CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

In this chapter we will try to bring into focus the relevant rays radiating from the accounts of the contemporary chroniclers in which a way as to paint a vivid picture of society in Mughal India. So an attempt has been made to describe, under a few major heads, the various facets of the society and culture during the period under review.

Hindu Society

In the Mughal age (1526-1707), the Hindu formed the vast majority of the country’s population. The upper class consisted of Brahmins, Rajputs, Kayasths and Vaishyas and they did not inter-marry among themselves. The castes rules and taboos had become more rigid. Al-Beruni describing the social condition of the medieval that time says that even the Vaish was not permitted to hear or recite vedic mantrtas and that if he uttered the sacred word his tongue was cult of by order of the Magistrate. The Brahmans were in priestly and teaching professions, and many of them were doing agriculture. The Rajputs were military men and their tribal chiefs were rulers of extensive territories and held high ranks as mansabdars in the Mughal imperial service. Vaishyas were in the mercantile profession and the Kayasthas were largely as clerks, munshis and revenue personnel. Many Hindus of the lower castes, for caste restrictiveness within Hinduism, economic incentives and political pressure, changed their religion and accepted Islam. The two most undesirable features of the Hindu society were untouchability and poverty. The touch of the chandal were considered defilement, and the person concerned had to purify by bathing...
along with his clothes. Poverty led to surplus labour to become bounded-labour.

**Feudal Society**

Society in Mughal times was organized on feudal basis. The king was the apex of the system, and below him were his mansabdars cum nobles who held high offices in the state. There was little honour or dignity outside the imperial service and talented youth aspired to join it. This privileged position of extraordinary respectability created a great divergence in the stand and of those who lived at court and those who were away from it. The court was the centre of wealth and culture, whereas away in the country side find modest competence and wretched misery continued coexisted.³

When Akbar assumed power in 1556, the Muslims had been living in India for four centuries. Among Muslim the converts from Hinduism counted a considerable number. They were *Shaikhzada* and developed into a partially Indianized heterogeneous community, consisting of Arabs, Afghans, Turks, Persians etc. But the upper class Hindus, though few in number, also embraced Islam. "It is true", write Gankovsky, "that members of the higher Hindu castes and not only those of the lower castes also "embraced Islam (in the first place in order to retain their high social position)".⁴

Tradition and customs die hard. The Hindu converts to Islam continued their age old social institutions and traditions on accepting Islam. Thus quite a good number of Hindu customs crept into the hybrid Muslim society in India. The Muslims, on account of their more accommodating and less rigid social institutions put on obstruction on customs and habits of the new comers into
Islam. This led to cultural give and take. Islam is not a religion of rituals but a complete code of life for mankind.

Islam basically believes in the uniformity of ideas and actions among its followers. The ideal of life for a Muslim, whether he is in India or in Indonesia, is to follow Islamic institutions as far as possible. Thus the orthodox religious institutions, Arabic in origin, became synonymous with Islam. "If Islam moulded", writes a modern critic, "the character of recruits to its fold, the recruits have no less moulded the character of Islam in different countries ... Islam galvanized the conquered communities into nations no doubt; but these revitalized nations, particularly with an older civilization, rose in revolt not against Islam but against Arabicism".5

As stated earlier, Muslims had been living in India for centuries. Therefore, the socio-cultural environment which governed the largest section of Indian population was bound to affect the lives of the Indian Muslim. Hence it is correct to assert that Muslim culture in India was a synthesis of the two social orders – Islamic and Hindu. Persian culture played no less a part in the social life of the Muslims during the Mughul period. Persian had been the language, of the Delhi Sultanate6 and many Persian customs were being practised by the Indian Muslims prior to the coming of the Mughul.7

The contemporary Mughul chronicles mostly deal with the lives of kings and princes and their military exploits. Not much had been written about the social and cultural life of the masses. However, it is possible to reconstruct the life style of the aristocracy from literary and poetical works and folklore.
Muslim Society

Muslim society was divided into three classes: first, the *Ahl-i-Daulat* comprising royal family and the military aristocracy; second, the *Ahl-i-Sa’adat* consisting of men distinguished for their learning, mainly religious, *Ulama* (theologians), *Qazis* (judicial officers), the Sayyids and men of letters and the third, the *Ahl-i-Murad*, that is, those who possessed beauty and elegance and catered to pleasures, i.e., musicians and singers. Of these categories *Ahl-i-Sa’adat* or men of learning commanded greater respect than the people belonging to the other two categories. *Ahl-i-Sa’adat* and the landed aristocracy, merchants, physicians and skilled artisans constituted the middle class. The masses of the people, particularly the agriculturist class, had no say in the government and therefore wielded no power. They paid taxes, in return for security of life and property, to their immediate landlords in an essentially feudal and agriculturist society.

The type of hereditary aristocracy which we find in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not exist in Mughul India. The state enjoyed right to confiscate the property of the deceased and after deducting claims of government and making provision for the wife of the noble. The entire property deposited into *Baitul mal*. The son of a noble had to prove his worth to obtain a *mansab* (rank) in government service. The sovereign could promote or demote a noble at his will. The aristocracy constituted a class by itself in Mughul India and set the standard for the common people. The rich lived a life of splendour and extravagance. Even Zia-ud-Din Barani (circa 1285-1357), states that due to their lavishness and munificence the Muslim
nobility of Delhi remained in debt and used to borrow money from Sahus (Hindu bankers). Bernier, the French historian, corroborate, the views of Barani with regard to the Mughul nobility in the seventeenth century.

The nobles maintained a large staff of servants and spent huge amounts on entertainment. The dinner given by Asaf Khan to Sir Thomas Roe, testifies to the lavishness of the Mughul nobility. Two other instances of their extravagance can be offered. 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan gave eighty thousand rupees to the poet Shakeb-i Isfahani when the latter left for Mecca; and when Ghazali composed a mathnawi consisting of 1000 verses in praise of Khan Zaman, the latter gave to the poet one gold ashrafi for every verse as a reward.

The general masses lived in kaccha or thatch houses. A noble had a diwan khana where he entertained his male guests. There were gardens and tanks inside the house. Regarding the houses of the nobility Pelsaert states, They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste, rubbing it with well-designed trowels until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates, perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard, and shines likes alabaster, or can even be used as a looking-glass. They also sometime used mica 'plaster to cool the houses. The cots of the richer class were decorated with gold and silver. They had utensils, made of gold and silver. The female apartments were built in the centre of the house. To minimize corruption Aurangzeb ordered his nobles of rank of 400 and higher to get prior permission if they wanted to construct a pacca house.
Very little information is available regarding the life style of the middle class. Traders and merchants (who belonged to this class) lived a better life than those who lived in the interior of the country. They maintained servants for domestic help, and their houses were furnished with Persian carpets.\(^{19}\)

The condition of the lower classes was deplorable. Pelsaert writes Their houses are built of mud with thatched roofs. Furniture there is little or none except some earthen ware pots to hold water and for cooking, and two beds, one for the man, the other for his wife. Their bed-clothes are scanty, merely a sheet, or perhaps two. This is sufficient in the hot weather, but the bitter cold nights are miserable indeed.\(^{20}\) Manrique corroborates Pelsaert when he says that the poor people in Bengal lived in thatched houses of straw and leaf. The common man used furniture made of straw mats which were also used as bedding.\(^{21}\)

**Trade**

Trade was the next occupation which attracted people of the middle classes most. Hindus, Armenians and Persians controlled the business on coasts of India and had trade links with Persia, Arabia and South East Asia. For instance, Virji Vora (1619-1670) a Gujarati banya, not only controlled the trade of Surat and the Southern Coast of India but also carried on business with the Persian Gulf and the Indian Archipelago. According to Thevenot, the French traveller, who came to India in the seventeenth century, Virji Vora was considered to be the richest man in the world. His hundies (letters of credit) were honoured in those regions. The Multani merchants gave place to the Hindu Marwaris.\(^{22}\)
We find Muslims 'working as teachers, artists, painters, calligraphers, medical doctors, surgeons, etc., during the Mughul period. The people of Persian origin were preferred as clerks. Most of the Mir Bakhshis (Heads of mansabdari system and military affairs) under Aurangzeb were of the same origin.23

**Education**

There were no government-aided schools. We however hear some important school run by medieval scholars and teacher. The govt. provide land grants to few of them.

Hindus had their own pathshalas or schools. Many Hindus learnt Persian for entry into the lower middle ranks of the Revenue Department. It were such people who later came to be known as Kayasth. Some of them were men of letters-poets, letter-writers and composers of revenue manuals.

*Maktab*, or a primary school, was attached to the mosque, where reading of the *Quran* was taught and elementary education was imparted.24 *Madrasahs*, or colleges, provided higher learning and were financed by nobles and patrons of education. Every useful science was taught but emphasis was laid on theology, medicine, calligraphy and logic. Other subjects included accounts, geometry, mathematics, astronomy, economics, agriculture, physics, philosophy and history.25 Students who studied *Mizan-ul-Itidal fi naqdir rijal* of Muhammad ibn Ahmad az-Zahabi (d. 748/1348) and *al-Kasluhaff* written by Mahmud Ibn Umar (d. 528/1134), were given special stipends under *Aurangzeb*.26 There existed no system of examinations. To have studied under a recognized teacher was considered a sufficient qualification "or a student27
who after completing his education in the study of the Quran, Hadith and sufism was awarded an ijaza (certificate) by his mentor.

Madrasah-i-Mulla Abdul Hakim at Sialkot attracted scholars from all over the country in the reign of Shah Jahan (1628-1657). Badaun, Azimabad (Patna), Murshidabad, Hyderabad, Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Jaunpur, Sirhind and Thaneser were other big centres of learning during this period. Shah Jahan founded an imperial college, known as Darul Baqa, at Delhi in 1060/1650. Maulana Muhammad Sad-rud-Din was appointed its Director. Hamilton, who visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb ‘Alamgir’, says that Thatta alone had four hundred colleges, where subjects like theology, philosophy and politics were taught. Qazi Rafi-ud-Din founded a madrasah at Biyanah in 1670 at his own expense, Akram-ud-Din built a madrasah, named Hidayat Bakhsh, in 1697 at Ahmadabad at a cost of Rs. 1.24.000/- from his own pocket.

Customs

There was no uniformity in customs and ceremonies, which differed from place to place and from tribe to tribe. The birth of a son was celebrated with aplomb in a family. Azan (call to prayer) was recited in the ears of the newborn baby by a holy man or an elderly male member of the house so that the baby should hear first the name of merciful Allah and the pious Prophet Muhammad Saheb (PUBH), 'Aqiqah was performed according to the Islamic injunction: two goats or lambs for a son and one for a daughter were sacrificed. The Bismillah ceremony was observed when the child attained the age of four years, four months and four days. Circumcision was performed at the earliest convenient date.
The committing of the Quran to memory by a male or female was regarded as a great act of piety and a good omen for the family of Hafiz particularly the parents. After becoming emperor of India in 1658, Aurangzeb Alamgir committed the Quran to memory in a short period of one year, i.e., in 1071/1661-62. The copying of the Quran in beautiful and attractive style was very common. These manuscripts fetched heavy prices for the copyist. This gave rise to the art of calligraphy and we find the Quran copied in various scripts—kufic, Naskh, Nastaliq, Sulûs, Ta’uggi, Bihari, Raihan, Riqa etc. Verses from the Quran and Hadith were often quoted by the learned in conversation and in their writings. In chapter six about the art of calligraphy and its type is discussed in detail.

A considerable segment of the Muslim community of India had a great weakness for superstitions. They invoked help from pirs (saints), dead or alive, who were considered endowed with miraculous power. A similar practice was found amongst the Hindus who regarded their Guru as their spiritual leader. The Hindus also welcomed the people through Namastay, namaskar and some time ‘Adab’ (like Muslim too). The Muslims would go to the tomb of the saint and beseech for the grant of their desire and offered large amounts in charity. The gaddi-nashins (successors of the saints) were the ‘Brahmins of Islam’ who exploited the name of their preceptor and fleeced enormous amounts of money from their followers.

Hindu Polygamy

Polygamy was a practice prevalent both among the Hindus and the Moslems, especially belonging to the richer section of the society.
referring to the Hindus, writes, ‘Excepting in the king, it is not considered right for a man to have more than one wife, unless the first wife is sickly or proves barren, or her children die. In these cases he may marry ten wives, but if the tenth proves defective, he may not marry again. If the first wife is unsuitable, and he desires to take another, he must give the first a third part of his estate.’

Akbar, though polygamous himself, appears to have been opposed to polygamy for the general populace. Abul Fazl writes “Nor does his majesty approve of every one marrying more than one wife; for this ruins a man’s health and disturbs the peace of house’. Badaoni also refers to the introduction of a custom by the emperor for checking polygamy thus:... that people should not have more than one legal wife, unless he had no child. In any other case the rule should be one man and one woman. Inspite of this it appears that polygamy continued to exist among the aristocratic and well-to-do classes, who are told maintained harams.

Polygamy is permitted in Islam to the extent of four wives on the condition of strict equality of treatment among them. The Quran warns Muslims that "If you fear ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then (marry) only one". Unfortunately some Muslims misinterpreted this permission and married more than one wife at a time without giving much attention to the spirit of the permission. But generally Muslims practised monogamy, partly due to the religious injunction and partly due to economic reasons. Wealthy Muslim (in addition to slave girls) kept more than one wife at a time.

The age for marriage was not fixed. In order to avoid child marriage, Akbar ordered that no boy under the age of sixteen and a girl under the age of
fifteen should be married. Badaoni also refers to the fact that Akbar disliked the idea of an old woman (whose menses had ceased) wishing for a husband or of a husband marrying a wife older than him by twelve years. If, however, Badaoni is believed, Akbar may be regarded as a great anticipatory, some four centuries back, of the modern social reformers in these directions, and for indeed, he was discredited by the orthodox Muslims of his times. The mediators of marriages known as “Ghataks” in Bengal also seem to have played significant parts in the settlement of marriages, and they charged fees for their services rendered. Bernier observes thus: ‘No one marries but in his own trade or profession, and this custom is observed almost as rigidly by the Mohammadans as by the Gentiles to whom it is expressly enjoyed by law. Many are beautiful girls, thus doomed to live singly, girls who might marry advantageously if their parents could connect them with a family less noble than their own. Mannuci also refers to these caste marriage. Faint trace of future Kulinism particularly in Bengal may, however, be ascribed to this practice.

In this chapter it is difficult to give a detailed and comprehensive account of the marriage ceremonies, which were varied from community to community. These differed from as per religious views, conformity local customs, traditions and economic status of the individuals. Some elaborate accounts are however available of the marriage ceremonies of royal families and upper strata of the society in the contemporary Persian chronicle. Huge amounts were spent on such occasions. Three million rupees were spent on the marriage of Dara Shikoh with the daughter of prince Parwez in 1633. The customs on such occasions were mixture of different cultures-Islamic, Persian,
Turkish and Hindu. The lolian, who were of Persian origin, sang wedding songs in their native language, whereas domnis group sang in Hindustani.

Though Islam has given full freedom to a girl or a boy in the choice of a spouse, yet the custom of arranged marriages was the order of the day and still persists in many quarters. Sweets, dry fruits and pans (betel leaves) were distributed among peoples invited at engagement. The amount of Mahr (the contractual amount to be paid by the bridegroom to his wife) was fixed according to the status of the bridegroom's family. As there is no priesthood in Islam, any person could perform the ceremony of marriage. In Islam the daughter inherits half the share of her brother from her father's property, but this law, mainly to prevent the division of the landed property, was not effectively practised.

**Dowry and Divorce**

Both Badoni and Nizamuddin Ahmed have referred to dowry and to the prevalence of this practice among the high class Moslems. But, among the Hindus it was not allowed, except in the cases of low castes and the sudras. Abul Fazl mentions that the system of dowry seems to have been absent among the Brahmans of those days. He further informs us that Emperor Akbar disapproved of high dowries, although he (the emperor) believed that the fixing up high dowries was preventive against such rash divorces.

In pursuance of Islamic tradition a Muslim would greet with Assalaam-o-Alaikum (Peace be upon you) a fellow Muslim, who would reply with waalaikum-us-salaam. Aurangzeb banned (sajda, zamin bos, etc.) the un-Islamic practice of greeting a person by raising hand and bowing forward a
little, though Kornish was allowed, and ordered that greetings should be strictly verbal.\textsuperscript{51}

**Dress**

Dress differed amongst various social classes and religious groups. The nobility wore expensive garments with gold thread work on them. *Qaba*, which was made of muslin or fine cotton, was worn by men as an upper garment. *Qaba* was also worn by the Hindus who tied its strings on their left while Muslims tied them on their right side. *Dagla* or *farghul* were used by aristocracy as top coats in winter.\textsuperscript{52} The other winter garments worn over trousers included *gazar*, *sozni* and *do-tahi*. *Neem-tanahs* with full or half sleeves were worn by men extending from shoulders to the lower part of the waist. The use of *qamis* (shirt) was very common. *Shah-ajidah* was a kind of royal stitch coat.\textsuperscript{53} *Achkin* was commonly used by men, *Patka* was lied around the waist.\textsuperscript{54} The Muslim ecclesiasts – Ulama and Mashaikh – dressed themselves in such a way that they were distinguished from the general public. They wore *Kulah-i-darwesh* or the *Qalansuwah* on their head. A suf\textiacute; would wear a long woolen gown. An orthodox male Muslim did not wear silk, velvet or brocade, use of which is not lawful for him. He would wear clothes of ordinary material. The Shias wore a twelve-pointed or seven-pointed scarlet cap. according to their sect.

The dress of women, like that of men, differed according to their social status and family traditions. *Taaqi, qassabah, lachiq, dopatta* and *muqllah* were the various types of head dress used by women. *Jubha, qaba, qamis* and *charqab* were the upper garments. *Posteen, tarhat*, made of camel wool, and
shawls of various kinds, some embroidered with gold and silver, were used in winter. Women also wore neemtanah (jacket) studied with saphire, emeralds and other precious stones. Muslim women generally wore close fitting pyjamas. Lehnga was more common amongst Hindu women. Gharara was used by both Hindu and Muslim women as trousers. Women of all classes ordinarily wore qamis, shalwar and dopatta. In Kashmir the poor classes wore as full dress a long kurta or jamah made of pattu whereas in the Punjab this long kurta was made of cotton.

Fig. 4. A Mughal boy’s court, early 18th century

Ornaments

The use of ornaments has always been an important feature of female life. Abul Fazl gives a long list of thirty-seven types of ornaments used by women in Mughal India. Sisphool, sarasari and chchapka were put on head; halqa-i-dar, karan, darbacha, papal, baali, machli and chondani were different varieties of ear rings; guluband, haar, haans or hasli and nasim were
among the various kinds of neckware. *Kangan, gajra* and *choribin* were the type of armlets; and *payal* was worn around the ankles and *anwat* was an ornament for the toe. It may be noted that excessive use of gold and precious stones, like diamond, sapphire, emerald, rubies, opal, etc. was made in the manufacture of jewelery.\(^57\)

**Pardah**

Muslim women observed *pardah*. They have been ordained by God to:

“Cast their outer garments over their persons (when abroad): that is most convenient, that they should be known (as such) and not molested”.\(^58\)

At another place the *Quran* says that Muslim women:

“should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (must ordinarily) appear thereof; that they should draw their veils over their bosoms and not display to their beauty… in order to draw attention to their hidden ornaments”.\(^59\)

The term *pardah*, as commonly applied in India, means a curtain and when it applies to women it means a veil. *Burqa* amongst Indian Muslim women is a later development.\(^60\) *Chadar*\(^61\) was in common use.

The underlying motive behind the *pardah* was to keep the women away from *naa-mahram* i.e., those with whom they could marry. They continued observing the practice even to their old age. A Muslim girl starts observing *pardah* when she attain the age of puberty. It was observed by all classes of the Muslim community except the peasant women and other working classes. The women of artistocracy moved in *palkis* or *dolis*, which were heavily
covered and carried by men. The women of higher Hindu classes followed suit and started observing the same custom. Even the poor or lower class Muslim women would not come out in public without being properly clad.

**Festivals**

Islam, being a puritanical religion, has only two canonical festivals, but the Indian Muslims have added a few more to celebrate. *Id-ul-Fitr* and *Id-ul-Azha*, the two main canonical festivals in Islam, were celebrated in Mughul India with great zeal and fervour. On these occasions the Mughul rulers and their provincial governors offered their prayers along with the nobility and other Muslims at the *Jami masjid* of the city or in an open field. *Jami masjids* of Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Multan, Thatta, Burhanpur, etc were amongst the important places where mammoth gatherings offered prayers on these festivals. *Shab-i-Barat* - "the night of record" was observed on the 15th night of *Sha’ban*. The orthodox spent the night in offering prayers and seeking forgiveness of God, while the unorthodox celebrated the night by the show of fireworks. *Id-i-Milad-un-Nabi*, i.e. the birth anniversary of pious Prophet Muhammad Saheb (PBUH), was observed on the 12th *Rabi-ul-Awwal* (3rd Islamic month) when public buildings, homes and mosques were illuminated. A few festivals of purely social nature were also observed. For example, the Iranian spring festival of *Nauruz* was started by Akbar and celebrated by the royalty and his nobility-both Muslim and Hindu. The *Jashn-i-Nauruz* (new year festivities) lasted for three weeks. It was a national festival Historian Badaoni calls it ‘Nauroz-i-Jalali. Its celebration continued till the early period of Aurangzeb 'Alamgir, who instead, introduced *Jashn-i-Nashat, Afruz*, which started in *Ramthan*. 
Association with a Hindus was bound to affect the social life of the Muslims. Muslims joined their Hindu friends in celebrating Hindu festivals of *Diwali, Holi, Basant* etc. The cultural contact between the two major communities in India-Hindus and Muslims gave birth to a common *lingua franca*, *zuban-i-Hindvi* (Urdu) widely spoken in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan.

**Evils**

**Imperial Haram**

The women’s apartment of an eastern king in the common parlance of western historians, is known as *seraglio* or *haram*. The word *haram* is of Arabic origin, a verbal noun, meaning sacred. In our period of review the haram in the palace of the emperor is called *Mahal* both by the chronicles of the time and the European travelers. Abul Fazl has given it a more appropriate
name – Shabistan-i-Iqbal or shabistan-i-Khas. The Imperial Haram, with a large enclosure, consisted of numerous beautiful buildings where the Emperor, the ladies of the royal family as well as those of selected nobles of high ranks resided. Abul Fazl refers to it thus: “His majesty has made a large enclosure with five building inside where he reposes. Though there are more than five thousand women, has given to each a separate apartment. He has also divided them into sections, and keeps them attentive to their duties.”  

Manucci refers to Aurangzeb’s haram thus: ‘Ordinarily there are within the Mahal two thousand women of different races. Each has her office or special duties, either in attendance on the king, his wives, his daughters, or his concubines. To rule and maintain order among their last class, each one is assigned her own set of rooms, and matrons are placed over than. It is to be noted, in this connection, that most of the Hindu Rajas and the nobles also maintained their harams like their Muslim counterparts, but they normally kept their concubines in separate establishments and not in this homes.’

Sati

The act of burning of Hindu wife under certain conditions after the death of the husband was called Sati. The custom was especially favoured by the Rajputs. The Emperor Humayun was the first monarch to think of extending an absolute prohibition to all cases. Manucci says that Mughal emperors had imposed prohibition it in order that a woman should not be forced society. Akbar issued an order that a woman should not be freed to Sati. Jahangir also prohibited Sati. Aurangzeb also disallowed a women to be burnt. We learn from Manucci that the emperor (Aurangzeb), on his return
from Kashmir (December 1663 A.D.). "issued an order that in all lands Mughals control never again should the official sallow a woman to be burnt. This order endures to this day.\textsuperscript{72} This humanitarian rule is also mentioned in the official manuals of his reign.\textsuperscript{73}

**Jauhar**

This custom was, more or less, confined to the gallant Rajputs.\textsuperscript{74} Abul Fazl refers to this fatal custom performed by the Rajput of Chittor, on its fall, thus. "for it is an Indian custom that when such a calamity has occurred a pitty is made of sandlwood. alone etc., as large as possible and to add this, dry firewood and oil. Then they leave hard hearted confidents in charge of their women. As soon as it is certain that there has been a defeat and that the men have been killed. these subborn ones reduce the innocent women to ashes.\textsuperscript{75} Jauhar. in fact. refers to the high standard of womanly honour maintained among the brave Rajputs.

**Prostitution**

Alauddin was the first medieval Indian ruler to take steps against public prostitution, which was looked upon as a necessary evil during that (Sultanat) age. These public women (prostitutes) and dancing damsels were engaged on special occasion of mirth and gaiety e.g., feast, festivals, marriages and the like.\textsuperscript{76} they also provided suitable recreation to the inmates of the harams, maintained by the Emperors and the nobles, by means of their captivating dances and hilting songs. Badaoni observes, "These (the prostitutes) be made to live outside the city and called the place Shaitanpurah. He writes further". Every one who wanted to visit a public women had to get his particulars noted
down in the daroga (police) office and also pay the state fee". Special permission of the Emperor was necessary if any courtier wanted to have a virgin. Akbar himself inquired into the cases of some of the principal prostitutes, and punished those grandes who were responsible for depriving them of their virginity. Inspite of all these, it appears that Akbar could not eradicate this evil yet, in dealing with it, he was certainly far ahead of his age. During the years following the death of this great Emperor till the early year of Aurangzeb’s puritanic reign, the evil of prostitution seems to have aggravated and the courtesans as well as the singing dancing public women might have been reaping very good harvests.

Manucci speaks about Kanchani type of public women Shahjahan’s reign who were under the obligation to attend twice a week at court for which they received pay, and to perform at a special place which the king had assigned to them. This class is more esteemed than others by reasons of their great beauty... All of them appear and dance in the royal presence. He, again, refers to dancing women, in general, and says that they exhibited their performances in the principal open places in the city, from six in the evening till nine at night, lighted by many torches, and they earned a good deal of money.

Aurangzeb could not ban prostitution altogether, and Ovington who was in Surat as late as 1689 A.D. found many prostitutes and dancing girls there. The famous Bengali poet Bharat Chadra writing in the middle of the 18th century A.D., also refers to the prostitutes and dancing girls as ‘Kashi’.
Slavery

Slavery has been an important phenomenon in Indian history. Both in ancient and medieval India slavery was recognized institution.\(^8^3\)

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, apart from the areas where agrastic slavery existed slaves were mainly used as domestic servants. According to Irfan Habib, Agrastic slavery was apparently confined to regions like Assam, Mithila (the northern part of the Bihar) and Malesar (Kerala). Condition appear to have been different in the 13\(^{th}\) and 14\(^{th}\) centuries, when slave were employed as artisans and general labourers fairly extensively.\(^8^4\) The christis texts provide important evidence that such was the case.

Mirza Haider Dughlat. Babur’s cousin and author of *Tarikh-i-Rashdi* reports of a large number of slaves-soldiers employed as camp followers and work hard in the army.\(^8^5\) We find slaves being sent for fodder during march.\(^8^6\) Some slaves of Babur and Humayun also rose to the position of officers and could be gathered form the list of nobles in *Ain-i-Akbari*. The *Ain* includes five of Humayun’s slave (one. a commander of 2000, two commander of 900, one of three hundred and fifty, and one of 200) and an eunuch who had earlier served under Babur.\(^8^7\) The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri mentions the two slaves of Humayun who were promoted by Akbar, namely Mihtar Khan and Peshrau Khan.\(^8^8\)

Akbar continued to possess a large retinue of Slaves\(^8^9\), some of these inherited from Babur and Humayun. By and order of 1582, it is reported that he liberated thousands of his slaves who were given the option to continue in service at the court for which they now received a pay (1 Rupee to 1 dam per
Jahangir acclaims the work of a chela (named Murad) in completing the buildings of a place (Chaukhati, Kashmir), for which he increased his mansab.\textsuperscript{91}

The institution of chelas continued even after Akbar – in the seventeenth and also eighteenth century. A close scrutiny of the Massir-ul-Umara, had brought forth a number of individuals having the title chelas during this period serving as troopers/attendants and also as officers.\textsuperscript{92} According to Mannuci, Chelas were the ‘branded’ name of the royal establishment who were under the slave officers.\textsuperscript{93} Interestingly under Aurangzeb, we find reference that slaves were eagerly sought for the royal retinue.\textsuperscript{94}

**Enjoyments**

The Muslims have been ordered in the \textit{Quran} to refrain from the use of all kinds of intoxicating drinks and gambling, etc. The \textit{Quran} says:

\begin{quote}
Ye who believe!
Intoxicants and gambling,
(Dedication of) stones,
And (divination by) arrows,
Are an abomination,
of Satan's handiwork:
Eschew much (abomination),
That ye may prosper.\textsuperscript{95}
\end{quote}

But unfortunately every Mughal king except Aurangzeb freely indulged in drinking.\textsuperscript{96} The princes, nobility and even people belonging to religious classes – \textit{Muftis, Mir Adls} – with some exceptions, took wine in public as well as a sin private.\textsuperscript{97} Jahangir used to take daily twenty cups of \textit{araq-i-do-atisha} (doubly distilled spirit) weighing six Indian \textit{sers} or one and a half Irani \textit{man}.\textsuperscript{98}
Wine was easily obtainable at government rates from the public bars during the reign of Akbar. Abul Fazl would call it "sense-increasing". A few drops of wine were poured on the ground as "the share of the earth". Punishments were enforced some times against drinking, the use of which continued throughout the Mughul period and had become a common evil. The richer classes had become so addicted to drinking that wine was served daily at their meals. Dancing parties were arranged to celebrate happy occasions. Gambling was also practised. Besides liquor, opium, bhang and chars were also taken by a good number of people.

Chess, played by two or four persons (shatranj-i-kamil) at a time, and chaupar, also called chauser or pachisi (dice or draughts), were popular.
indoor games for members of every class of society. *Ganjafa* or the game of cards, was probably introduced in India by Babur. The outdoor games included *chaugan* (horse-polo), hunting with falcons, horse racing, cock fighting, pigeon flying, wrestling, arrow shooting, etc.\textsuperscript{103}

![Fig. 7. Late 18th century Mughal playing cards](image)

**Social Intercourse (Give and Take Policy)**

The mixture of both Hindu and Muslim way of life resulted in producing a new social system i.e. beliefs, customs and practices were evolved and followed by the inhabitants of a region. It was very difficult to distinguish between Hindus and Muslims except in mosque or temples.

The Muslim rulers in Sind influenced by the locals adopted their practices. They started wearing dress similar to that of a native Kings. They also started wearing *pagdi* (headgear) keeping long hair and let their beard grow. Islamic law prohibits the use of gold and silver ornaments for Muslim men. But due to their close contacts with Hindus all the Muslim rulers and elites adorned themselves with all kinds of jewellery and precious stones in their daily life and on important festive occasions.\textsuperscript{104} The Hindu kings too
influenced by the Muslims, adopted Achkans and tight fitting trousers (churidar pyjamas). Brocades printed silk and muslin were the common dress of the upper classes of both the Hindus and the Muslims. The manner of clothing, with the passage of the time became so similar that it was difficult to distinguish Hindu noble from his Muslim counterpart. The Album of emperor Jahangir preserved in the Berlin Museum shows that even the rulers of distant Kutch and Nawanagar had began to put on the Mughal dress and the portraits of Rajput nobles from the time of Man Singh shows that apart from the caste mark which distinguished the Hindu, the dress both Hindu and Muslim nobles was practically identical. So similar were their appearances that it was not easy to make out the identity of the person. As a matter of fact, Husain Khan, Governor of Punjab greeted a Hindu with the Islamic mode of salutation in his court and on discovering his mistake, issued an instruction asking the Hindus to wear a particular badge on the sleeves of their garments. The common people comprising both the Hindus and Muslims looked so similar that it was not possible to detect their identity. Jahangir writes in his Memoir that in Kashmir, he could not distinguish between a Hindu and Muslim. Aurangzeb, it is said had tried to bring reforms in the Muslim society in the manner of dress after his accession to throne. He posted barbers and tailors at the gate of the royal castle to cut of the extra length of beard and pyjamah but failed in this venture.

The Muslim rulers borrowed Court ceremonies from the Hindus. The royal custom of nyochawar, passing over of the gold and silver coins thrice over the head of the ruler and offering them to the menials and the poor persons, was a Hindu Court etiquette followed by the Muslim rulers. Another ceremony was the Tula Dan, weighing the ruler in precious metal or goods and
then distributing among the poor was also adopted by the Muslim from the Hindu rulers. The Hindu rulers also copied many practices of the Muslim Courts. Persian words like Peshwa, daftardar, Jagtan-Mulk, Hukumatpanah, Mukhtyara, Kayda were used. The Muslim Names like Shahji, Piraji, Sultanji, Sabhanji, Haibatrao, Sahebrao etc were common in Hindus also. Muslims, on the other hand adopted Hindu Names. Even the high born Muslims of Turkish descent kept Hindu names as Chajju, Kachchan, Hamidraja etc. In Bengal, the names of innumerable families bear the stamp of Muslim influence. The names suggesting the position which their forbears used to occupy in the states of Muslim Kings, for instance, Tarfdar, Mahal, Navis, Chitnavis, Majumdar, Khaustagir, Viswas, Nakhal, Motamad etc. In Muslim Courts, the official language was Persian and there used to be particular seat arrangement for different categories of orders. The non-Muslim rulers imitated the Mughal Court and it was difficult to find out the dissimilarities. Even in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Court, the title of the Order of Merit or Star of Punjab or of gold medal was Persian. In fact the whole of the Court was a Punjabi version of the Persian Court. The Courtiers looked like feudal lords of Persia or Persian officers of the Mughal emperors. The coin which the Maharaja struck was in Persian legend;

"Deg O, Tego, fateh Nusrat Bedarang
Yaft Az Nanak Guru Gobind Singh"¹¹¹

(Through hospitality and the sword to unending victory granted by Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh.)

In Rajasthan Persian words were used in the Rajasthani language. The royal seal of Swai Jai Singh bore on the reverse Nagari characters and on the
obverse Persian characters. Technical terms used in all the states of Rajasthan were Persian though the script used was Devanagri.\textsuperscript{112}

Polygamy was common both among the Hindu and Muslim nobles and kings. The number of wives that a Hindu or Muslim chieftain possessed usually depended on his economic status. Their amusement, games and exercises were common. The virtues which they esteemed and the vices which they condemned were the same. Their manners of dealing with the superiors, equals and inferiors were similar. People respected not only their teachers but also their sons. Teacher was addressed as Ustad and his son was addressed, even by older students as Ustadzada. In their domestic life and household arrangements, arms and armours, it was difficult to distinguish the one from the other.\textsuperscript{113}

Hindus and Muslims both had superstitious veneration for odd numbers. "It is remarkable," observes Howell, "that a Gentoo never gives or receives an obligation for an even sum, if he borrows or lends a hundred, a thousand, or ten thousand rupees, the obligation runs for a hundred and one, a thousand and one, ten thousand and one etc. The Mohammedans, in conformity only, have adopted this custom".\textsuperscript{114} The nobles gave money in the form of nazar to the emperors on festive occasions in odd figures. This custom is still prevalent among both the communities.

Early marriages were current among both the communities. Dowry, a Hindu practice too became widespread among the Muslims. The simplicity of Muslim marriage was given up in favour of growing pomp and expensive display including music dancing and drinking. Girl's engagement (mangani) and her decoration for marriage, corresponding to Hindu bride's solah singar as well as some other ceremonies like ubbatan and mehndi, singing of wedding
songs all were observed by both the communities. Keeping of iron weapons by the bridegroom, the bridegroom's mounting the horseback while going to the house of the bride and gifts showered on the laps of the bride etc, were borrowed by the Muslims from the Hindus.¹¹⁵ Widow remarriage sanctioned by Islam was frowned upon by the Indian Muslims under Hindu influence.¹¹⁶ Both Hindu and Muslims regarded the birth of a girl child as burden and many Muslims like Hindus killed their daughters "to save the expenses and trouble of rearing them".¹¹⁷ Both cherished an ardent desire for a male child. Like the Hindus, delivery was usually effected on the ground, the mother being made to lie on the quilt. Chhatti or the celebration of the sixth day after the birth of the child was common among both the communities. Caste system too crept in among the Muslims. Besides social distinction, there also grew occupational caste distinctions as among Hindus.¹¹⁸

Muslims also influenced Hindus dietary habits and preparations. Prejudice against onion which was called Malechand by Hindus as it was brought in India by Mahmud, was given up. Biryani, Pulao, Korma, kofta became popular and so were Balooshahi, Gulab Jamun, Barfi, Halwa, Qala Qand, Khurma, Babar-bari, Murabba, Khursasani-khichri and the use of earthen oven (tandoor) and so on. Chewing the betel leaf, a Hindu habit was prevalent among Muslims both the nobles and the common people. 'In the houses of Hindu nobility the great feast were in imitation to the manner of the Persian and the Central Asian Amirs'.¹¹⁹

Islam has prohibited the use of wine but in India its use in Muslim community was prevalent from kings to common masses. Even the women used to drink it. Aurangzeb made a frantic effort to banish its use but had to
acknowledge defeat in the long run. Once in despair, he cried, "In all Hindustan no more than two men could be found who did not drink, namely himself and Abdul Wahhab, the Chief Qazi, appointed by him." But Manucci humorously adds that "with respect to Abdul Wahhab, he was in error, for I myself sent him every day a bottle of spirits (wine) which he drank in secret, so that the king could not find it out".120

Except the small orthodox section, both the Hindus and Muslims participated in each other's festivals without inhibitions. Both the communities celebrated their fairs, feasts and festivals in the same ways. Holi, Diwali, Dussehra, Shivratri, Eid and Bakr-i-Eid were national festivals. These were not only celebrated with pomp and show in the Courts but also by the common people with great enthusiasm. These were the occasion for enjoyment and paying reverence to God. On the occasion of Diwali, the Muslims particularly of rural areas, illuminated their houses and huts, and took part in gambling, an important feature of the festival. The Muslims women considered Diwali as their Eid. On the day of Diwali, they sent pitchers full of red coloured rice as presents to the houses of their sisters and daughters. They observed all the customs associated with it. The Meos and Minas, living in the state of Alwar and Bharatpur celebrated not only Diwali and Dussehra but also Janamasthmi, the birthday of Lord Krishna. The Nawabs of Bengal and Awadh celebrated this festival in the royal fashion.121

In India, the Muharram festival drew some of its features like burying of the Taziyas and mimic attacks on effigies from the Ram Lila of the Hindus. In celebrating Muharram, hindus number exceeded than that of Muslims. It was not only in the procession that the Hindus joined. "They actually observed
Muharram as Muslims did in their homes as day of mourning and prayers when no festivity could be indulged in and no auspicious act such as marriage could be solemnized many Hindus had their own Taziyas and spears and Hindus boys fully became *Paiks Bahistis* donning green dress and badge and carrying the water Mashak. Hindu Akharas vied with the Muslim Akharas in displaying their feat with sword and *scimitar, Jutaku* and *lathi*. Very often there were joint Akharas”. Daulat Ram Sindhia and his officers participated in Muharram procession in green dress like Muslims.

Taziya processions were influenced by Durga Puja immersion or Rath Yatra processions. Even as late as 19th century Buchanan found that of the 1400 Taziya procession of Patna and Bihar Sharif area, 600 were conducted by the Hindus. The preparation of Taziyas was carried with great religious fervour. The rich Hindus used to subscribed towards its expenses as the Muslims did to Durga image. Basant Panchmi was celebrated with both the Hindus and Muslims with great enthusiasm. The celebrations which continued for seven days. The citizens of Delhi, including amirs and rich persons, dressed in costly robes used to visit the bank of Jamuna where the festivities of the festival were held. The fair of Garh Mukhteshwar was an important fair in which thousands of people from different regions assembled for a dip in the holy Ganges Muslims in the company of their Hindu friends also visited the fair and used to have dip with devotion.

Hindus took auguries from the Quran and the Muslim consulted Brahmins for the auspicious dates and days. The *Churihars* of U.P worshipped Kalka Sahja Mai (a Hindu Goddess); the Mirasis of Amritsar used to make offerings to Durga Bhawani, the Dudekulas Muslims of Madras worshipped
tools as done by Hindus at Dussehra festival. Like the Hindus, the Muslims had invented several imaginary female personalities, endowed with supernatural powers, called Bibis, in whose name they cooked and observed fasts. Common to both was the Goddess Sitla or Small Pox. When a Child was attacked with the dread disease, small pox medicine as rule was not given for the fear of offending the Goddess Sitla. Cholera was worshipped as ala Devi by the Hindus and as ala Bibi by the Muslims. The Serpent Goddess was invoked equally by both, as Manasa. Similarly moon was believed to possess a decisive influence on human affairs. Common to both was a dread of the effect of the eclipse of the moon or sun on a pregnant woman. They used to lie quietly for the duration of the eclipse lest their child be born deformed.

Belief in omens, witchcraft, sorcery was also common among both the communities. Evil spirit was avoided by the use of charm (tawiz) bound on the arm or the neck and the use of magic or Jharphoonk. The evil eye of the deformed or the mutilated person was especially feared. Lemon was considered a protection against the evil eye. A curious case of syncretistic demonology was Hawwa. Another malignant Hindu figure Mano (the cat) was called Nikki Bibi among Muslims. Hindu dread of the departed wandering soul Pret was accepted in popular Indian Islam. So was the Bhut, the malignant soul of the victim of a violent death and churel.

A man's name is a part of personality and a recital of those of the deities has special influence in Hindu religion. Hence the name and the age are to be concealed, the reason being that the knowledge of the age coupled with that of the sign of Zodiac under which a person was born will give his enemies a chance of working black magic against him. Because of this belief "all the
Mughal Emperors and other Muslim kings had at least three names; and accordingly the date of Akbar's birth was concealed and he was given a new name at his circumcision".131

The masses both the Hindus and the Muslims believed that the Pir possessed a supernatural power, e.g., curing diseases, assuaging the sorrow and pains of the poor, being present at the same time at different places or even reviving a dead man or causing rain to fall at a place. Both the Hindus and Muslims sang together to please the rain gods:

“Aulia! Maulia! Minh barsa
Sadi Kothi Dana pa’
Chiriye de munh pani pa”132

(Aulia Maulia send rain, put grain in our house and water in the beaks of the bird)

Sectional or communal feelings had no place in such cordial environments. All the people of a village stood together in their thick and thin, shared their happiness and sorrows as one large family. Together they composed and sang songs praising the bravery and celebrated the victory of their village-lad. One such composition sung by both the Hindus and Muslims of village Bhatti was:

“Bulla Bhatti wala”

Dulla was a Rajput of Bhatti who fought bravely with the imperial troops and defeated them during Akbar's reign.133
Notes and References


2. A.L. Srivastava, Medieval Indian Culture, p. 25.


17. Ibid., p. 67.


24. Sadiq Khan, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Shah Jahani*, B.M. or 1673 says (f. 296) that in the time of Jahangir every *masjid* of the village had a *maktab* (primary school).


29. One who has memorized the *Quran* by role.

30. Law, p. 191.


34. *Ain*, I (Blochmann). p. 288; Also refer to Akbar's saying regarding polygamy (*Ain*, III (J&K), p. 449).


38. Badaoni. II. (Lowe), p. 367; Also the emperor saying regarding marriage (*Ain* III (J & S), p. 449).


40. Reference to these marriage intermediaries (Ghataks) can be found in Mukandarani's 'Kavi Kaudan Chandi', pt. 1 (C.U. 1952, p. 175; Here
we find that in Kalketu's marriage with Phullara the Ghatak charged five seers of Gur. five Gandas of Pan (betel) with supari and only four annas). Again we find references to ghatak in Chaitanya's first marriage.


41. Travels (Constable), p. 259; See also Thevenot, Indian Travels (Sen) p. 117. Also Herberts Some Years Travels, p. 51.

42. Manucci, III. p. 54; also refers to Indian Travels of Careri (Sen), p. 248.


47. Badani refers to the rich dowry taken in the marriage of prince Salim with the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das. A sum of two crores of takas was fixed as the marriage settlement. Raja Bhagwan Das gone his daughter dowry several strings of horses, one hundred elephants, boys and girls of Ayasini a, India and Circasia, and all sorts of golden vessels set with jewels, and utensils of gold, and vesels of silver and all sorts of stuffs, the quantity of which is beyond all computation (Badaoni, II (Lowe). p. 352). Also Tabqat-i-Akbari, vol. II (tr. De), p. 599. Badoni, again makes a reference to dowry in the marriage of the Alikhan, the
ruler of Kashmir, (V. III (tr.), p. 99, which was demanded back by the father when she had to be divorced).

48. Abul Fazl (Ain, III – J & S. p. 399), holds that divorce was not customary among the Brahmans; Manucci refers to its prevalence among the sudras and other lower castes, and he says that as soon as the marriage was broken off both the parties were free to remarry. He further writes, ‘But this practice is not known anywhere in the Brahman or Rajah caste, nor those of the shop keepers. In these castes if the wife has divorced, she could not remarry’) Manucci, HI, p. 70).


50. Ain I (Bloch.), p. 288.


53. Ain-i-Akbari. i. (text), pp. 101-03.

54. Amir Khusrau, Ain-i-Sikandari, ed. by Muhammad Saeed Ahmad, Aligarh. 1917-18, p. 52 (muqaddamah); Ashraf, p. 276.


57. Sabah-ud-Din. pp. 274-81; Ma’thir-i-‘Aamgiri tr. By Sarkar, p. 93; Manucci, ii, pp. 339-40; Ain-i-Akbari, iii. (Sarkar and Jarrett), p. 343-44.


61. *Chadder* is a long loose outer garment.


63. Yusuf Husain, p. 129.


67. *Ain I* (Bloch) p. 46; For Pelsaert’s views on the *haram* refer to Jahangir’s India, p. 64.

68. *History of Aurangzeb*, V. 459. footnote : on the authority of Abul Fazl, it can be said that Raja Mukanda Deva (1560-68) of Orissa had built a nine-storeyed palace at Cuttack, the eight story of which accommodated the womens apartment (Ain. II (J & S), p. 139). Tieffenthalar, a Jesuit missionary, writes that Mukunda deva had four hundred wives and for them he built a separate house (Orissa in the 16th century as recorded in the Halft Iqlam, Proceedings of History congress, Cattack session).


71. Thevenot, p. 120.


75. *Akbarnama*. II. P. 472. An incidental reference to it is also to be found in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, III (J & S), p. 358.
76. Reference to such dancing and singing public women are available in the contemporary literature, e.g. for ‘Nartaki’ (dancing women) a reference may be made to ‘Kavikankan chandi’ (Bangabasi Press, Cal, pp. 123-124); Mangalchandar Geet’ (CU 1952, p. 116) refers to a ‘nartaki named Rupawati. In Ghanaram chakarvarty’s Dharma mangal” (Arunodaya Roy, Cal.), we find a reference to a ‘Nartaki’ engaged for entertainment in the marriage of Lausen with Kalinga (pp. 145-146). In the Chaitaniya Bhagat, (Patrika House, Babar, p. 60), also we find a reference to ‘Nartaki’ in the first marriage of Nimai (Chaitaniya). In Keshav Das ‘Vignan Geeta’ (edited by Shyam Sundar Das Dwivedi, 1954 Ist Ed. Ninth Prabhava, doha 27, p. 91). We find a reference to a ‘Vanita’ or a prostitute.

77. Badaoni, II. Tells us as to how some famous prostitutes, when privately enquired by the Emperor as to who had reduced them, divulged to him the names of several important Amirs, including the name of Raja Birbal. most of whom were severely reprimanded, published or imprisoned. (Lowe), pp. 311-321.

78. Ain, I. Pp. 201-02.


81. Manucci, I, pp. 195-196; Also refer to Thevenot (Indian Travels, p. 71) for the ‘Quencheries’.

82. Bharat Chandra Grathavali (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad), Pt. II, (the story of Vidya Sundar, pp. 13-14). Prostitutes are still to be found, in large numbers, in different cities and towns of North India.

83. IHR, 1988089, Vol. 15. p. 257.

85. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 476-77. The reason Haider Dughlat attributed to the defeat of Humayun at Kanuaj (1540), was the confusion created by these slaves in the Mughal army. He writes, “An Amir of note with his 100 retainers and followers, has 500 servants and *ghulam* (*Ghulams here mean the slave-domestic*), who on the day of battle rendered no assistance to their masters and have no control over themselves... when they lost their masters, they were seized with panic and blindly rushed about in terror”, thereby destroying the entire information.


89. It is interesting particularly in the light of the strong positions taken by him against slavery and enslavement quite early in his reign.


91. He is said to have exclaimed: ‘what strength has this handful of weavers to taken upon itself the name of Mastery (*Sahihi*) and to make slaves of the children of men? When Lordship (*Khudawandi*) in truth is only applicable t the incomparable Diety and Service (*Bandagi*) appropriate to the manborn’.


93. List of individuals referred with *Chela* suffixed to their name sin 17th-18th centuries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chelas</th>
<th>Name of work</th>
<th>In the reign of</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nahar Dil</td>
<td>Trooper/Attendant</td>
<td>Shahjahan</td>
<td>Maasir-ul-Umara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Arif Khan an officer under the Governor of Lahore Muhammad Shah I, p. 604.

97. Manucci, ii. pp. 5-6.
106. K.M. Panikkar, p. 209
108. Manucci. 7.


119. *Ibid.*. Also see Muhammad Umar, p. 430.

120. K.M. Panikkar, p. 209.

121. Manucci. Vol. II. p. 5.

122. Zahiruddin Malik, p. 352. Also see Mohammad Umar, p. 420.


131. Aziz Ahmad, p. 49.