THE LATER MUGHALS – THEIR RELATION WITH
NON-SUFI SAINTS

The history of later Mughal emperors is also of much interest. Though the signs of decline had started to appear after the death of Aurangzeb yet the Mughal authority was all powerful from Kashmir upto the far south. The later Mughal emperors from Bahadur Shah, to Muhammad Shah tried to main the Mughal authority. The cultural institutions at the Mughal court by and large still existed. The later Mughals adopted a policy of reconciliation compromise and toleration towards their subjects. They maintained relations with the religious divines of the time and also patronized most of them by granting revenue free land grants and other concessions.

5.1 Bahadur Shah Ist

Bahadur Shah was a man of high cultural tastes. It is said that Bahadur Shah also used to compose poems in Hindi. ¹ He was fond of music. When a Dutch embassy visited the court, he asked Dutch musicians to perform. Three Dutch musicians played violin, harp and hautboy at night. ²

Bahadur Shah and Guru Gobind Singh

Guru Gobind Singh was not able to meet Aurangzeb, due to the latter’s sudden demise. So, after wards he tried to maintain good relationship with the new emperor. It is said that when Bahadur Shah

¹ Mughal Badshahon Ki Hindi, op.cit. p.58.
marched from Peshawar towards Agra to contest the throne, Guru Gobind Singh waited on him with Munim Khan the Wazir, at Lahore. According to Bhim Sen, when Bahadur Shah, I\textsuperscript{st} after his victory over Prince Azam occupied the throne at Akbarabad (Agra) he (Guru Gobind Singh) obtained a good fortune of presenting himself before him.\textsuperscript{4}

In another version, it is said that the Guru paid a visit to Agra to report to the emperor, the misconduct of Wazir Khan, faujdar of Sirhind. The emperor welcomed the Guru and gifted him a jeweled a scarf and presents worth of rupees. 60,000 rupees.\textsuperscript{5} He was also given a robe of honour and a medallion of precious stones.\textsuperscript{6} The Guru joined the imperial army at Jajau, where Bahadur Shah defeated his brother Azam Shah. After wards he accompanies the emperor to the Deccan. While his stay at Nander on the bank of Godawri. He was stabbed to death by a Pathan.\textsuperscript{7}

\textbf{Bahadur Shah and Banda Bahadur}

Banda Bahadur was a Bairagi, his real name was Madho Das, and he was born about 1670 A.D, at Rajauri in Punch (Kashmir).\textsuperscript{8} He became famous for his spirituality & miraculous powers. He went for pilgrimage to the Deccan, where he came into contact with Guru

\begin{footnotes}
\item[8] Ibid , p. 237
\end{footnotes}
Gobind Singh and became his disciple.  
It is said that Gobind Singh induced Band Bahadur to organize the Sikhs and to fight the Mughals for their cause in the Punjab, So, a large number of Sikhs assembled around him. Banda with a large number of his followers ravaged the township of Sadhaura and a large number villages and towns, later on in a fierce battle in May 1710 A.D, the faujdar of Sirhind Wazir Khan killed and Mughals were defeated. Banda accumulated a large amount of wealth from the inhabitants of the town, and the beautiful town of Sirlind was sacked and burnt. They also devasted other town and villages, including Saharanpur, Thaneswar and parganas of Jallundhar doab.

During November 1710 A.D, Bahadur Shah himself marched against Banda Bahadur and in the beginning of December 1710 A.D, the imperial army stormed Lohgarh where Banda and his followers took refuge. After a hotly contested battle the fort was reduced but Banda succeeded in escaping at night. After Bahadur Shah’s death and due to the confusion of war of succession among the sons of Bahadur Shah, Banda, took advantage of this recovered Sadhura and Lohgarh in 1712 AD, and built a fort named Guraspur near Lohgarh.

Farrukhisiyr soon after his accession to the throne ordered the governor of Lahore Abdus Samad Khan to suppress the revolt of Banda Bahadur. As a result during April 15, 1715 A.D, the imperial forces besieged Gurdaspur, and pressed hard by the imperialists

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9 Ibid – p. 237
11 Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, Tazkiratu’s Salatin-i-chaghta, Eng. Trans. by S.A. Nadeem Rizavi in Sikh History from Persian Sources op.cit. p.p.17-150.
13 Mohammad Hadi Kamwar Khan, Tazhirat us Salalin-i-Chagta, in Sikh History from Persian sources, op.cit. p.152.
Banda soon compelled to surrender unconditionally. So, it was during December 1715 A.D, when Farrukh Siyar celebrating his victory over Jahandar Shah that the news of the capture of Banda Bahadur reached the imperial court at Delhi. $^{14}$ Banda with his seven hundred followers was sent to Delhi as prisoner and executed in 1716AD. $^{15}$

**Bahadur Shah and the Jogis of Jakhbar**

Like his predecessors, Bhahadur Shah also took much interest in the granting land to religious divines. In his third regnal year, the madad-i-māash grant, which was resumed during the 9th regnal year of Aurangzeb, was completely restored to them. So, two hundred bighas of land was granted to the jogis of Jakhbar namely Than Nath, Bhau Nath and Hira Nath, as *madad-i-maāsh*, in conferment from olden times. The pargana of Pathan at that time was included in the jagir of Prince Muhammad Ibrahim; the grandson of Bahadur Shah.

So, a Sanad was issued on behalf of Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim, by an officer Faiz under the seal of Khanah-zad of Shah Alam Padshah Muhammad Ghazi dated 1112 A.H/1710 A.D. It was ordered to the amils of the pargana Pathan of the province of Punjab that in accordance with the exalted *farman* of the emperor, the parwanas of the diwani (officials) and the Sanads of the Jagirdars and the hakims, 200 bighas of land in the village Narnot, by way of *madad-i-maāsh* from olden times was added to the jogis of Than Nath, Bhau Nath, Hira Nath and others.


Therefore, it is therefore ordered that regarding the aforesaid land as in conferment upon the jogis, they (officers) should refrain from molesting them on account of all the forbidden taxes, so that they remain occupied with praying for the permanence of the everlasting Dominion. In the actual copy of this Sanad, the date is torn, and the exact year is not unknown.

In the Jakhbar collection there is another document in the Jakhbar collection of Bahadur Shah’s reign. It is an incomplete document with the seal of Qazi Hayat. It is dated 1122 A.H/1710 A.D. It states, that, in accordance with the exalted farman of the ‘Arsh-Ashiyani emperor (Akbar), 200 bighas of land in the village Narnot, within the jurisdiction of the pargna Pathan had been in conferment by way of madad-i-maāsh upon the jogis Kanchan Nath and others. Accordingly, till the end of the 15th year of the reign of the Khuld-Makani emperor (Aurangzeb), that land remained in the possession and usage of the aforesaid jogis and his followers.

In the 16th year, Hira Nath and his followers went towards Hindustan. This document is torn from this place, so it is not possible to get further information, but it is suggested that the jogis might have gone to the Mughal court to represent the case of the establishment after the grant had been resumed.

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Bahadur Shah and the Goswamis of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan

During Bahadur Shah’s reign also, the Mughal administration took keen interest in solving the disputes of servants and priests of the temples of Vrindavan and tried to redress their grievances.

Parwana of Sher Dil Khan, the Naib Faujdar of Mathura

Kunj Das the Vakil of kishan Priya brought a hasbul hukm the with seal of Rustam Dil Khan referring to his representation that his client Kishan Priya’s house (haveli) had been occupied by Nand Kishor and Bindraban, bairagis, that they were expelled on the strength of Mukhtar Khan’s parwana and the house was returned to her, but now Gobind Charan and Nand Kishor have occupied the house again with the help of Raja Jai Singh’s officials.

The emperor, therefore ordered enquiry and redressal. Sher Dil Khan in company with the qazi and the news reporters (Sawanih-nigar and waqa-i-nigar) investigated the matter and found truth in Kunj Das’s statements. Gobind Charan and Nand Kishor are to be evicted, and Kishan Priya installed. The Parwana is dated 26 December 1707 A.D. i.e the first regnal year of Bahadur Shah’s reign. Another fresh Hasbul hukm issued on 30 December 1707 A.D, states that emperor (Bahadur Shah) ordered enquiry and redressal on the petition of Nand Kishore etc, in which it was complained that Kunj Das, resident of Vrindavan had forcibly, destroyed Nand Kishor’s haveli and possessed himself Rs. 2000.

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18 A Documentary History of Gosain’s of Chaitanya sect of Vrindavan, op.cit. p.149.
19 Ibid – p.149.
5.2 Jahandar Shah

He always took part in non-Muslim religious festivals. On the occasion of ‘Dashehra’ festival he used to see the burning of the effigy of Rawan, and the festival of ‘Basant’ was regularly celebrated at his court. \(^{20}\) Jahandar Shah also used to compose Hindi Poem with the pen name of ‘Mauj.’

"कोन जाने सो मन की बात बिरानी।
भली बुरी बात है जाने वोही बहिवानी।\(^{21}\)

Jahandar Shah, it is said was always eager to have company of religions divines. It is said that he used to visit religious mendicants and kissed their feet. \(^{22}\) His reign was barely of one year. We have a parvana pertaining to the reign of Jahandar Shah; Parwana of the official Asaf ud Daula, dated 1712 A.D, for solving a property dispute between a woman Kishan Priya and Brajanand and Braj Lal, who belonged to chaitanya sect. The parwana is in the collection of the documents from Radha Damodar temple at Vrindavan. \(^{23}\)

5.3 Farrukh Siyar

Though Farrukh Siyar’s reign was of difficulties for him and he faced hostilities from Sayyid borthers. During his first regnal year he abolished Jiziya. \(^{24}\) Despite his political difficulties Farrukh Siyar maintained relations with non-Muslim religious divines and supported them financially.

\(^{21}\) Mughal Badshahon Ki Hindi, op.cit, p.59.
\(^{23}\) A Document History of Gosains Chaitanya Sect, op.cit. p.147.
\(^{24}\) Ibid – vol-I, p.338.
Sanad of Farrukh Siyar in the name of Tula Ram Bairagi

On Zulqada of his 5th regnal year i.e. on 9th June 1716 A.D, Farrukh Siyar granted 15 bighas of rent free land as madad-i-māash in the name of Tula Ram Bairagi in Mahal Sakaddi in Pargana Arrah in Bihar. It bears the seal of Khan i Zaman Khan etc. 25

Farrukh Siyar’s Parwana in the name of Balnath Faqir

In his 6th regnal year on 15th Shawwal i.e 22nd September 1716 A.D, Farrukh Siyar granted a whole village Rampurchand free of tax, in the name of Balnath faqir in pargana Bara, Sarkar Saran in Bihar.26

Farrukh Siyar and the Goswamis of Chaitanya Sect of Vrindavan

Farrukh Siyar’s nobles like Sayyid Abdullah Khan Barha also took keen interest in patronizing non-muslim religious divines. In the 7th regnal year of Farrukh Siyar i.e 1718 A.D, Sayyid Abdullah Khan continued a grant of 50 bighas of land and two wells in the name of Swami Gopal Das, Gosain as madad-i-māash, by a sanad of Kesari Singh in the village Seoni pargana Khandela. 27

There is another parwana of Sayyid Abdullah Khan of 2nd regnal year of Farrukh Siyar i.e 1713 A.D. It is related to solving a dispute over the custody of Raja Jai Singh’s grant of land, haveli and gardens at Vrindavan between Brajanand and Gopinath, of GovindaDeva temple.28

27 A Documentary History of Gosain’s of Chaitanya Sect, op.cit, p.p.139-140.
28 Ibid – p.141.
Another document related to Madan Mohan temple, a chaknama, of 7th regnal year of Farrukh Siyar i.e 1817, regarding the demarcation of 101 bighas of land, granted as madad-i-māash in Basawar by Raja Jai Singh, in the name of Harcharan Das Gosain. It is ordered that the land be demarcated and handed over to the said person. 29

Another document of 6th regnal year of Farrukh Siyar 1129 A.H/ 1717 A.D. this is a certificate issued by Shamsuddin Husain of continuation of grant of 89 bighas and 9 biswas of land in pargama Mathura. It was in the name of Kishor das Gosain S/o Bansi S/o Gosain Das Sevak (servent) of Madan Mohan temple.

So these documents suggested that emperor Farrukh Siyar and his nobles were whole heartedly supported the cause of the priest and other person related to the temples of Mathura and Vrindawan and there was no indication of any types of religious prejudice in these documents.

5.4 Muhammad Shah and his relation with Non-Sufi Saints

Though Mughal empire started disintegrating during Muhammad Shahs period, it retain its identify as a platform of Composite culture in India. He ruled for about 30 years. He abolished Jiziya for ever the instance of Raja Jai Singh in his first regnal year. 30 He was a great patron of art and culture. The art of music developed, and new trends in music were innovated at his court like ‘Khayal’ and ‘Tappa’ and he himself composed music. 31 The festival of Holi was celebrated at the court and he himself took

29 Ibid – p.142.
part in it. There is also a painting of Muhammad Shah playing Holi.\footnote{32}{After The Great Mughals Painting in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th Centuries. ed. Barbara Schmitz, Marg. pub. Mumbai 2002. p.28.}

Muhammad Shah also composed Hindi poems. His famous composition was \textit{‘Barah masa}.\footnote{33}{Mishra Bandhu, Mishr Bandhu Vinod, op.cit, part I & II, p.323.} The art of painting which was flourishing up till ShahJahan’s period, was revived during Muhammad Shah’s period. There are a large number of fine miniatures of his reign.\footnote{34}{After The Great Mughals Painting in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th Centuries, op.cit.}

Muhammad Shah was as tolerant as his predecessors and maintained relation with non-Muslim religious divines. Muhammad Shah also patronized so many religions institutions and non-Muslim shrines and financially supported a large number of non-Muslim religious personalities.

Muhammad Shah abolished the pilgrimage tax levied on Non-Muslim, for bathing in the Ganges. In his 13th regnal year (1143-44 A.H) he issued a parwana through the governor of Allahabad, Mubarizul Mulk Sarbuland Khan Bahadur Dilawar Jang, which states that the tax levied on the Hindu pilgrims for bathing in the Ganges has now been intentionally abolished and this tax should not be collected from any one in any condition.\footnote{35}{S.K. Bhatt, Two Persian Documents Relating to the Religious Policy of the Mughals., IHC, 1975, p.p.360-61.}

\textbf{Farman of Muhammad Shah to Shyamanandi Mahanto Gossain Brindabananananda of Gopiballavpur}

The Vaishnav Gosains of Gopiballavpur (in Midnapur district of West Bengal) enjoyed great influence and command over a large
number of their followers. The Mughal emperors endowed them with enormous land grants and other privileges for the maintenance of temples and propagation of their faith. The farman of Muhammad Shah, dated 1733 A.D, confirmed the succession of Mahanta Brindabandananda to the priesthood of Qasba Gopiballavpur, attached to the province of Orissa. It was ordered that all His Majesty’s present and future servants should be paid as before by the Zamindars and Adhikaris of Zilas and Mahals belonging to that province of Orissa and Bengal and also dues from the capital for the maintenance of temple ‘Deva Seve’ and service to saints and fakirs on condition that he should pray to God for the prosperity of His Majesty’s empire for ever.  

36 Muhammad Shah and the Goswamis of Chaitanya Sect of Vrindavan

Muhammad Shah and his nobles supported the Goswamis of this sect by granting revenue free land and the administration always cooperated in solving their mutual disputes.

Parwana of Qamruddin Khan to Baidnath Brahman the Mendicant

During the 18th regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e. in 1736, Baidnath who was related to Madan Mohan Temple petitioned to the court that, since he and his fellow mendicants were day and night engaged in the worship of God, and other mendicants who were entertained by them had no means of livelihood, Rs. 1/- might be

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levied on each village in pargana Sahar for their benefit, in the same way as Rs. 1/- and annas had been levied annually on each village in pargana Batala for the benefit of Ghutam Qadiri etc, was verified, and the prayer of the mendicants was granted.  

During 7th regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e in 1724 A.D, the grant of 30 bighas of land in village of Dharma, pargana Mahavana, continued in the name of Gopal (Das Gosain).  

**Parwanas of Izzat Khan Muhammad Hayat and Raja Jai Singh to Gopi Raman**

In 1720 A.D, Gopi Raman complained against Nathu Ram, a Brahman of Mathura, that he was trying to seize the land and built a walled enclosure on the land, which, Gopi Raman had inherited from Jiv Gosain at Aritha / Radhakund. So, in order to solve the dispute among these priests, two parwana by Izzat Khan, and Muhammad Hayat were issued in the 2nd regnal year of Muhammad Shah to the effect of solving disputes. In 1721, A.D another parwana was issued by Burhanul Mulk, on the complaint of Gopi Raman, against the intruders into his land at Aritha/Radhakunda.

During 1725 A.D, a grant of 50 bighas of land was conferred upon him, so he (Gopi Raman) describing himself as the son of Damodar Raman, promises to pay Rs. 30/- to Qazi Nur Muhammad to procure Sanad of imperial grant of 50 bighas of land.

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38 Ibid – p.140.
Another parwana of Raja Jai Singh Sawai of 7th regnal year of Muhammad Shah ordering for the restoration of a ‘Kunja’ of Gopi Raman, and the eviction of Nand Kishor. 39

**Parwana of Raja Jai Singh for Kishan Charan**

In 1732, i.e in the 14th regnal year of Muhammad Shah’s reign Jai Singh issued a parwana confirming the grant of 435 bighas and 9 biswas of land held by Gosain Kishan Charan etc, adhikaris (managers) of Madan Mohan Temple at Vrindavan. 40

Ram Jivan Gosain (adhikari of Gopinath Temple). He had a grant of 76 bighas and 2 biswas of land in village Rajapura near Vrindavan, originally held by Madho. It was now transferred to him by a parwana of 1st regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e. 1719 A.D, and the same grant verified as being in his possession by a parwanan of Ray Rajan in the 4th regnal year i.e 1722 A.D. 41 There are so many other document relating to disputes, and the judgement of Qazi Iftikharuddin. During 1739 A.D, Ram Kishan Gosain was entrusted the temple, by a parwana of Raja Jai Singh Sawai. 42

**Muhammad Shah and the Jogis of Jakhbar**

The jogis of Jakhbar also attracted the attention of Muhammad Shah. He granted amounts in charity and land to these jogis for their religious organization.

At first, there is a ‘yad-dasht’ with the seal of Adina Beg Khan servant of Padshah Ghazi Muhammad Shah, dated 1141 A.H/1728-29

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40 Ibid – p.146.
41 Ibid – p.154.
A.D. it states that the ‘faslanah’ (allowance on every harvest) devoted to religious purposes by the entire panchayat of the bazar of the qasbah Muhiuddinpur\(^{43}\) in the name of Gosain Hira Nath, the jogi of Jakhbar. Every body having a shop shall continue to pay one tunkah-i-Alamgiri, \(^{44}\) and no one should object or resist written on the 25\(^{th}\) of the Ramzan-ul-Mubarak of the 14\(^{th}\) regnal year. \(^{45}\)

**Chaknama of 14\(^{th}\) regnal year of Muhammad Shah in favour of Mahant Hira Nath**

From this document it appears that 25 bighas of revenue free land by way of *madad-i-maāsh* was in possession of Udant Nath and Surat Nath in the pargana Domal in the province of Punjab from the time of Akbar and Jahangir. Its demarcation took place at the time of Muhammad Shah. It states that, with the concurrence of the Chaudharies and qanungos and the willingness of the proprietors, the land was duly measured and demarcated with its limits, in the village Jangial and else where. It has been handed over to Guru Hira Nath. So, that he may remain occupied with prayers for the permanence of the conquering dynasty, and sustain himself, harvest after harvest and year after year with the produce of that land. The date given on the seals is 114 A.H/1713-32 A.D.\(^{46}\)

**Sanad of Zakariya Khan in the name of Jogi Hira Nath**

This *Sanad* was issued by Zakariya Khan, the governor of Punjab in the 17\(^{th}\) regnal year of Muhammad Shah and it refers to the

\(^{43}\) A small town near Gurdaspur district and eight miles from Jakhbar.

\(^{44}\) A Mughal coin.


lands and other possessions of Mahant Hira Nath, at Narnot and other places, by various authentic farman and sanads. All these possessions of Hira Nath were confirmed by the order of Zakariya Khan.

This Sanad, was issued with the seal of Zakariya Khan, as servant of Padshah Ghazi Muhammad Shah, dated 1138 A.H/1725-26 A.D. It was addressed to the present and future Thanadars of parganah Pathan, in the province of Punjab. It is stated, that the Jogi Hira Nath was a holy recluse and in accordance with mandatory farman and the Sanads of former amils, the madad-i-māash land and other possession in the village of Narnot and elsewhere were conferred on him. It was ordered that all the abovementioned, lands being rightfully belonged to him. They (officers) should refrain from molesting the jogi, so that he may remain occupied with praying for the everlasting Dominion. It was written on the 19th of Ramzan of 17th regnal year.47

This document suggests that the Mughals continued their consideration for these jogis inspite of political disturbance on that part of the empire.

Muhammad Shah and Arjun Jangam, the Goswami of Jangambari Math of Benaras

The Mughal administration during this period keenly interested in protecting the property rights of different religious divines. This is suggested by this order of Muhammad Shah. The order issued on 10th of Jamadi 1st, 30th regnal year of Muhammad Shah.

It was conveyed to the emperor that the faqir (mendicant) Arjun Jangam, since years past, had purchased a piece of land situated at the back of Ram Sagar Tank in the pargana of Gaya. The inhabitants of the place did not allow him to occupy it. Therefore, it was ordered that the land had been purchased by Arjun Mal Jangam, and nobody under any pretext or reason, should hinder or interfere. The officers of the region were required to see it that he and the other members of the Brotherhood, (Jangams) should be allowed to occupy the above mentioned land as they would do in ordinary times.  

**Parwanas during the reign of Muhammad Shah to different Sanyasis and Bairagis, Deonath Sanyasi**

This parwana dated 9th Ziqada of 26th regnal year, i.e 14 December 1743 A.D of Muhammad Shah Badshah, for the release of the entire village namely Baku lahar, etc. in pargana Majhowa, in the name of Deonath Sanyasi as *madad-i-maāsh*, with the seal of Abdur Rahim Khan.  

**Naryan Nath Sanyasi**

This parwana dated the 1st Ziqada of 17th regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e 25th March 1743 A.D with the seal of Alivardi Khan is for the release of Math Lohiar and Math Mondela, in the name of Narayan Nath Sanyasi, son of Gharibnath Sanyasi as *madad-i-maāsh*. 

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Gosain Balnath Faqir

Parwana dated 25th Ziqad, 16th regnal year of Mohammad Shah Badshah, i.e. 29th April 1733 A.D. (with illegible seal), granting exemption from payment of revenue and other demands, relating to the village Rampurchand, inpargana Bara, Sarkar Saran in favour of Balnath Faqir.  

Madho Ram Faqir

A Sanad dated 1st Rabi ul Awwal, 1133 A.H, 31 December 1720 A.D. (with illegible seal) for the grant of 237 bighas of rent-free land in the village Sleempur in pargana Goa, in the name of Madho Ram Faqir in Exchange of the sum of Rs. 101, granted to him previously, as Khairat.

Seo Ram, son of Aney Ram Faqir

This Sanad dated the 1st Jamadius Sani, 1st regnal year of Muhammad Shah, 10th April 1719 A.D. with the seals of Nawab Ali Vardi Khan and others, for the grant of the village, Noornagar in Pargana Arrah, in the name of Seo Ram, son of Aney Ram Faqir as madad-i-maāsh and also for the expenses of the needy and fiqir.

Kant Gowal, grandson of Maluk Das Bairagi

Sanad of 28th regnal year of Muhammad Shah, dated 15th Muharram, 17th January 1745 A.D. with the seal of Vizier Mamlik-Qamruddin Khan settling the village Birpur Alias Kishnupur in

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pargana Behia in the name of Kant Gowal, grandson of Malook Das Bairagi as Madad-i-māash.\textsuperscript{54}

**Gur Pershad Deo Ram Faqir**

Gur Pershad Deo Ram Faqir complained that undue interference was made by the Amils in holding possession of a land in Gachh Bairgachhi Taluqa Tappa Shahnagar, in pargana Surajpur, granted previously for his expenses. Accordingly, a parwana was issued dated 4\textsuperscript{th} Ramzan, 14\textsuperscript{th} regnal year of Muhammad Shah’s reign, i.e 19\textsuperscript{th} February 1732 A.D, (with illegible seal) addressed to Shaikh Muhammad Ibrahim and it was directed that proper investigation should be made in the matter and the grievance of the faqir redressed.\textsuperscript{55}

**Ramdas Faqir**

Sanad dated 10\textsuperscript{th} of Muharram of 17\textsuperscript{th} regnal year of Muhammad Shah i.e 29\textsuperscript{th} September 1724 A.D, (with illegible seals) for the grant of 45 bighas of rent free land in the village Musapur, in pargana, Dharampur, Sarkar Farrukhabad, Subah Bihar, in the name of Ramdas faqir as madad-i-māash and for the expenses of the needy.\textsuperscript{56}

**Dharani Bharathi, Faqir Sanyasi**

Parwana dated 21\textsuperscript{st} Rabiul Awwal, of 13\textsuperscript{th} year of Muhammad Shah’s reign i.e 23\textsuperscript{rd} November 1730 A.D, (with illegible seal) addressed to Makund Ram for release of land in the villages of Chak

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid – Document No.253, p.64.
Barani and Barah Kona, in pargana Dharampur, in the name of Dharani Bharathi, faqir Sanyasi, as *Madad-i-maāsh*. 57

**Gosain Bharath Das**

*Sanad* dated 15th Jamadi us Sani 7th regnal year of Muhammad Shah’s reign, i.e. 18th February 1725 A.D (with illegible seals), for the grant of the village Bishnupur Gopal, Pargana Bisara, Sarkar Hajipur in the name of Gosain Barath Das as Sarshikan. 58

**Gosain Jagannath Das Bairagi**

The Parwana dated 21st Moharram, 29th regnal year of Muhammad Shah 2nd February 1745 A.D, with the seal of Nawab Zainuddin Ahmad Khan, for the renewal of the previous *Sanad* for the grant of the village Bisambhar-patti, in pargana Marwah, Sarkar Tirhut, Subah Bihar, with exemption from payment of revenues, taxes and other demands etc. in the name of Gosain Jagannath Das Bairagi as Khairat. 59

**Mehr Das Faqir Nanakshahi**

*Sanad* dated, 11 Ramzan, 3rd regnal year of Muhammad Shah, i.e 25th June 1721 A.D with the seal of Muhammad Qasim, for the grant of daily allowance of one *anna*, in pargana Naupur, Sarkar Tirhut, in the name of Mehr Das Faqir Nanakshahi, for the expenses of Sangat. 60

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60 Ibid – Document No. 600, p.129.
Muhammad Shah and Swami Shiv Narayana

Swami Shiv Narayana established his sect Shin Narayani order, in about 1734 A.D. He preached the worship of absolute God (Para Brahma). Muhammad Shah was so influenced by the teachings of this sect that he became the disciple of Swami Shiv Narayana and frequently visited him.  

5.5 Ahmad Shah (1748-1754 A.D)

It appears from some parwanas and sanads issued by him to non-Muslim religious divines, that he was liberal and tolerant towards his subjects.

Ahmad Shah’s Parwana to Saheb Das Bairagi

A parwana dated 2\textsuperscript{nd} Safar, 6\textsuperscript{th} March 1744 A.D, with the seal of Raja Ram Narain, pertaining to the seal of Ahmad Shah. Parwana was issued for the revival of the previous Sanads and release of the village Jamla Parsa, in pargana Babra, Sarkar Tirhut, in the name of Saheb Das Bairagi, as Bishunprit.

A Parwana in the name of Meeti Ram Bairagi

This parwana dated 15\textsuperscript{th} Shaban of the 5\textsuperscript{th} regnal year of Ahmad Shah Badshah, i.e 17\textsuperscript{th} June 1752 A.D, with the seal of Muhammad Safi Khan Bahadur, issued for the renewal of the previous Sanad and release of the rent free village namely Rampur, in pargana Naupur, Sarkar Tirhut in the name of Meeti Ram Bairagi as madad-i-maāsh.

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{Tarachand, op.cit. p.206.}
\item \footnote{K. K. Datta, Some Farmans, Sanads and Parwanas, op.cit. Document, No. 444, p.99}
\item \footnote{Ibid – Document No. 543, p.118.}
\end{itemize}
A Parwana in the name of Bodhi Pathak, Brahman

This parwana dated 1\textsuperscript{st} Shawwal, 2\textsuperscript{nd} regnal year of Ahmad Shah Badshah, i.e 3\textsuperscript{rd} September 1749 A.D (with illegible seal), issued for renewing the previous Sanad for the grant and release of the village Saraiya Bali, Taluqa Prem Narain in pargana Rathi Sarkar Hajipur, Subah Bihar in the name of Bodhi Pathak, Brahman as Khairat. 64

Sanad of Ahmad Shah in the name of Kojanand Brahmin

This Sanad issued by Ahmad Shah dated 5\textsuperscript{th} Rajab of his 6\textsuperscript{th} regnal year, with the seal of Raja Janki Ram, for the grant of the village Kumhral, in pargana Barial of Sarkar Tirhut, with the exemption of payment of revenue and other demands in the name of Kojanand Brahmin for his livelihood as Bishunprit. 65

5.6 Alamgir II\textsuperscript{nd} (1754-1759)

We have a parwana of his reign, of grant of land to a religious divine.

Parwana of Alamgir II to Gosain Mahanth Manoo Ram, Faqir Nanakshahi

This parwana dated 15\textsuperscript{th} Jamadiul Awwal, of the reign of Alamgir II\textsuperscript{nd}, i.e 31\textsuperscript{st} January, 1757 A.D, with the seal of Raja Ram Narain. It was issued for the revival of the previous Sanads and release of the village Bishunpur Maniari Asli Ma Dhakhili, in chakla

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[64] Ibid – Document No. 565, p.123.
\item[65] Ibid – Document, No. 440, p.98.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Nai, in pargana Bisara, in the name of Gosain Mahanth Manoo Ram Faqir Nanakshahi, as Sarshikan.\textsuperscript{66}

\textbf{5.7 Shah Alam II\textsuperscript{nd}}

He also maintained relation with non-Muslim religions divines. Having an aesthetic sense, he also composed Hindi verses:

\begin{verbatim}
अब तुम जागो क्यों न मोरे मीत
पियवा हमारी पीत तुम सन लगी
नींद के माते ‘साह आलम’ सुरज नुमा
भवनुमा सगरी रैन रगं रस पागी
\end{verbatim}

\textbf{Shah Alam II and his relations with the Goswamis of Pushtimarga}

\textbf{Shah Alam’s Farman in the name of Goswamis Murlidhar}

This farman of emperor Shah Alam II\textsuperscript{nd} indicates, that inspite of political instability in the country and despite his insecure position and lack of finances, his act of generosity even to non-Muslim religious divines, deserve appreciation that he considered the case of Goswamis of Pushtimarga, as genuine and supported them with granting land, like his predecessors.

The farman issued by Shah Alam in his 10\textsuperscript{th} regnal year dated 1182 A.H/7\textsuperscript{th} October 1786 A.D, granting Mouzah Rasalpur Alias Gokul in the pargana of Mahaban in the Sarkar of Islamabad (Mathura), in the Suba of Akbarabad (Agra), has been given by way of inam al Tamgha, to Goswami Murlidhar, (knower of religions truth, and acquainted with true knowledge) and his children, tax free. So, it is ordered that all the grandees, Princes, governors and

\textsuperscript{67} A Comprehensive History of India op.cit. vol-9, p.p.57-61.
officers, jagirdars etc. present and future should considered this order till eternity and in perpetuity and they should allow the abovementioned Mowzah, to remain in his possession from generation to generation, eternally and forever. It is exempted from payment of all civil levies and imperial taxes and the grantee should not be molested and troubled on account of tribute or presents. On the top of the farman there is invocation and seal of Shah Alam dated 1164 A.H.  

Another Farman of Shah Alam to Gosain Murlidhar of 13th regnal year

This farman issued in the 13th regnal year of Shah Alam i.e Wednesday, 25th September 1771 A.D. It states that the village of Gopalpur alias Jatipur, connected with Goverdhan, situated in the Pargana of Sahar in the Sarkar of Islamabad in the Suba of Akbarabd, has been bestowed as Al Tamgha and ma’afi (tax free) grant, on Gosain Murlidhar and his children. It is ordered to all the governors and officers etc. that they should allow the abovementioned village to remain in their possession from generation to generation, eternally and forever. They should not molest and trouble them by demanding the peshkash (tribute) and other taxes etc. They must consider them exempted and absolved from payment of all civil levies and imperial taxes. They must consider this a strict order and a strong injunction, and should not ask for a new deed every year.  

68 K.M. Jhaveri, Imperial Farman, op.cit. Document, No. XIV.  
69 Ibid – Document No. XV.
Parwana of Najaf Zulfiqar ud Dowla, in the name of Gosain Murlidhar

This parwana was issued on the date 15th Shawwal of 15th regnal year of Shah Alam i.e 1187 A.H/Thursday 30th December 1773 A.D. It is addressed to the officials of Kasba Gokul, Taluka Mahaban, situated in the Suba of Akbarabad, they know, that the villages of Shri Gokul and Mubarakpur and lands etc., thereof have been conferred in the name of Goswami Morlidhar, according to the contents and details in the above named Kasba, have remained always in the possession and custody of the above mentioned person. On account of that he has been exempted from payment of government taxes. It is therefore incumbent on (the officers) that they should allow the above written villages etc. to remain in the possession of the abovementioned person according to usage as his property and heritage, with the right of receive presents etc. and in no way he should be molested or troubled and they must pay him amount of revenue season to season and year to year and they must consider this a strict injunction and proper command and act according to this.70

So, these farman are the indication that though suffering from financial difficulties Shah Alam granted revenue free land to non-Muslim religious divines, for their livelihood. This is a depiction of his generosity and toleration towards non-Muslim religious persons and institutions and most of these parwanas and Sanads were issued when Shah Alam’s was in exils, during 1759-1771 A.D.

70 Ibid – Document No.XVII.
Shah Alam II and his Parwanas and Sanads to different Bairagis, Sanyasis and Faqirs etc.

Parwana to Gosain Keval Nath

This parwana dated 11th Rabi 1st of 7th regnal year of Shah Alam II Badshah i.e 17th March 1766 A.D, (with illegible seal), for the grant of the village Lohiar in pargana Majhowa, in the name of Gosain Kewalnath, as madad-i-maāsh. Another parwana in the name of the same person for the continuation of above grant, issued in 9th regnal year i.e 29th December 1767 A.D. 71

Gosain Badal Das Faqir

This parwana dated, 9th safar of 5th year of the reign of Shah Alam II, i.e. 19th August 1763 A.D. (with illegible seal) for the revival of the grant of village pipra in pargana Madhal, with exemption from payment of revenue and demands, in the name of Gosain Badal Das Faqir Nanakshahi, in order to meet the expenses of faqirs. 72

Sanads in the name of Kashi Dutt and Dewali Dutt Prohit of Benaras

There are two Sanads dated 16th Jamadi IInd of 10th regnal year of Shah alam IInd i.e. 17th October 1769 A.D. (with illegible seals) for the grant of 5 bighas of land in the villages of Shahpur and Santihar, in pargana Goa, each in the name of Kashi Dutt Prohit and Dewali Dutt Prohit, residents of the city of Benaras. 73

72 Ibid – Document No.138, p.44.
Bihari Das Faqir

This parwana of Shah Alam II dated 9th Shaban of his first regnal year, i.e. 27th March 1760 A.D, with the seal of Dhansi Ram, for the revival of the previous Sanad and release of 101 bighas of rent-free land in the village Bangra Nirotum in pargana Sipha, in the name of Bihari Das Faqir as Khairat. 74

Gosain Ramgir

This parwana dated 15th Jamadi IInd of the 7th regnal year of Shah Alam II i.e. 29th November 1765 A.D. issued for the release of 15 bighas and 5 biswas of land in the village Anwar, in pargana Siris, in the name of Gosain Ramgir. 75

Gosain Kirpa Ram

This Sanad dated 23rd Ramzan of the 5th regnal year of Shah Alam IInd, i.e 26 March 1763 A.D, with the seals of Najmuddin Ali Khan Bahadur and others, granting the village Deopal in pargana Behia, with exemption from payment of revenue etc. in the name of Gossain Kirpa Ram, as madad-i-maāsh. 76

Nand Lal and Sita Ram Bairagi

This parawana dated 11th of Moharram 1178A.H/11 July 1764 A.D, issued by Shah Alam II Badshah, with the seal of Nawab Shuja ud Daula Bahadur, for the release of 80 bighas of rent-free land in Taluqa Kosaria, in pargana chausa, in the names of Nand Lal and Sita Ram Bairagis as Khairat. 77

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75 Ibid – Document No.175, p.52.
Prem Das Bairagi
This parwana dated 22nd Ramzan, 16th regnal year of Shah Alam II Badshah, i.e.26 November 1774 A.D, (with illegible seal) addressed to Mirza Muhammad Ali, for revival of the previous Sanad and release of 500 bighas of rent-free land in the villages of Shakraili and Pathraili in Pargana Haveli, in the name of Prem Das Bairagi. 78

Ram Chand Das Gosain Nanakshahi
A Sanad issued by Shah Alam II dated 19th Safar of the 14th regnal year, i.e. 10th September 1762 A.D, (with illegible seal) for the grant of the village Dahibaht in pargana Fathpur Singhia, in the name of Ram Chand Das Gosain, Faqir Nanakshahi, as Khairat.79

Gokul Chand
A Sanad dated 19th Ramzan of 6th regnal year of Shah Alam II i.e 11 February 1765 A.D, (with illegible seal) issued for the grant of Rs. 1 daily for the expenses of the Thakurbari of the village Maharajganj, in pargana Badaur, Sarkar, Tajpur, in the name of Gokulchand for the expenses of the faqir.80

Mahanth Dharani Das Bairagi
This Sanad, dated 27th of Ramzan, of 14th regnal year of Shah Alam, i.e 21st December 1772 A.D. with the seal of Maharaja Shitab Rai, issued for the revival of the previous Sanad for the grant of the village Madhopur Meerchak Adbin Dakhili, in pargana Morwah, as rent-free in the name of expenses of Thakurduara and Faqirs etc.81

Bhagwan Das Bairagi

This *Sanad* dated 5th Safar of the 4th regnal year of the reign of Shah Alam II Badshah i.e. 26th August 1762 A.D, (with illegible seal) issued for the settlement of the village Harpur Bakhri in Pargana Morwah Sarkar Tirkut, as rent free in the name of Bhagwan Das Bairagi as *madad-i-maāsh*.  

Gosain Amarpuri Faqir

This *Samad* dated 25th Ramzan of the 8th regnal year of Shah Alam II i.e. 24th February 1767 A.D (with illegible seal) issued for the grant and released of 11 bighas of land in the village Talibpur, in Pargana Morwah Kalam in the name of Gosaini Amarpuri Faqir.

Manoo Ram Faqir Nanakshahi

This parwanan, issued on 5th ziqad of the 4th regnal year of Shah Alam i.e. 6th May 1763 A.D (with illegible seal) for the release of the village Bishunpur Maniari, pargana Bisara in the name of Manoo Ram Faqir Nanakshahi.

Another Parwan for Manoo Ram Faqir Nanakshahi

Manoo Ram Faqir Nank Shahi has complained to the court during 1767 A.D that the villages Bishunpur and Bhagwanpur Tapa Nai, in Pargana Bisara, which had been granted to him, was confiscated by the local officials. Therefore a parwana dated 7th Zilhij of the 7th regnal year of Shah Alam II i.e. 6th May 1767 A.D, was issued, (with illegible seal) addressed to Mirza Mohammad Ali.

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And it was directed, that the said villages be released and given in
possession to the Faqir, with undue interference. 85

Narain Bharti Faqir

A parwana dated 15th of Shaban, 5th regnal year of Shah Alam
IInd i.e 8th February, 1764 (with illegible seal) for the revival of
the previous Sanad and release of 3 bighas and 10 biswas of land in the
village, Bishunpur, in pargana Saraisa in the name of Narain Bharti
Faqir as Faqirana. 86

Gosain Rahat Gir Sanyasi

This parwana dated 1st of Ramzan of the 10th regnal year of
Shah Alam II, i.e 29th December 1769 A.D. (with illegible seal) for
the revival of previous Sanad and for the release of 10 bighas of land
in the village Bochha in pargana, Bochha, in the name of Gosain
Rahat Gir Sanyasi. 87

Mahanth Thakur Pandit

This parwana dated 5th Shawwal of the 7th regnal year of Shah
Alam II, i.e. 7th March 1766 A.D, (with illegible seal) issued for the
revival of the previous Sanads and release of Sarkar the village
Rasulpur Ram Bhadhra in Pargana Babra Sarkar Tirhut, in the name
of Mahanth thakur Pandit. 88

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87 Ibid – p.431.
Gosain Raghunath Das Bairagi

A Sanad, issued on the date 25th Janadi 1st of 13th regnal year of Shah Alam II, i.e 5th September 1771 A.D, (with illegible seal) for the grant of the village Pakhanlia, in pargana Bisara, in the name of Gosain Raghunath Das Bairagi. 89

Another Parwana in the name of Raghunath Das Bairagi

This parwana issued, dated 14th Ramzan of the 8th regnal year of Shah Alam II i.e. 13th February 1766. A.D, (with illegible seal), addressed to Rai Beni Ram, for the release of the village Doomaria Chapra Mobarak, in the pargana Morwah Sarkar Tirhut in the name of Raghunath Das Bairagi. 90