Chapter - 3

Changing Pattern of Urban Society and Culture

Contemporary as well as near contemporary sources relating to the 13th and 14th centuries provide numerous references to the changing pattern of urban society and culture. However, the British administrators who wrote on Indian history often postulated the theory of “unchanging orient societies.”¹ This concept was widely accepted by other western scholars. They would have us believe that western rule or colonialism was something that was necessary to shake these countries out of their long slumber or to bring the change at least to a minimum level in these static societies.² Henry Elliot in the introduction to ‘The History of India as Told by its own Historians’ puts forward rather superficial understanding of oriental societies. He said that in oriental societies one does not find “the vicissitudes of institutions, social, political and religious.” As far Elliot was concerned, oriental history was nothing but “the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, fratricides and rise and fall of dynasties.”³ Karl Marx often quoted India as a place “unresisting and unchanging.”⁴ Stuart Piggot said about the unchanging institutions and material culture of India, “we do not find and should not look for an inherent element of progress in Indian history. No organic evolution of institutions to changing human needs, no development of material culture nor gradual spread of higher standard of living to a constantly increasing proportion of the inhabitants.”⁵ The Indian historians of post-independent era effectively contested the concept of static and unchanging societies. Satish Chander argued that “unchanging orient” is changing rapidly and had changed but it does not mean that this change is sudden. The earlier belief was based on the perception and interest of colonial powers.⁶ As far as the period under reference is concerned, Indian scholars rejected the concept of “unchanging orient.” D.D. Kosambi considered that the Indian society was static before the arrival of Muslim intruders but he does not tune with the Marx’s analysis

¹ H.M.Elliot, J.Downson, Macaulay,etc.
² Satish Chander, Social Change in Medieval India, pp.19-20.
³ H..MElliot and J.Downson, History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, p.preface-xix-xx.
⁴ Irfan Habib, Essays in Indian History, Towards a Marxist Perception, p.30.
⁵ Stuart Piggot, Some Ancient Cities of India, pp.1-2.
⁶ Satish Chandra, op.cit., p.19.
of India’s social structure as being essentially an unchanging one. He depicted the
Islamic raiders in India as an instrument of breaking down the hidebound customs
already prevalent in Indian society in the form of feudalism, thus, paved the way for
“the adoption and transmission of new technique.” 7 Muhammad Habib coined a
new term “Revolution” to denote the social and economic changes both in the rural
and urban sectors. He observed that the invasion of the Ghorian Turks brought about
a great social and economic revolution because the industrial and social forces in
country had been prepared for the centuries but the caste system and Thakur regime
prevented these forces to operate. The external pressure of Turkish invasions broke
the regime and liberated the forces. He opined that “the so-called Ghorian conquest
of India was really a revolution of Indian city-labour led by the Ghorian Turks.” 8

Irfan Habib also accepted changes in social and economic set-up but saw these
changes as a part of social and economic process not as a revolution:

What the Sultanate brought about, was not a social revolution but the creation of new system of agrarian
exploitation with parasitical urban growth based upon it. It united political and economic forces stronger than
even before and vesting the control over the bulk of surplus in the hands of ruling class whose individual
member remained unattached to any particular parcel of land. The cash nexus, the growth of town and
commerce belied these appearances and a large volume of urban production was a characteristic feature of the
new system. In lieu of, a proper technical name to designate the economic organization established under the
Sultanate as Indian medieval economy. 9

Narul Hasan pointed out that India is a large country with considerable variations in
its different regions. There is existence of major differences as diversities with
remarkable unity in the broad pattern of socio-economic development, cultural and
administrative institutions. The understanding of the significant trends of historical
change in the country would remain sadly incomplete unless the details are studied
at the regional level. 10 To understand the phenomenon of social change in proper
sense, it is imperative to study a region like the Punjab in the context of country as a
whole. This region not only played an important part in the history of India but also
acted as the cross roads of many movements of culture, commerce and people in

8. Muhammad Habib, Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period, p.73.
9. Irfan Habib, Economic History of the Delhi Sultanate.-An Essay in Interpretation, The Indian Historical
    Review, 978, p.28.
    and Society in Medieval India, p.37.
Asia. Thus, it became a cockpit, a crucible of confluence in which there was an unending amalgamation of communities and cultures resulting in a broad pragmatic, experimental and utilitarian outlook and a robust, clear-cut and comprehensive commonsense view, which cut the root of all sorts of dogmas, conventions and conservatism. Its social and cultural canvas evolved through the process of socio-culture reciprocity among the divergent forces both inside and outside. The Persicians, Greeks, Parthians, Kushanas and Hunas came in an unending sequence. Each ethnic group contributed to the evolution of culture fusion in the Punjab. The establishment of Delhi Sultanate was a landmark in the social and cultural history of the Punjab. A reciprocal process of cultural synthesis started with contact to regional identity which led to the process of vernacularization of Islamic cultural and vernacular identity molded the shape and practices of Islamic culture and vice versa.

A new social composition began to be formed in urban centers of the Punjab because a large number of the Persians, Turks and Afghans began to settle in the towns and cities. Islam from its very inception was urban-oriented and urbanism as a way of life was its core. The follower of Islam with their urbanite background obviously confined themselves along with their retainer in towns and tried to exercise their authority over the countryside through a new institutional device known as Iqta.\(^{11}\)

H.C. Verma writes that besides being functional differentiation based on economic status of an individual, there was also structural differentiation based on pyramidal division of the society. In it, Sultan stood at the top followed by the ruling-cum-appropriating class that included the nobles, ulema, bureaucracy that is government officials, traders and merchants and artisans.\(^{12}\) This social stratification was also visible in the Punjab as attested by the accounts of Fakr-i-Mudabir.

As he himself was present in Lahore during 1206 C.E., his testimony about the nature of urban population and their influence is observable. He says that to welcome Qutb-ud-din Aibak came at all sections of people like Qazis, Imams, Saiyyads, Sufis, officers (Ashab-i-Manasib), amils, soldiers, citizens, the important

\(^{11}\) H.C. Verma, *Dynamics of Urban Life in Pre-Mughal India*, p.42.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., p.162.
and the ordinary, the strong and weak, and the rich and poor. This is more or less a comprehensive list of the groups of people living in Lahore and other major cities of the Punjab during the period under the present study. From the above description it is concluded that class distinction among the city dwellers was based on property, occupation and economic conditions not on caste or religion.

Other contemporary chroniclers like, Ziya-ud-din Barani and Yahiya bin Ahmad Sirhindi also attest almost same references of urban population. As regarding the division of population, Barani speaks of persons of low birth and high birth, learned and illiterate, wise and foolish, artists, free born (abids), merchants, derveshes, clerks, soldiers, bazaaris, employed and unemployed. In Fatawa-i-Jahandari, he refers to the religious scholars, mystics, physicians, astrologers, artisans, shopkeepers, merchants, caravan people, courtesans, musicians, dancers, buffoons, tavern keepers, jugglers, story-reciters, wrestlers and jokers. The author of the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi speaking about the people of Delhi and its vicinity refers to amirs, maliks, notables, ulema, sadat, mashiekh, beggars, artisans and money lenders.

On the basis of above stated observations, A.Rashid divided the society among the three classes that were ahl-i-suyuf or ahl-i-daulat (men of sword), ahl-i-qalam (men of the pen) and awam-i-khalq. The first two constituted together the social aristocracy. The class of ahl-i-suyuf which consisted the ruling class, bureaucrats or military officials occupied the highest position at social order. The social status of the members of ahl-i-suyuf was determined by their military ranks such as sar-i-khal, sipahsalar, amir, malik and khan. The next class was the men of the pen comprising ethnologists i.e., ulema and Brahmins and litterateurs, mashaiks, in other words, the class of intelligentsia. At the bottom of the social ladder were awam-i-khalq or common people comprising professionals, clerks, men of business, artists,

16. Yahiya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, Tarikh-i-Mubark Shahi, English translated by H. Beveridge, p.118.
merchants, bankers and money lender, and homeless city dwellers and vagrant religious mendicants. The Sultan of Delhi also established same social hierarchy in the Punjab. After the conquest of the Punjab, Shihab-ud-din Ghori kept his trusted men at different places in the province, Nasir-ud-din Aitmar-al-Bahai was appointed at Lahore, Suif-ud-din Aibek at Sarsuti, Taj-ud-din Sanjar Kaz Lakkan at Multan and Saifuddin Aibek Khatai got the Iqta of Samana and Kilhram. All these members of the aristocracy with their bureaucrats constituted the parts of ahal-i-suyuf or ahal-i-dault in the Punjab. The foundation of Muslim rule was laid by the endeavor and exertion of foreign warriors and nobles. These foreign nobles belonged to Turkish, Persian, Arab, Afghan, Mongol, Abyssian and Egyptian stocks but were known by the generic title “Turk”. They constituted the ruling oligarchy or ahl-i-suyuf of early Sultanate. They were appointed as commander-cum-civil administrators or office in charge of provinces and were the holders of other similar appointment of various grades and ranks. Most of the military and civil officers belonged to Khita, Qara Khitas, Qichpaq, Garji or Ilbari of the Turkish race. Although they were predominantly Turkish and Afghans but in social affiliation this class also included a small measure the members of other races, obviously for their exceptional military and administration talents such as Sabiq-ul-Mulk Nasir-ud-din, a member of Saiyyad descendants. The social stratification in which Muslim immigrant families were monopolizing the key positions both in civil and military administration did not work for long. The progress of learning, expansion and consolidation of the central authority, cultural influences such as those of the Sufis and the employment of skilled artisans in the royal karkhana paved the way for the rise of people from unprivileged families in society. The expansion and consolidation of Sultanate in the province created the need for a large number of

17. A. Rashid, Society and Culture in Medieval India, p.5.
19. Ibid., p.238.
20. Ibid., p.232.
21. Ibid., p.259.
22. K.S.Lal, Early Muslims in India, p.130.
educated people to carry an administrative work and old aristocratic families could no longer supply sufficient officers to meet these needs.\textsuperscript{23}

The Indian Muslims started competing with the Turkish aristocracy. This section of nobles of the Punjab that gradually worked for its way to position of authority was of the Indian born Muslims like Imad-ud-din Raihan. Since their position was stronger on the account of close link with the native people, Turkish nobility often did not tolerate their appointment to any post of honour and authority. The prevailing attitudes and consequent tensions among the Turkish aristocracy as depicted in Barani’s statement, “low born Muslims are capable only of vices--immodesty, falsehood, miserliness, misappropriation, wrongfulness, evil speaking, ingratitude, shamelessness, imprudence so they are called land born, bazaar people, base, mean, worthless, plebian, shameless and of dirty birth.”\textsuperscript{24} The people of the Punjab secured their positions in the ah\textit{l}-suyuf by getting appointments to civil-cum-military administration with the annexation of Punjab into Ghazni empire. For example, Sandhi Rai and Baji Rai were appointed as generals and Tilak as commander-in-chief or as same with the civil ranks.\textsuperscript{25}

With the advent of the Khaljis to power, far-reaching changes took place in the state policies with regarding the recruitment of the officers. Hamid-ud-din Multani who was also Malik ul-Tujjar (chief of merchants) was entrusted to the Qazzat of the empire for which member of a well-established family of noble descents known for learning and religiosity was considered fit. He had also served in the royal household as pardadar (in charge of curtains) and Kuliddar (keepers of keys).\textsuperscript{26}

During the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, both Ibn Battuta and Barani mention many lowborn persons who belonged to the Punjab were raised to important positions in the empire. Ibn Battuta’s reference to Rattan, a Hindu who was a barber by caste is

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., pp.104,144.
\textsuperscript{26}H.K.Naqvi, \textit{Agricultural, Industrial and Urban Dynamism under the Sultans of Delhi, 1206-1555}, p.9.
of great significance. Despite of his low origin, Ratan was a scholar of mathematics nobles. 27

Islam would have us to believe that the Sultan favored the enemy of Islam and therefore subjected Muslim everywhere to tyranny. 28

*Insha-i-Mahru* also shows that the people once belonging to the lower strata of society could maneuver for position through what may be term as their ability to create nuisance. By the time of Sultan Firuz Shah, the Kambos of Multan had become so influential that they could intervene in approvals of the royal court and be heard by Sultan. 29

The example Hem Chander known as Hemmu Bakkal is said to belong to Dhusar (Sub caste of Baniya) in Rewari may also be cited. Hemu started his career as a market inspector during Sher Shah’s reign but rose to the rank of premier noble under Sultan Adil Shah Sur. 30

During the Tughlaq period, Afghans held important administrative posts in the province. By the time, Muhammad Tughlaq came to the throne in Multan they became so powerful that some of them began to aspire to kingship. 31 The Mongol *amirs* and *maliks* who embraced Islam during the reign of Balban, had settled in India also began to aspire for position of authority in the Sultanate. 32

The nobles drew inspiration in their social life from the imperial court and tried to emulate the Sultan in all their social and cultural activities. In certain respect, their assemblies were miniature court of the Sultan and their generosity that often exceeded their means. 33 The nobles of the Punjab, in this period led a very festive life. In the Sur period, there was a comprehensive information about the banquets hosted by Mazand-i-Ali Khawas Khan, the premier noble of Sher Shah, in connection with celebration of religious festivals as well as social occasions. This

31 Ibid., p. 107.
celebration of birth anniversary of the prophet was considered unparalleled. He was reported to have spent whatever money he possessed on this occasion. In the year 1540-41 C.E., he was fighting under the command of Sher Shah against the Ghakkars in the region around Rohtas (Punjab). Prophets birth anniversary occurred. Although, the Ghakkars had been successful in cutting off the supply of food and cattle to the royal camp for creating a shortage of food, Masnad-i-Ali celebrated the function with enthusiasm. He invited all the nobles with their soldiers numbering about forty to fifty thousand to attend the feast first. The nobles were served with sumptuous dishes like mutton, soup, different meat preparations, rice, boiled milk mixed with sugar-candy and halvas (sweet meats). Separate arrangements were made for the Hindus who served in Sher Shah’s army in large numbers.

Astonished by the large number of dishes served there in spite of scarcity of foodstuff in the camp, Haibat Khan Niyazi remarked in-joke, “today you have performed a miracle.” Khawas Khan retorted “it is miracle; I keep enough in store even while campaigning. Every one of ten thousands foot soldiers carries something of provision. The cows and she buffaloes form a part of provisions; likewise, the two thousand horses, camels and elephants are loaded with necessities for the kitchen”.

Many of the nobles appointed in the Punjab were great patrons of art and letters and were known for their urbanity and culture. Literati, scholars, poets and artists flocked to their court in a large number and basked in the sunshine of their favors. Some of the most distinguished poets of the period, Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan Sijzi started their literary carriers in the services of the nobles of the Punjab. Prince Muhammad’s court at Multan was a great rendezvous of scholars and poets. His nadims recited in his presence the Shahnamah of Firdaushi and poetic works of Sana’i Khagani and Nizami, the prince even extended an invitation to Shiekh Saad and offered to construct a khanqah for him.

Deploring the pedantic display of generosity and frivolous expenditure by the Turkish governing class, Barani says that if one khan or malik heard that another khan or malik entertained one thousand people, if one learnt that another malik gives two hundred tankas in charity at the time of riding, he was ashamed if he could not bestowed four hundred tankas instead. If an malik bestowed fifty horses in an assembly of pleasure and clothed two hundred people when others heard of it they grew jealous and made arrangement to bestow one hundred horses and to give robes to five hundred people.\textsuperscript{36}

A marked change in this class was that a new military clique of Khaljis came to dominate the earlier aristocracy of the Ilbari Turks after Balban. This new aristocracy was not obsessed with racial superiority but was rather a reaction against the existing Ilbari Turkish oligarchy. Under the Khaljis there were thus two groups of nobility old and new but the exclusive class spirit of old and the new gave way to cordial relations between them. The Tughlaqs made this class more broad by appointing men of efficient persons. With the accession of the Lodhis to power, the Afghan element of the nobility was strengthened. The Afghans from various tribes began to swell the ranks of the aristocratic class. Most of the Iqtas were bestowed on the Afghan nobles, although social consideration did not prevent the non-Afghans from holding important positions in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{37}

The next class of the society was ahl-i-qalam that was a part of aristocracy having considerable influence in society. This class was consisted of the men who do not exercise political power but exerted considerable influence on the society and government. This group included the ulema or the Islamic Jurists, distinguished men of letters. Judicial officials, Qazis, Saiyyads, poets and leaders of religious thought like the Brahmans.

The ulema constituted a very influential section of urban society in the Punjab. They held high esteem on account of their religious learning. In the Islamic tradition, they were looked upon as even greater than the Sultan. Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, pp.119-120.
\textsuperscript{37} A.Rashid, \textit{op.cit.}, p.18.
Shahi declares that the best kings and nobles are those who visit the *ulema* and the worst *ulema* are those who visit the doors of the kings and nobles. 38

Anybody who had acquired religious knowledge up to a generally accepted and prescribed standard 39 could become an *alim* though his prestige and influence over the people depended on personal piety and devotion to learning.

The tradition classified *ulema* into two categories, the *ulema-i-akharat* and *ulema-i-duniya*. The distinction was made in their attitude towards worldly affairs. The *ulema-i-akharat* led abstemious life of pious devotion to religious learning and eschewed from materialistic pursuits and political affairs. The *ulema-i-duniya* on the other hand aspired for wealth and worldly prestige. They mixed freely with Sultans and bureaucracy and gave them moral support in their actions, good or bad. 40 After completing his formal education, an *alim* usually devoted himself to teaching work in *maqtabs* or *madrasas*, for instance, Minhaj-ul-Siraj was appointed as principal of *madrasa-i-Firuz* which was founded by Nasir-ud-din Qubacha in the Punjab and named it after Firuzkuh. The *ulema* generally held office in the religious and judicial departments. They were appointed as *Qazi*, *mufti*, *muhtashib*, Imam, *katib*, *sadr-i-jahan* or *sadr-us-sadur*, *Sheikh-ul-Islam* 41 or *Qazi-i-mamalik*. 42

I.H. Qureshi writes that it was considered necessary to have a *Qazi* in every town of any dimensions that the first administrative business always included his appointment. 43 The Qazis were mainly concerned with Islamic law or civil litigation. The main function of the Qazi was to settle civil disputes either belonged to provincial cities or *qasbas*. In the Punjab, Qazi Abdullah was appointed at

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38 K.A.Nizami, *op.cit.*, p.150.
39 The part of the syllabus of Medieval Indian institutions were *Tafsir* (Exegesis), *Hadis* (Tradition of Prophet), *Fiqh* (Islam law), *Usul-i-Mantiq* (principal of Islamic law), *Taswewaf* (mysticism), *Adab* (literature), *Nahw* (grammar), *Kalam* (scholasticism), *Mantiq* (Logic).
41 *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was in charge of ecclesiastical affairs. Some eminent saints were given this title though they had no specific duties or function in State.
42 *Qazi-i-Mumalik* was the highest judicial authority after Sultan and was responsible for the proper working of the judicial institutions usually the office of *Sadr-i-Jahan* and *Qazi-i-Mumalik* were give to same perso. Minhaj hold these two offices on three occasions. However he was known as *Sadar-i-Jahan*.
43 I.H.Qureshi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p.152.
Ajodhan,\textsuperscript{44} Sharaf-ud-din\textsuperscript{45} and then after Jamal Multani at Multan, Rukn-ud-din at Sumana, Sad-ud-din at Karori. Where there was a mosque, it must have Imam and katib. Only well read scholars were appointed as katibs and Imam in the Punjab. Qubacha appointed Awfi who was an erodent scholar, royal Imam and katib. He delivered a khutbah in Arabic on the occasion of I’d ul’ Fitr. Shiekh Jamal Hansvi who had acted as katib of Hansi for sometimes was also well versed in Arabic. The Delhi Sultan often conferred the land grant for their livelihood as the member of the religious classes including theologians and saints. Ghaznavid and Ghorid Sultans had conferred land grants (Imlak) among members of the religious intelligentsia. Qutb-ud-din Aibak confirmed the grants on the names of the existing grantees and the imposition of land revenue on such grants was abolished. He also announced the financial assistance which was being received by the theologians, jurists, reciters of the Quran, sermonizer and preacher would be continue to them as it were in the past.\textsuperscript{46} Although these measures were being taken to secure their loyalty and he also offered the assurance of peace and security to the ordinary people. Mahru also gives all possible information regarding the land grants conferred on this class in Multan.\textsuperscript{47}

Mahru considered the grants as an instrument of expansion of agricultural land. He says that he placed this religious grantee in properly settled villages where some lands were cultivated and other were not. The grants had been delineated in such a manner that during the year of famine they did not suffer owing to a rise in grain prices. They were expected to meet their household needs from the income yielded by cultivated lands where as remaining lands were supposed to be utilized for effecting improvements in the total grants.\textsuperscript{48}

The last or the third class of urban society was Awam-i-Khalq. It had included the entire indeterminate city crowd like the shopkeepers, the clerks and the petty traders.

\textsuperscript{44} Qazi Abdullah appointed a Katib for Friday namaz. One day a disciple of Farid point out a mistake in Friday prayer committed by this Katib so all the presented people re-offered their prayers. Qazi Abdullah took it as a personal insult and abused, the Sheikh quietly left the mosque with his disciples.

\textsuperscript{45} Sharaf-ud-din was Qazi of Multan during the reign of Qubacha. He joined with Sheikh Bah-ud-din Zakariya in writing a letter to Ilutmish inviting him to attack Multan.

\textsuperscript{46} Fakr-i-Mudabir, op.cit., pp.250.

\textsuperscript{47} Ain-ul-Mahru, op.cit., p.393.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., p.394.
Slaves owned by the Sultans and the nobility formed an important section of *awami-khlaq*. In the Punjab, a large merchant community had emerged in Multan. Barani chose to be scornful of the mercantile antecedents of Himd-ud-din, a minister of Ala-ud-din Khalji. He used the words, the son of *Multani (Multani bachcha)* as appropriately opprobrious for them. The term “Multani” was commonly used for the traders of both communities the Hindu and Muslim. It is noted in a Persian dictionary *Bahar-i-Ajam* that in *Wilayat* (India’s neighboring Islamic countries) a Hindu is called Multani, for the reason that most Hindus residing in Iran are from the city of Multan. Barani’s reference to Multani at Delhi makes it obvious that many of them had now moved from Multan to Delhi. The famous Palam *baoli* inscription of 1276 C.E. in Sanskrit commemorates a step-well built by one Uddhara, a wealthy citizen of Delhi whose father Haripala migrated from Uchchapuri (Uchch). Uddhara built many *dharmashalas* or free inns and obtained the title of “*Thakkura.*”

Irfan Habib shows that the probability of that Multanis might be Khatris, the members of the well-know mercantile caste of the Punjab. J.S Grewal also noted Khatri community in city of Batala. He wrote that Guru Nanak’s father-in-law, Mula, who was a Chauna Khatri of Pakhoke had settled in Batala by the 1480’s. The Khatris appeared to have emerged as an important social group during 14th century. Having acquired proficiency in accountancy and arithmetic, they were employed in revenue department under Khizr Khan Saiyyad and his successor Mubarak Shah. The Khatris enjoyed high position in Delhi. Similarly, they supervised the financial administration in the province during the Lodhi period.

Ala-ud-din provided the sum of 20 *laics* of *tankas* from his treasury to rich Multanis to enable them to bring high value goods regularly from distant parts of the country to Delhi. The nobles of Delhi also took loan from Multan traders. Regarding the time of Balban, Barani writes:

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The Multanis and Saha of Delhi who have acquired such riches have done so. Owing to the establishments of the old commanders and nobles of Delhi, for they took loans from Multanis and Saha beyond all limits paying their creditors from revenue of their Iqtas not only the principal sum but also extra rewards. Whenever a high noble (Khan) or commander held a celebration and had great men as guess his officials rushed to the Multani and Saha gave them drafts drawn on themselves and obtained loan on interest.\(^{55}\)

Another mercantile community in cities of the Punjab was vanik (Banya). Two early inscriptions have been found which provide the information regarding this class. One from Sonepat dated 1291 C.E, and other from Naraina dated 1327 C.E. Both belonged to Rohitaka merchants who built wells. Another stone inscription of Sarban dated 1328 C.E, has given reference to a family of merchants (vanija) belonging to Agrotaka sect.\(^{56}\)

For the richer Banya merchants, Barani seems to use the word Sah that was probably a variant of the Persian Shah (king) to begin with and so was an honorific. When Barani compares Multanis with Sahs, he must be meaning by later term Hindu merchants and bankers other than Multanis. The meaning of Sahs must be the same again when he speaks of Muslim theologians and mystics of Delhi as well as the city’s merchants and traders, leading men, Sahs and sarafs and Brahmins presenting themselves before Firuz Tughlaq in 1351 C.E. or when he pairs sahs and sarafs while speaking of classes who who obtained great wealth under Firuz Shah.\(^{57}\)

Next component of awam-i- kalaq was the artisan class. There was a long list of urban workers \textit{i.e.} shoe maker, carpenter, cloth printer, jeweler, tailor, metal worker, ivory worker, potter, brazier, caravan, money lender, garland maker, flourish, barber, oil miller, brewer, weaver, betel leaf seller, tin worker, milkman, Ahir, juggler, musician, etc.\(^{58}\) We have indirect evidence to know about various crafts working in urban society. For instance, the occupational groups on which Firuz Shah remitted taxes were the flower seller, betel leaf seller, grain transporter, weight man (Kayali), indigo maker, fishmonger, cotton carder, roasted gram and meat seller.\(^{59}\) J.S. Grewal in the city of Batala attested above-mentioned artisan class, for instance,

\(^{55}\) \textit{Ibid}, p.207.
\(^{56}\) Pushpa Prasad, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.15-18.
\(^{57}\) Irfan Habib, \textit{Economic History of Medieval India},1200-1500, p.132.
\(^{58}\) K.M.Ashraf, \textit{Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan}, p.142.
he mentioned the artisan class of the tailor, the dyer, the porter, the washer man, the
tentmaker, the mason, the fisherman, the oil presser, water carrier, the cobbler, the
ironsmith, the chhapagar, the baghban and the saiqalgar. The weavers of Batala
may also be added to this list.\textsuperscript{60} Artisans as well as traders and shopkeepers came to
Batala for permanent residence and developed it a middle size urban centers.

Mukund Ram points that the Golas did not observe roza or namaz, obviously these
were newly converted Hindus. Paper makers were called Kagcha and bow-maker
tirkar, rangrez colored and painted clothes and wore red colored headgear. The
weavers were called Jullahs and who performed the work of circumcision were
called Hajjam, beef-seller were called Kassai, butcher qassab. There were also
gandalers and beggars who moved from one place to another. About cap makers,
Amir Khusrau says that some caps were so light they could be blown off even by
faint breeze while some others were heavy and some cobbler made soft and fine
shoes and a few others made such soles that made the feet swollen. Blacksmiths who
were masters of their crafts, manufactured fine flexible swords. Needle workers
made thin thrones like needles, Muslim weavers or Jullahs turned out fine fabrics.\textsuperscript{61}
Mahru also attested the classes of tailors, weavers and other artisans in Multan. He
also mentioned the labors for their works.\textsuperscript{62}

The presence of above mentioned artisan class of the period may be attested from
contemporary qissas and folk legends, for instance, weaver was found in qissa of
Hir and Ranzah. Hir was advised by a Qazi Shamsuddin to stay at home and spin the
yarn.\textsuperscript{63} Ranjah’s sister-in- low, Lali was taunted about Ranzah at female spinning
parties.

These professions almost exclusively belonged to low caste neo-coverts. High caste
Hindus and foreign Muslims looked down upon them. The foreigners especially

\textsuperscript{60} J.S.Grewal, op.cit., p.127.
\textsuperscript{61} Amir Khusrau, Izaz-i-Khusravi vol.iv, pp.45-48.
\textsuperscript{62} Ain-ul-Mulk, op.cit., p.385.
\textsuperscript{63} Ishwar Dayal Gaur, Society, Religion and Patriarchy : Exploring Medieval Punjab through Hir Waris ,
were not prepared to treat them on equal term at all. Ziya-ud-din Barani a confirmed believer in the social superiority of the Turks recommends:

The law born, who have been enrolled for practicing the baser arts and the meaner professions are capable only of vices so they are called low-born bazaar people, base, mean, worthless, plebian, shameless and dirty birth.64

Indeed, all neo-Muslims were called by the generic but contemptuous term Jullahs. Surely all the converts could not come from the weaver caste but the word Julla became synonymous with the despised low born Indian converts.65 He could only pray and hope for better days. He even dreamt of becoming elite by thinking that last year, he was a Jullaha, this year a Shiekh, and the next year if the harvest be good, shall be a Saiyyad.66

Other components of the urban population were domestic servants and slaves whose number was quite large. As an institution, slavery had an ancient tradition in India and its existence on the eve of the Ghorian conquests is well documented. During Sultanate period, in the Punjab slaves were captured by force in a large number as the Sultan’s armies invaded territories. For instance, in 1205-06 C.E, Muhammad Ghori led a campaign to northwest Punjab against Khokhars. The booty in the form of slaves was so large that five slaves were sold for a dinar.67 In 1354 C.E, Nasir-ud-din at Delhi related an anecdote of the time of Shiekh Farid when he was in vicinity of Ajodhan, a village was sacked by local governor (Mughti) who enslaved its inhabitants. Irfan Habib estimated that number of male and female slaves within Sultanate exceeded half a million at the very least.68 But the size of slave population in the Punjab cannot be estimated anyhow.

There was so much domestic work to be done by slaves. An Indian slave girl had to light the fire, to cook and lay out the meal for master and fetch water carrying it in

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65. K.S.Lal, Early Muslims in India, p.120.
66. Ibid, p.121.
68. Irfan Habib, Economic History Medieval India, 1200-1500, p.106.
pitcher on her head. Another task assigned to slave girls was the milling of grain which was usually done by rotary hand mill. Ordinary male slaves too had much physical labor to do like carrying their master in palanquin (dola). Men slaves were also employed in non-domestic work. Firuz Tughluq had trained about 12,000 of his slaves in different crafts so that they could be set to work in almost all the royal workshops and departments.

The liberation of slaves in Islam was looked upon as highest act of virtue entitling the master to a special reward in the next world. Ibn Battuta tells us that Muhammad Tughluq had fixed Wednesday for freeing male slaves, Friday for freeing female slaves and Saturday for marrying male slaves to female slaves. If free labor became available in a large number and the master found hiring such labor more profitable then he might prefer to abandon his slaves by simple acts of manumission.

Changes in the food habits, dresses and ornaments:

The Muslims as newcomer brought about tremendous changes in dresses and manners of food habits indeed in every sphere of social life of urban people. Alberuni writes, “the Hindu eats singularly one by one”. He says that they do not make use of remainder of a meal. Ibn Battuta also came across such people in Sindh “the people known by the name of Simarah do not eat with any one and no one must look at them when they eat.” Obviously, in such a society there could have been no inns, shops or hotels like establishments or restaurants. But meat was an important item of food of Muslims. The consumption of the meat and sweet meat called halva by Muslims, rich and poor alike led to the setting up of bakeries, restaurants, shops of butchers and confectioneries (called dukanha-i-tabbakhan-o-halva-iyani) in the urban centers. The Sultan and nobles maintained large kitchens

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69 Hamid Kalander, Khair-ul-Majalis, edited by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, p.93.
72 Ibn Bautta, op.cit., p.449.
73 Irfan Habib, Economic History Medieval India,1200-1500, p.109.
74 Alberuni, Abu Rehan, Tahkikat-i-Hind, English translated by E.C.Sachau, as Alberuni’s India, p.518.
(matbakhs), while travelers especially traders and others bought cooked food from the shops.  

The abundance of public bakeries where almost every kind of cooked food and raw victuals was available at reasonable prices became important features of urban social life during Sultanate period. Their existence was opposed to cooking and eating items of Hindus who attached peculiar sanctity to their choukas. 

Shihab-ud-din-al-Umari stated that the different kinds of food were sold in the bazzars such as roasted meat, mutanjan (a preparation of rice, sweet and saltish both mixed with meat), fried meats, sweet meats, sixty five kinds of juice of fruits and sharbats (sweet drinks) of nice quality that hardly be found anywhere. The different kind of halvas i.e. halva of the gazer (made of carrots with dry fruits, herbs and saffron) cooked during the winter. A piece of information contained in Fawaid-ul-Fuad shows that various ingredients were so mixed in cooking that a dish could hardly be recognized before one tasted it. 

The flesh of goat, pigeon and chicken was taken. According to the author of Maslik-ul-Absar, the general food of Muslims contained beef and goat flesh. Beef and mutton were sold at the same price as six seers for a dirham Sultani. But in the Punjab, as Ibn Battuta referred to the eating of the flesh of slaughtered horse was in use. A party of Turks who accompanied him from Abhohar to Ajodhan used to eat the flesh of slaughtered horses. Timur also mentioned the eating of swine’s flesh by the people of Sirsa. 

On the other hand, Indian dish of khicheri had also become quite popular among the Muslims who began to take it for breakfast like the Hindus. They cooked it, as says Ibn Battuta, ‘Munj’ (Moong pulse) with rice and eat with ghee (clarified butter) which Hindus called kisri (khicheri) and had it as breakfast regularly. The sources of information regarding the reign of Firuz Shah tend to suggest that the aforesaid dishes both foreign and Indian that the Muslims immigrant had adopted and became

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77 B.Nijjar, op.cit., p.162.  
80 Ziya-ud-din Barani, op.cit., p.171.  
81 Al-Umari, op.cit., pp.331-332.  
The essential feature of food in Indo-Muslim culture in the urban centers, for instance, *khicheri* though a common dish was cooked in the royal as well as the noble’s kitchen.\(^{85}\) Again, with the coming of the Muslims, where they had settled a large number of flourmills, ovens and curries began to find in every quarter of the towns and cities. The bread, meat and meat soup were easily available in shops. In Balban’s reign, baked bread was used to sell at two *seers* for *Jitals*. Obviously, public bakeries and cooking houses had sprung up in the 13\(^{th}\) centuries.\(^{86}\) The last item to be served at dinner or daily meal was the betel leaf, referred to as *bira-i-tanbul* or simply *pan* by sources. Originally, the Muslims did not know the use of betel leaves which they used and eventually became addicted to it when came in contact with Hindus.\(^{87}\) The *pan* sellers and *kassais* in the towns were converted to Islam in order to increase their sales in the urban centers.\(^{88}\) This was the great change in the food habits of the people in urban centers, yet, Babur on his arrival in India wrote, “there was no good flesh, no grapes or musk, melon …no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in the bazaars.”\(^{89}\) At one place he also said, “everything in Hindustan is in the Hindustani way neither Hindu nor Muslim.”\(^{90}\)

The Hindus used to dress scantly, usually they wore *dhotis* which Alberuni writes “they used the turban and trouser….,” but those who liked much dresses wore trouser lined with cotton *kurta* and had dressed also both.\(^{91}\) Barani and Ibn Battuta say that the Hindus preferred white color.\(^{92}\) Later on, from the description of dresses manufactured in *karkhana* as given by Shams Siraj Afif, the clothes seemed to have been made up of many colors and varieties. The important fact is that in Hindu

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\(^{86}\) Hasan Sizji, *op. cit.*, p.100
\(^{87}\) As Khuashanis are so sluggish as not be able to distinguish between *pan* and graces ,it required taste to do .
\(^{88}\) M.Habib, *op. cit.*, p.76.
\(^{89}\) Babur, *op. cit.*, p.518.
\(^{90}\) *Ibid*, p.518.
\(^{91}\) Alberuni, *op. cit.*, vol.i, p.50
society, saints did not wear in very fine clothes. Hindu ascetics wore only linan clothes or put on a simple sheet of unsown cloth around themselves. But Muslim saints dressed very well often in long flowing silk robes. Sheikh Qutb-ud-din Saiyyad Hussain Kirmani used to put on garments of finest Chinese silk and kamkhawabs and his mouth was always full of pan.\(^93\) Alberuni writes that the Hindus of northwest had a great hatred for the Muslim dresses. He described the exploitation of Hindu king of the Indus. He had contrasted the Hindu dress to the Muslim one. The revengeful Hindu king having vanquished his betrayer forced his enemies to wear Muslim dress as the punishment for their treachery.\(^94\) Due to contact with the Arabs and then after Turks a new dressing sense emerged and developed in the urban centers of the Punjab. In the matter of dressing, there was no uniformity among the various social and religious groups.\(^95\) The people of Sindh and Multan resembled in their dresses with the people of Iran as these cities came in contact with the Arabs first. Likewise, the upper class of Arab population adopted the dresses of the Hindu ruling class of Indians.\(^96\) The Hindu turban became popular among Muslims of upper class in the towns and qasbas. The Hindu aristocracy followed the Muslim nobility in their dresses if one removed the sectarian marks or some distinctive ornaments of the Hindu upper classes; it was very hard to make a distinction between Hindu and Muslim nobleman.\(^97\) In the Punjab, Muslim wrapped the turban from right to left. While draping shawl in their court, they used to leave right shoulder uncovered. This is how shawl is worn even today. As far as Muslim women are concerned, they wore the nose rings and jhoomers on their head on the left side as do the Hindu women.\(^98\) But with the growth of towns with all their attractive features and comforts, there was a bound to be great mobility in cities that now depended for certain commodities of luxuries which were perhaps unknown to them previously.\(^99\) This development may be inferred from the talk between Ala-ud-din Khalji and Qazi Mughis-ud-din of Bayana recorded by Ziya-ud-din Barani in

\(^{93}\) Amir Khurd, *Sirar-ul-Auliya*, edited by Chranji Lal, p.188.  
^{97}\) K.M Ashraf, *op.cit.*, p176.  
^{98}\) Alberuni, *op.cit.*, p.20-21  
^{99}\) H.C.Verma, *op.cit.*, p.163
Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi. The Sultan told the qazi that the khutts and muqadams rode on the beautiful horses, wore elegant dresses and used Persian bows.\textsuperscript{100} Although, the reference was made in a different context but it indicated the extent of dependants of the upper caste Hindus on urban centers for their foreign taste. New dresses were introduced for every class of urban population. There was no special uniform for a soldier whose arms alone distinguished him from other people. The royal slaves were conspicuous of use of a waistband, a handkerchief in their pocket, red shoes and the ordinary kullah. The official garments usually were signet rings of a silver or gold on their fingers.\textsuperscript{101} The average custom of Muslim women in urban centers consisted of a sheet of cloth called chader or fine sheet of muslin (not unlike the modern saari), veil called naqab or gugant, trouser called suramil in Arabic and izar in Persian, salwar maqna ( worn over head reaching to ground ).\textsuperscript{102} The bodies or chola with short sleeves going back down to the waist with an additional angiya, brazier of the dark color were worn by grown up maiden and women.\textsuperscript{103} In the Punjab, the salwar (trouser worn by both men and women) and kuledar turban has been common dresses. The loose turban, kurta and salwar is still available in Uzbekistan, Kabul, Peshawar and Lahore museums.\textsuperscript{104} Babur in his memoirs describes sarree as a cloth on one end of which goes around the waist and the other is through over the head.\textsuperscript{105} The nobles belonged to the ranks of Sultan peers. Their official dress consisted of a kullah for headdress, a tunic worked in brocade, velvet and white belt. In private, the noble usually wore a short Hindu turban, ordinary shirt, trousers and underwear of the muslin or some other fine material was used. Sleeping suits were used and were commonly changed every day.\textsuperscript{106} Hasan Nizami refers to apparels apparently used by Sultans, princes and the nobles such as, Diba-i-Haft-Rang (variegated brocades of seven colors), Biast-i-Zamuraddi (emerald colored apparel), Jama-i-Unnabi (carnation color of garment), Libas-a-Parniyan (a garment of painted Chinese silk cloth), Jama-i-Zarabaft (a robe of brocade of cloth.

\textsuperscript{100} Ziya ud din Barani , Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi, Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi, Khalji Kalin Bharat, p.70.  
\textsuperscript{101} A.Rashid, op.cit., p.54  
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., p.56.  
\textsuperscript{103} K.C.Aryan, The Cultural Heritage of the Punjab, p.22.  
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid. p.23.  
\textsuperscript{105} Babur, op. cit., p.519.  
\textsuperscript{106} A. Rashid , op.cit., p.53.
of gold), Zama-i-Sanjab (a fur dress), Libas-i-Bahman (an apparel of fine silk interwoven or painted with flower), Khaftan-i-Kaba (a vest woven under a close cloak of pistachio or sea green color), Tailism (the end of turban of a sash hanging down behind like a lappet also a hood). The verity of dresses is nowhere as striking as among the religious classes of Muslims. The ordinary orthodox Muslim was only anxious to wear clothes of simple material like linen and to avoid silk, velvets, brocade, or fur and colored garments in accordance with the spirit of shariat. His turban was usually of the standard size of seven yards and if there were any ends, they were turned at back. He wore the ordinary shirts and trousers. An orthodox Muslim was very particular in wearing socks and shoes to maintain the ritual purity of his ablution. Guru Nanak is reported in the Sikh traditions to have himself used a number of combinations of the Hindu and Muslim dresses which succeeded him in harmonizing the various distinctive features of each. The nobility slowly evolved a common dress for themselves. Contemporary chronicles and religious literature have made reference to footwear. Barani writes that Balban would not allow his servants to attend his private audience without stocking. Amir Khusrau mentions about moza which means both stocking and boots and kafsh (shoe or slipper high heeled and shod with iron) also naalain (a pair of shoes with wooden sole).

The jewelry assumed a different character especially in urban centers, after the 10th century, the name and style of jewelry underwent a considerable change. Unlike Hindu art which included human, animals, grotesque and mythological figures, the Muslim art laid greater emphasis on designs, lines and colors. As Muslim women inherited property and looked upon jewelry more than an adornment, consequently, fancy jewelry was emphasized. The Muslim influence became more and more marked and abounded with uncut stones and pearls. Both, ornamenting and gem-studding became a special feature of the Punjab jewelry. The nose ornaments came into vogue after the Muslims advent in the Punjab since neither the sculpture

112. Kamla s. Dongerkary, Jewelry and Personal Adornment in India, p.51.
nor Indian literature contained any indication regarding this ornament. The art was
dominated by flowers and foliage, a few birds like the peacock, a sprinkling of fish
and other animals design, the star and crescent.

In the Punjab, the tendency was more towards necklaces with several of the pearls
and chains with rosettes.\textsuperscript{113} Kundan setting with pearls and semi-precious stones
assumed greater importance of noble birth in the towns and cities. In the Punjab,
necklaces were worn by ruling class even before the advent of Turks. Mahmud
acquired a necklace worn by Raja Jaipal and many precious jewels worn by his
fifteen chiefs who were captured along with him.\textsuperscript{114} The necklaces which were taken
off by the neck of Jaipal were composed of large pearls, shining gems and rubies set
in gold of valued 200,000 dinars.\textsuperscript{115} The Muslims also adopted Hindu jewelry in
the Punjab. Both the Hindus and Muslims still wear earrings called murkian. This
was purely a Hindu custom in vogue since the dawn of civilization known as
ekarnabheda samskara one of the sixteen samskara in Hindu rituals. The regions
along with the Afghanistan, might have been introduced by the Bhatti Rajput rulers
or perhaps much earlier.\textsuperscript{116} The Muslim women wore nose rings and Jhoomars on
their heads on the left side as do the Hindu women.\textsuperscript{117} The ornaments like necklaces,
earrings, ankles, rings, bracelets were wore around the arms and legs, nose pendants
broad ornaments, bracelets and amulets were in use in the Punjab during the period.
The references of the bracelets are mentioned in the qissa of Mirza and Shahiba,
Shahiba\textsuperscript{118} says to Karma Brahman messenger:

\begin{quote}
“I will give thee bracelet for the wrists and orm of gold.
When she run away with Mirza, the poet says,
But the pastry remained in the plate and the essences in the begs
the jewels in the casket and bangles and necklace too.
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., p.51.
\item\textsuperscript{114} Utbi, Abu Nasr, Tarikh-i-Yamini, English translated by H.M.Elliot and J.Downson, \textit{op.cit.}, p.25.
\item\textsuperscript{115} Farishta, \textit{Tarikh Farishta} English translated by John Briggs, \textit{as History of the Rise of Muhammad an Power
in Medieval India}, p.24.
\item\textsuperscript{116} KC.Aryan, \textit{op.cit.}, p.20.
\item\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., p.21.
\item\textsuperscript{118} R.CTemple, \textit{Popular Legends of the India and Pakistan}, p.70.
\end{itemize}
Changes in the position of women

With the advent of Muslims, the position of women in the Punjab worsened particularly in the urban society. With the growth of general sexuality and sexual indulgence, an unhealthy attitude developed in all sides. People began to put a much-exaggerated value on the chastity of women.\textsuperscript{119} Being a part of cultural matrix of India, the position of women in the Punjab had similarity with the women of the rest, nevertheless, in some respect it was unique and varied from one social strata to another. She enjoyed considerable authority within the four walls of the house, although her birth was not welcomed addition to family. Infanticide among the Hindus was very much prevalent in the Punjab during Sultanate period. The Ghakkar\textquotesingles were particularly sanguine to kill their daughters at the time of their birth. Farishta writes that as soon as a female child was born, the father who takes her to the door of the house, holding the child in one hand and knife in other, proclaims that if anyone wanted a wife he was at liberty to take her away. If nobody came forward, the infant was immediately put to death.\textsuperscript{120} It is interesting to note that the folk traditions also attested this fact. \textit{Hir and Ranzah} describes stifling, poisoning and drowning as some method of infanticide.\textsuperscript{121}

The word \textit{pardah} is of Persian origin, which literally means a curtain or something that designate screen off. Popularly it was applied to the veil. It also attributed second meaning based on seclusion of woman in separate building or in a segregated apartment or a part of building called \textit{heram}.\textsuperscript{122}

Although, there was a partial exclusion of women in ancient period and women observed a certain veil (what goes under the name of \textit{ghughat}) but the elaborate and institutionalize form of \textit{pardah} dates from the time of Muslim rule. Many factors have made possible the development of the present form of the \textit{pardah}. Most important is that Muslim brought exaggerated ideas of class and racial exclusion and aristocratic and royal behavior and the growing sense of insecurity prevailed by

\textsuperscript{119} K.M.Ashraf, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.135-36.
\textsuperscript{120} Farishta, \textit{op.cit.}, p.183.
\textsuperscript{121} Waris Shah Hr edit by Jit Singh Seelal stanza, 95.
\textsuperscript{122} K.M.Ashraf, \textit{op.cit.}, p.138.
inroads of invaders especially the Mongols.\textsuperscript{123} It became an integral part of social practice of upper and well to do classes among the urban population of the Punjab which meant whole veil covering the whole body, living as the segregated queerer and travelling in close vehicles. It was not practiced in the lower urban class and rural masses.\textsuperscript{124}

The vast masses of peasant women did not wear any shrouds or specially made veil and not lived in seclusion. They moved the lapel of their \textit{sarree} slightly over their face when they passed a stranger.\textsuperscript{125} But their arms and face remained exposed. One thing to be noted is that there was no reference in contemporary folk traditions of the Punjab to this kind of practice\textsuperscript{126} but have numerous historical records of the \textit{pardah}. Fakhr-ud-din Mubark Shah relates the amusing story of a Hindu slave girl of Bahram Shah, the Ghaznavid ruler of Lahore. She fell ill and had to be treated by physician who insisted to examine her personally by feeling her pulse. It was reported to monarch who was upset at the situation and only after many convincing arguments; he gave his consent to view her face and arms ‘if they were not too far exposed to his view.’\textsuperscript{127} Before the time of Firuz Shah, no Sultans of Delhi attempted to enforce \textit{pardah} on the subject of the kingdom. Firuz Shah was the first monarch who forbade the Muslim women to visit the tomb outside the city of Delhi. According to him, Muslim law (\textit{sharit}) forbade such outdoor movement. He writes in his \textit{Futuhat} thus:

“We forbade women to visit the shrines and who ever went would be punished. None, by the grace of God, the veiled Muslims living in the \textit{pardah} have not the courage to go out and visit the shrines.”\textsuperscript{128} A responsible lady, therefore, went about in close letters (\textit{dholis}) accompanied by male attendants. Heavily covered and even

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., p139.
\textsuperscript{124} Ahmad Salim, \textit{Punjab Revisited}, p.250.
\textsuperscript{125} K.M.Ashraf, \textit{op.cit.}, p.139.
\textsuperscript{126} Ahmad Salim, \textit{op.cit.}, p.250.
\textsuperscript{127} As quoted by K.M.Ashraf, \textit{op.cit.}, p.140.
locked letters were used by the ruling chiefs and the higher nobles for their women in urban centers.\textsuperscript{129}

The act of burning of the Hindus wife under the certain conditions after the death of her husband was called \textit{suttee}. The women who burnt herself called a \textit{sati}. Overall, this custom in the Punjab was confined to the upper classes of Hindu society.\textsuperscript{130} The act of burning of woman was performed both with dead body of the husband and without it. If the corpse of the deceased husband was available, the wife was burnt with it, called as \textit{sahamaran}. If the husband was at a distant from his wife or in certain cases, for an instance, when the wife was pregnant, she was burnt later with some articles that belonged to her husband or some other objects that symbolized the deceased person. This was called \textit{anumaran}.

Ibn Battuta who witnessed the early scene of such practice in the province of Multan in 1342 C.E, explained this practice, which was prevalent in the Punjab in the 14th century. Ibn Battuta writes that he once stopped in a town called Amjeri near Multan. One day, infidels carried out some robbery on the highway and the \textit{amir} went out to fight with them in which seven of the infidels were killed. Three of them had respective wives who agreed to burn themselves. Each was brought on a horse, adorned and perfumed. In her right hand, each had a coconut with which she played and in the left, a mirror in which she saw her face. The Brahmans stood around her and relatives accompanied her. In front, drums and bugles were played and timbales were beaten. Each of the infidels then spoke to her “give my greetings to my relatives” and widow replied smiling, ‘I shall’, then procession came to a dark spot with abundant water and trees shaded by thick foliage. When he came to these pavilions, three women dismounted near cistern, plunged in removed their clothes and ornaments and gave these away as alms (to the Brahmans), then each of them was brought a coarse cotton cloth which was unsown and part of which they tied round their waist and part over their head and shoulder. Meanwhile fire had been lit near the cistern and the \textit{Kunjud (saseam oil)} was poured to intensify the furry of flame. The

\textsuperscript{129} K.M.Ashraf, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 141.
\textsuperscript{130} B.Nijjar, \textit{op. cit.}, p.148.
fire was hidden to her view by a blanket held by the men, so that the women should not be afraid. He saw one of these women come up to the blankets, tore it from the hands of those holdings it and said smiling the following words, “do you want to frighten me with 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, drums, timbales and bugles sounded and the men threw on her wood. Shout went up and the noise augmented considerably. During Tughlaq period, it could not performed except under the Sultan’s consent which was absolutely indispensible.” No woman could sacrifice herself without permission from governor of the province in which she resided. He never grants it without ascertaining that she is not to be turned aside from her purpose. According to Ibn Battuta, “the self burning of widows is considered praise worthy 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, she has to put on coarse clothes and live with her relatives as one who is despised for faithfulness. But she is not compelled to burn herself. Guru Nanak had emphatically raised his voice and preached against the detestable practices among Hindus:

“Sati is not she who burnth herself
On the pyre of her spouse,”

Nanak: a sati is she who died with the sheer shock of separation.

It is difficult for Muslims to remain long without being influenced by the custom of suttee or attitude which fostered it. For instance, Ain-ul-Mulk, the governor of Multan who rebelled against Muhammad Tughlaq, when his army was scattered and it was rumored that he was killed, his wife decided to share the fate of her husband if possible to be brunt like a Hindu widow. Some of the upper class Muslim women also seem to have observed a custom similar to suttee that is to enter the husband’s grave alive. For instance, in Chander Bardai’s Prithivi Raj Raso, we find that after

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132. As quoted by B.Nijjar, op. cit., p.151.
hearing the news of Hussain's death his courtesan named Chitarekha managed to place herself in the grave of Hussain. It runs that

\begin{verbatim}
Paryo hussain su patra,  
SuniChitiy chitta Imam sajyo  
ghor hussain sath Karyo  
parvesh appan.
\end{verbatim}

Though, these cases are not sufficiently numerous or general to emphasize the point. On the whole, these tendencies are limited to those who had an aristocratic Hindu origin or lived in Hindu environment.\textsuperscript{134}

Prostitution was known in the Punjab before the advent of the Muslims. The treatise on sexual science especially the \textit{Kamashutra} which is supported to the best exposition on the erotic science was written long before the Muslim’s arrival in the Punjab.\textsuperscript{135} Muslim rulers and noblemen were equally fond of this institution. Ala-ud-din Khalji had approved it and had fixed the tariff of wages for public women. He also circulated an order of prohibiting them from raising their charges above the scheduled rates.\textsuperscript{136} The attitude of the state towards public prostitution was never influenced by the moral or religious consideration. No attempt was ever made to abolish to the prostitution on ethical grounds. The administration helped in regulating the profession which was also a source of revenue.\textsuperscript{137}

A new custom sodomy was added in the upper class of urban society with the coming of Turks. The love for male sweetheart which figures so prominently in contemporary Persian poetry and literature does show an unhealthy sex complex in urban centers. Sodomy was common due to the prevalence of slavery and \textit{purdah} and to the segregation of a part of the population in military camps away from the operation of normal family influences. The handsome appearance of youth had become an object of undue admiration, if not of carnal desire. The relations of Mahmud Ghazni with Iyaz, Sultan Kaikubad with his male sweethearts, Ala-ud-din

\textsuperscript{134} K.M.Ashraf, \textit{op. cit.}, p.158.
\textsuperscript{135} As quoted by B.Nijjar, \textit{op. cit.}, p.147.
\textsuperscript{136} Farishta Muhammad Kasim, \textit{op. cit.}, p.199.
\textsuperscript{137} K.M.Ashraf, \textit{op. cit.}, p.228.
Khalji with Malik Kafur and his son Mubark Shah with Khusrau Khan are well known and not needed any amplification. The practices which were patronized by the people, the contemporary historians did not and perhaps, could not write comprehensively on these practices. Although, Barani dared not to speak even a single word against it yet, we have many references where sodomy was definitely common and ultimately prevalent among the people of the Punjab. Shekha Husain, a great Sufi poet of the Punjab had developed attachment for a Brahman boy Madho Lal who was also greatly attached to him. In spite of his expulsion from the society and public condemnation, he did not leave the company of Shekha. Shekha loved Madho Lal so intensely that to please him he participated in Holi and spring festival also. Babur himself confessed that in leisurely days, he was strongly inclined towards sodomy. He was mad after a boy named Beburi.

Changes in the teaching and learning process

In the beginning of the 8th century, the Islamic education system was introduced in urban life of the Punjab. It scattered through three agencies known as maqtab, madrasas and khangah of Sufis. It appears that the education system was influenced by religion. As the most of the maqtabs and madrasas were attached to mosques or khanqahs (Muslim monasteries or dargah). The maqtabs and madrasas were the institute that introduced an academic atmosphere in the towns which was one of the chief characteristics of Muslim urban milieu in the Sultanate period. With the growth of the towns, numbers of maqtabs and madrasas increased. The numbers of the maqtabs and madrasas might suggest the size of particular town and academic progress of it. The northwestern part of the Punjab annexed to Gaznavid Sultanate which benefited in developing a new education system. Sultan Mahmud founded a grand madrasas, which became famous education institution in Ghazna and other cities of his Sultanate. In contrast to the earlier period, the doors of education were

138. Ibid., p.229.
139. C.M. Aggarwal, Medieval Researches, p.154.
140. Ibid, p.156.
142. I.H.Siddqui., op. cit., 137.
143. H.K.Naqvi, Urbanization and Urban Centers under the Great Maghals, p.10
144. Ibid., p.138.
open to all castes and creeds. The privilege of the Brahman on the education system came to an end. Even the children of low caste converts appeared to have been educated by them, second generation of converts turned into scholars of Islamic science and culture. They distinguished themselves as leading scholars of the Quran and hadiths. Muhammad-bin-Abaur-Rehman of Balmam whose father embraced Islam earlier grew up as distinguish scholar of hadiths. These Sindh’s scholars introduced Indian science and culture to the Islamic world. They carried with them Sanskrit treatises on mathematics, astrology, medicine, etc, which helped the Arabs to render into Arabic. In Indian portion of his territory, ulema were appointed to teach the students. Abu Sad Ghazni writes that the Sultan ordered the construction of mosques and madrasas for catering the educational and religious needs of people in Indian dominions. One of the most important functions of sadr-i-sadur was to recommend the man of learning and merit to the Sultan for state stipend so that they might devote themselves in pursuits of knowledge. For the consolidation of Sultanate, Sultan had established the garrisons at the strategic places in the Punjab with mosques madrasa and khanqah served as civilizing institution in the towns. The occupation of the Punjab by Ghuzz Turks of Ghazni led the elite of Ghazna including the Sultan to migrate to Lahore. With their arrival Lahore became a centre of learning and culture. Shihab-ud-din Ghori emulated Sultan Mahmud in patronizing the men of learning. On his assassination in 1206 C.E., his successors in India followed his tradition in every respect. His lieutenant Qutb-ud-din Aibak to whom the Sultan entrusted the viyalat (governorship of the territory of Kuhram and Sunam in 1192 C.E.) took keen interest in founding madrasas in the towns under his control. Aibak’s successors in different parts of the Sultanate also had mosques, khanqah and madrasas constructed in the cities and towns. Nasir-ud-din Qubacha who had declared himself the Sultan of Sindh after the accidental death of Aibak in 1210 C.E. founded a grand madrasa and named it madrasa-i-firuzi after Firuzkoh.

145. Ibid., p.136.
146. Ibid., p.4.
148. I.H.Siddiqui, op.cit., p.10
149. Ibid., p.11.
150. Ibid., p.461.
the capital of Ghorid Sultans.\textsuperscript{151} The scholars among the immigrants had an international attitude. They travelled to foreign land for the acquisition of knowledge and experience. These pupils in India followed their examples and gained fame abroad for their erudition.\textsuperscript{152} In Multan, \textit{madrasas} maintained by Sheikh Bah-ud-din Zakariya and Qazi Qutb-ud-din Kashani respectively were important institutions that turned out scholars of distinction.\textsuperscript{153} Both of them were widely travelled scholars as known for their erudition. Sheikh Bah-ud-din Zakariya is said to have paid handsome salary and allowances to the meritorious teachers.\textsuperscript{154} Balban appears to have taken interest in the progress of education in each of \textit{thanas} founded along with highways. The mosques were constructed along with the \textit{madrasas} for the education of the children of army men posted their.\textsuperscript{155} Nasir-ud-din Mahmud who himself was a man of scholarly disposition had awarded numbers of scholarships to the learned persons. Consequently, his court becomes a regular rendezvous of literary geniuses. During his reign, there was a college at Jalandhar where Balban and his followers offered their \textquoteright;d ud Juha prayer on their way back to Delhi from Lahore.\textsuperscript{156} This college was known as \textit{Dar\'ul\'Alum-i-Nasiriya\textae} called after Sultan’s name and Minhaj-us-Siraj was appointed as a principle of college and superintendent of it for some times.\textsuperscript{157} When Prince Muhammad, a son of Balban was appointed the governor of Lahore and Multan provinces, he brought with him all the learned men of the royal court from Delhi to the Punjab. His fame as a great patron of education and learning spread far and wide.\textsuperscript{158} His court was the meeting place of his literary society of which Amir Khusrau was the honored president. The \textit{Shahnama}, the \textit{Diwan-i-Khaqani} and \textit{Diwan-i-Senai} were regularly recited.\textsuperscript{159} Hussain Shah Langah of Multan was a man of extra ordinary learning and integrity. He patronized the prominent authors of the day and education received a great encouragement. The

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{151} \textit{Ibid.}, p.427
\bibitem{153} Hasan Sijzi, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.235-236.
\bibitem{154} I.H.Siddiqui, Pir and Murid : a Study of Sufis of Suhrawardi Silsilah in India during 13\textsuperscript{th} and 14\textsuperscript{th} centuries. \textit{The Indian Historical Review}, I.C.H.R, july,1994-95,vol.ii, pp.55, 57, 61-62.
\bibitem{155} Shams-i-SirajAfif, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 452.
\bibitem{156} Minhaj-us-Siraj, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.678-79.
\bibitem{157} \textit{Ibid.}, p.667.
\bibitem{158} Hasan Nizami, \textit{op.cit.}, p.73.
\end{thebibliography}
several schools and seminars were started and staffed with talented teachers. Multan under his rule possessed a superior standard of education. Hussain Mirza, the last of the Langah lineage also seems to have made valuable efforts for advancing education in the province of Multan. The well known scholars who attached to his court were Said-ul-lah Lahori and Maulan Abdur Rahman Jami. Some of the Sufi jamatkhanas (hospices) also created an atmosphere conducive to the progress of learning in the Punjab during 13th and 14th centuries. Sufi’s of the Shuhrawardi and the Chistis silsils attracted intellectual, delivered discourses and held discussion related to religion, meta-physical philosophy and poetry. The jamatkhana of the Chisti saints in Ajodhan turned into a rendezvous for the scholars, poets and intellectuals. The Mulfuzat of Sheikh Nizamuddin Auliya reveals that besides tafsir literature, such as tafsir-i-kashaf, tafsir-i-nassi, tasir-i-usman khairabadi, tafis-i-jaz, and the standard hadiths collections, works on fiqh and Sufi classics both in Arabic and in Persian were discussed.

Madrasas in the provincial cities of the Punjab supplied scholars to Delhi. Ibn Battuta found a large madrasa in Sehwan which was the headquarter of territorial unit. Ibn Battuta also says about the city of Hansi that it is the city of Kamal-ud-Sadr-i-Jahan, the grand Qazi of the Punjab, one of his brother Qutluq Khan the preceptor of Sultan and his another brothers Nizum-al-din and Shams-al-din who renounced the world for the service of the God and sojourned at Mecca till his death.

The Turks introduced the Muslim education system in the towns of the Punjab. The education of Muslim children usually began their primary education with a formal ceremony commonly known as bismillahkhani or the makhatab ceremony. When a child attained the age of four years, four months and four days, the parents formed the ceremony with great splendor and zeal and the child took his first lesson from his teachers. Amir Hasan Sijzi tells us that he took his small child who was to start the

164. Ibid, pp.16-17.
first letter. The great Sheikh wrote on a white sheet of paper *bismillah* and *alif ‘be,* ‘le,’ ‘se,’ ‘jeim’. However, the children of the nobles and other higher classes were generally placed in charge of private tutors for their elementary education. The royal princes were kept under *ataliks.* Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya was particular about the education of his sons and paid handsome salaries to the tutor of his sons. In the elementary education, the study and recitation of the Quran was the principal element of instruction along with writing and simple computation, onward also began the elementary books of Arabic grammar like *Mizan* and *Panjgang.* The higher education in arts and science was generally imparted to the advance students in *madrasas.* Elements of grammar, poetry, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, biography (*Alidithu-i-Anbiya*) lives of prophets and traditions generally constituted the courses of studies for *madrasas.* No doubt, religious studies formed the back bone of higher education as Barani writes that no other science was allowed to be publically taught in the kingdom of Sultan Mahmud except the Quranic commentary (*tafsir*), the traditions of the prophet (*hadith*) and low (*fiqh*) diverted to all false interpretations.165 During the reign of Firuz Shah, various type of *madrasas* appeared to have flourished for various kinds of Ilm or knowledge, *viz, Iml-fiqh,* (jurisprudence), *Iml-qirat* (who to pronounce the letter of Quran correctly), *Usul-fiqh* (theory of *fiqh*), *fiqh-Qalam* (branch of philosophy), *Iml-kalam* (rhetoric elocution), *Hadhis* (knowledge of Muhammadan traditions), *Iml-many or bayan* (rhetoric and prosody), *nahwand, sarf* (grammar), *Iml-nazr* (discussion), *Iml-riyazi* (arithmetical), *Iml-tabbi* (natural philosophy), *Iml-clahi* (theology), *Iml-tibb* (meditation), *tasir* (style of writing), etc.

Students who study these Imls were awarded *wazifa* (scholarship) and they were provided with *nafakat* (food) and good accommodation. The idea of the books of the study in the seat of higher learning had got from the stray references in many places in *Izaz-i-Khsravi* by Amir Khusrau. He has mentioned the famous textbook of literature called *Maqamat-i-Harisi* by Abu Mahaddad-al-Qusim-bin Mohammad-bin-Osmar-Hariri of Basra. Other books on literature were mentioned by him


The works on Arabic grammar and etymology were noticed by Amir Khsrau which formed the chief textbooks for beginners which include *Panjgang* of Mizan Masadir on the subject of lmun, nahv was sarf (syntax and etymology). One can find the mention of Misbah-i-Zariri, Asluba-Zawahir-i-Azhari,, Lataif-i-Zamsh Kharinundu the heading of nahv (syntax). The work of hadith or traditions referred to *Masariq-ul-Anwar* by Hasan bin Muhammad Umari alias Razi-ud-din of Lahore. The most important textbooks on tafsir or commentary on Quran referred to are *Tafsir-i-Zahid* and *Madarik Kashshaf* by Abdul Qasim, Mohammad-bin-Omer-al-Zamashkhari, *Baizavi* by Abdallah bin-Umar-ul-Baizavia and *Minahij* by Mulla Fathullah.


The other books of which reference are found in the *Izaz-i-Khusravi* included *Qanun* and *Kitab-us-Shafa* of Abul Ali Sena,(Avicenna) and *Mujaz*(on medicine) *Ihya-ul-Ulum* by Imam Mohammad Ghazli *Suluk-ul-Muridin*, a translation of *Ihya* by Majd-ud-din Jurjani, *Kalimat-i-amul, Quzzat* (on mysticism) *Kitab-ul-Ghayat, Qasida-i-Shatibi*(on tajwid or correct recitation of Quran) Ikhbar-ul-nayyarahin, *Maqtal-i-Husain*. The system of examination was simple. At the time of test, the candidate who showed their worth were declared successful. The fortunate candidates had to appear before an assembly of *ulemas* and go through a ceremony called *Rasm-i-dastarbandi*, which was something like convocation of today. The main attraction of the function was to fasten a turban on the head of a qualified
candidate who was raised to the rank of an *ulema* or a Sheikh. A larger number of specialist scholars taught either a single subject or only a book. Those who wanted to take lessons in a certain branch of knowledge had to seek the assistance of scholars who had specialized themselves in the subject of their choice.

The *Sanad-i-fazilat* (degree of excellence or efficiency) was given to a student after attaining perfection in particular branch of knowledge of his choice such as theology, literature, logic, philosophy, etc. Those who wanted to take lessons in a certain branch of knowledge had to seek the assistance of such scholars who had specialized themselves in the subject of their choice.

**Changes in the language and literature**

The Hindu learning suffered in the early days of Muslim onslaughts. As Alberuni points out that the Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us and have fled to place which our hands cannot reach such as Kashmir, Banaras and other places and there was an antagonism between them and all foreigners received more and more nourishment from both political and religious sources. Alberuni had the opportunity of conversing with *pundits* at the place like Peshawar and Multan for procuring their help and for buying books in these places. But later on the Hindu left these cities desecrated or destroyed by Muslim arms. In the Punjab, Persian was patronized by Muslim ruling circles and a new language was added to the wealth of Indian literature. Some of *Kayasthas*, Khatriis and Sindhi *amils* adopted Muslim culture, cultivated Persian language and literature, and participated in the administration of Islamic states. They molded their domestic way of living by adopting partly Muslim name like Firuz Chand, Mahbub Karan etc. In the reign of Sikander Lodhi, a Brahman is reported to have been well versed in Islamic learning that he taught Islamic precept to Muslims. The *amils* of Sindh were a hereditary caste of government servant after the incorporation of Sindh.

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to Delhi Sultanate. They turned to the study of Persian. Their Sindhi literature remained fully integrated with Muslim traditions and they wrote Sindhi in the Arabic script.\footnote{\textit{Aziz Ahmad}, \textit{Studies in Islamic Culture in Indian Environment}, p.237.}

The Ghaznavid had inaugurated an era of a continuous process of synthesis between the alien and indigenous culture which was best represented in the beginning of evolution of non-Sanskrit, non-Persian, non-Arabic, non-Turkish, vehicles of communication. They commonly known as \textit{Hindui} but later termed as \textit{hindawi}. The \textit{hindawi} at its base is believed to have been the local \textit{Prakrit} with an admixture of Persian and a sprinkling of Turkish and Arabic loan words. The process of emergence of \textit{hindwi} as popular lingua franca was accelerated by the adoption of a fresh and diffused educational system. With Persian as the medium of instruction, the Punjabi Khattris dominated the profession of \textit{navisindhis} (writers) and accountancy. It may be inferred that they made an advance start in the line. As a written language Masud-sad-Salman, a court poet of Sultan Masud Ghazni, is believed to have composed his third \textit{diwan} in \textit{Hindui}.\footnote{H.K.Naqvi, \textit{op.cit.}, p.9.} Moreover whether motivated by his instinctive political acumen or catholicity of view or partly both, Sultan Mahmud had issued coins bearing the Indian legend of bull and nandi in \textit{devanagari} character. A similar response towards Hindi or rather \textit{hindawi} was made by Muslims. A number of Muslim scholars of Arabic and Persian adopted \textit{hindwi} as their language for the poetry and prose and even for daily conversations. In 13th century onwards, the mystic poetry written in this language came to be recited in Sufi \textit{samas} (musical gathering) and gradually it became so popular that the Sufis believed that Hindu verses were more effective then Persian in arousing ecstasy.\footnote{Shihabuddin Iraqi, \textit{Bhakti Movement in Medieval India: Social and Political Perspective}, p.242.}

In the chisti \textit{khanqah} from the time of Sheikh Farid, \textit{hindwi} came in use. He himself spoke the regional dialect \textit{saraiki} as the verse composed by him. A large number of \textit{hindwi} verses composed by Farid are included in \textit{Guru Granth} and in \textit{Panchavani} with some variations. Hindu poetry of Sheikh Sharaf-ud-din of Panipat famous as Abu Ali Qalander, was filled with love of God and was popular among Sufi \textit{samas}. 

\textit{154}
Amir Khusrau was a remarkable scholar of Arabic and Persian and the first poet of Hindi literature. He was the first Muslim of foreign parentage to make the most notable contribution to Hindawi. Khusrau remained under the patronage of Prince Muhammad for about decades at Lahore where he was the secretary of the literati whom the prince had brought with him to Lahore from Delhi. The students of Persians used to learn it by heart, which did a great service in spread of Perso-Arabic words among the people of north India so it helped to bring about the development of zaban-i-hindvi, Urdu, which was Muslim, devised as a common medium of expression. They developed it into a literary language, was in fact Hindi in Arabic script. This language had remained in fluid condition for nearly two hundred years and attained the status of written language in the first quarter of the 14th century only. How it finally came into existence is a matter of great controversy among the scholars. Muhammad Hussain Azad says Urdu language emerged from the Brij Bhasa dialect of western Hindi and later came into contact with Persian. Muhammad Sherani observed that it grew out of the contact between the Punjabi and Sindhi on the one hand and Persian on the other. The Turks had to give birth by which they could get closer contact with the natives for running the administration of this country and for the recruitment of their army. Hence, it became as the language of the military camp and market. Dr. Masud Hussain says that spoken language of Delhi was Haryanvi, in the early days of Sultanate. He says that when Persian was grafted on Haryanvi, it resulted in creation of Urdu language. The grammatical structure of the language was Indian. It began to have preponderance of vocabulary of the Persian and Arabic words.

The first invasion of Mahmud on the Punjab attracted apart from soldiers, scholars poets and man of arts from foreign countries. Every town was studded with institution of learning to cater the intellectual, religious and cultural needs of new settlers. When Ghazni was seized by the Ghazz Turks, its resident were subjected to tyranny. The elite included scholars of distinction, poets, artists and rich

174. Dr. Wahid Mirza, op.cit., p.258.
175. As quoted by B.Nijjar, op.cit., p.182.
176. Ibid., p.183.
merchants fled to Lahore.\textsuperscript{178} Hasan-us-Saoghani of Lahore was a great scholar of Arabic. He wrote \textit{Mashariq-ul-Anwarin Nabawaiyya} and the lexicographical work \textit{Udab}. Abu Bakr who is known as Ibn Taj wrote \textit{Khuasun-Jawahir-ul-Quran-fi - Bayani Maoni, Lughat-ul-Furqan} and \textit{Jawahir-ul-Quran} on Quranic literature and many, more books on Islamic mysticism. Saiyyad Yusuf, a son of Saiyyad Jamali-ul-Hussain of Multan who lived during great grammarian and wrote several books on philosophy.\textsuperscript{179} The works produced in the Punjab were on religious subjects, mysticism, and grammar. There was not a single Hindu of Punjab who had ever contributed towards Arabic literature during the period.

The most of immigrants hailed from Persian speaking Khurasan and Central Asia with exception of \textit{ulema}, could not understand Arabic so the Sultans and members of ruling elite patronized Persian poets.\textsuperscript{180} In 1014 C.E., Sultan Mahmud’s wazir, Hasan Maimandi ordered that Persian would be used as the court language.\textsuperscript{181} The introduction of the Persian as a state language served as a powerful cementing factor for the heterogeneous linguistic elements of inhabiting area while the bureaucrats, academics and white colored professionals acquired it for utility reasons, the man in the street picked out chaste and apt expressions from the new medium as a more sophisticated mode of communication.\textsuperscript{182} Among the men employed by the Ghaznavid Sultans to the civil and military administration were poets who found in Lahore the tradition of written poetry. Abul Fara Runi and Masud Saad Salman of the Ghaznavid period are recognized as the leading poets of early Persian literature of the world. According to Amir Khusrau, Masud Saad wrote three \textit{diwans}, one in Arabic, other two in Persian and Hindi. Several works of Abu Farj Rumi in Persian are addressed to Sultan Ibrahim Ghazanavid. Born and brought up in Lahore, the poets had an attachment to the land and they composed poems on beautiful rainy season. Welcoming the monsoon, Masud Saad Salman calls it the spring of India that provides relief from the extreme heat of the summer and brings fresh life to

\textsuperscript{179} Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts, Patna as quoted by B.Nijjar : \textit{op.cit.}, p.171.
\textsuperscript{180} I.H.Sidiqui, \textit{op.cit.}, p.27.
\textsuperscript{181} Bahaqui , \textit{Tharikh-i-Sabuktigin},, English translated by H.M.Elliot and J.Downson, \textit{op.cit.}, p.139.
\textsuperscript{182} H.K.Naqvi, \textit{op.cit.}, p.7.
vegetation and imparts sweetness to mankind. Significantly, there are uses of local Punjabi words in Masud Saad Salman’s Persian verses in the *Qasidás*. For example, depicting the scene of the siege of Agra fort by the governor of Lahore, the poet uses the Indian phrase *maramar* in the second line. As the sound came from *churad-az abr be pas-i-divar-i-hisn maramar* from Mahmud’s drum, sound followed from behind the fortification, strike strike. In the line, the phrase *maramar* shows his familiarity with spoken idiom of the Punjab. Tilak a commander of one thousand soldiers whom Sultan Masud had taken into his service learned Persian along with his one thousand followers. He had to translate and explain many administrative matters to the Sultan. Sheikh Husain Zajani was an eminent poet of Persian who resided at Lahore during the Ghaznavid period, Sheikh Ali Hujwari popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh came from Ghazni. He was a great scholar of Persian and Arabic. His famous work was *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*. He died at Lahore. His tomb was one of the most popular Muslim shrines in the Punjab.183 Under the Ghorid, Persian language and literature thrived well, many scholars like Taj-ud-din Hasan, Ruk-ud-din Hazma and Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Rashid who hailed from Iran, settled at Lahore.184 The foundation of an independent Sultanate by Qutb-ud-din Aibak attracted a large number of *ulema* and poets to India. There was Jamal-ud-din Muhammad bin Nazz who is called by Awfi as chief of the poets and scholars though his *diwan* is not extant, his specimen verse contained in *Lubab-ul-albab* bear testimony to his creative imagination. He calls Sultan Qutb-ud-din, the great conqueror of the world to whose authority the ruler acquiesced voluntarily.185

Maulana Bahuddin Aushi was an outstanding poet who came from Aush associated with court of Qutb-ud-din Aibak. Nasir-ud-din Qubacha extended patronage to scholars who came from Khurasan, Central Asia, Ghor and Ghazni after their lands had been overrun by Chingiz Khan. These refugees were settled in different towns and cities of his dominion. Besides, Lahore and Multan, Uchch also emerged as a center of learning and began to play an important role in the spread of intellectual

culture around. Uchch, the capital of Nasird-ud-din Qubacha was called Hazret and became heaven for the poets and scholars, there was a large sprinkling poet in Uchch. Afwi, Muhammad Balki Ziya-ud-din Sijzi and Fazli Mullani were the great scholars of the period. It was during the reign of Balban, Persian had greatly flourished in the Punjab. His son Mahmud know as Khan-i-Sahid patronized the scholars of Persian. He invited Sheikh Saddi of Shiraz twice to his court at Multan. Amir Khusrau who comprised ninety-nine works on different subjects was the greatest scholar of Persian during Balban’s reign and spent the major time of his literary carrier in the Punjab. Muhammad Tughlaq was a great patron who attracted many scholars to his court.

A notable scholar during the later Saiyyad period was Yahiya bin Ahmad Sirhind. He wrote Tarikh-i-Mubarkshahi and dedicated it to Muizz-ud-din Mubark Shah, the ruler of Saiyyad dynasty. He was shia while nearly all other historian happened to be sunnis. The period of Saiyyad and Lodhi Sultans saw further development of the Muslim science including philosophy. Zia-ud-din Nakhsha, the vice regent of Sheikh Farid of Pakpattan, wrote Silk-us-Suluk and Shark-i-Suryani. Some other works are attributed to Sheikh Farid Fawad-us-Salakin alleged to have been the the Malfuz of Khwaza Qutb-ud din Bakhiyar Kaki compiled by Sheikh Farid. Asrar-ul-Auliya and Al-qulab alleged to be the Malfuzats of Baba Farid compiled by Badr-ud-din Ishaq and Nizam-ud-din Auliya respectively. Although, there were separate schools for the study of Sanskrit and Persian language. There were some Muslim scholars who learnt Sanskrit and Persian language. There were some Muslim scholars who learnt Sanskrit and vice-versa. A contemporary Brahman scholar of Persian was pundit Dongermal who was a poet, scholar and professor of Persian. He wrote both in Hindi and Persian touch of Sufi classics.

Firuz Shah had also keen interest in Hindu literature and philosophy. He brought Sanskrit works from the Jwalamukhi temple of Kangra and ordered to translate into Persian. Zia-ud-din Nakh Shabi’s Tutinama a book of fifty-two stories in Persian adopted from Sanskrit is the most notable work of his reign. The Dalail-i-Firuz

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186. H.M. Elliot and J.Downson, op.cit., vol.iii, pp.4-6.
Shahi, a book on astrology and astronomy was translated from Sanskrit into Persian during his reign. The books on music and wrestling were rendered into Persian from Sanskrit. The Muslims became interested in the study of Sanskrit and Hindi. This gave boost to a new language Urdu. Consequently, the roots of empire went deeper and seeds of Hindu-Muslim unity were to bear rich fruits during the Mughal period.

**Changes in art and architecture**

In architectural procedure of both the communities Hindu and Muslim had been accustomed to different constructional principals before the coming of the Turks in India. The indigenous architectural style of India was the trabeate order in which all spaces were spanned by means of beams laid horizontally on the vertical. As distinct from trabeate, the Muslim builders had used the arch as a method of bridging the space therefore there style was called arcuate. The replacement of the beam by the arch evolved under the Muslim influence was only made possible by introduction of new cementing material in the form of lime mortar. The Hindu architecture in which simple and primitive method of placing one stone on the other was in such a position that all pressure was diverted vertical and directly downwards. The Muslims brought into the use of certain scientific and mechanical techniques formulated from their experiences or from other civilizations with which they came into contact in the process of their spread. They applied the arcuate technique to obtain the effect of oblique or lateral thrusts; to resist the stress and stain; to obtain the greater strength and stability. The new materials were economic and wider in range that gave flexibility to builder’s art. Hitherto, the skyline of the buildings was flat or law pointed roof in the shape and brought the spire or sikhara. The Muslims brought an entirely new shape, the dome. This was the change from pyramidal to the ovoid.\(^\text{188}\)

The buildings such as temples, palaces, mosques, maqtabs, madrasas, cenotaphs, etc. erected by the new rulers for religious, civil or military purposes were neither purely Muslim, Syrian, Egyptian, Persian or Central Asian nor purely Hindu in architectural style. The simple severity of the Muslim architecture was tone-down.

and plastic exuberance of the Hindu was restrained. The craftsmanship of ornamental richness and eternal design remained largely Hindu but the arcuate form, smooth facade walls and spacious interior were Muslim superimposition. Although, the differences are introduced for the consideration of purpose and use but the styles are varied according to differences of local traditions and regional peculiarities.¹⁸⁹

Percy Brown argued that buildings erected in India were an expression of the religion of Islam. Therefore, he appropriately termed as ‘Indo-Islamic architecture’ to the Indian architecture of this period.¹⁹⁰

The peculiarities of architectural style as far as Punjab is concerned, it may be inferred with certainty that buildings were constructed mainly of bricks because stones was not readily available in the alluvial plains of the rivers. The broad but thin bricks in shape were used like the Roman builders. This brickwork was enforced by the means of wooden beams inserted in walls therefore, building was timbered framed. These bricks and timber walls were sloped to provide greater stability. The relics of ancient brick and timber structures provided the glimpses of the architectural style that prevailed in the region before advent the Islam.

Besides, the beams embedded horizontally within the brickworks, there were other substantial wooden elements, like notable doorways with window above and overhanging balconies which provided an artistic wooden façade to the structure. To relive the inconspicuous effect of the half-timbered construction, the parts of building were decorated with painting plaster. There were also paneling to glaze in brilliant colors in the building.

In the 8th century, the territory of lower Indus was dominated by Arabs invaders. They introduced the glazed tile decoration imported from Babylonia into the region. The treatment of the timber construction in Lahore was indigenous in origin, the immense projecting bosses and a particular kind of pattern in the carvings are clearly of Suljuqian extraction. Therefore, it may be assumed that Lahore was influenced by Suljuqian origin while Multan had an Impact of Arab and Persian derivation. The

building art produced in the structures of the two cities of Lahore and Multan proposed one style of the architecture of the Punjab. Except these remains of timber construction, there is no complete example of the building art of the period in Lahore but in Multan, there is a group of buildings which may help to throw some light on the style which immediately succeeded it. The Ghaznavids constructed an important group of palaces and government buildings. But there was no information of the style of architecture that the Ghaznavids palaces at Lahore assumed, they were almost obliterated in the middle of the 12th century by Ala-ud-din Ghore.

The earliest extensive use of glazed bricks and tiles is found in the mausoleum of Shah Yusuf Gardez in Multan. The architectural culture of Delhi Sultanate was an offshoot of Asia Minor which was prevalent during 11th century and produced under the rule of Suljuqs. The Mongol invasions led to dissolution of the Suljuqs empire and causing its people to be dispersed into other countries in search of security and support. The men of learning and skilled at construction art found protection under the Khaljis. The Suljuqs form of architecture was brought to India. As a provincial form of building art of Suljuqs had pronounced consequences but it is also important as certain salient features of its composition as from time to time occurred although some of the qualities of western Asia has been detected in the building art of the Khaljis.

The use of squinches and arch of horseshoe shape, perhaps may be impact of the Suljuqs were some features of the Khalji architecture and best represented in the Alai darwaza at Delhi. Such features of Khalji architecture brought about the changes in the regional form of the architecture in the Punjab also. For example, some addition was made in the mausoleum of Bahu-ddin Zakariya. The zone of transition is formed by means of high squinch arches. These squinch arches have elaborate muqarnases. In the exterior, there are two decorative friezes running one upon the other all along the base of the circumference. The lower frieze consisted of

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191. Ibid, p.32.
horseshoe-arched panels is created in high relief. The parapet walls have rows of merlons created in plaster and then embellished with greenish glazed tiles on which inscribed the word Allah… The parapet of the projecting frame also has a row of 11 merlons crowned by two corner turrets embellished with glazed tiles.  

The regional features of architecture also influenced the imperial style of Delhi Sultanate. The tomb of Shah Rukn-i-Alam was constructed of bricks. Owning largely to the building materials, sloping walls and other inclined features dominated the design which was adopted in Ghias-ud-din Tughlaq’s tombs. As this tomb represented the beginning of phase in the imperial style in which a slopping effect appeared and persisted for a long period. The advent of the Turks had direct influence on the town planning of the Punjab. The existing towns were further expanded and significant architectural contributions were made by buildings like mosques, madrasas, tombs and hammams, etc.

Among the contributions of the Muslims in town planning of the Punjab might be noted their beautiful and spacious mosques, their gate-ways, domes, new arches and improved style of walls around the city with watching towers and other military establishments in a more efficient pattern. Their buildings, mausoleums, roofs, tanks, public bath houses and beautiful gardens all went to enrich the cities of the Punjab. During Sultanate period, mostly towns were situated on the banks of the rivers or on the covering points of many trade routes usually on the huge level than their surrounding country for the reasons of defence and security.

The towns were planned as usual on mounds to protect the population from the devastation of the floods. There were two types of towns walled and unwalled. The walled cities were the hub of administration in the Punjab. The city walls and entrance gates were the principal component of the planed city. The forts within or outside the city walls where the treasure were to be kept in safe custody became the residence of the ruler or provincial administrator such as Multan, Lahore and

193. Abul Rehman, op.cit., p76.
194. Ibid., p.70.
195. Ibid., p.273.
196. Ibid., p.274.
Dipalpur. The spatial organization of towns was changed in the Punjab which comprised of *mohalla, kucha, galli, katra, hevali* and *chaajja*. The narrow streets were termed as *galli* and Principal Street of a neighborhood from where *galli* originated were known as *kucha*. *Kuchas* are generally open ended but there were several entrances terminated into dead ends. Gates were erected at the beginning or end of *kucha*. The residential neighborhood or *mohllas* became impermeable when the entry gates shut down at night or some other difficult situation. The houses were planned around communal open spaces. These open spaces were generally termed as *vehra*. The difference between the *vehra* and *katra* is that *vehra* can be approached without any doorways; it is a common place accessible to public whereas the *katra* is purely a private zone. *Katras* or *katri* contains group of houses organized around *I-de-sac* or loop but entry was through a single gateway. When the upper storey of a residential structure passes over a *kucha* or *gali*, the term *chaajja* was used.\(^\text{197}\) Every single house being sanctuary of a family was conceived as a small fortress, composed of a number of independent cellular units, arranged around the common courtyard. The *mohalla* holds higher position in urban hierarchy. It consists of a number of such units linked with a common spine. The city generally had separate living quarters of merchants, servicemen and craftsmen. This arrangement fostered professional fertility and gave a sense of security to closely built communities. The people belonging to specific religions live in their separate zones. The bazaar was the commercial center of the walled city. Each ward or *mohalla* had access to the bazaar where the articles of daily requirements were found. The major bazaars specializing in particular commodity which was manufactured there or brought from outside for sale here, were often known after the name of a particular craft or profession. The town consists of a numbers of such units planned around the different kinds of bazaars, the central service institutions such as *hammams*, mosques and *madrasas* were planed according to their importance in the communities and town. In the period under reference, in the every town, there was a great number of *maqtab*, *madrasas*, mosques and other public utilities were constructed by the rulers. *Maqtab* and *madrasas* were always the part of the

\(^{197}\) *Ibid*, p.274.
mosques. As a general rule, there was always at least one madrasas in each small town but larger towns had several large and small madrasas.

*Khanqahs* and *mazars* were another category of buildings which existed in medieval town in great numbers. With the rapid urbanization and expansion of cities, these tombs and shrines had become integral part of the built up area. These tombs and graves were frequently visited by the people particularly on Thursday. For examples, the tomb of Bahu-al-din-Zakariya, Rukn-i-Alam, and Jalal-al-din Surkh Bukhari at Multan, Baba Farid at Pakpattan, Ali Hujweri at Lahore.198

*Serai* was another building type which used to exist in every town. Generally, the larger sarais were built close to the city gates. The sarais were facilitated with mosques and sometimes temples also. A *hammam* (public bath houses) and a kitchen for the preparation of food were always an essential part of the city. In some cases, *boiles* were also built within the courtyard. Sarais were mostly linked with the bazaars. The town became glorified when the karvans came to a town and halt at the sarai. Public *hammam* is another building type which used to exist in the northern Punjab. The relatively cold climate in the upper Punjab necessitated steam baths to be an integral part of the urban land used planning.199

The Sultans of Delhi also patronized music and their *jashn* were enriched by the presence of famous singers both men and women.200 The Sufis also had a great liking for music and practiced at *sama* which was especially held on the occasion of *ushr*.

**Changes in means of amusement and recreation**

With the establishment of Delhi Sultanate, the remarkable changes occurred in the various sources of pleasure and recreation, especially in urban life. The Turks were settled in the urban centers so these changes seem to have occurred in the life of

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urban elite. The amusements and pleasures of the age were strongly influenced by its military characteristics. Military exercise began to occupy a sacred place in their routine life. People used to carry swords like walking sticks and made skilful use of them when occasions arose. The one aspect of the social life of this period was *razam* or warfare and *bazmi* or social pleasures which were complementary to one another. Every man was expected to be an active soldier capable of doing military duty in times of war. The people of the Punjab always had to endure the most of the invaders. But during the time of peace, they indulged in pleasure, pastime and recreative sports. The Turks brought the new means of recreations and amusements. The games like *chaugan* (polo), Shikar and animal fights etc. were the monopoly of the aristocratic and ruling class of the urban milieu of the Punjab while the chess, *chaupar*, playing card, etc., were popular among the rich and poor alike.

The most aristocratic outdoor game was *chaugan* (polo) from where it soon became popular among all classes. This game has been traced as far basic as the reign of the Sassanian dynasty in Persia. The Turks in the Punjab introduced it. Qutab-ud-din Aibak was fond of polo. Hasan Nizami says that when he was playing polo, owing to collision of horse, the auspicious Sultan fell on the ground with fatal injuries and died at Lahore. The Turks were fond of the game and one of the emblems of court offices was represented by a polo stick and ball of gold. The popularity of the game continued during the Afghan period. Ahmad Yadgar speaks of the playing of the ball by Sultan Bahlol Lodhi when was of seven years old. It might be football in the same form. Both Sultan Sikander and Bahlol Lodhi were also fond of this game. The wrestling was an ancient Indian game that became popular among the Muslims. Afif refers to wrestling competition on I’d. The famous wrestler of Babur was Sadiq who beat another famous champion named Kalal. The Mughal

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emperor rewarded him with a gift of 10,000 tankas, a fine horse and other articles valued of 3,000 tankas.\textsuperscript{209}

Archery became another popular game of the period. Ibn Battuta gave reference to manufacturer of pellet-bows and arrows in Multan when one came with a desire to enlist as an archer in the army. He had to pull a bow and salary of the candidate was fixed accordingly to the strength displayed by him in pulling the bow and if he wanted to be enlisted in the cavalry, he had to strike the drum with his lance riding on the horse. If a soldier succeeded in lifting up the ring hanging on the wall with his lance, he was considered as an excellent equestrian. If one desired to be enlisted as a mounted archer, he had to hit a ball placed on the ground with an arrow while galloping on the horse. His salary was fixed proportionately to his success in striking the ball.\textsuperscript{210} In the \textit{qissa} of Mirza and Shahiban, Mirza was depicted as a great archer.\textsuperscript{211}

Regarding the means of amusements, hunting was an important source of recreation and amusement among the ruling elites of the Punjab. The Muslims brought all these advanced traditions of the \textit{Sikar} (chase) with them as memories of the Sassanian monarchs who were the famous hunter of the age. \textit{Qamargahs} which were the hunting-rings, formed to enclose games in a grand royal chase, were equally important amusement of the noble class, as the region was full of dense jungles and the game was played in every part of the Punjab. There were well-known hunting ground in the Punjab \textit{i.e.}, Sirhind, Machhiwara, Bajwara, Kahnuwan, Lahore, Lakhhi jungle, Dipalpur, Samana, etc. In many of these sports, women joined their men-folk in multitude.\textsuperscript{212} The jungles of Dipalpur and Sarsuti were famous for wild ass, deer and \textit{nilgan} (cow).\textsuperscript{213} Deer, \textit{nilgan} and common fowl were easily found while rhinoceros and wolves were found only in the hills of the Punjab. Almost

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{209} Babur, \textit{op.cit.}, p.339.
\item \textsuperscript{211} R.C.Temple, \textit{op.cit.}, p79.
\item \textsuperscript{212} Ziya-ud-din Barani, \textit{Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi},Hindi translated by S.A.A.Rizvi, \textit{Khalji Kalin Bharat} pp..
\item \textsuperscript{213} Shams-i-Siraj, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.130.
\end{itemize}
every important monarch from the time of the Qutb-ud-din Aibak to the reign of Akbar was fond of the chase.\textsuperscript{214}

Every Sultan had a large establishment which included vast number of trained animals especially for chase. A large area reserved as royal preserves called *Shikarsthan* and *Shikarbak* were full of birds, other ravenous animals and wild beasts.\textsuperscript{215} The *Shikar* department was organized under an *amir-i-shikar* who was usually a noble of high rank together with other officials of the same status. Under these senior officers came minor officers for the care and keeping of royal falcons and other hunting animals and birds known respectively. Under them came a numerous staff of *Shikar-i-dars* who carried the animals and birds at the day of chase. Besides, there were other officials like *tabalbaz* (the drummer) and *yuzban* (keepers of panthers and leopards).\textsuperscript{216}

Balban was also fond of hunting, he played this game mostly in winter and had ordered his officials to keep ready ten to twenty *Shikargh* and *mugrjars* for the purpose. He used to start early in the morning towards Rewari and return next day at midnight.\textsuperscript{217}

Muhammad Tughlaq employed 10,000 falcons who rode on horseback in the chase, 3,000 beats, 3,000 provision dealers and others. Four collapsible doubled stories houses were carried in his train by 200 camels together with tents canopies and a variety of pavilions.\textsuperscript{218} Firuz Shah was fond of the chase, Afif writes that he brought the devastation and ruin in the animal kingdom through shooting an arrow, chasing another on horseback and releasing his falcon for the third on its wings.\textsuperscript{219} Sikander Lodhi spent most of his time in the chase and game of polo.\textsuperscript{220} Babur and his men
did not forget the pleasure of the chase even while they were marching towards Lahore.\textsuperscript{221}

The game of chess or \textit{shatranj} has remained one of the most popular means of recreation in upper class of the urban area. The Muslims learned the game from Indians. Alberuni refers to the ignorance of the Muslims in this respect. He says that chess is not known among the Muslims.\textsuperscript{222} He also refers to the fondness of the Hindus for playing the game of chess. He says that 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 (\textit{fizan}). These five squares (i.e. the one straight forward and others at the corners) are the places occupied by the trunk and the four feet of the elephant.\textsuperscript{223}

The \textit{nard} (\textipa{b}ackgammon) was a popular game among the Sultans and aristocrats which was introduced in India by the Muslims. The traditions mentioned the popular fact that \textit{nard} was brought to India from Persia in return for chess.\textsuperscript{224} Alberuni says that if two men play at \textit{nard}, a third one throws the dice between them.\textsuperscript{225} This game was played on a wooden board square in shape divided into twenty-four squares of equal size. It was played with thirty pieces in two sets of fifteen each set being of one distinctive color.\textsuperscript{226}

The game of cards (\textit{ganijafa}) appears to have been first introduced in India by Babur. Akbar seems to have made certain improvements in the game which became popular during his reign. The old Mughal packs of cards were made up of eight suits, of twelve cards each the queen and jack of the present.\textsuperscript{227} The pack replaced by one wazir or premier. The \textit{chauper}, a game played with dice or \textit{cowries} on piece of cloth spread cross is said to have been of the Punjab origin, seems to have found

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{221} \textit{Ibid}, p.378.
\item \textsuperscript{222} Alberuni, \textit{op.cit.}, p.184.
\item \textsuperscript{223} \textit{Ibid}, p.183.
\item \textsuperscript{224} Alberuni, \textit{op.cit.}, pp.199-200.
\item \textsuperscript{225} K.M.Ashraf, \textit{op.cit.}, p.184.
\item \textsuperscript{226} K.M.Ashraf, \textit{op.cit.}, p.199.
\item \textsuperscript{227} \textit{Ibid.}, p.200.
\end{itemize}
favor with in two common-folk as well as with the aristocracy of the urban centers.228

Speaking from the orthodox view point the Muslim life as a whole had a little room for any kind of social festival but Indian environment and tradition were to react, in course of time, on this rigidity of the Muslim rituals. Although, the form of the orthodox religious congregation remained, their nature and purpose underwent a great deal of modification in the environment of India. Other new festivals were super-imposed on the Muslim calendar which was predominantly social and indigenous.229 The festival of Shab-i-barat follows on the 14th day of Shaban. It professes to commemorate an appropriate legend of Islam, probably, copied from the Hindu festival of Shivratri because the night vigil and fireworks are common elements in both festivals. Some of the religious Muslims spent the whole night in offering special prayers and readings. The distinguishing features of the popular celebration were extensive use of fireworks and the illumination of homes and mosques.230

The celebration of the Moharram and I’d-i-Zuha festivals added a new component to the Hindu religious beliefs and practices. The Hindus also participated the Muslim festivals. If Shias sought to recreate the dual between Ali and his adversaries by pouring water under the Tazias, the Hindu masses in the areas where the Shias predominately made watermen do the same. The Hindu children were made to pass under the Tazias as they passed through the streets as a sort of insurance against ill defined evil spirits.231 During the reign of Ala-ud-din Khalji, on the occasion of festival of Holi, the Hindus and Muslims were invited together in the palace.232 Muhammad Tughlaq is said to have participated in the religious festival of the Hindus. He was the first Sultan of Delhi about whom there is definite contemporary evidence of his participation in celebration of Holi.233 Among other

228. B. Nijjar, op.cit., p.238.
232. Yahiya bin Ahmad Sirhindi, op.cit., p.79.
diversions, mention may be made of music as a favorite pastime. Indian music has a history that goes back to the ancient time. Amir Khusrau writes that Indian music is like a fire that lightens the heart and soul is of a higher order than music of other countries. No foreigner even if he stayed in India for a number of years would be able to grasp its principles thoroughly or even to render a single melody correctly. This music has a peculiar charm not only for human being but for animals also. Deer can be hypnotized and caught by means of music alone. Besides, Amir Khusrau has left behind a permanent contribution to music of Hindustan. He introduced the Quavaali mode of singing for the first time. He is also credited with having introduced several of rags like Zilaph, Sazagiri, Sarpada and others.

It may be concluded that a process of social and cultural synthesis in urban milieu of the Punjab began with the Turkish invasions. A new social structure emerged on the basis of property, occupation, and economic status rather than on caste and religion. Urban society was divided into three classes in which ahl-i-suyuf and ahl-i-qalam constituted the aristocracy. Ahl-i-suyuf included military ranks such as sar-i-khal, sipahsalar, amir, malik and khan. The next class was the men of the pen comprising ethnologists i.e., ulema and Brahmans and litterateurs, mashaiks, in other words, the class of intelligentsia. Awam-i-khalaq was the third group of the social composition which included merchants, artisans and other working class. This structural change further promoted the social change that got reflected in the cultural aspects such as food habits and dressing sense, means of amusements and sports, language and literature, art and architecture, etc. The synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures became discernable, in food habits Hindu adopted some of the Muslim dishes and Muslims adopted the Hindu habits of taking kicheri and pan. In literature, Persian became official language and was learnt by both Hindus and Muslims. Further Hindawi emerged as a common medium of eloquence. In the architecture, Islamic style mingled with the local forms of architecture in which wooden ornamental and glazed tiles were used and thus emerged an Indo-Islamic style. This process of socio-cultural synthesis continued during the Mughal period.