Social Conditions.

The life at the court was licentious and frivolous, with the Emperor as the dominating figure. Fashions in dress and manners at the court were copied by the people. The Emperor's fondness for Kokijl, Basant and Nur Bai was the talk of the hour. The court nobles meticulously imitated the standards of their master's life. Magnificent mansions, crowds of unuchs and concubines, splendid equipage, sumptuous food and grand levees were the prevailing fashions. Ashob says, "The nobles of this time delighted in nothing but childish stories such as that of Hamza the Arab, who fought in seventy-two battles although he had become a martyr, in the first of them or the stories of the Shah Nama and the Mahabarat.

The nobles, ministers and high officials had accumulated enormous riches and recklessly squandered them on spectacular shows. While the coffers of the imperial treasury were exhausted, their hoards were growing and the stream of gold running from the productive lands of the country was deflected into their rich villas, while the royal palace were the aspect of impoverishment. Ashob writes that Zafar Khan Rustem Jung possessed more wealth than what Pharaoh could ever have imagined. Kokigi and

1. Basant was a beautiful beardless boy whom the Emperor always kept in his company. Fathiya, f.48(a). Sauda has also written a poem in praise of this fellow See Kuliya Sauda Vol.I. pp.316-17.
2. Noor Bai was the famous dancing woman in the court of Muhammad Shah. Irvine Vol.II.p.271. Dargah Quli Khan writes, p.73.
and Abdul Ghafoor had collected vast sums of money by fraudulent means and lived in a princely way. "One when asked to disburse money to put a half finished building in repair before the rainy season, the Shahid dragged the man to the side-room where his treasures were locked up and said, "Here have I locked up for many years the God in whose power all things are; both clouds and rain are under my control, and without my will not a drop of rain can fall. After his fall one Karor of rupees, besides other properties and buildings, was seized by the government. Amir Khan had left 50 to 60 lakhs of rupees worth of jewellery boarded in his house though he had no child. The big nobles like Qamaruddin Khan, the Wazir, and Samsam-u-Daulah, the Amirul Umra had properties of inestimable worth, large establishments, thousands of horses, camels, and hundreds of elephants, numerous articles of luxury, and magnificent buildings, which had raised them to a status equal to that of the Emperor under whom they served. Zafar Khan's expenditure on illuminations arranged on two occasions, one on the Prophet's birthday, and the other on the Urs of Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhatiyar, was lavish on the extreme.

1. Shah Abdul Ghafoor originally belonged to Thatta. He had served a Hindu Fakir who taught him magic spells and inconta-
tions. In the reign of Alamgir he left his home and suffering privations and hardships, went to Kabul and there met Bahadur Shah. Since then he remained in his camp, after Bahadur Shah's death he went to Delhi, where he employed himself- to the profession of sooth-saying and making prophecies. In the times of Farrukh-Siyar Muhammad Amin Khan became his patron. He served as a secret messenger between Muhammad Amin Khan and Muhammad Shah's mother Qudsia Begum, when struggle against the Saiyid Brothers was going on. Warid, pp.502-505; Ashob,p.118-119.
2. Warid, p. 630.
From the fort walls to the shrine the whole area was transformed into a blaze of light by thousands of candles and earthen lamps. The Emperor himself came on foot with his mother and other ladies of the harem, emnuchs and attendants, sat at the Lahori Darwaza, enjoyed the scene for hours and retired before midnight to his palace. Zafar Khan's house looked like a mountain of gold, the walls and doors were covered with cloths of gold embroidery, decorated with costly hangings, and roofs painted with golden flower-work; from the main gate to the inner apartments, from the drumhouse to the courtyard of Diwan Khana, all walls, doors, roofs and floors were decorated in this fashion. The fountains made of gold and silver, set up in straight lines in the tanks dazzled the eyes of the people when rays of the sun fell on them. In all the buildings of his palace the beds, the sheets, the carpets, even the chains of the elephants and their coverings, the saddles of the horses and all articles of use were made of gold embroidery works. Once a week he held Majlis-i-Sama which was attended by mystics, saints, ulema and pious persons of the city at his invitation. In a state of ecstacy he tore his gilded clothes and jewellery and gave the pieces to the singers, and threw handful of gold coins and rupees to the gathering. After the meeting was over, they were entertained with meal consisting of several dishes. The display of dowry made by Qamar-un-nissa Begum, eldest daughter of Wazir Qamruddin, wife of Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung, son of Nizamul Mulk, was a captivating scene, an unbroken line of splendour from Hodal to

1. Ashob, pp. 94-95.
2. Ibid. p. 90.
3. Ashob, p. 91.
the imperial palace. "It included 50 to 60 young women servants, all of one age, of Turki, Qalmaq and Qarghiz race, dressed in cloth of gold and adorned with jewels; over all they wore long clocks of brocade trimmed with gold lace, on their heads velvet or cloth of gold handkerchiefs, held on with chains and rings of gold, and over their faces veils sewn with pearls which left the face quite visible. They surrounded the Begum mounted on horses holding gold and silver sticks in their hands. At their backs hung a bow case with bow and arrows. Samsam-ud-Daulah gave every month grants of twenty thousand rupees to the unemployed and secluded persons, and spent one hundred rupees every day while going from his residence to the fort, though there was no great distance between the two places.

Unbriddled sensual license, pederasty and drinking were the main vices prevalent among the nobles. They had abjured manly virtues of simplicity, frugality and industry and wasted enormous wealth on these favorite amusements. The luxurious tastes and love of pomp entailed heavy expenses which had necessitated resort to misappropriation and bribery, and new and offensive taxation on the already hard-pressed peasantry. Amir Khan, dressed in female attire, kept himself engrossed day in and day out in dance and music at his home, where all sorts of base persons gathered to enjoy the performances and admired his taste for the art. His followers were so effeminate in their

1. Ashob. p. 221.
2. Risalia-i-Khan-i-Dauran. f. 93(b).
habits that they applied lampblack (٧٢٧) to their eye lids, black power (٧٣٢) to their teeth, and red-dye (٦٣٧) to their hands and feet, wore finger-rings, silver bracelets and ear-rings. Wazir Qamruddin once gave seventy thousand rupees to a dancing girl to whom he was passionately attached when she offered him wine in a charming manner in a banquet. Dargah Quli Khan calls the house of Mirza Manu, the paradise of Shadad, for beauties of every character and colour had gathered and embellished the conivial meetings with sweet songs and lovely dances. Meeran, another Amir of Delhi, excelled in making his house resplendent and charming. He had collected a large number of graceful male and female servants. Every day a new face was added to this ever-growing number. From morning to the late hours of night music and dance continued in his house, which according to Quli Khan was a bed of roses and an abode of beauty. Those jovial gatherings were attended freely by people in hundreds, for, tents were pitched and carpets spread for them. They were enchanted by the bewitching looks of these faces. During the Urs celebrations of Khuld Manzil and Mir Musharaf, debauchery and drinking were common. Mir Kalu held the Urs every year at the tomb, and invited princes and the sons of Amirs, who with their beloveds went there and pitched there their respective tents. In every tent, singers and dancers displayed their art. At night all became mad in the worship of the Lord of revelry; there was none to prevent,

3. Ibid. p.28.
4. Ibid. p.33.
none to advice, everyone was free to do anything he liked. Dancing girls, beautiful boys, wine and meal contributed to orgy. Azam Khan, son of Fidvi Khan, nephew of Khan Jahan Bahadur Alangiri was one of the big Amirs, and well-known for his mastery in Rag and his indulgence in the vice of pederasty. A part of his income was earmarked for the expenses of beautiful boys who were brought from all parts of the country. They assembled in the music parties at his residence and followed his retinue. Wherever a beautiful boy was seen, he was considered to be belonging to Azam Khan. The music parties arranged by Latif Khan, continued from morning till night, and Nurbai and other dancing girls, male dancers and singers participated in them. Frequently he read the following line.

Kusal Singh, a wealthy mansabdar had also collected large number of dancing women in his house situated in the locality of Kasalpura. Inspite of a large number of Muhatasibs, there was no check on music and dance. Shah Waliullah warned them in these words, "O Amirs, do you not fear God? You are indulged in the transient luxuries of the world. You have deserted those whom you were to guard so that you may destroy and devour some of them. All your intellectual faculties are facussed on taking fine meals and enjoying women of delicate

1. Muraqq-i-Delhi p.27.
2. Ibid. pp.28,29.
3. Ibid. p.38.
frames. You do not pay head to anything but tasteful food
and big horses.

Not withstanding these frivolities, the nobles were
great patrons of art and letters. The growth of Urdu literature
in this period was mainly due to the keen interest they took
in the works and lives of poets and prose writers. Some of them
were poets and accomplished writers, and the taste for poetry
was not only an amusement of fancy but almost a serious busi­
ness. Love for poetry was regarded to be a means to gain
favour in the court and fame in the public. An Amir, there­
fore, claimed himself to be competent in composing verses, or
got some reputed poet attached to him who would exalt his
patron in the estimate of the people by his poems. Nawab Amir
Khan Umadatul Hulk had distinguished himself as one of the
greatest patrons of poets and scholars. Witty, clever and
eloquent, he was a skilled musician, well-versed in Arabic
literature and composed verses with equal facility in Persian
and Urdu. His accomplishments and refined tastes had attracted
famous contemporary poets like Rasikh, Shakir, Shah Hatim and
Mir Zahik, who attended Mushairas held at his place. His
nondeguerre was Anjam, and his style was simple, elegant and
facile. Nizamul Hulk, a scholar of Persian and poet under
the pseudonym of "Asaf", patronised several poets of Delhi

like Mirza Baidil and Mazhar Jan-i-Jana, Samsam Daulah, Khan-i-Dauran, had fixed one rupee per month as stipend for Mir Taqi Mir, one of the greatest poets of Urdu.

The Muslim society was hopelessly split up into several sections by economic and social barriers. The belief in the purity of blood was strong and deep repugnance was entertained by the upper classes towards men of low origin. Zahooruddin Shah Hatim, a contemporary poet, laments on the misfortune of the old families, and scoffs at the good economic conditions of the professional men in a spirit of jealously. He calls gold-smiths, barbers, weavers, cloth merchants, water carriers etc. upstarts. "All these persons says he are now well off and have amenities once the privilege of the old families."

2. Tazkirah-i-Mir, p. 62. Azad Bilgrami in Khasanah-i-Amra writes that Khan-i-Daurn gave one thousand of rupees to one Rafi on his following verse. (p. 246).
4. "Za'aur-e-ay Khan kah e kah e maたe मक़ार। कहाँ गया कहाँ लाया रहा है। निवृन्द्र, फूलत दुहे के महेस प्रेम प्रस्थार।"

Nawab Sadruddin Muhammad Khan Faeez had very poor opinion about the learning of Samsam-u-Daulah. He writes:

Diwan-i-Faeez. p. 49.
4.
About the blacksmith and weavers he writes:

Further he writes about them:

The sensitive and self-respecting poet seems resolved not to approach to such persons for patronage, for God a great benefactor, and the agonies of the revolutionary age should not disturb his mind, for the scope is wide and means infinite to earn livelihood.

The lower classes were ignorant, superstitious and poor and all progress toward higher moral and material standards, was well-nigh impossible. The nobility had sunk in immorality and smitten with intellectual paralysis and the custodians of religion resigned to the will of God, and were wrapped in illusions of rewards in the future world. The unified and harmonious cultural growth of the society was blocked by social discriminations and inequalities of wealth. Intermarriages for generations caused stagnation and impaired the innate talent that previously characterised the aristocracy, while the middle and professional classes of the society ever remained backward, incapable to contribute their share to intellectual and social progress. When the aristocracy which had profited by t
progress. When the aristocracy which had profited by the retention of old traditions was worn out, no other class was found capable to take its place in order to preserve the stability and solidarity of the society shaken to the core by political upheavals and economic deterioration. Though privilege of birth were made galling by economic inequality, cordiality marked the relations between different classes and each was content with its position, and none was ambitious to shatter the equilibrium of the society by peaceful or violent means.

The education the children did not receive careful attention from their fathers inspite of the available facilities. They were educated in the trade or profession of their ancestors at an early age, and besides reading, writing, Arithmetic, no opportunity for higher learning was afforded to them. But the sons of officials like Diwans, secretaries, Kazis and Mustis, were taught in all the branches of higher curriculum which included Persian literature, theology, medical science, logic and caligraphy and astrology. A large number of poets, learned scholars, writers, theologists and artists who flourished during this period bear testimony to the high system of education that prevailed in Delhi. Poetry was their exclusive passion, source of all literary yearnings, and sure passport to popularity. All persons whether Muslims or Hindus, princes, officers, ulema soldiers and professional men had come under the charm of poetry. For instance, Muhammad Aman Nisar was an architect, Husain Bakshi, a cloth merchant, Madh Singh Shagufta, a goldsmith,
Shambhu Nath Aziz, a banker, Mir Sadiq Ali Sadiq, the broker and all indulged in composing verses and feeling proud in having associated themselves to same far-famed poet. Urdu poetry was greatly influenced by the Persian poetry in which the beloved was a male. As on account of strict purdah the female sex was out of the reach of the poet, he wove the web of his song around beardless boys who were often of Turkish or Mughul origin. When these boys became the centre of attention, they devoted themselves to personal decoration and blandishment and coquetry, associated with the female sex. The handsome boys were themselves conscious of the prevailing standards of love and romance, and to be the focus of attraction of amorous persons was regarded by them as a matter of pride and dignity. These self-conceited boys wasted time in the company of poets in attending Mushairas, visiting markets, kite-flying, hawking the birds in nearby meadows, and playing other indoor games, but never attempted to do anything substantial either for themselves or for the society. Their education was neglected, their morals were debased, and their manly virtues dissipated. They never awoke to the requirements of the time, never armed themselves for the struggle of even physical existence.

The nobles and other wealthy persons wore turbans of the finest linen, so lengthy that the tying process took from three

to four hours, the one end of the turban interwoven with golden threads, covered half of the face on one side, and on the top was fixed a costly jewelled ornament. The garments, like shirts, coats and trousers, were tightly worn on the body. The also tied their waist with scarf of beautiful cloth. A long dagger was put into the scarf. In their hands they carried sticks of varied forms. The commoners used simple dress which included shirt and shalwar and a turban or cap for the head. In winter the waist-coats stuffed with corded cotton were used by them.

The sweet arts of music and dance were cultivated to a degree unprecedented. No festivity or function whether of social or religious sort could be celebrated without the dancers and singers. The Amirs rewarded musicians and dancing girls with prodigal munificence. Shah's love for music was proverbial. He had attracted many performers of repute to his court. In the city a large number of professional singers and dancing girls were gathered; they were invited by the people on ceremonial occasions.

Delhi was the seat of culture and centre of commerce and industry. In population, in beauty of building and magnificence of markets, and congenial atmosphere, no other city in India could match it. Here people belonging to different sects, creeds, races, professions, and lands lived, and in its large and rich markets, all types of commodities were sold and purchased every day on a large scale. Sunder Lal, a contemporary historian, writes that the climate of Delhi was

1. Chamistan, f.87(a).
moderate, and in every locality and street large number of mosques, khanqahs, schools and places of worship were found. Hazwar Khan Muhammad Aqil in his Makhnavi in the praise of Delhi admires its buildings, streets, markets, the beauty, modesty, morality and polished manners of the citizens of Delhi.

Here people from Iraq and Turkistan have flocked in search of employments, and have raised themselves to high positions by the royal patronage and the hospitality of the local citizens; in Delhi Muslims and non Muslims lived like

1. Majmua-i-Faiz, ff.2-3.
2. Jalwa-i-Dedar.f.21(a).
1 brothers.

Of all the markets and pleasure-resorts Chandni Chowk was the most beautiful. There the houses and shops were magnificent and well-decorated, the streets were spacious, and gates high and majestic. A long water-channel flowed down the centre of the street, where in the evening people of all classes, and sexes gathered and enjoyed the time under the shadow of trees and in Coffee-houses. Specially the Coffee-houses were the main centres of attraction for the idle, the poets and gossip-mongers. There poems were recited and current affairs were discussed. Anand Ram Mukhlis also visted these shops frequently, though he brought coffee prepared from his house. Another place of social gatherings and enjoyment was Shauk Sa'dullah Khan occupying a large number of buildings and mosques. All streets and shops were always crowded by visitors and a newcomer was overwhelmed by the picturesque display of artistic products from all parts of India, and the interesting cultural and professional activities going on on the road sides. In one part of the market dancers and musicians attracted large number of people, while in another quarter professional orators delivered sermons on religious morality or recited poems describing the tragedy of Karbla. The speakers would spend the whole night on one topic and stirred the emotions

1. Jalwa-i-Dedar.f.21(a).
2. Muraqqa-i-Delhi, p.17.
3. Ibid.p.18.
of the people to fever heat by their forceful and effective speeches. After the conclusion of the speeches they collected money from the listeners who had the patience to stay up to the end. In one corner the palmists, astrologers, and geomancers carried their trade, and in another buffoons and clowns were seen making funny performances eliciting outbursts of laughter from the people. There were wine shops to which people went without being checked by the censors of public morals.

The citizens of Delhi were always crazy for outdoor recreation and entertainment. Besides the festivals, fairs and Urs celebrations, they, on holidays, went out for hunting and sightseeing in large number and spent whole day in merrymaking. The suburbs of Delhi were full of stately gardens laid out by the Great Mughuls, famous shrines, tombs of saints and kings. On the anniversaries of Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, and Hazrat Nasiruddin Chiragh, the city presented a gala appearance. Streams of pilgrims including Muslims and non-Muslims, merchants, professional people, soldiers, ministers, nobles and beggars, poured into the open plains. From early morning, men, women and children clad in new dresses, would start from their houses on horses, carts, palkis and on foot, playing and singing on the way, till before noon the whole of Mehroli was crowded to the fullest capacity. Stalls were erected, tents were pitched for nobles and amirs, while the devotees went to the mosque or surrounding buildings, passing their time in prayers and meditation. They placed flowers on the grave, recited Fateha,

1. Muraqqa-i-Delhi, pp. 16, 17.
2. Ibid, p. 4.
tied threads on the railings of the grave, and invoked the 1 favour of the deceased saint for worldly purposes. After finishing their meals they would attend to music in which singers and dancing women took part, and passed the whole day and night enjoying the gaiety of the festival. There were also official celebrations in which all people rich and poor took part. These functions were held on the occasion of royal marriages, birthdays, reception of foreign ambassadors and the celebration of a victory. On such functions alms-giving on a large scale was common. Food was distributed among the poor, the streets and buildings of the city were illuminated, and music and dance were performed in open places where wine sups went round, or cold drinks and betel leaves were freely given to the people.

Muslim festivals like I'd and Shab-i-Barat starting with a singular austerity were gradually transformed into social festivities. The festivals were no longer meant for prayers or doing pious acts, but for illuminations, display of fire-works, playing of frivolous games, and preparations of rich food in large quantity. The orthodox were never reconciled with these practices, and condemned them most vehemently. In this period too Shah Waliullah drew the attention of the people to the growth of abuses which marred the spiritual character of the festivals. He addressed the

2. Ibid.
Muslims in his Tafhimat in these words: "You have adopted such false practices which have drastically changed the religion. For example, on the 10th of Muharram, you perform undesirable acts. One section among you has reserved this day for mourning, others have fixed it for games and tamasha, while others indulge in many irreligious things. On the festival of Shab-i-barat you, like uncivilized nations indulge in games and amusements, while others think that large quantities of food should be prepared and sent to their dead forefathers!" The Hindus had also several fairs of their own besides important festivals like Dasehra, Diwali and Holi. The mela of Kalka took place twice a year in the centre of Bara Pullah, and according to Rai Chatarman, author of Chahar Gulshan, at least one lakh persons gathered there. The fair of Gadh Mukhtaishwar was important one in which millions of people from Delhi and its neighbouring villages assembled. It continued for fifteen days and covered an area of 12 Kos.

Religious conditions.

In the midst of political crisis and social chaos, degeneration inevitably set in religious institutions. The spirit of the religion disappeared, superstition and credulity got a powerful hold over the minds of the people. Innovations multiplied, vice increased. The study of Quran and Hadis gave place to the worship of graves, superstitious veneration of sacred relics, extravagant indulgence in rituals, too much regard for the sayings of the Sufis. The ceremony of the festival was confined only to illuminations, display of fireworks, songs, dances and preparation of food in large quantities. Divorce and widow marriage, Zakat and Haj were thought of as outmoded institutions. The celebration of Urs had become the only popular form of religious expression. It was believed that objects used by a saint possessed a miraculous power of healing. The staff, the sandal, the turban, and the rosary of a saint were carefully kept and exhibited by his successors at his own residence or in the Dargah where large number of ignorant persons gathered and looked at them with religious awe. The theologians sank into lethargy and failed to improve the moral standards of the commoners. Devoted exclusively to the study of Greek philosophy, and Arabic grammar, the Ulema involved themselves in petty theological squabbles and trivial discussions. They grew hide-bound and dogmatic in their

2. Ibid.
teachings, and referred to books on Jurisprudence instead of Quran as the main source of faith, quoted spurious Hadis which suited their purpose, and employed unscrupulous methods to gain popularity and earn money. The mystics broke loose from the Shariat, lived on the income from the disciples, formed their own orders and vied with each other for personal greatness. They went astray from the path of devotion and piety and became worldly minded; their Khanqahs were no longer the seats from where celestial rays had once emanated dispelling mists of demoralisation and faithlessness. Virtual collapse of political power coupled with all pervasive degeneration in religious and social institutions, conspired to weaken the spiritual zeal and degrade Islam in the eyes of the non-Muslims. Riven by factions and torn by sectarian jealousies, the custodians of religion ceased to inspire the faithful and infuse in him intense fervor for Islam.

Revival of Religious Learning.

There arose a majestic representative of the Islamic heritage, to re-establish the faith and to set canons of conduct in conformity with the teachings of Islam. Shah Waliullah (1702-1762) by his independence and originality once again tried to stem the tide of irreligiousness. He urged the theologians to make a close study of Hadis and Quran and regard them as the ultimate basis of Islamic doctrines.

The Hadis literature was replete with spurious as well as genuine sayings providing ample scope for misunderstanding and misinterpretation to the students, and as a result people did not regard them so true guide for shaping their religious and social ways of life. Shah Waliullah removed these defects by simplifying the methods of teaching, and making rules to distinguish genuine sayings from the spurious once. He divided the entire literature of Hadis into two categories, the first containing only such traditions as were commonly accepted and were known as Sahih, like Muwatta Malik, Sahih Bukhari, and Sahih Muslim and the second commonly admitted as Zaif or based on doubtful authority. Shah Waliullah wrote several books explaining his views on the subject. They are as follows:

1. Musaffa, commentary on Muwatta Malik in Persian.
2. Mussawa, commentary on Muwatta Malik in Arabic.
3. Commentary on chapters of Sahih Bukhari
4. Mujmu'a Rasail Arb'a

In addition to this, he wrote his famous

He is thus credited with having established the first school of Hadis in India. Allamah Rashid Raza has recognised his services in these words. "If the Ulema among the Indian Muslims had not taken interest in the studies of Hadis, the subject would have disappeared from the

East. For since the 10th century, this subject had fallen into deterioration in countries like Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Hijaz."

To Shah Waliullah the Quran was a great source of inspiration and strength. He interpreted Islam on the basis of it. Hitherto Quran was read only in Arabic, and hence few could utilize it. Bold and original thinker, Shah Waliullah felt that it was high time to popularise Quran and make its teachings more widely known, so that large section of the public could draw maximum benefit from it. With this object in view, he translated the Quran into Persian, which was understood by the majority of the people. After his death, his two sons produced two separate renderings into Urdu, which had far-reaching effects on the spiritual and religious life of the Muslims. In jurisprudence too, he preferred Muwatta to evolve a synthesis between two conflicting and diverse schools - Hanfi and Shafi - for Imam Malik had based his system of deduction on tradition and 'Sunan' rather than on purely Ijma and Qiyas. He emphasised that Muwatta was the common factor between these systems and a balanced view of doctrinal and juridical rules could be derived from it. Besides Shah Waliullah there was a large number of theologians, reputed for their pre-eminence in scholarship. There were teachers, jurists, traditionists and orators, who had enriched the religious life of the capital.

1. Ifturqan.p.238.
2. Ibid.220.
3. Ibid.p.321.
Among them the most well-known were: Shaikh Muhammad Ghos, Mian Muhammad Saleh, Shah Abdul Latif, Khwaia Muhammad Saghiz, Shah Chulam Muhammad, Moulvi Zainuddin, Shah Muhammad Murtaza, Shah Muhammad Fazil, Haji Muhammad Sharif, Shaikh Muhammad Ali, and Muhammad Husain. Shah Abdul Aziz writes in his Malfuzat that in the reign of Muhammad Shah twenty two learned scholars and mystics of note resided in the capital, and that was an unusual circumstance.

The later Mughuls were so pre-occupied with political and personal problems that they could take no interest in the establishment and maintenance of schools and colleges. As royal patronage waned, the educational institutions lost the former glamour and subsequently decayed. Nevertheless, nobles and other persons extended their patronage to men of erudition, and made grants for the upkeep of the Madrasas. Most of the Madrasas of this period owed their existence to private efforts and munificence. The Madrasah of Ghaziuddin Khan, Madrasah of Sharfudaullah and Madrasah of Roshanud Daulah were some of them established by prominent amirs in the capital. Muhammad Shah is credited with having granted a big mansion for the Madrasah of Shah Waliullah. This Madrasah soon acquired universal renown because of the splendid personality of its founder. "His seminary, Madrasah-i-Rahimia, became the nucleus of a revolut-

4. Ibid.
5. Islamic Culture, 1951.p.133.
tionary movement for the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam. Scholars flocked there from every nook and corner of the country. Indeed the Wali-Ullahi movement symbolized the dawn of a new age in the realm of Muslim theology and literature." Shah Abdul Aziz informs us that there were 125 Madrasas in the capital. Similar madrasas had been founded and patronised by the nobles in other parts of the country. The greatest achievement of the period was the introduction of a new syllabus in these Madrasas. Mullah Nizamuddin of Franghi Mahal, drew up this syllabus, known as "Dars-i-Nizami, which was adopted all over the country, and still is in vogue.

Different Orders Of Sufism.

Chishtiah.

The Chistiah order, introduced in India by Moinuddin Chishti, had acquired an extraordinary popularity through the efforts of its leaders who had devoted themselves to the service of humanity as a means to spiritual exaltation. They had established Khanqahs where disciples were trained and taught in lessons of spiritualism. Their Khanqahs were the centres of all activities; there the disciples were taught and guided, and prepared to carry the candle of their mission everywhere. Their main emphasis was on raising the standards of morals. The disciples thus equipped with spiritual learning, guidance and securing Khalifat scattered all over the country and established their own Khanqahs.

1. Islamic Culture, 1951.p.133.
REVIVAL OF THE SILSILA IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi was a great mystic of the Chishtia order who reorganised it in the 18th century. He established his Khanqah in the Khanem market in the capital, it soon became the nucleus of the new movement for the revival of the Chishtia Silsila, and his fame spread widely. To this seat of spiritual learning flocked all sorts of persons - nobles, scholars, mystics, the poor - in search of spiritual solace and enlightenment. The rich, as well as the poor held him in great reverence, and sought his blessings to acquire worldly and spiritual gains. He used to say to his disciples, "We and you should not collect Tanka riches and commodities, but bring the hearts (of the people) together."

Shah Fakhruddin was a mystic of vast erudition and had thirty-two works to his credit. He emphasised on following the precepts of Shariat, and urged the people to give up worldliness, comfort and easy life, and take up the difficult path of virtue.

NIZAMUDDIN AURANGABADI.

Nizamuddin Aurangabadi was the disciple of Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, who had trained him with great care and affection. Nizamuddin was sent to Deccan by his teacher. Deccan, in these days, was in great turmoil on account of

1. For his early Life - Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht pp.367-381.
2. Ibid.p.368.
3. Maktubat-i-Shah Kalimullah No.23 p.27.
4. For details of his early life Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht pp.227-232.
constant warfare. In the midst of these conditions, Nizamuddin worked among the soldiers with zest and determination. He taught the doctrines of love, morality and truth, and laid stress on self-surrender and indifference towards this world. His labours yielded good results. Not only soldiers but other civilians of the camp set themselves to work for their spiritual welfare and abandoned evil practices not sanctioned by Holy Law. Nizamuddin visited several places, like Bijapur and Burhanpur, but he chose Aurangabad for his permanent residence. In Aurangabad he established his Khankhah and started teaching the seekers of divine knowledge drawn from all classes of people.

SHAH FAKHRUDDIN OF DELHI.

He was the son of Shah Nizamuddin and was born in Aurangabad in 1717. The name 'Fakhruddin' had been suggested by Shah Kalimullah, who had also predicted about the spiritual greatness of the child. Shah Nizamuddin had made excellent arrangements for his early education. Besides the theological knowledge, he learnt medicine and acquired training in the arts of war. His father died when he was 16 years of age. After three years of his father's death, he got himself enrolled as soldier in the army of Nizam-ud-Daulah Nasir Jung in the Deccan. Having mystical learnings, Fakhruddin spent most of his time in meditation, prayers and other forms of worship. For eight years he trode the path of spiritualism, and acquiring

enlightenment, he at last came to Aurangabad and sat down in the Khanqah of his father to spread the message of the Chishtia order. In a short time, his popularity spread like wildfire, and thousands of persons began to visit his place to seek his blessings. In order to get rid of this ever-growing crowd, he resolved to leave Deccan and with two servants he went to Delhi. In Delhi too, he could not escape from crowds of people, who, hearing, that the son of Nizamuddin Aurangabadi, the disciple of Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, had come, began to pour in his Khanqah. He later on went to Pak Pattan, and after staying there for sometime, returned to Delhi. There he started imparting education in Hadis in the Madrasah of Amir Ghazi-Uddin situated at Ajmeri Darwaza. He was of scholarly bent of mind, and he wrote three books of great value.

He was rigid in his adherance to the principles of Shariat. His daily life was marked by strict observance of the rules of the Holy Law. He asked the people to understand the true spirit of Islam. His main stress was on five times prayers in congregation, and repudiation of indulgence in ceremonies. He is also reported to have advised the people to read Khutba on Friday Prayers in Urdu. He died in 1199 H at the age of 73 years. Shah Fakhruddin is truly called the Mujadid of Chishtia order, one who revived the order and infused a new

2. Ibid pp.111-12.
3. Fakhrul-Talabin, p.46.
life in it. He trained his disciples with great care, kept a friendly eye on their activities, and gave his full spiritual blessings to them. Amongst his disciples the most important were Shah Noor Muhammad (Panjab), Shah Niaz Ahmed (Bareilly U.P) Haji Lal Muhammad (Delhi suburbs), and Mir Ziauddin (Jaipur).

**NAQSHBANDI SILSLAH.**

The Naqshbandi order in India had been introduced by Khwaja Baqi Billah (A.D.1563-1603), seventh in the time of succession of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband (A.D.1317-1389), the founder of the order. It was popularised and expanded by Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi, known as 'Mujaddid', the chief disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah. The mystics of this order laid stress on Sharait and repudiated all types of innovations and abuses that had crept in the religious life of the Muslim. Sheikh Ahmad attacked the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud expounded by Ibn-i-Arbi, and presented his own thesis, called Wahdat-ul-Shahud. In the 18th century the silsilah was revived by Shah Waliullah, Mir Dard, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Jana, and others who reopened the controversy of Pantheism and Apprentism afresh. They urged the Muslims to go back to 'Kitab-o-Sunnat', the Quran, and Hadis, and denounced every other method if divorced from the law of the Prophet.

**SHAH WALIULLAH.**

Shah Waliullah was a mystic of the highest order. In one of his spiritual visions, while he was going to Kaaba, he had received the light of the Qutbiat (Leader of the Mystic). In other vision he was granted the robe of spirituality and also
informed that he was the 'Qaimuz-Zaman (Leader of the time), and God wanted him to reform the people. "I feel that revelation of these spiritual secrets is intended not only for the perfection and education of my own self, but also for the guidance and betterment of all the people." Shah Waliullah had got the Khilafat from his father in three orders, and when was in Hejaz in 1144 A.H. he received the Khirqa of almost all the orders from the great sufi Abu Tahir Makki. Thus in him the Shah had harmonized the doctrines of all the orders, as well as Shariat and Tariqat. Shah Waliullah was bestowed with rare talents to see common points in the conflicting theories and bring about an reconciliation between them. As in matters of learning, so in mysticism, Shah Waliullah stands distinguished as one who attempted to harmonize the internal differences among the Sufis. He brought about reconciliation between Shariat and Tariqat, by pointing out that both the ways were right for gaining salvation. "This thing that if both the courses are seen from one angle, so to say, one would appear decidedly superior to the other; but again if they are seen from another angle, the difference would altogether disappear."

But at the same time he maintained that Tariqat would fail the mystic, specially novice and pseudo-mystic, if the Shariat was ignored by him. Again, he proved that all orders were right, and all mystics were equal in the eyes of God. Furthermore, he brought about a synthesis between Wahdat-u-Wajud and

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Wahdat-ul-Shahud. In his Faislat-ul-Wahadatul-Wajud wa Wahdat-ul-Shahud, he claimed that God had appointed him to effect a synthesis between the two theories and he would pronounce his judgment as an arbiter after keeping the statements of the exponents of both the views. Shah Waliullah pointed that fundamentally there is no substantial difference between the ideas of Ibn-i-Arbi and the Mujadid. They are relative terms used on two different occasions as arguments about the existence of the Divine Being and His relation with man and the world. It is only a difference of approach to the same reality. By giving an Islamic interpretation to the Sufi doctrines, Shah Waliullah removed the distaste which the Ulama had felt for Sufism and Sufis.

KHAWAJA MIR DARD.

Whereas Shah Waliullah acted as an arbiter in solving the problem of Wahadat-ul-Wajud and Wahdat-ul-Shuhud, his contemporary Khawaja Mir Nasir Andlib, father of Mir Dard, discussed the problem in the light of his own religious experiences. In his voluminous book 'Nala-i-Andlib', Khawaj Nasir pointed out that speaking objectively Wahdat-ul-Wajud is absolutely invalid; it is not the truth about the reality. Objectively Wahdat-ul-Shahud or Apparantism alone is valid. But speaking subjectively, i.e. in their bearing on the Salik, mystic and his spiritual growth, both the doctrines are directed to the same end, viz, to dissociate him from Ma-Siwa or things other than Allah..

Once in a state of trance Khawaja Nasir saw Imam Hasan who initiated him into a new mystic method and urged him to
call the method, Muhammadia, as it was professed by the Prophet of God. He taught this method to his son Mir Dard who founded on its basis a new order called "Muhammadia". Mir Dard has discussed the problem in his works, Waridat-i-Dard (1160 H) and Ilm-ul-Kitab (1172 H), and has claimed that "each and every word of his Waridat and Ilmul Kitab is divinely inspired."

His main contribution to mystic theosophy was the synthesis between legalism and love. According to him man is not only slave but lover of God, containing in him the Divine light (Nur), the highest perfection of an ideal man. But this love is to be subjected to the limits set by the Shariat. He has discussed his ideas in his famous book 'Ilmul Kitab'. His other works on mysticism are Wardati-i-Dard, Nalai-i-Dard, Ah-i-Sard, Dard-i-Dil and Shama-i-Mahfil. "I am not a Sufi that I may open a new chapter on Tasawwuf, nor am I a Mullah that I may start discussion and disputation. I am sincere adorer of Muhammad, and I am intoxicated with his pure wine. From one who is thus drunk, you should expect to hear the tale of the beloved only. Dard is like a nightingale from whom you may hear his plaint. It is through him that the plaint of the nightingale is made intelligible."

MIRZA MAZHAR.

Mirza Jan Janan, son of Mirza Jan, was one of the most celebrated saint in the Naqshbandia order. He was the fourth

1. Nalai-i-Dard (Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture) p.65.
spiritual descendant of the Mujaddid. He also wrote Urdu poetry and his nom de plume was Mazhar. Mir speaks very reverently of him and describes him as a Darvaish full of piety and sanctity, a learned man, full of grace and accomplishments, incomparable honoured and esteem. In spiritualism he was the disciple of Nur Muhammad Badauni. After his death in 1135 A.H. Mirza Mazhar underwent training in spiritualism for several years. After the continuous efforts of 30 years, he found himself capable to teach others. He settled in Delhi and taught large number of persons the lessons of self-surrender and devotion to Holy Law. He visited places like, Sambhal, Amroha, Muradabad, Shahjahanpur in Rohilkhand.

   Mamulat Mazharia - pp.15, 16, 17.
GROWTH OF URDU LITERATURE.

The first half of the 18th century is the most glorious period for the growth of Urdu Literature. Urdu not only made a definite start but attained perfection to a great extent. It acquired a form, content and power. It secured a new position and became the rival of the Persian.

The most distinguished poet of the period was Shamsuddin Wali (1668-1744), who is most appropriately called the 'Father of Rekhta'. His two visits to Delhi (one in 1700 and the second in 1722) served greatly to inspire the poets of Northern India to compile Diwans in Persian style. His own Diwan, having Persian subjects and the Delhi idioms was hailed by the citizens of Delhi, and leapt into instant fame. It was highly appreciated by them, and his poems were sung in public places, court, markets, streets, social and religious gatherings. His poetry is steeped in love. His style is simple, elegant and chaste. There is great emotional appeal in his verses, "which are eloquent, flowing, and spontaneous and have no signs of labour. He made definite departure from the beaten track and introduced subjects which were natural and modern.

The influence of Wali over Northern India was tremendous.

1. For the details of his life-Kuliyat-i-Wali by Dr.N.H.Hashmi pp.11-14 (Preface).
3. Saxena- p.44.
His Diwan not only served as a model for the poets of Delhi, but encouraged them to enrich Urdu prosody by compiling Diwans on the pattern set by him. As a result great pioneers arose who consolidated the language, purified and refined it. They discarded obsolete words and excluded excessive rhetoric and figures of speech. Further, they imported abundantly Persian idioms, allusions and similes. They borrowed 'Ahyam' or double-meaning from Bhasha, and used sufiistic terms in their poems.

The famous poets of this period were Faiz, Abru, Arzu, Hatim, Mazmun, Naji, Taban, Yakrang, Sauda, Dard and Mir.

The first poet in Northern India who compiled a Diwan in Rekhta was Nawab Sadruddin Muhammad Khan Faiz, Delhvi. Hatim was the next most celebrated poet who founded the Delhi School of poetry which gave an impetus to the movement initiated by Wali. His merits as a poet were recognised by contemporaries and he was considered as the master of Rekhta. There were 45 poets who learnt the art of versification from him. He wrote two Diwans, one very voluminous, full of 'Ahyam,' and another known as 'Diwan Zada' an abridged edition of the former. He also wrote a Diwan in Persian. About his poetry he writes, "I have been practising the art of poetry for 40 years from 1129 to 1169 A.H. (1716-1755) A.D." He gave up uncouth words and obsolete idioms. He employed those Arabic and Persian

2. Diwan-Zada, edited by Molvi Dr. Sirajul Haq Kureishy.
words which were "easy, elegant and fluent, and used in common parallelism amongst the polished." "I also insist," he further writes, "on a mastery in the construction of verses and I attempt at polished eloquence." One of his distinguished pupils who carried the Rekhta poetry to the highest level was 'Mohammad Rafi Suda'.

Suda was the originator of two new forms in Urdu poetry, i.e. Qasida and Hijv, laudatory odes and satire, and in these he excelled all contemporaries and subsequent poets. It shall not be an exaggeration if we place him side by side with the greatest masters of Persian like Urfi, Khaqani and Anwari. He was a born satirist and had a natural talent and aptitude for it. Satire which is "the humourous or caustic criticism of man's faults and foibles in all their manifestation, the hotch-pot or farrago of the vagaries of human conduct," reached the high watermark in his composition. He raised satire from an indifferent form of workmanship into the front-rank and made it a piece of art. In his Tazkih-i-Rozgar (the Drisal of the age) he has surpassed his rivals. His lively wit, sarcastic humour and his admirable command of language made his satire very keen and biting. His influence on his contemporaries and successors was supreme. He imported Persian

2. See for details of his life Sauda by Shaikh Chand pp.35-87.
expressions, constructions, metaphors, similies, allusions and idioms and wove them skilfully into its texture. He had great capacity for coining new words. He fused and blended Hindi and Persian words. "Some of his meters are very difficult and the Radifs and Qafias are stiff, but they show his mastery and skill in negotiating difficult constructions, and achieving 1 success where others failed!"

MIR DARD - 1133-1199 A.H.

Mir Dard was not only a great Sufi but a poet of fame, 2 who set new standards in the composition of Urdu Ghazals. Unlike Sauda or other contemporaries, he never indulged in lampoons or cheap love, but on the otherhand, his ideas were sober, his thoughts sublime, chaste and refined. His poetry is permeated with Sufism and spiritualism, and there is an air of patthos which invests the poems with charm and appealing force. He wrote poetry only in inspired moments, and in the heat of emotions, and, as a result, his output is less than others who wrote for the sake of writing. He is one of those who cleared Urdu poetry from vagueness and polished and refined it. His influence over the contemporaries was great and they all all held him in high esteem. He was a source of inspiration and guidance for others. Mir speaks highly of him and raises 3 him to a position of a pre-eminent poet.

MIR T AQI M IR.

Mir Taqi whose nom de Guerre was Mir was the most celebrated poet of his time, and is popularly called Khuda-i-Sakhun, or 'God of Poetry'. He was the greatest Ghazal-writer. Ghalib, Nasikh and others have recognised his merits as master of Urdu poetry. "The chief of the poets of Hindustan, the most eloquent of the eloquents of his time, a heart-attracting poet, and incomparable writer of verses." Besides Hasan, other writers of Tazkiras have lavished the highest encomiums on Mir and his poetry. He was a born poet. Sensitive, self-respecting and one who underwent trials and tribulations throughout his life fortitude. His poetry is filled with pessimism. Pathos and despondency have added charm and beauty to his poetry. He used Persian constructions only to the extent if they agreed with the construction of the Rekhta idioms. His domain was Ghazal in which no one could compete with him. His verses are simple, eloquent, poignant, winged with pathos and pain. They have the greatest appealing power and force. In the ardour of passion, in the melody and music, in the felicity of phrase, in the ecstasy of feeling, his Ghazals rank the best in Urdu literature. Many of his verses have that haunting quality which is regarded as a hallmark of true and great poetry."

1. For details of his Life - Mir Taqi Mir by Dr. Khawaja Ahmad Farooqi - pp-51-69.
4. Saxena • p
Persian still continued its hold, though weakened to some extent by this time. It was the Court language and the taken language of nobility and gentry. It had its roots deep in the soil and its knowledge determined the status of a person in Court or society. Being the medium of culture and knowledge, it was the language of great poets, philosophers, and writers. Urdu was its hand-maiden, in vocabulary and expression, though it could not claim equality with Persian. All documents of state and Firmans were written in it, correspondence among the nobles was carried in it, exordia and prefaces, Tazkiras and histories were written in the Persian language. It is true that the brightest stars like, Faizi, Urfi and Nazeeri, in the firmament of Persian poetry did not appear during this time, but some of the greatest figures like Hazin, Baqir, Arzu, Faiz, Mukhlis, Azad Bilgrami, Nadeem and Sahir arose who kept the torch bearing. Hazin is best known for his memoirs (Tazkirat-ul-Ahwal) composed in 1741-42, which was translated into English by F.C. Balfour in 1830-31. He composed an account about hundred contemporary poets entitled Tazkirat-ul-Mu'asrin. Azad Bilgrami is also the author of several works. Other poets who flourished during this period were: Qazalbash Khan Omeed, Suleman Quli Khan Daud, Ali Quli Khan Nadeem, Murtaza Quli Khan Firaq, Shaikh Saadullah Gulshan etc. They all had their Diwans and other works to their credit. Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah wrote his Diwan in Persian.
MUSIC.

Muhammad Shah was a great patron of art and music. In his Court were gathered the finest musical talents of the age. The Khyal style of singing, which had been invented by Sultan Husain Sherki in the 15th century, was brought to a state of perfection by two performers of repute attached to his Court - Adfrang and Sadfrang. Most of the melodies composed and sung by those two artists are associated with the name of Muhammad Shah who had earned the appellation of Rangila (Coloured) on account of his gay character. Enticing, classical adornments were the feature of many new modes, like Rekhta, Qaww, Taqfa, Tarvat, Gazzal, Kubana, marsia, Soz etc. Naimat Khan, Advat Sen, Rahim Sen, Sh.Moinuddin, Qasim Ali, Husain Khan, Debi Singh, Boli Khan, Shujaat Khan, Taj Khan, Baj Khan, Ghulam Ali, Nur Muhammad, were men of fame. Among the dancers attached to the Court were Nur Bai, Panna Bai, Roshan, Bai Kalan, Bai Khurd, Burj Kunwar, Ramzani, Ganga, Kali Ganga, Aqila, Nahn Bai, and Champa. Muhammad Shah was the Mughul Emperor who patronised music. The Tappa style of Hindustani singing was perfected by one Shori during this period. Many new types of songs and music were also introduced.

1. Tazkirah Shakir Khan - ff.112(b), 113(a).

*See also* Mina't-ul-Numa.
ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY.

The Emperor was keenly interested in the scientific study of astronomy. He encouraged and patronised the astronomers who were engaged in their original research work. The most eminent worker who made contribution to the study of astronomy was Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur. He erected in Delhi an astronomical observatory under the directorship of Mirza Khairullah Mehandas, and equipped it with instruments brought from Central Turkistan and Europe. Some of the instruments he had himself invented. The observatory known as Jantar Mantir (Yantar Kandir) still stands as a testimony to the greatness of the Raja as an astronomer. He erected observatories at Jaipur, Muthra, Benaras and Ujjain. Several works on astronomy were translated in Hindi from Arabic by the orders of the Raja. A new Calendar, named Zij Muhammad Shahi, was prepared on the pattern of Ulugh Beg, Mulla Chand and Mulla Farid Shahjahani.

Astrology, a handmaid of astronomy, governed every act of life in these days. Kings, nobles, and masses who resorted to astrologers to know the future. The planets hung like a lowering cloud over all men's lives! Muhammad Shah kept a staff of star-gazers who pointed out the auspicious and evil moments for all of his actions. Among those who had been employed by him for this purpose were, Munajjim Khan, Hadi Ali Khan, Mirza Khairullah, Shah Abdur Rasul, Naeem Khan, Mirza Abdul Kareem.

2. Tazkirah-i-Shakir Khan f.112(a).
ARCHITECTURE.

While fine arts of music and dance continued to show extraordinary vitality in this period, architecture rapidly declined. Austere and frugal, Alamgir was not the least interested in buildings and spending money over their construction. His successors were to engrossed in their affairs as to spare time and money for the construction of monuments. The entire age is barren and bespeaks the bankruptcy, and depressing political and economic conditions which acted as a check on this artistic expression. Muhammad Shah is not credited with the erection of a single structure. On the other hand, his nobles constructed some mosques and bridges, which were only hollow imitation of the magnificent monuments of the preceding age. The fact that the Emperor possessed no wealth while his nobles and ministers grew richer, is convincingly proved by this deplorable distinction.

Roshanud Daulah Zafar Khan had constructed two mosques in Delhi, are known as Sunehri Masjid near Kotwali, in 1134, and the other, as Masjid Roshan-ud-Daulah, in 1137 H. On both the structures he had spent lavishly. The domes and minarets were painted with gold, which added charm and beauty to the buildings. Sharfud-Daulah built a mosque in Dariba in Delhi, but it was not so fine. Qamruddin Khan and Nawab Zakirya Khan are also reported to have erected two mosques in Lahore during the reign of Muhammad Shah.

Painting exhibited the same decline. To the credit of Muhammad Shah it may be said that he kept up the spirit by keeping a number of painters in his Court.

1. Miftah-ul-Tawarikh . pp308-309