pp. 329-330; for the festival of 'Nauroz'; Also see his "Nuh Sipihr", ed. by Muhammad Wahid Mirza, O.U.P., 1950, pp. 367-368; Also see Khusrau's "Kulliyat-i-Khusravi", pt. I, Aligarh, 1917, pp. 15-16 for Sultan Muizuddin Kalqubad's interest in this festival.
100. K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, pub. by Jiwan Prakashan, Delhi, 1959, p. 205.
101. Refer to Amir Khusrau's 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi', pt. IV, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876, pp. 326-327 for the festival of 'Id-ul-Zohr'.
102. *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, tr. by Dr. Mahdi Husain, O.I.B., 1953, p. 60; Also refer to Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2nd edn., 1923, p. 245.
103. *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, tr. by Dr. Mahdi Husain, O.I.B., 1953, pp. 62-63.
104. K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, pub. by Jiwan Prakashan, Delhi, 1959, p. 205; Also refer to Sir E. D. Ross's 'Hindu-Muhammadian Feasts', Cal., 1914, pp. 111-112.
105. 'Favaid-ul-Fuad', Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1302 A.H., p. 88.
106. 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi', pt. IV, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876, p. 324.
107. Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, Lond., 1937, p. 421. Dr. K. M. Ashraf, on the other hand, refers to the possibility of its being an imitation of the Hindu festival of 'Shivaratri' (*Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, pub. by Jiwan Prakashan, Delhi, 1959, p. 205).
108. Afif gives us a detailed description of the large-scale preparation on the occasion of the festival of 'Shab-i-Barat' (T.F.S.(A), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1891, pp. 365-367); Also see K. M. Ashraf's *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Delhi, 1959, p. 206.
109. 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi', pt. IV, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876, p. 328 for a description of the festival of 'Muharram'.
110. K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Delhi, 1959, pp. 206-207.

111. Refer to 'Mirat-i-Sikandari', Fathehul Karim Press, Bombay, 1st edn., 1308, A.H., p. 113 for a reference to 'Urs'; Also see John A. Subhan's 'Sufism, Its Saints and Shrines', Lucknow, Publishing House, Hazratganj, Lucknow, March, 1933, p. 114.
112. The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508, tr. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Lond., 1928, p. 46; Yahia Bin Ahmad Sarhindi (T.M.S., tr. by K. K. Basu, O.I.B., 1932, p. 238) also refers to this habit of Sultan Mubarak Shah of Delhi thus, 'The same month (the month of Shawwal, i.e. May-June, 1433 A.D.), the triumphant Sultan, attended by his brave and numerous soldiers, went on a pilgrimage to (the tombs) of great and holy persons near Multan . . .'
113. Nuh Sipihr, ed. by Muhammad Wahid Mirza, O.U.P., 1950, pp. 170-171; Also see I.C., XV, No. 3, July, 1941, p. 332 in S. N. Haidar Rizvi's art. entitled "Music in Muslim India".
114. Pandit Vishnu Narayan Bhatkhande's "A Short Historical Survey of the Music of Upper India", Bombay, 1934, p. 10; Also see I.C., XV, No. 3, July, 1941, p. 333.
115. For musical instruments, refer to Amir Khusrau's 'Kulliyat-i-Khusravi', pt. I, Aligarh, 1918, p. 106; Also see his "Dewal Rani Khizr Khan", ed. by Maulana Rasheed Ahmad Ansari, Aligarh, 1917, pp. 156-157; Also I.C., XXIX, Jan., 1955, p. 16, an art. entitled 'Promotion of Music by the Turcko-Afghan Rulers', by Dharma Bhanu; Also see "Kavita Kaumudi", pt. I, Navneet Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1959, p. 139 for references to 'Dholaki' and 'Sitar'.
116. Raja Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore, Universal History of Music, Cal., 1896, p. 55.
117. Refer to "Tarikh-i-Kashmir", Per. MS. No. 80, Boh. Coll., fols. 15(b) and 16(b) for references to 'Raqqasa' and 'Mugganian' (female singers); Also see 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi', pt. II, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876, p. 281 for a reference to 'Johra-Juban' (singers with sweet voice); Also see "Kulliyat-i-Khusravi" pt. I, Aligarh, 1918, p. 107 for a reference to *Janan-e-Mutriban* (female singers); Ahmad Yadgar's "Tarikh-i-Shahi" (Bib. Ind., Cal., 1939), p. 48 for a reference to *Khushawaz* and *Khushgo* (singers with sweet voice) in the court of Sikandar Lodi; Also T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 112 for references to 'Qawwal' and 'Mutrib' in the court of Sultan Balban; Also Ibid, pp. 45-46, for references to 'Khushawaz Mutrib' (singers with sweet voice); Ibid, pp. 129-130 for 'Mutrib' and 'Khushgo' in the court of Sultan Muizuddin Kaiqubad; Also see Voyages D' Ibn Battuta, vol. III, p. 110 for *Ahl-e-Tarab* (male-singers) and *Mughannivan* (female-singers).
118. Amir Hasan Dehlavi's 'Favaid-ul-Fuad', Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 169 for a reference to 'Samai'; Also see Mr. Albert W. Sidler's art. entitled 'Visit to a Chishti Qawwali', pub. in "The Moslem World", vol. LIII, No. 4, Oct., 1963, p. 287; Also refer

to John A. Subhan's "Sufism, Its Saints and Shrines", Lucknow, 1938, pp. 112-114; Also Sirajul Haq's art. entitled "Sama and Raqs of the Darwishes", pub. in I.C., XIII, April, 1944, pp. 111-130.

119. Amir Khusrau ("Kavita Kaumudi", pt. I, ed. by Dr. Ramnaresh Tripathi, pub. by Navneet Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1954, p. 137) refers to 'Jhoola' in a riddle thus,

"Dala Tha Sab Ko Man Bhaya,
Tang Uthha Kar Khel Banaya,
Kamar Pakar Ke Diya Dhakel,
Jab Howe Wah Pura Khel."

Also refer to Chandbardai's "Paithviraj Raso", pt. III, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 42, doha 25, p. 224, where Princess Sanjogita is seen swinging 'Jhoola'. For 'Hindola' refer to Sadhan's "Mainasat" (composed about 1400 A.D.), pub. by Vidyamandir Prakashan, Gwalior, 1st edn., 26th Jan., 1959, doha 174, p. 183, which runs thus, "Prem Hindola Gavai Manglachar"; Also see Jayasi's "Chitrarekha", pub. by Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., April, 1959, p. 83 for a detailed description of 'Hindola'.

120. Chandbardai's ("Prithviraj Raso", pt. III, ed. by Kavirava Mohan Singh, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, shloka 35, p. 282) refers to the different constituents of dancing, viz. 'Mridangi', 'Dandika', 'Tali', 'Stuti', 'Kahali', 'Geet', 'Rag', 'Prabandh' and 'Dhurdhuri'.
121. Major's 'India in the Fifteenth Century' (Travels of Nicolo Conti, p. 29), Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1857; Also refer to K. M. Munshi's 'Gujarat and Its Literature', pub. by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1954, pp. 136-137; Also Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri's "Milestones in Gujarati Literature", Bombay, Sept., 1914, p. 29; Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi's 'The Classical Poets of Gujarat', Bombay, 3rd edn., 1958, p. 136; Also see Abdul Rahman's "Sandesh Rasak", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., March, 1960, chhanda 175, p. 43.
122. Refer to Jindatt Suri's "Updesh Rasayan Ras" (composed about V.S. 1171), chhanda 37, p. 8, contained in "Ras Aur Rasanwayi Kavya", N.P.S., 1st edn., V.S. 2016, for a reference to a drama depicting the lives of 'Sagar' and 'Bharat'.
123. References to professional dancers and singers of both the sexes are to be found in contemporary literatures, e.g. Vrindaban Das's "Chaitanyabhagavata", pub. by Patrika House, Cal., 6th edn., p. 60 for the engagement of female dancers ('Nartaki') in the second marriage of Nimai (Chaitanya); Also see Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. IV, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 60, doha 117, p. 995 for references to 'Nattiy' ('Nartaki') and 'Nat' (male dancer); Also refer to "Dadudayal Ka Sabad", ed. by Mahamahopadhyaya

- Sudhakar Dwivedi, N.P.S., 1907, sabad 3, p. 132 for a reference to 'Natani'.
124. Ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, pp. 139-140.
 125. For references to these 'Kirtaniya' Maithili dramas, see Dr. Jayakanta Mishra's 'A History of Maithili Literature', pt. I, Allahabad, 1949, pp. 289-290; Also Vrindaban Das's 'Shree Chaitanya Bhagavata', pub. by Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal., 1954, p. 15 for a reference to 'Kirtan'.
 126. Refer to Memoirs of Babur, III (Bev.), pp. 633-634 for various performances of Hindustani acrobats and jugglers as described by Babur.
 127. Refer to Amir Khusrau's "Dewal Rani Khizr Khan", ed. by Maulana Rashid Ahmad Ansari, Aligarh 1917, pp. 154-155 for 'rope-tricks'; Here, rope-tricksters have been referred to by the poet as 'Rasanbaz'.
 128. Referring to *bandar* (monkey), Babur (Memoirs of Babur, II (king), O.U.P., 1921, p. 213) says, "The jugglers teach them tricks . . ." Referring to various birds and animals of Hindustan. Amir Khusrau ('Nuh Sipihr', ed. by Muhammad Wahid Mirza, O.U.P., pp. 186 and 189) says, "There are in this land, birds that can talk like human beings, the parrot and the magpie (*sharak*) for instance; Other birds, whose cries betoken future events, the crow for example, about whose speech several volumes have been written; peacock, that wonderful bird which does not have its hair-do in the ordinary manner, a fluid from the eyes of the male, swallowed by the female, being sufficient for fertilization; and other birds who have been trained to perform wonderful tricks, like the crane (*bagla*). Then, there are horses that trot to music, goats performing strange balancing feats, the monkeys who can distinguish between one coin from the other (*dām* or *dirām*), and the elephant that resembles man in several places . . ." The above account of Amir Khusrau reveals to us that the jugglers used to train animals and birds for performing tricks and other amazing feats.
 129. Refer to Madhava Kandali's "Ramayana" (an Assamese work), ed. by Shree Kanak Chandra Sharma, Newgong (Assam), 1941. Ayodhyakand, p. 144, for 'Nat' (acrobat); Also Shankardeva's "Shreemadbhagavata", pt. I (Dasham Skanda), ed. and pub. by Shivanath Bhattacharya, 3rd edn., Dibrugarh (Assam), 1905, p. 37 for 'Nat'; Also see Qutban's "Mrigavati", pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885, p. 139.
 130. References to this class of professional laugh-makers are available in contemporary literatures, e.g. Kaviraj Madhava Kandali's "Ramayana" (an Assamese work), ed. by Shree Kanak Chandra Sharma, Newgong (Assam), 1941, Ayodhyakanda, p. 144, for

- 'Bhant'; Also Shankardeva's "Shreemadbhagavata", pt. I, Dasham Skanda, ed. and pub. by Shivanath Bhattacharyya, 3rd edn., Dibrugarh (Assam), 1905, p. 37; Also see Manjhan's "Madhumalti", ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., Nov., 1957, p. 18, for reference to 'Bhantah' and 'Bhatini' (female buffoons); Also see Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., chhanda 29, doha 6, p. 93 for 'Bhant'; Also see T.F.S.(B). Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, p. 157 for a reference to 'Bhandan' ('Bhant') in the court of Sultan Kaiqubad.
151. "Kulliyat-i-Khusravi", pt. I, Aligarh, 1918, p. 7 for references to 'Latifago' (buffoon) and 'Maskhara' (jester) in the court of Sultan Muizuddin Kaiqubad; Also see 'Ijaz-i-Khusravi', pt. I, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1876, pp. 59-60 for references to 'Asahab-e-Mazahik' (jokers), who also wrote several books on buffoonery, one of which was entitled *Daftar-e-Gul*, contained the jest of buffoons, and it was very popular among the masses; Also Ibid, pt. V. pp. 131-132 and 165 for references to 'Maskharas'; Also Ibid, p. 133 for a famous 'Maskhara' named Bubakra Rababi who used to tell humorous stories.
132. "Tarikh-i-Huqqi", Per. MS No. 89, Cat. No. 539, O.P.L., fols. 7(a) and 13(a) for references to 'Mukhannus' (eunuchs) and 'Maskharas' (jokers) in the court of Sultan Kaiqubad; Also "Tarikh-i-Khan-Jahani Makhzan-i-Afghani", Per. MS no. 82, Cat. no. 529, O.P.L., fol. 125(a) for 'Khushtaba' (jesters or jokers); Also see T.F.S.(B), Bib. Ind., Cal., 1862, pp. 129 and 157 for references to 'Maskharas' in the court of Sultan Kaiqubad; Also see Ibid, p. 358 for a reference to Malik Ruknuddin Dabir, a *nadim* of Sultan Alauddin Khalji, who was famous for his 'Latifagoi' (witty remarks) and 'Shirikalami' (sweet talks).
133. Refer to Maulana Daud Dalmai's "Chandayan", ed. by Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 1st edn., 1964, chhanda 29, doha 3, p. 93 for a reference to 'Bahurupia', which runs thus,

"Bahurupia Bahu Bhesa Bharawa,
Bar Budha Ghali Dekhai Aawa."

i.e. 'Bahurupiyas' are appearing in different costumes and poses, and people, both young and old, are taking keen interest in their performances"; Also refer to Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso", pt. II, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan Vishva Vidyapith, Udaipur, 1st edn., V.S. 2012, samay 26, (Anangpal), doha 51, p. 823; Here, they have been referred to as 'Bahurup'. Amir Khusrau ("Dewal Rani Khizr Khan", Aligarh, 1917, p. 155) refers to them as 'Chehrabaz'.

134. For 'Bazigars', refer to Amir Khusrau's "Kulliyat-i-Khusravi", pt. I, Aligarh, 1918, p. 7; Also see "Mahakavi Chandidas Pada-vali", ed. by Shree Satish Chandra Mukhopadhyaya, pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933, p. 15; (Dadudayal Ka Sabad", ed. by Mahamahopadhyaya Sudhakar Dwivedi, N.P.S., 1907, pada 39, p. 14) refers to them thus.

"Bazi Bharam Dikhawa,
Bazigar So Kahawa."

i.e. "Those, who show jugglery, are known as 'Bazigars'; Also see Ibid, padas 40, 143 and 8, pp. 14, 34 and 47 respectively; Also refer to "Dadudayal Ki Bani", pt. II, pub. by Belvedere Press, Prayag, 1941, pada 306, p. 130.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of information obtained from the foregoing pages, it may be possible to draw certain general conclusions. The Institution of caste, as it is even today, was a unique feature of Hindu society, during the period under review. The traditional *Varnashrama dharma* was in existence among the Hindus. Besides, the four principal castes, there were numerous sub-castes according to various social gradations and occupations. The Muslim society was, no doubt, casteless, but it could not escape entirely the influence of Indian environments. The relation between the Hindus and the Muslims was not wholly cordial. Most of the Sultans of Delhi resorted to the use of force in converting people to their faith.

North Indian society, in those days, had been fragmented into two broad divisions, viz. the higher and the well-to-do sections, and the commoners, with of course, practically an inconspicuous middle class composed of the traders, merchants, artisans, handicraftsmen and others. Naturally, the two broad divisions represented the two different standards of living. The richer and the well-to-do sections favoured a variety of delicious dishes, carefully prepared. They lived in lofty and magnificent palaces and mansions. On the contrary, the food of the common people was qualitatively inferior. 'Khichari' and 'Bhat' were routine items in the diet of the Hindus. The houses in which the poor lived were also simple like their diet.

Costumes of different kinds were used by the people in accordance with their socio-economic status. The standard of dress among the aristocrats and the well-to-do was very much different from that of the commoners. Moreover, the poor people tried to minimise their dress requirements as far as possible. Similarly, the women of the upper classes were fond of wearing costly and beautiful costumes of different designs and colours. They managed to get enough time for their toilets and cosmetics. Hindus and Muslims of both sexes generally used ornaments of

different metals and designs. The women belonging to the higher Hindu classes had particular fascination for ornaments and they loaded their body, from head to toe, with a variety of them.)

True, there was nothing like a State department of education during the period, yet the people belonging to the upper and well-to-do classes enjoyed a fair degree of literacy. Hindus and Muslims alike had their own educational institutions for imparting primary, secondary and higher education.¹ Female education, however, seems to have suffered due to *Purdah* and various other social customs and practices. (However, the women of well-to-do classes received education under private tutors, who were, in most cases, either male or female or eunuchs. There was a well-devised system for imparting royal education and most of the Sultans and the Hindu *Rajas* seem to have been highly accomplished and educated. The Sufi saints also made considerable contributions towards the progress in the field of education and learning. Some of the Sultans of Delhi and their nobles maintained well-equipped libraries. The Sultans also generally patronised and encouraged the progress of education and learning in different spheres.

The social status of women, during the period under review, was not very much different from what it is today. The women of higher classes, in most cases, were particularly handicapped by the practice of *Purdah*. (*Purdah* was rather rigidly observed by the Muslim women of higher classes.) Divorce, with certain reservations, was allowed among the Muslims, but not in the case of the Hindus, excepting certain low-castes and the *Shudras*. The wealthy and the well-to-do among the Hindus and the Muslims enjoyed a polygamous life. The Sultans of Delhi and the Hindu *Rajas* as well as their nobles generally maintained a separate seraglio or 'harem', containing a large number of beautiful women of different nationalities. (The plight of Hindu widows was rather deplorable, and the practice of 'Sati' (widow-burning) had become practically universal and obligatory among the Hindus.) Quite a prosperous class of courtesans and public women led a luxurious life in spite of the efforts of Alauddin Khalji and other Sultans to ban the profession. No doubt, the aristocrats and the rich sections of the society led an excessively sexy life.

People in general took part in various kinds of games, sports and other pastimes for the sake of diversion. The games and sports like *Chaugan* (polo), hunting (*Sikar* or Chase), animal-fighting, horse-racing etc. were usually the monopoly of the ruling and aristocratic classes of both the communities. On the other hand, games like *Chaupar*, Chess (*Shatranj*), pigeon-flying, playing-cards, kite-flying, wrestling, fencing etc. were open to both the rich and the poor sections alike. Besides, 'Jashn' or social parties and numerous Hindu and Muslim festivals occasionally provided amusement and recreation. Fairs, 'Kirtans', 'Ram-leelas' and 'Krishnaleelas', jesters, clowns, buffoons (*Bhants*), acrobats, jugglers, rope-dancers etc. also catered to the recreational needs of the people from time to time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. ORIGINAL SOURCES.

(A) LITERATURE.

(I) HINDI AND RAJASTHANI (Including Prakrit Apabhramsha etc.)

1. **NARPATI NALHA** was a renowned poet of Rajasthan, who is said to have composed "Visaldev Raso" in honour of the famous Chauhan King Visaldeva of Ajmer. This work is said to have been completed sometimes in the latter half of the 12th century or the first half of the 13th century. It is a mine of information regarding the contemporary socio-cultural life of the people of Rajasthan. The edition brought out by Hindi Parishad, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag (1st edn., 1953), has been consulted in the preparation of this thesis.
2. **CHANDBARDAI** (C. 1168-1192 A.D.) is regarded as the first great poet of Hindi (Rajasthani) and is said to have been a contemporary of Prithviraj, the famous Chauhan ruler. Chandbardai's "Prithviraj Raso" is a voluminous work, covering about 2500 pages and consisting of 69 *samays* (chapters), mostly covering the vivid portrayal of the life of the people of Rajasthan in general and various socio-cultural and political activities of the Chauhan King Prithviraj in particular. The above work in four parts (ed. by Kavirava Mohansingh, pub. by Sahitya-Sansthan, Rajasthan, Vishvavidyapith, Udaipur (Rajasthan), 1st edn., V.S. 2011-2012) has been consulted in preparing this thesis.
3. **AMIR KHUSRAU** (C. 1283-1324 A.D.) composed most of his popular songs and poems in the old form of *Brajhasha*. He enjoyed the patronage of a number of Delhi Sultans like Balban, Alauddin Khalji and Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah. He was also a great scholar of Persian and a renowned poet and he made bold efforts to study the various social and other problems facing the people in those days. Some of his riddles contained in "Kavita-Kaumudi" (pt. I, ed. by Ramnaresh Tripathi, pub. by Navneet

Prakashan, Bombay, 8th edn., 1954) have been referred to in this work.

4. **KABIR** (C. 1440-1518 A.D.), a famous *Bhakta* poet, was a worshipper of 'Nirgun Brahma' (attributeless God). The poems composed by Kabir are very numerous and they throw ample light on the various facets of social life during the period. It is just probable that he himself did not commit them to writing, but that they were remembered and treasured up by his disciples. The various editions of his works, which have been consulted here, are as follows :—

(a) "Kabir" by Dr. Hajariprasad Dwivedi, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay, 5th edn., Nov., 1955.

(b) "Kabir-Granthavali" by Dr. Parasnath Tiwari, Hindi Parishad, Prayag, Vishvavidyalaya, Prayag, 1st edn., 1961.

(c) "Kabir Dohavali" by Shree Mahendra Kumar Jain, Hindi Prachar Sabha, Madras, 1st edn., October, 1952.

(d) "Kabir Saheb Ka Bijak", ed. by Hansadas Shastri and Mahabir Prasad, pub. by Kabir Granth Prakashan Samiti, U.P., 1st edn., V.S. 2007.

(e) "Kabir-Granthavali", ed. by Shyam Sundar Das, pub. by Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi, 4th edn., V.S. 2008.

(f) "Kabir Bachnavali", compiled by Ayodhyasingh Upadhyaya, pub. by Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, 2nd edn., 1920.

(g) "Kabir Sangrah", ed. by Acharya Sitaram Chaturvedi, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 5th edn., 1964 A.D. (Shaka 1886).

(h) "Kabir Sakhi-Sar" by Ramvashishtha and Taraknath Bali, pub. by Vinod Pustak Mandir, Hospital Road, Agra, 1st edn., 1956 A.D.

(i) "Kabir-Granthavali", ed. by Charlotte Vaudeville, Institute Francais D' Indologie, Pondichery, 1957.

(j) "Kabir Saheb Ka Bijak-Granth", pub. by Svasamved Karyalaya, Siyabag (Baroda), 1st edn., 1955.

5. **ABDUL RAHMAN**, perhaps the first notable Muslim poet in Hindi, flourished in or about 12th and 13th centuries (before the invasion of Muhammad of Ghor in 1192 A.D.). His "Sandesh Rasak" is an important literary composition of *Apabhramsha*.

The language of the work seems to be the mixture of old Gujarati, Rajasthani, Brajbhasha and Khari-boli. It is a valuable source of information regarding the socio-cultural life of North India, particularly of Gujarat and Rajasthan, during the period. The above work, ed. by Hajariprasad Dwivedi and Vishvanath Tripathi, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., Bombay (1st edn., March, 1960) has been used in preparing this thesis.

6. QUTBAN was a disciple of Shaikh Burhan, a follower of the Chisti Order of Sufism. He perhaps belonged to Jaunpur and enjoyed the patronage of Hasan Shah, the father of Sher Shah. He lived probably towards the end of the 15th century. His famous work "Mrigavati" (ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, Shaka 1885), which is said to have been composed in 909 A.H. (in or about 1503 A.D.) has been utilized here.

7. MANJHAN was another great Sufi poet of the latter half of the 15th century or first half of the 16th century A.D. His "Madhumalti" (composed in or about 1545 A.D.) is really a valuable source of information regarding the contemporary socio-cultural and religious life of the Indians of those days. Both the editions of this work, namely Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi (ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra), 1st edn., Nov., 1957 and Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad (ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, 1961), have been consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

8. NARAYANDAS is said to have flourished in the first half of the 16th century A.D. (Samvat 1500). His work entitled "Chhitaivarta" (ed. by Dr. Mataprasad Gupta, pub. by Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi, V.S. 2015, 1st edn.), has been referred to in this work.

9. MAULANA DAUD DALMAI, a Sufi poet, is said to have flourished in the 14th or 15th century A.D. and he was the contemporary of famous Amir Khusrau of Delhi. His excellent romantic work entitled "Chandayan" (ed. by Dr. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, pub. by Hindi Granth-Ratnakar (P) Ltd., 1st edn., 1964) has also been consulted here. It throws ample light on the socio-economic life of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

10. **SADHAN** is said to have flourished in the 2nd half of the 16th century A.D. His "Mainasat" (ed. by Shree Hariharnivas Dwivedi, pub. by Shree Uday Dwivedi, Vidyamandir Prakashan, Gwalior, 1st edn., 26th Jan., 1959), which is said to have been composed about 1480 A.D., has been consulted here.
11. **GORAKHNATH** is regarded as the founder of an Order of Yogis, and an author of both Sanskrit and Hindi works. Some doubt has been expressed as to his being a historical person at all, but it seems likely that he lived in or about A.D. 1200. Most of his works in Hindi were not written by him. They were probably the works of his followers. In this thesis, "Gorakh Bani" (ed. by Dr. Pitambardatt Badthwal, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 3rd edn., V.S. 2017) has been referred to.
12. **NANAK** (C. 1469-1538 A.D.) was the first *Guru* of the Sikhs and the founder of Sikhism. "Nanak Bani" (ed. by Dr. Jayaram Mishra, pub. by Mitra Prakashan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, V.S. 2018) has been used in the preparation of this thesis.
13. **DADUDAYAL** was another saint-poet of the latter half of the 16th century, who had also been greatly influenced by the philosophy of Kabir. In the preparation of this thesis, the following works have been consulted :—
 - (a) "Dadudayal Ka Sabad", ed. by Mahamahopadhyaya Sudhakar Dwivedi, pub. by Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, 1907.
 - (b) "Dadudayal Ki Bani", pt. II, pub. by Belvedere Press, Prayag, 1941.
14. **HEMCHANDRA** (11th or 12th century A.D.). His "Desinamamala" (ed. by P. Pischel, pub. by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1938, 2nd edn.) has been referred to in this work.
15. "Dhola-Marura Duha" (ed. by Ramsingh, Suryakarana Parek and Narottamdas Svami, pub. by Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi, 2nd edn., Samvat 2011) is a collection of legendary songs depicting the love-story of Dhola and Marwani of Rajasthan. The writer of this work is not definitely known, but it might have been composed during the 11th to the 15th centuries A.D. This work is really a mine of information regarding contemporary social life of Rajasthan.

16. The "Prakrita-Paingalam" (a Text on Prakrit and Apabhramsa Metres, pt. I, ed. by Dr. Bhola Shankar Vyas, pub. by Prakrit Text Society, Varanasi, 1959) is one of the most important documents of mediaeval Indian literature, well-known for its comprehensive treatment of Prakrita and Apabhramsa Metres. It was composed in or about 1300 A.D.

17. MALIK MUHAMMAD JAYASI (who flourished in or about the 15th cent. A.D.) was a disciple of the famous Sufi Saint, Shaikh Mohiuddin. His immortal "Padmavat" is still regarded as a valuable masterpiece of Hindi poetry in *Avadhi* dialect. It is a mixture of historical and imaginary themes. It is partly a fairy tale and partly a historical romance and a remarkable mixture of whatever the poet found of beauty and charm in the world around him in the traditions and cultures of two contemporary civilizations, Hindu and Muslim. It depicts the sentiments of human heart which know no limitations of caste, religion and country. Both the editions of this work, namely by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 2nd edn., Samvat 2018 (ed. by V. S. Agarwala) and by G. A. Grierson and Dwivedi Sudhakar (tr. canto 1 to 286), Cal., 1911, have been consulted in the preparation of this thesis. Besides "Padmavat", the other works of Jayasi, which have been consulted here are as follows :—

(a) "Akhrawat" and "Akhiri Kalam", contained in "Jayasi-Granthavali", ed. by Ramchandra Shukla, pub. by Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi, 5th edn., Samvat 2008.

(b) "Mahri Baisi", contained in "Jayasi-Granthavali", pub. by Ashok Prakashan, Naii Sarak, Delhi, 1st edn., Sept., 1962.

(c) "Chitrarekha", pub. by Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya, Varanasi, 1st edn., April, 1959.

(d) "Kahranama Aur Maslanama", ed. by Amarbahadur Singh 'Amaresh', pub. by Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1st edn., December, 1962.

18. ISHWAR DAS is said to have flourished during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. His "Satyavati" (ed. by Dr. Shivagopal Mishra and Ravat Omprakash Singh, pub. by Vidyamandir Prakashan, Gwalior, 1st edn., 1958) has been referred to in this thesis.

19. **MIRABAI** (second half of the 16th century) was one of the most famous Hindi poetesses of Rajasthan. Her poems helped to popularize the Krishna Cult in that region. Her poems, commonly known as 'Padas' are a mine of information about the contemporary socio-cultural life of North India, particularly of Rajasthan and Gujarat. The different editions of the "Padavalis" of Mira, which have been consulted here are as follows:—

(a) "Miran Sudha-Sindhu", ed. by Svami Anand Svarup, pub. by Shree Mira Prakashan Samiti, Bhilwara (Rajasthan), 1st edn., Samvat 2014.

(b) "Miran Madhuri", ed. by Brajratnadas, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Kutir, Varanasi, 1st edn., Samvat 2013.

(c) "Mirabai Ki Padavali", ed. by Parshuram Chaturvedi, pub. by Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, 11th edn., Shaka 1884.

(d) "Mira Smriti-Granth", pub. by Bangiya Hindi Parishad, 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Cal., 1st edn., Vikram Samvat 2006.

(e) "Miran Ek Adhyayan", by Padmavati Shabnam, pub. by Lok-Sevak Prakashan, Banaras, 1st edn., V.S. 2007.

(f) "Mira Brihat Pad-Sangrah", ed. by Padmavati Shabnam, pub. by Lok-Sevak Prakashan, Banaras, 1st edn., Samvat 2009.

(g) "Mira Aur Unki Premvani" by Gyanchand Jain, ed. by Ayodhya Singh, pub. by Bishal-Bharat Book Depot, 195-A, Harison Road, Cal. (no date).

(h) "Miran Darshan" by Prof. Murlidhar Shrivastava, pub. by Sahitya Bhavan (P) Ltd., Allahabad, 1st edn., 1956.

20. "Ras Aur Rasanwayi Kavya" (ed. by Dr. Dashrath Ojha and Dr. Dashrath Sharma, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi (Varanasi), Samvat 2016) is a collection of Apabhramsa and Rajasthani works and furnishes ample information regarding various facets of social life of our period.

(II) SANSKRIT.

1. **SOMADEVA BHATTA** (C. 10th century A.D.). His "Kathasarit Sagar" (ed. by Pandit Durga Prasad and Kashinath Pandurang Pareb, printed and pub. by Tukaram Javaji, Bombay, 1903, 2nd edn.) has been used here.

2. **SOMESVARA** (C. 11th century A.D.). His work entitled "Mansolasa" (vol. I, ed. by Gajanan K. Shrigondekar, Gaekward's Oriental Series, Baroda, 1925) has been consulted here.

(III) BENGALI.

1. "Charja Giti-Padavali" (C. 950-1200 A.D.) The rise of the Bengali language in its old forms may be traced back to the form of Prakrit. Several books were written in this old form of Bengali in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D., and some of them were discovered by Mahamahopadhyaya Har Prasad Shastri in Nepal. Among the most important of them being "Charyya-charyya Vinischaya". The above work mainly depicts the social life of the lower sections of the society such as *Doma*, *Chandala* etc. Here, "Charja Giti-Padavali" (ed. by Dr. Sukumar Sen, pub. by Sampadakh Sahitya Sabha, Burdwan, 1956) has been referred to in the preparation of this thesis.

2. **BARUCHANDIDAS** (latter half of the 14th century A.D.). The most remarkable poem on the Krishna legend, however, is Baruchandidas's work, which is available in a single and slightly mutilated manuscript copy, ed. by its discoverer Basantaranjan Ray and pub. by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad (1918). The manuscript does not show a title, but the editor supplied one, and it is known as "Shreekrishna Kirtan" (ed. by Basantaranjan Ray Biddatta Ballava, pub. by Shani Ranjan Press, Cal., 7th edn., 1961), which has been consulted in the preparation of this thesis. It throws ample light on the contemporary social life of Bengal.

3. **CHANDIDAS** (14th century A.D.) advocated the doctrine of pure spiritual love of the highest order. He has been characterised as 'Love-mad'. Love, in its abstract and refined form, was the theme of Chandidas's songs and poems. His poems on Radha and Krishna fall under the classification usual to the love-poems of the Vaishnavas. In the preparation of this thesis, "Mahakavi Chandidas Padavali" (Granthavali Series, Pt. I, ed. by Shree Satish Chandra Mukhopadhyaya, pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1933) has been consulted.

4. **VIDYAPATI** (latter half of the 14th century A.D.), the celebrated poet of Mithila (Darbhanga in North

Bihar), may be said to have enhanced the cause of the Bengali language by means of his poems. His poems depict the *lilas* of Lord Krishna and Radha. His "Padavalis" in Bengali ("Mahakavi Vidyapati Padavali", Granthavali Series, pt. II, pub. by Vasumati Sahitya Mandir, Cal., 3rd edn., 1935) has been consulted here. Besides "Padavalis", Vidyapati's "Purush-Pariksha" (tr. into Bengali by Shree Bihari Lal Sheel and Shree Anand Lal Sheel, pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., 1851) has also been consulted.

5. VIJAYA GUPTA (latter half of the 15th century A.D.) may be regarded as one of the best poets on the "Mansa Cult". His "Mansamangal", which is divided into about 76 cantos, the most popular work of its class, and especially in East Bengal, is esteemed sacred and is always read on the occasion of the worship of Mansa Devi. His work was composed in or about 1483 A.D. In the preparation of this thesis "Padmapuran or Mansamangal" (ed. by Basant Kumar Bhattacharya, pub. by Bani Niketan, Cal., 13th edn., Cal.-6, (no date) has been referred to.

6. RAGHUNATH BHAGAVATACHARYA (first half of the 16th century A.D.) was a contemporary of Chaitanya. His celebrated work "Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini" is an accurate translation of the "Bhagavata". He was named "Bhagavatacharya" when Chaitanya went through his work. Chaitanya seems to have spoken about him as follows:—

"Prabhu Bole Bhagavat Emon Podhite,
Kabhu Naahi Suni Aar Kaharo Mukete,
Eiteke Tumar Nam Bhagavatacharya,
Eha Boi Aar Kono Na Koriho Karya."

i.e. Chaitanya is speaking thus: "I have never heard the correct reciting of 'Bhagavata' like you. From now onwards you will be called 'Bhagavatacharya'. Except reciting the "Bhagavata", you won't do any work."

The above work ("Shreekrishna Prem Tarangini", ed. by Basantaranjan Ray, pub. by Shree Natwar Chakravarty, Bangabhashi Sanskaran, Cal., 1910) has been consulted here. This work gives us valuable information about the curriculum of Hindu education in those days.

7. **NARAYAN DEVA** (latter half of the 15th century A.D.), popularly known as 'Sukavi Ballava', was a contemporary of Vijaya Gupta, whose "Mansamangal" is almost as popular as that of the latter. Narayan Deva belonged to a Kayastha family and was a great poet. His "Mansamangal", contained in "Shree Shree Padmapuran Bais Kavi Manasa" (ed. by Amullaratan Bandopadhyaya, pub. by 82, Ahiri Tola Street, Cal., Tara Art Press, 1940, 8th edn.) has been consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

8. **KRITTIVASA OJHA** (14th-15th century A.D.) was born in February, 1346 A.D. in a Kulina Kanyakubja Brahman family. It should be borne in mind that the "Ramayana" of Krittivasa, as we find in print, is not completely the same book that Krittivasa wrote. In course of time those, who compiled it, tried to produce it in their own way. The "Ramayana" of Krittivasa, although passing through various changes through the ages with a view to suit the minds of the people, is even today a fountain of inspiration to millions of people. Although being a translation of Valmiki's great epic, Krittivasa, in his work, has given his own approach depicting the contemporary social life of Bengal during his time. In this work "Sachitra Saptakand Ramayana" (ed. and pub. by Ramanand Chattopadhyaya, Cal., 7th edn., 1926) has been used.

9. **JAYADEVA** (12th century A.D.), a native of Kendubilva in West Bengal, was a contemporary of King Lakshmanasena, probably a member of his court. Just before the Turki impact during the reign of Lakshmanasena, the last Hindu King to rule over the whole of Bengal, Jayadeva made his last and most important contribution to neo-classical literature. His "Gitagovinda" can claim to be one of the main fountainheads of not only Bengali, but also of other new Indo-Aryan lyrical poetry. The songs of "Gitagovinda" are written in Sanskrit, but their rhythm and rhyme belong to Apabhramsa poetry. The poems of Jayadeva tried to establish the theme of Radha Krishna love as practically the only subject of Indo-Aryan vernacular lyrical poetry for centuries. In this thesis "Gitagovinda" (ed. by Bijaya Chandra Majumdar, pub. by Gurudas Chattopadhyaya & Sons, Cal., 1905) has been consulted

to corroborate the dates available from other sources.

10. **VRINDABANDAS** (16th century A.D.). The earliest biography is the "Chaitanya Bhagavata" by Vrindabandas. It was composed about 1548 A.D. It has three cantos, i.e. "Adi Kanda", "Madhya Kanda" and "Anta Kanda". The work entitled "Shree-chaitanya Bhagavata" throws valuable light on the educational activities of the famous centre of learning in Bengal, i.e. Nadiya (Navadvipa). Both the editions of this work, namely by Harinam Prachar Samiti, Cal.-6 (1954 A.D.) and pub. by Sucharu Kanti Ghosh, Patrika House, Baghbazar, Cal., 6th edn., 1948, have been consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

11. **VIPRADAS PIPALAI** (15th century A.D.). His "Mansa Vijaya" (ed. by Dr. Sukumar Sen, pub. by The Asiatic Society, 1, Park Street, Cal., 1953) has been used in this thesis.

12. **MALADHAR BASU** (15th century A.D.). The earliest Bengali narrative poem that can be assigned to a definite date is the oldest poem on Krishna legend entitled "Shreekrishna Vijaya" (Triumph of Lord Krishna) by Maladhar Basu, who was conferred the title of "Gunaraja Khan" by Sultan Ruknuddin Barbak Shah. The poem is based mainly on the *Bhagavata* and the *Vishnu-Purana*. It took seven years (1473-1480) to complete the work. Maladhar was a rich Kayastha, hailing from Kulingram in West Bengal. He was probably a revenue officer of the State and had been at the court of the Sultan for some time. Maladhar Basu's "Shreekrishna Vijaya" (ed. by Khagendra Nath Mitra, Calcutta University Edition, 1944) has been consulted in the preparation of this work.

(IV) ORIYA.

1. **BACCHADAS** (14th century A.D.). His "Kalasa Chautisa" (contained in "Prachin Gadya-Padya Darsha", Cuttack, 1932, 1st edn.) is a panegyric, though cleverly composed as a satire. It describes old Siva's marriage with young and beautiful Uma, the daughter of King Himavanta of the Himalayas.

2. **ARJUNDAS** (first half of the 16th century A.D.). His "Ramvibha" (ed. by Dr. A. B. Mahanty, Cuttack, 3rd edn., 1953) has been consulted here.

3. **SARALADAS** (15th century A.D.). the father of early Oriya literature, is regarded one of the worthiest representatives of people's culture. It is a matter of great pride that the first great poet of Orissa was not a Sanskrit scholar, not a Brahmin, proud of his heritage, but a Sudra ploughman inheriting the spirit and character of the masses. His following works have been consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

(a) "Mahabharata" (Sabha Purva), pub. by Radha Raman Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1952.

(b) "Vilanka Ramayana", pub. by A. Maharana, Jajpur (Cuttack), 1922.

4. **BALARAMDAS** (16th century A.D.). His monumental work entitled "Jagmohan Ramayana" (Uttara Kanda), (pub. by Nityanand Pustakalaya, Cuttack, 1913) has been referred to here.

5. **AVADHUTA NARAYAN SVAMI** (13th century A.D.). His "Rudrasudhanidhi" (ed. by Dr. Karunakar Kar, pub. by Orissa Sahitya Academy, Cuttack, 1st edn., 1965) is the earliest complete prose work in Oriya. The above work gives us some valuable information regarding the curriculum of study followed in Orissa.

(V) MAITHILI.

1. **JYOTIRISVARA KAVISEKHARACHARYA THAKKURA** (14th century A.D.). His "Varna-Ratnakar" (ed. by Sunil Kumar Chatterjee and Babua Mishra, pub. by The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bibliotheca Indica, Cal., 1940) is the oldest work in the Maithili language of North Bihar so far known to us and it goes back to the first half, and perhaps, to the first quarter, of the 14th century A.D.

2. **VIDYAPATI THAKUR** (1350-1450 A.D.). The Age of Vidyapati was the same to Maithili Literature as was the Age of Shakespeare to English Literature and that of Aeschylus to Greek Literature. His following works have been referred to in this thesis :—

(a) "Vidyapati Ki Padavali", ed. by Shree Rambriksha Sharma Bainipuri, pub. by Hindi Pustak Bhandar, Laheriasarai, 1st edn. 1982 V.S.

(b) "Vidyapati Ki Padavali" by Shree Vasant Kumar Mathur, pub. by Bharati (Bhasha) Bhavan, Delhi, 1st edn., 1952.

(c) "Kirtilata", ed. by Vasudev Sharan Agarwala, pub. by Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi), 1st edn., 1962.

(VI) ASSAMESE.

1. **MADHAVA KANDALI** (C. 14th century A.D.), the greatest of the pre-Vaisnavaite priests, undertook the stupendous task of translating the whole of the Sanskrit *Ramayana* into Assamese verse. It is worth noting that of all modern Indian Vernacular translations of Valmiki's "Ramayana", Madhava Kandali's work is the earliest; Hindi, Bengali, and Oriya versions appeared about a century and a half later. Madhava Kandali's *Ramayana* extant till now, has five cantos only, i.e. from Ayodhya to Lanka. The other two cantos—the *Adi* and the *Uttara* are believed to have been lost. Kandali's *Ramayana* expresses the temper and genius of the Assamese people. The following edition of this work has been referred to in this thesis:—"Ramayana", ed. and pub. by Shree Kanakchandra Sharma Kavyatirth, Bevejia, Newgong (Assam), 1941.

2. **SHANKARDEVA** (C. 1449-1569 A.D.) was born in a Bhuiyan family at Alipukhuri, a place about sixteen miles from the present town of Newgong on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. His scholarship in Sanskrit and knowledge of the scriptures were well-revealed in the number of translations and adaptations he made in Assamese in the later years of his life. Shankardeva, moreover, had shaped to a considerable extent, the religious, social, cultural and literary life of the people of the province for ages to come. His following works in Assamese have been consulted in the preparation of this thesis:—

(a) "Kirtan Aru Namghosha", ed. by Shree Harinarayan Datt Barua, pub. by Shree Gangadhar Barkataki Co., Jorhat, Assam, 1st edn., Kartik 1333.

(b) "Shreemadbhagavat" (Dasham Skanda), in two parts, ed. by Shree Shivanath Bhattacharya, 3rd Dibrugarh, Assam, 1905.

(c) "Mihali Baragit", pub. by Prashanna Chandra Barua and Shree Suryakant Pattayari, Kamarkuchhi (Kamrup), B.S. 1330.

(d) "Rukmini Haran-Nat", ed. by Ambikanath Borah, 2nd edn., University of Calcutta, 1950.

3. **DURGAVARA** (first half of the 16th century A.D.). The recension of Durgavara's "Giti-Ramayana" at present available seems to be incomplete. Nothing can be gathered from it about the identity of the poet. The following edition of this work has been consulted here :—"Giti-Ramayana", ed. by Shree Bishaychandra Bishwashi, Haju (Kamrup), 1st edn., 1915.

4. **PITAMBAR DWIJE** (first half of the 12th century A.D.). Probably next to Madhava Kandali, he was the most prolific of the pre-Shankardeva writers. His work entitled "Usha Parinay" (ed. by Shree Maheshwar Neog, Golaghat (Assam), 1st edn., Shaka 1873) has been used here.

(VII) GUJARATI.

1. **LAWANYASAMAY** (second half of the 15th century A.D.) was born at Ajadpura in Ahmedabad in V.S. 1521 (1463 A.D.). His parents were orthodox Jains. Formerly, he was known as Lahuraj, but when he got his *Diksha* from his preceptor, Acharya Lakshmisagaripuri at the age of nine, he came to be known as Lawanyasamay. He started composing verses at the age of sixteen, and received the title of 'Pandit' in V.S. 1555. His "Bimalprabandh" (ed. by Dr. Dhirajlal Dhanjeebhai Shah, pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965) is an invaluable mine of information regarding the various facets of Gujarati Social life during the second half of the 15th century A.D.

2. **NARASIMHA MEHTA** (1415-1481 A.D.) was a Nagar Brahmin of Junagarh (Junagarh) in Kathiawad, and he gave fillip to *Bhakti* movement in Gujarat. His "Padas" ("Narsai Mahtena Pad"), ed. by Shree Keshavaram K. Shastri, pub. by Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1st edn., 1965 (V.S. 2011) has been referred to in the preparation of this work.

3. **UDAYBHANU** (first half of the 16th century A.D.). His famous work entitled "Vikramcharitra Rasa" (ed. by Prof. Balwantray K. Thakur, Baroda University Publication, 1st edn., 1957 (V.S. 2014) has been consulted here. The above work contains the story of the exploits of the famous Vikramsen, son of King Vikram Kumar.

4. **BHALHAN** (A.D. 1439-1539) was by caste a Srimali Brahmin and belonged to Patan. As the capital of Gujarat was at that time free from any political disturbance, the neglected study of Sanskrit was, again, taken up. Bhalhan translated the celebrated romance "Kadambari" of Bana Bhatt into Gujarati. His another work was "Nalakhyan". The following editions of these works have been referred to in the preparation of this thesis :—
 (a) "Kadambari" (Purva Bhag), ed. by K. H. Dhurva, pub. by Jayanti Lal Madhav Lal Mehta, Ahmedabad, 2nd edn., 1935.
 (b) "Nalakhyan", ed. by Prof. Keshavram K. Shastri, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1st edn., 1957 A.D. (V.S. 2013).
5. **KAVI PADMANABHA** (15th century A.D.) was poet-laureate of Akheraj, the Cahamana or Chauhan King of Jhalor. His famous work in Apabhramsha entitled "Kanhad-de-Prabandh" (ed. by Prof. Kantilal Baldev Ram Vyas, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Prince Street, Bombay, 1st edn., 1959) has been consulted in the preparation of this thesis.
6. **MIRABAI** (16th century A.D.). Her "Padas" in Gujarati ("Mira Na Pado", ed. by Bhupendra Balkrishna Trivedi, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Bombay-2, 1st edn., Jan., 1962) has been used here.
7. "Prachin Fagu Sangrah" (ed. by Dr. Bhogilal J. Sondesara and Dr. Somabhai Parekh, pub. by Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1st edn., 1955, (V.S. 2011) is a collection of famous songs which were sung on the occasion of Holi festival (composed during the 14th to the 18th centuries A.D.). These songs really constitute a mine of information regarding the social life of Gujarat.
8. "Vasant Vilas" (ed. by Prof. Kantilal Baldev Ram Vyas, pub. by N. M. Tripathi (P) Ltd., Prince Street, Bombay, 3rd edn., 1959) is a collection of romantic poems commonly known as "Fagu Kavya". The author of this work is unknown, but it is said to have been composed in or about V.S. 1450.

(VIII) GURUMUKHI.

1. **PARE MOKHE** (first half of the 16th century A.D.) belonged to Sultanpur. His "Janam Sakhi" (pub. by Bhai Ladha Singh, Karttar Singh, Bajar Maiseva,

Amritsar, (no date) has been consulted in the preparation of this thesis.

2. "Guru Khalsa Panth" (16th century A.D.) by Gyani Lal Singh (pub. by Sardar Jawahar Singh Kripal Singh Pustakalaya, Amritsar, 1948) has been used here. This work gives us some valuable information about the curriculum of Nanak's early education.

(B) EARLY MUSLIM SCHOLARS, GEOGRAPHERS, FOREIGN TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS ETC.

1. ABU ABDU-LLAH MUHAMMAD OF MOROCCO (10th century A.D.). He was commonly known as Al-Idrisi. His work on geography entitled *Nuzhatul-Mushtak fi Ikhtirakul Afak* ('The Delights of those who seek to Wander through the Regions of the World') gives us his account of the castes of India. In the preparation of this thesis, "India and the Neighbouring Territories in the Kitab Nuzhat Al-Mushtaq Fi" (tr. by S.M. Maqbul Ahmad, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1960) has been consulted.
2. ABU RAIHAN ALBERUNI, "Alberuni's India", in two volumes (tr. by Dr. Edward C. Sachau, pub. by S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1st Indian Reprint, 1964).
3. BARBOSA, The Book of Duarte Barbosa, tr. by Mansel Longworth Dames, in two volumes (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1918-21), and also 'A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century' by Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese, tr. from an early Spanish manuscript in the Barcelona Library with notes and preface by the Hons. Henry E. J. Stanley, Lond. Hakluyt Society, M. DCCC. LXVI (1866).
4. IBN BATTUTA (i) "Voyages D' Ibn Battuta" (*Tuhfatun-Nuzzar Fi Gharaibul Amsar wa Ajaibul Asfar*). Texte Arabe, Accompagne D'une Traduction Par C. Defremery et Dr. B. R. Sanguinetti, 4 tomes (Paris, 1914).
(ii) The Rehla of Ibn Battuta, tr. with commentary by Dr. Mahdi Husain, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1953.
(iii) Ibn Battuta's Travels in India and Africa by H.A.R. Gibb (Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, Lond., first published in 1929).

- (iv) *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, tr. by Rev. Samuel Lee, Lond., 1829.
5. IBN KHURDADBA (9th century A.D.). In the preparation of this thesis, Sayyid Sulayman Nadvi's art. entitled 'Early Muslim Geographers on India', pub. in *Journal of Islamic Culture*, October, 1937, has been referred to.
 6. MARCO POLO (i) *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, in two volumes, Lond., 1903 (tr. by Henry Yule).
(ii) Also *The Travels of Marco Polo (The Broadway Travellers)*, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power, tr. into English from the Text of R.F. Benedetto by Prof. Aldo Ricci with an introduction and Index by Sir E. Denison Ross, pub. by George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane, Lond. 1st published in 1931.
 7. VARTHEMA (i) *The Travels of Ludovic Varthema*, ed. by G.P. Badge (Hakluyt Society, Lond., 1863).
(ii) Also *The Itinerary of Ludovico Di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508*, tr. by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, The Argonaut Press, 11 & 13 Southampton Row, Lond., 1928.

N.B.—For the travel accounts of Abd-er-Razzak and Nicolo Conti, references may be made to R.H. Major's "India in the Fifteenth Century" (being a collection of the narratives of Voyages to India) printed for the Hakluyt Society, Lond., M. DCCC. LVII (1857).

(C) CONTEMPORARY AND NON-CONTEMPORARY PERSIAN AND ARABIC WORKS.

1. ABDUL HAQ (a) *Akhbarul-Akhyar*, Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1332 A.H. (1914); Also *Ibid*, pub. by Md. Hashim and Md. Abdul Aziz, Hashimi Press, Meerut, 1178 A.H. (b) *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, MS No. 89, Cat. No. 53, O.P.L. Patna.
2. ABDULLAH, *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (Per. MS No. 100, Cat. No. 548, O.P.L.); Also *Ibid*, ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rasheed, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954.
3. ABDULLAH MUHAMMAD BIN OMAR AL-MAKKI AL-ASAFI, ULUGHKHANI, 'Zafar Ul-Walih Bi Muzaffar Wal Alih' or "An Arabic History of Gujarat" in three volumes, ed. from the unique

autograph copy in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasa by Sir E. Denison Ross, pub. by John Murray, Albemarle Street (pub. for Govt. of India), Lond., 1910, 1921 and 1928.

4. ABDOL QADIR BADAONI, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. I, Bibliotheca Indica, Cal. and tr. by Col. George S.A. Ranking (A.S.B., 1898).
5. ABU AL-ABBAS QALQASHANDI, *Subh al-A'sha*, chapters on India, tr. by Otto Spies, entitled "An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century" (Germany, 1936).
6. ABUL FAZL, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. I, tr. by Blochmann, Cal., 1873.
7. AHMAD YADGAR, *Tarikh-i-Shahi*; Also known as *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana*, ed. by M. Hidayat Hosain, Bibliotheca Indica (Work No. 257), Cal., 1939.
8. ALI MUHAMMAD KHAN, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, vol. I, pub. by Qazi Abdul Karim, pub. by Fathehul Karim Press, Bombay, 1307 A.H.
9. AMIR HASAN DEHLAVI, *Favaid-ul-Fuad* (Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, (no date).
10. AMIR KHUSRAU (i) *Afzal-ul-Favaid*, Rizvi Press, Delhi (no date).
 (ii) *Ain-i-Sikandari*, ed. by Maulana Saeed Ahmad Faruqi, Aligarh, 1917.
 (iii) *Dewal Rani Khizr Khan*, Aligarh, 1917.
 (iv) *Hasht-Bahisht*, ed. by Maulana Sayyid Suleiman Ashraf, Aligarh, 1918.
 (v) *Ijaz-i-Khusravi* (in five parts), Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1875-76.
 (vi) *Khazainul Futuh*, ed. by Syed Moinul Haq. Muslim University, Aligarh, June, 1927; Also English tr. by Prof. Muhammad Habib entitled 'The Campaigns of Ala'u'D-Din Khilji, pub. by D.B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay, 1931.
 (vii) *Kulliyat-i-Khusravi* (in two parts), Aligarh, 1918.
 (viii) *Matla-ul-Anwar*, Lucknow, 1884; Also *Ibid*, pub. by Murtajabai Press, Delhi, no date.
 (ix) *Laila Majnun*, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 3rd edn., December, 1880 (1298 A.H.).
 (x) *Nuh Sipihr*, ed. by Muhammad Wahid Mirza,

- pub. for the Islamic Research Association by Geoffrey Camberlege (I.R.A. Series, No. 12), O.U.P., Cal., 1950.
- (xi) *Qirami's Sa'dain*, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, March 1871 A.D.
11. BABUR, ZEHIRUDDIN MUHAMMAD, *Baburnama* or *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* (*Memoirs of Babur*, written in Turki and tr. into English in three volumes by Mrs. A.S. Beveridge, pub. from Luzac & Company, Lond., 1917); Also 'Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammad Babur' (written by himself in the Chaghtai Turki, tr. by John Leyden, Esq., and William Erskine Esq., Annotated and revised by Sir Lucas King (in two volumes), Humphrey Milford, O.U.P., Lond., 1921).
 12. FAKHRU'D-DIN MUBARAKSHAH, *Tarikh-i-Fakhru'd-Din Mubarakshah*, ed. by E. Denison Ross, pub. by Royal Asiatic Society, 74, Grosvenor Steel, Lond., 1927.
 13. FIRDAUSI, *Shahnama*, ed. by Muhammad Sadiq Siraji, pub. by Abdul Karim Sanaf Muhammad Ibrahim Tabatabai Aspahani, Bombay, 1225 A.H.
 14. FIRUZ SHAH TUGHLUQ, *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi*, ed. by Shaikh Abdur Rasheed, pub. by Deptt. of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954.
 15. HASAN NIZAMI NISAPURI, *Taj-ul-Ma'asir* (Per MS, K.P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Patna).
 16. MINHAIJ-US-SIRAJ, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Bibliotheca Indica, Cal., 1864; Also English tr. by Major H. G. Raverty (two volumes), Lond., 1881.
 17. MIRZA MUHAMMAD HAIDAR DUGHLAT, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, tr. into English by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, entitled 'A History of Moghuls of Central Asia', Lond., 1895.
 18. MIRZA MUHSIN KASHMIRI, *Dabistanul Mazahib*, pub. by Qazi Ibrahim Ibn Qazi Nur Muhammad, Bombay (no date).
 19. MUHAMMAD HADI, *Qasaid-i-Badr-Chach*, pub. by Qazi Muhammad Husain Muhammadi Press, 1261 A.H.
 20. MUHAMMAD QASIM HINDU BEG FERISHTA, *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* alias *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* (Per. Text, Bombay, 1832); Also English tr. by J. Brigg, entitled 'History of the Rise of the Mahomedan

- Power in India till the Year 1612' (in four volumes), pub. by R. Cambray & Co., Cal., 1909-10
21. MULLA ABD UL-BAQI NAHAVANDI, *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, vol. I, ed. by Shams-ul-Ulama M. Hidayat Husain, A.S.B., 1924.
 22. SHAIKH MUHAMMAD KABIR, *Afsana-i-Badshahan* or *Tarikh-i-Afghani*, Photo-print of the Microfilm copy available in the MS Section of Patna University Library, but belonging to K.P. Jaiswal Research Institute, Patna (in two volumes).
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