CHAPTER - VI

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

The Muslim rulers attached great importance to education. Their Prophet had taught them that it was better to educate one's child than to give gold in charity. To every Muslim, the attainment of knowledge is ordained by religion. Hazart Muhammad had said "Knowledge should be sought from the cradle to the grave and should be acquired even if it has to go to China."

Most of the Muslim monarchs and also the Mughal Emperors, were great patrons of learning. Their love of learning is quite evident from the fact that their courts were adorned with scholars of great erudition. Although during the reign of the Great Mughals, there was no regular department of Public Instruction, yet there is evidence to show that they had a department which looked after religion and education. The educational institutions were particularly looked upon with respect and liberally subsidized. There were great centres of learning such as Lahore, Uch, Thatta, Sialkot, Batala, Dipalpur, Pakpattan, Multan, Samana, Sunam, Jullundur, Sirhind, Ambala, Thanesar, Panipat, Sultanpur, Bajwara and also some small centres spread all over the Panjab, where thousands of people thronged to quench their thirst for knowledge. Sometimes large enough grants were set apart to run these educational institutions by the Mughal Emperors.

The Mughal Emperors opened schools in various parts of India and sought to supplement their achievements by extensive patronage of literary work. There are hardly any appreciable records to give the detailed information about these schools, colleges and seminaries run by the Mughal Government in the Panjab. The Mughal Emperors not only
encouraged the study and cultivation of higher art, literature and
philosophies by their liberal grants and rewards to the deserving men
but also founded a good many schools and colleges, and gave adequate
endowments for their upkeep in addition to the regular grants by whi
the religious schools in the mosques and in the houses of the 'Qasis'
were maintained in every town and village. It was also due to their
efforts for the cause of the spread of education that the paper was
first introduced into India from Samarkand, where there was a big
manufactory of it, and a number of factories were set up in India, the
chief being at Sialkot. This was indeed one of the most material con­
tributions made by the Great Mughals to the progress of education in
India.

Babar and Humayun did not have much time to take up the cause
of education as their reign mostly remained unsettled. However, they
patronised all the chief centres of learning which existed before the
advent of the Great Mughals. Sher Shah Suri also established a school
at Nurnaul.

Akbar was deeply interested in the promotion of education to
which he had given special impetus, especially during his fourteen
years' stay in the Punjab from 1585 to 1596. Not only were the educa­
tional institutions provided with renowned professors, but the entire
system of education was reformed. "We see in Akbar, perhaps for the
first time in Muslim history, a Muslim monarch sincerely eager to
further the education of Muhammadans and Hindus alike. We also notice
for the first time the Hindus and Muhammadans studying in the same
schools, and colleges." Persian was made a compulsory subject for all
Female education was not neglected. Akbar laid down some very definite
instructions as to the method of teaching in schools in order to save
the great waste of time involved in the methods which were then in
vogue. The teachers were called upon to teach their pupils first by
practice in writing and then by making them commit to memory some
moral sayings and precepts. Abul Fazl says that "care is to be taken
that he learns to understand every thing himself; but the teacher may
assist him a little."

The following subjects were prescribed by Akbar as essential
for every one to study according to the needs of the time: (1) Morals
and Social behaviour. (2) Arithmetic. (3) Notations of numbers. (4)
Medicine. (12) Logic. (13) The Tahi (Medical), Riyazi (Mathematics)
and Ilahi (Science of Divinity). (14) History. Those people, who stud-
ied Sanskrit were required to study (1) Grammar. (2) Philology. (3)
Logic. (4) Vedant and Patanjali. In fact during the Mughal period,
education was diffused through three-fold means (1) Schools (2)Mosques
and Monasteries and (3) Private houses typifying three forms of educa-
tion viz., University, Primary and Domestic. All the above-mentioned
subjects were compulsory for the University scholars studying in big
centres.

The initiative taken by Akbar had provided a scope for indivi-
dual and private enterprise also. In the reign of Jahangir there were
schools in almost every village and town, which were certainly not
government aided. They had come into being through local and private
efforts. Moreover, education was afterwards considered quite outside
the scope of temporal activities. It was a profession reserved for
religious recluses who imparted it free or at nominal charges. "There
was also in Lahore a Mission school started by the Fathers under the
patronage of the government for giving instruction to the sons of the
nobles."
The same trend continued during the reign of Shah Jahan rather with more vigour and education flourished like any other thing in the Panjab. Institutions conducted by Muslim holy men mushroomed during this period in most of the towns.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, education in the Panjab continued as before. Muslim schools were prominent because they enjoyed the royal grants and other privileges, whereas the non-Muslim schools had to depend on their private meagre resources due to Aurangzeb's staunch religious policy. Nearly all the Muslim schools used to be connected with mosques, where teaching of the Quran was the main subject. They also gave instruction in the Persian classics. In Aurangzeb's days, Sialkot and Thatta became all important centres of education.

According to Kushti Sujan Rai, 'the city of Thatta was famous for learning Theology, Philology and Politics, and both the cities of Sialkot and Thatta had above four hundred schools and colleges for training up young men in those parts of learning.'

There existed separate 'Maktabs' for the education of girls, but usually they received their education in the same schools where the boys did, of course, up to the primary standard when sexual consciousness had not yet awakened, and after that they were segregated from them and given their education either privately or in the schools specially provided for them. The daughters of the nobles were given higher education in their own houses by learned ladies or old men of tried morals employed for the purpose. After acquiring primary education in the 'Maktabs' meant for them or at home, the girls used to be further educated by some elderly ladies of proved piety in

1. P. Saran, pp. 483–485
2. Adunath Sarkar, pp. 96–97
domestic science, i.e., cooking, spinning, sewing and looking after
the young. Proper arrangements were made for the instruction of girls
in house-hold affairs and the subject loomed largely in curriculum
designed for them.

Technical education was given in Karkhanas (workshops) of
apprenticeship. The boys who did not attend a 'Maktab' or a 'Madrasa'
were sent to these workshops for receiving necessary training in arts
and crafts. The trading classes maintained their own schools for the
instruction of their children in the rudiments of the three R's and
made suitable arrangements for the promotion of their knowledge in
business and accounts. Such schools have survived even to our own t
es. The fact that arts and crafts, industries and commerce flourished
abundantly in Muslim India points to the existence of a good system
of technical education.

A. PERSIAN AND ARABIC LITERATURE

Samana was considered to be the greatest centre of Muslim learn-
ing before Babar appeared in the Panjab. This place was called the
Mecca of India because it happened to be the residence of some renown-
med Arabic and Persian scholars. Here the Muslim edicts were finally
expounded. Languages, other than Persian and Arabic, were usually
neglected and it was to the development of these two that the Sultans
of Delhi contributed greatly. With the appearance of the Great Mughals
on the scene a great renaissance occurred in the field of education,
in which other languages besides Arabic and Persian were encouraged
enormously. The credit of this renaissance goes to Akbar, who wanted
to be the king of all Indians and thus treated all languages at par

1. Education in Muslim India- M.W.Jaffar,PP.157-158
2. Present Day Problems of Indian Education-Zahir-ud-din Ahmed,(1436),
   PP.33
3. Imperial Gazetteer of India-Vol.IV,P.498
3. Seventeen miles south-west of Patiala. Samana was formed a province
   by Ala-ud-din Khalji,like the province of Lahore and Multan.(History
   of India-Vol.III,Eliot and Dowson,P.116)
and contributed greatly to the development of all languages. The reign of the Great Mughals is called the golden period of the Persian language. Every scholar of Arabic was adept in Persian.

Persian literature of this period may be placed under four heads viz., (1) Translations from Sanskrit (2) Poetry (3) History (4) Commentaries and other works. Many Muslim scholars, poets, teachers and commentators who did a lot for the all-round development of Persian literature flourished during this period. Amongst others the following names may be mentioned with distinction.

(1) Raja Todar Mal: Raja Todar Mal was a Tandon Khatri of Chiniot, in Jhang District, 33 miles from Lyalpur, a town of considerable antiquity, believed to have been founded about the time when Lahore came into being. He was the most trusted man of Sher Shah and later joined the service of Akbar, under whom he earned a great name as a general, a statesman, a financier and a reformer in revenue administration.

Raja Todar Mal was the first patron of Persian language in the real sense of the word, and gave it regal status for the first time in this country. The most important reform introduced by Todar Mal was the change in the language and the characters used for the revenue accounts. Previously these were maintained in Hindi by Hindu Muharrirs. Todar Mal ordered, in 990 A.H.(1583 A.D.), that all government accounts should henceforth be written in Persian. He thus forced his co-religionists to learn the court language of their rulers - a circumstance which stands a good comparison with the introduction of the English language in the courts of India. The study of Persian, therefore, became necessary for its pecuniary advantages.

Raja Todar Mal was a great scholar of Persian and Arabic. His
mastery over Arabic is established from the fact that he used Arabic words and phrases spontaneously in his work entitled Khazin-Asrar wherein he has quoted idiomatic phrases from the Al-Quran. In his work Khazin-Asrar, the Raja displays a wonderful flight of imagination and the style is libre and ornate and exhibits mastery over the art of composition. His second work in Persian was Todran. He also translated Bhagvad Puran into Persian and his last work was Risala-dar-Fan-i-Siaq, a treatise on arithmetic.

(3) Sayyid Abdullah Sultanmurs-Abdullah was the resident of Sultanpur generally known as Sultanpur Lodi which is now a town in Kapurthala District. He was the greatest scholar of Arabic and Persian of his age. He was famous for his learning and accomplishments, and became celebrated under the title of Shaikh-i-Islami in the reign of Islam Shah and enjoyed the surname of Makhdum-ul-Mulk in the reigns of Humayun and Akbar. He died in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.).

Abdullah was a scholar of Asul(ُ), Fiqah(ُ) and history.

As regards his works he wrote Ismat-i-Anblya and a commentary to Shama'il-ul-Nabi in Persian.

(3) Saudullab Khan- Saadullah Khan was Thaim by caste and a resident of village Pitraki, in Chiniot, in Jhang District. His father was a Jat and the family lived in great privation. At an early age he came to Lahore and lived in mosques where he persecuted his studies. After some years he went to Delhi where he got further education from some great scholars of the capital. He attracted the attention of Shah Jahan who raised him to the rank of the chief Divan of the State. To quote Ibn-i-Hasan, "Saadullah Khan was decidedly the most learned, the most efficient and the best Divan of Emperor Shah
Jahan.* His works which were mainly based on intellectual reasoning are not available these days.

(4) **Sujan Rai Chandari**: Sujan Rai Chandari, a resident of Batala, District Curdaspur, was a great scholar of Persian prose. He wrote Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh in the 40th year of the reign of Aurangzeb corresponding in 1107 A.H. (1695-96 A.D.) and spent two years to complete it. It is written in elegant Persian, replenished with metaphors and quotations of appropriate verses. As regards the subject matter the book may be divided into three parts:

(a) **The Geography of India during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.**

(b) **The History of the rajas of India from the time of Judhishtar Pandu to the reign of Rai Pishaura.**

(c) **The History of the Muslim Emperors from the time of Nasir-ud-din Subuktaiqan until the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.**

Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh is probably the first ancient history, wherein the narrative of the Muslim Emperors has been written by a Hindu. The description of the Panjab and references to the Sikhs form a very valuable part of the work.

(5) **Chander Khan Brahman**: Chander Khan was born at Lahore and was a man of great literary attainments. He was a poet of Persian and his pen name was Brahman. He entered the service of Mir Abdul Karim, the superintendent of buildings at Lahore and later joined the service of Amir-ul-Umara Afsal Khan. He presented his best work Chahar Chaman, on the festival of Mau Rose at Sirhind to Shah Jahan, for this the Emperor honoured him with the high title of Munshi-us-Zaman. His main works are:

1. Chahar Chaman,
2. Munshiat-ul-Hiraan,
3. Tuhfat-ul-Anwar,
4. Karansa,
5. Tuhfa-ul-Fusha,
6. Majma-ul

Rehman-1948, P.313

Bazir-i-Faimania-Abdur Rehman-1949, P.313

History of India-Vol.VIII, Elliot and Dowson, P.8
Chahar Chaman is divided into four parts, the first gives certain public events of Shah Jahan's reign, the second describes contemporary India, the third records some personal anecdotes of his life, and the fourth includes some wise saws, his autobiography, and some letters of his own. Insha-i-Brahman represented a very popular collection of letters giving useful information about the reign of Shah Jahan.

Chander Bhan Brahman was a poet possessing tolerant disposition and wide outlook. He could write both prose and poetry with equal elegance. If credit can be given to any Persian writer for having absorbed and reproduced the style of Abul Faal, undoubtedly it would go to Chander Bhan. His work Chahar Chaman is an outstanding instance of what ornate and embellished prose can be.

(6) Abdul Hamid Lahori- Abdul Hamid Lahori was born at Lahore but later had settled at Thatta. He was the student of Abul Faal and thus picked up his very style. He was a sound scholar of Persian prose whom Shah Jahan appointed as Court Historian probably in 1643. Shah Jahan wanted a comprehensive history of his reign to be written after the style of Akbarnama, of Abdul Faal. Abdul Hamid was already on the decline of his age when he undertook writing of Badshahnama popularly known as Shah Jahan-nama and completed it on November 9, 1648. He died on August 30, 1654.

Lahori's Badshahnama covers the first twenty years' of Shah Jahan's reign. He adopted the style of Abul Faal. The real value of this work lies in the second part, which records the events of the second cycle.

1. Chahar Chaman-Chander Bhan Brahman, 4th Chapter
2. History of Shah Jahan, Nurema PP. 208-211
4. Badshahnama, 1649, Abdur Rahman, Text, P. 218-219
(7) Kamaal - Sialkot was a great seat of learning and there was a
college in which very learned teachers of Persian and Arabic imparted
education on all subjects and the students were attracted from far
and near to join. It was on account of the reputation of this 'Madrasa'
that Maulana Kamaal, getting angry with Husain, the governor of
Kashmir, came to Sialkot in 971 A.H. (1564 A.D.) and joined the col-
lege as a teacher and taught the students. Kamaal was a master of Per-
sian and Arabic both and was a very good speaker.

(8) Mullah Abdul Hakim Sialkoti - Mullah Sialkoti was a great scholar,
author and commentator. For sixty years he gave instruction to the
people and his fame for learning spread throughout India. He wrote
many works in Persian which have become rare, rather almost extinct.
He was a great Philosopher and Theologian. His chief works are com-
mentaries on Bysavi Mukaddimat Arba'italayaj, Muta'ali, Shah Mofique,
Shamsa, Akayed Mullah Jalal and Hikmal-ul-ain. He died in 1686.

In the words of Sujan Rai Bhandari, "The Mullah was the most
accomplished of the accomplished, the most perfect of scholars, the
manifestation of the upright nature, the ocean of the waves of learn-
ing and perfection, the man of unrivalled accomplishments and bene-
ficence - spread learning still further. By writing marginal commen-
taries on some books, he interpreted the meaning of difficult passages.
The pupils who joined his blessed school from far and near, attained
too many accomplishments. When he passed away, that leader of the men
of God and guide of the creatures of the Deity, Maulvi Abdullaaj the
second son of the saved soul (Abdul Hakim), engaged himself in incre-
asing the glory of the school and in guiding the pupils. He made his
internal virtues match his external learning and his religious poverty
the close associate of his scholarship. As he promoted better manners
and acted as the guide of all classes of men, this great man was sur-
named 'the Imam of the Age.' He passed on to the Eternal world in the
36th year of Alamgir's reign (1683 A.D.)."

(9) Mullah Jami Lahori - Jami Lahori was a great poet of Persia. He
was a teacher also, but unfortunately his works are not available
anywhere.

(10) Munshi Har Karan - Munshi Har Karan, son of Mathra Das Multani,
had compiled his famous work "Insha-i-Nar Karan", between 1634 and 1630. Its chief interest lies in its presenting official forms of Letters of Appointment thereby throwing light on the functions of different officials and Mughal administrative practices. It is written in Persian prose.

There were many more minor Sufi saints who were primarily great scholars of Persian and Arabic, and were controlling various seats of learning (Khanqahs). They learnt and taught these languages and preached Islamic Theology. In the theory of knowledge they discarded the ultimate authority of reason, and made direct realisation, like the Samadhis of the Hindus, the proof religion. Like the Hindu Philosophers, they argued that through ordinary means of knowledge man can know only the relative, and as God is absolute, he cannot gain any positive knowledge of His qualities or nature. He must, therefore, depend upon revelation - prophetic or personal - to obtain that knowledge. They further taught that it was possible to know God because God's nature was not different in essence from that of man, and that the human soul partook of the divine and would after death return to its divine source. This was the theme of the works of the Sufi poets who wrote in Persian poetry and prose during the period under our study. The writer has spared no effort to find out their individual works in various libraries such as The Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library Bankipur, Patna, National Library, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Panjab State Archives, Patiala, and the National Archives of India, Delhi, but all in vain. Consequently, their names only can be given below such as Syed Muhammad, Kamal Shah, Shaikh Husain, Shah Shams-ud-din, Mian Natha Shah Abul Ma'ali, Mian Mir, Maskin Shah, Shah Charagh, Khawaja Haji Jamal, Shah Dargahi, Shah Shafai, Shah Anayat Qadri, Muhammad Ghous, Abdulla Shah Baloach, Ali Shah Qadri, Shah Kaku and Muhammad Salim (All residents of Lahore). Shaikh Shams-ud-din, Jalal-ud-din, Shaikh Shibli,
Abdul Karim, Shaikh Imam, Rizam-ud-din and Shah Ali (Panipat), Shah Ahmed and Jalal-ud-din (Thanesar) and Shaikh Muhammed Qadir (Batala), and Bullah Shah (Kamur). All of them richly contributed to Persian literature.

The Panjab has remained unrivalled for the number of its Sufi shrines, which could be seen everywhere situated at distances of about a mile or two from one another. There was hardly a shrine which did not possess some traditional verse of its own. It was noble, pious, and sweet poetry which inspired search of Divine Love, and cemented the Hindu-Muslim unity. With the lapse of time, the Sufism and the Hindu Vedanta ultimately met at one common target of their communion with God, and it was the common vehicle of spiritual approach to God that brought them nearer to each other.

Guru Nanak was a pioneer in patronising Persian, who gave place to a few hymns in Persian in the Adi Granth. Guru Gobind Singh wrote Zafarnama in pure Persian. Bhai Nand Lal 'Joya' wrote 'Divan-i-Goya' in Persian. It is a solid proof of the contribution of the Sikhs if proof were needed to Persian literature and openly refutes the charge of Dr. Sayyid Abdulla who says "The Sikhs did not contribute to Persian but only patronised Panjabi."

Arabic was the religious language of Muslims. To contribute to its development was incumbent on every pious Muslim. In order to attain salvation it was necessary for a Muslim to learn Arabic, because without learning this language, it was not possible for him to read the Quran. During the reign of the Great Mughals, great stress was laid on the study of the Quran. It was commented upon and translated by many persons. Maulana Abdulla Sultanpuri as stated above was a great scholar of Arabic.

1. Adab-i-Celebi Man Hindun Ka Hissa, P. 156
   Al-i-Akhari, Vol. I, Blochman, P. 352
The real contribution of the Great Mughals is the Urdu language. Urdu is a Turkish word which means a military camp. It is a matter of common knowledge that people in a military camp hailing from various parts of the country and speaking different languages and dialects blend themselves into one unit and after a long association among themselves, they adopt one another's words and phrases ultimately leading to the creation of a new language. Urdu language, a product of military camp is thus a mixture of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Hindi and some other languages. It is a common spoken dialect, that emerged as a consequence of contact between the foreign Turks and other Central Asian Muslims on the one hand and the Indians on the other hand during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1306-1526) or a little earlier. But it remained in a fluid condition for nearly two hundred years and attained the status of a written language during the reign of the Great Mughals. It was originally called Zaban-i-Hindi (the Indian language) and subsequently got the name of Urdu.

While determining the origin of Urdu and the reasons for its coming into being, various critics have expressed different views. According to Maulana Muhammad Husain Asad, it emerged from Brijbhasha dialect of Western Hindi. Rafiz Mahmud Shirani author of the "Panjab Mem Urdu" holds the view that Urdu grew out of contact between Panjabi and Sindhi on the one hand and Persian on the other. But Dr. Masud Husain of Aligarh University has recently propounded a theory that the spoken language of Delhi in the early days of the Sultanate was Hariani. For the first time, Shaikh Fartt-ud-din Janj-i-Shakar collected Hindwi words for the repetition of God's name (zikr). Many a Muslim mystic rendered into this mixed language some popular works of love and romance. The saints of the Shakti movement also contributed greatly to the evolution of Hindi-Urdu language. Like the Sufis they made use
of Hindvi as the medium of their expression and not Sanskrit which could not be understood by the common people. Gradually this language developed into a literary form and assumed the title of the lingua-franca of India. "Originally it was an offspring of Hindi Prakrits but under a long and sustained influence of spoken Persian its vocabulary gradually softened itself until it came to acquire the present form and texture." According to another quotation "the influence of Persian education on the Hindus soon showed itself, in the language of the people. A new dialect formed itself, the language which we now-a-days call Urdu or Hindustani. The share of the Hindus in the formation and perfection of this new dialect is, we believe, greater than historians and scholars are generally willing to admit. The origin of Urdu and the time in which it arose, will appear in a new light when viewed in connection with the progress of the Hindus in the study of the Persian language; and the question which has occasionally been put, why did not Urdu form itself before seems to us completely answered." It arose when one of the great results of this mutually reciprocal understanding and intercourse, facilitated by the liberal educational policy of Muslim Kings, was the creation of a new language, Urdu—the offspring of Persian and Hindi... which in course of time superseded its parents and became the lingua-franca. That it is foreign to the soil and must be got rid of on that score, is wholly erroneous and betrays an utter ignorance of Indo-Islamic cultural history. The real place of Urdu in the culture of the country is admirably set forth by a fair-minded Hindi scholar in the following words "Almost every work in Indo-Persian literature contains large number of words of Indian origin, and thousands of Persian words became naturalised in every Indian vernacular language. The mingling of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words and ideas with languages and concepts of Sanskrit origin is extremely interes.
ing from the philological point of view, and this co-ordination of unknowns resulted in the origin of the beautiful Urdu language. That language in itself symbolized the reconciliation of the hitherto irreconcilable and mutually hostile types of civilization represented by Hinduism and Islam."

The intellectual, commercial and social intercourse of the various communities coupled with the hearty welcome of the Hindus made Urdu a very popular language of India. The language, developed by the combined efforts of both Hindus and Muslims, can now boast of a fairly wide and varied literature of its own both in poetry and prose. It is a common heritage of both the communities and it would be equally unfair for either to subject it to a step-motherly treatment.

The following Urdu poets of the Panjab contributed a lot towards the development of this language. Maulana Muhammad Afzal of Panipa who died in 1616 (1036 A.H.) wrote 'Bara Mah' generally known as Mukat-Ka'âni; Shaikh Usman of Jullundur was a famous poet of Urdu, was the contemporary of Shah Jahan. Munshi Wali Ram wrote one Masnavi in Urdu. Nasir Ali Sirhindhi was a poet of fame; Muhammad Afzal Lahore wrote poetry and Shaikh Abul Faraj was a well known Urdu poet. Muhammad Fasil of Batala was born in 1668 (1079 A.H.) and wrote about forty books in Urdu and Persian. Musa was the contemporary of Muhammad Fasil of Batala and Shaikh Muhammad Mir of Batala was another Urdu writer who wrote Munajat. The works of these poets are almost extinct and thus cannot be commented upon.

C. PANJABI LITERATURE

Earliest phase of Panjabi literature synchronises with the

2. I've always looked upon Urdu not as a language and as a medium of culture - as a common heritage of both the communities (Hindus and Muslims)" - Rt.Hon.Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. "Urdu is a language of polite intercourse. It is heritage to whose present-day vitality and richness both Hindus and Muslims have contributed" - Hon.Sir Girija Shankar Sajpal.
times in which the modern Indian group of Indo-Aryan languages was shaping itself into distinct independent languages. This period may be treated as spread over eighth to middle of fifteenth centuries. A major part of the literary product of this period has been irretrievably lost to posterity, partly thanks to political uncertainties of the times and mainly because of the vandalism of the invading hordes from north-west. Many a missing link still remain to be provided to fill gaps in the literary history of this period. The subtle beauty of the literary composition of Shaikh Farid (1173-1336 A.D.) most explicitly envisage the presence of what Dr. Mohan Singh calls "a pretty long Pre-Manak Age of Panjabi Literature."

A perusal of the works of Guru Gorakh Nath (940-1031) and many of his followers like Charpat Nath, Chaurangi Nath and Ratan Nath who thrived in Northern India during ninth and tenth and eleventh centuries and their contemporary Adheman author of Sanesh-Rasoo (Sandesh) provides ample proof of this activity in the form of their use of a number of distinctive Panjabi word-forms and verb-formations. Panjab, was a major centre of the exploits of the 'Maths' and 'Siddhas' and it was quite natural for them to imbibe the effects of the local speech, as it was evolving itself out of the Aphrampa stage. There is a great affinity between the old Panjabi vocabulary, old Sindhi and old Rajasthani, popularly known as 'Dingal', and it provides a very interesting field for research for cultural-historian of the Panjab and North-Western India.

The first centre of Panjabi literary activity emerged in the Lehanda (western) region of the Panjab in and around the old town of Multan, which lay on the famous trade routes with Sindh, Rajasthan and middle eastern countries. Even before the Muslim conquest of India, Multan had become an important centre of Muslim culture under the impact of Muslim traders and through the efforts of Sufi saints. Adhe-
man makes a reference to his abode in Multan, Sheikh Farid-ud-din, Ganj-i-Shakar also established himself at Pakpattan which became a very important rendezvous of the Sufi mystics and Muslim scholars. Dipalpur, the abode of the love adventures of the Rani Kiklan and Rai Rangi, was another such important centre proselytizing passion of these Sufi divines and mystics led to adoption of Panjabi as a literary idiom. Similarly the first Panjabi love-romance writer Damodar, contemporary of Akbar, also belonged to this region, who adopted Lehanda dialect for his famous "Qissa Heer-Ranja" which soon developed into a vital vehicle of self expression of the mystics. Thus 'Lehanda' was the first to emerge as a literary dialect of Central Panjab (Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdaspur Districts), before it yielded this place of honour to 'Najhi' i.e. the dialect of Central Panjab it had already achieved a distinctive character, remarkable for its romantic mystique economy of expression and sweetness.

A reference may, however, be made to the war ballads known as Vars, which are attributed to Pre-Ranak Age. The martial character of the races inhabiting Panjab and the turbulent times through which it passed under successive invasions from the North-West, undoubtedly warrant the rise and growth of such poetry. The key-motif of such poetry was to highlight the heroic and chivalrous deeds of its protagonist. The suggestion of Shri Guru Arjan Dev, who edited the Adi Granth to sing some of the verses included in it in accordance with the times of various such vars testify to their popularity. A whole world of feudal Panjab with its Princes and chieftains driven to dark

\[A \text{Rosg}^a\] 3. A \text{P a s} such as Dr. Mohan Singh have testified to the presence of Panjabi writing attributed to writers like Purhya or Pandya, Chand Bardai and Khurro etc., it remains problematic to acclaim them as Panjabi writers any more than writers of Panjab. The language used by them may indicate an occasional bias for Panjabi idiom or some traces of Panjabi word-forms may also be discovered in them, but their works manifestly belong more to present day Hindi-Urdu literary tradition than to Panjabi.
passions of love, jealousy and gallantry is secured in these vars. Some of the most important and popular vars of this age are known as the var of Rai Kamal, the Var of Manj, the Var of Tunda Asraja, the Var of Sikander Ibrahim, the Var of Lal Behlana, etc. Their authorship is almost anonymous.

Another link of the literary tradition of Panjabi literature is provided by the existence of a rich folk-lore, which has been presented in the forms of folk-songs, folk-stories, riddles, and popular sayings. While the ancestry of some of these may conclusively be traced to classical Sanskrit, Prakrit and Aabhramsha literatures, a major part of them belongs to the racial inheritance of Panjab, and mirrors the pastoral life and moods in haunting tones with a flavour of the primordial elements like earth, sun moon and stars. The sex-relationships represented in these compositions of a collective mind are very simple, direct and uninhibited. Besides mirroring a whole social milieu, whose last traces even are now fast disappearing, this folk lore preserves the whole account of collective wisdom. Whenever the Panjabi poets felt a need to address the common man they invariably fell back upon this inexhaustible store of tunes and tones and symbols and imagery.

After this promising start, the Panjabi literature did not throw up any luminous figure till two centuries later its brightest star Guru Nanak appeared on the horizon. There must have been a long stretch of some minor poets, but little is known about them. This situation cannot be attributed to any specific reason except that during that dark age of the literary history of Panjab much of its life ebbed away and what little sign of it remained was trampled down by ruthless vandals, the early Muslim invaders. But appearance of Guru Nanak and emergence of Sikh tradition more than redeemed this dismal state of affairs.
Although the poetry of Guru Nanak as also the Sikh religion which evolved out of his teachings, are the product of the same ferment which gave birth to Bhakti movement or renaissance in medieval Indian religion and art, yet they acquired a wholly distinct character of their own. But in its content and in its temper the Sikh poetic tradition carries this distinctive mark. To the devotional exultation and mystic beatitude of the poetry of Bhakti school, Guru Nanak added the element of historical involvement and commitment. This manifested itself in a strong denunciation of the political subjugation and administrative misrule; a seething criticism of the religious rituals and dogmas sustained by a thoroughly decadent priestly class and ruthless demolition of all distinctions of caste and creed which separate man from fellow man. Guru Nanak preached for a Universal fatherhood of God and brotherhood of Man. While paying critical attention to the outer shackles on human personality, Guru Nanak did not forget to point to the moral and spiritual decay in which he found his own people. Describing the mark of 'Kaliyug' he draws attention to the "corruption of the places of worship and decadence of social institutions", and explains it as a consequence of flowing from people becoming fatalists, having cast off their Dharma and degenerating into an ignorant mass of persons dead and blind in spirit. Thus complete surrender of self to the will of a loving God acquired a new significance of a self-less dedication to the service of mankind and to mitigation of its unhappy lot.

Panjabi poetry, with Guru Nanak, expanded its horizons and was endowed with a new daring and a fresh vigour. It forged strong links with the life of men and their dreams of fulfilment. He rejected the concept of God as an abstract construction of cold logic and replaced

\[ - \text{Shalok-Mahalla-1, 20(1)} \]
\[ - \text{Shalok Mahala-1} \]
it with that of a personal God, and adorable father, a loving Lord
an inspiring protector. Panjabi poetry began to glow with this emoti-
nal exuberance and warmth of human relationships. All this led to an
unleashing of new forces and an energisation of a people, which is
still to a large extent far from having exhausted itself. In more way
than one can imagine, Guru Nanak’s poetry appeals to the modern imagi-
nation, and has been a great force in liberating human soul and stimu-
lating human imagination.

Both the catholicity of his belief and radical nature of his
outlook are reflected in Guru Nanak’s attitude to poetic form and his
literary taste. The conscious poet that he was, he made several inno-
vations, which helped him to save the Panjabi poetic tradition from
conventional formation of the traditional literature. In poetic form
he drew heavily upon the folk forms besides adopting popular forms of
"Vars", "Baramahas", "Pauries", "Painti Akhari" to his new content. I
imagery, he replaced the contrived and unnatural images with those
drawn from the natural landscape of Panjab and the social and insti-
tutional life of its people. This set the norm for Panjabi poetry to be
written by succeeding poets as his teachings set the norm for human
conduct. Casting off poetic embellishments and shedding away ostenta-
tious style, Guru Nanak’s poetry became a fresh, direct and intimate
piece of beauty both delicate and vital.

The works of Guru Nanak are secured in the Adi Granth. Most
important of these are metaphysical-cum-lyrical "Jap Ji", Sidh Gosht,
Baramah and Painti Akhari. Besides he wrote scores of lyrical poems
known in Sikh literature as Shabdas. Their popularity led to creation
a whole mass of apocryphal literature attributed to him. "The age of
Nanak is the golden Age for Panjabi life and letters, for, then the
masses of the population found a religion and a literature right close
to their heads and hearts."

*A History of Panjabi Literature*—Dr. Mohan Singh, P. 111
Guru Nanak was followed by successive Sikh Guru-poets. A special mention may be made of Guru Ram Dass, the great aesthetic of a religious poet; Guru Arjan Dev (1568-1606 A.D.) who carved a niche for himself in the realm of medieval Indian culture by successfully executing the stupendous job of editing the Adi Granth (edited 1604 A.D.), which is unique fact of its type. In 1430 pages of this sacred text are included selected works of many important 'Bhaktas' (Saints) of medieval India including Kabir, Farid, Ramanand, Ravidas, Namdev, Sur Das and Mirabai, besides complete works of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Dass, Guru Arjan Dev and many other Bhaktas. Later on Guru Gobind Singh added the teachings of Guru Tegh Bahadur and a couple of his own writings.

Adi-Granth is a unique work of significance in the medieval Indian literature, both for its magnitude and its wide range. As an attempt to bring together the works of Bhaktas of various religious beliefs and different castes, it is a magnificent symbol of the synthesis which Sikhism sought to achieve out of the chaos of medieval Indian religions and society. As a record of what the most sensitive souls of the medieval age of Indian history felt about their contents, or any situation, about the destiny of man, and about the way to his salvation, it is of immense value to the social scientist. As an anthology of verse written in numerous languages and different styles then popular, it provides us with most authentic source for literary and linguistic research.

Adi Granth is a graven monument to the organizing gains of Guru Arjan. The job of collecting, sorting out, selecting and arranging the material, took him over four years. In this enterprise he was ably assisted by another eminent poet and Sikh scholar Bhai Gurdas. To Adi-
Granth's major contribution also came from the pen of Guru Arjan, himself. His compositions are mainly discursive or didactic. The lyrical element is subdued and is provided by a touching expression of a sense of great humility of utter dedication of being the first of the illustrious line of Sikh martyrs.

The energy generated by the Sikh movement led to a great literary renaissance in Panjab. Another important Sikh poet of this age is Bhai Gurdas (1551-1639 A.D.) who wrote both in Brij Bhasa and in Panjabi. In Brij Bhasa, he adhered to a conventional form "Swaiya" while in Panjabi he chose a more pliable form i.e. Var. His writings though didactic in character are of great historical interest. Another distinction, which he shares with another of the contemporaries Shah Hussain is the chaste Panjabi idiom, whose potentialities he exhausted to the maximum. His similes evoke the image of a rural Panjab, luxurient in forms and exhaustive in hues. Bhai Gurdas is called the St. Paul of Sikhism. His work is deemed to hold the key to the Sikh spiritual treasury and to make the best and purest Raht-nama. “Although derivative in thought and resonate and repetitive in vocabulary, his considerable volume of poetry for its wealth of allusion, and imagery fresh as well as rejuvenate, its ripeness of Hindu Muslim and Sikh cultural scholarship and for the force and colourfulness of its style entitles him to the rank of the greatest medieval Panjabi Poet”.

In religious poetry, another stream of medieval Panjabi literature is that of Sufi Poetry. From the very start, Sufi poetry has been very popular with the rural masses of Panjab, especially the Muslims. Although Panjabi Sufi poets belong to the great tradition of

1. S. B. Singh, PP. 104-128
2. Dr. Gopal Singh, PP. 95-100
3. Mohan Singh, PP. 46-48
Sufi mystic poetry, which claimed the best of minds in Arabia and Iran, it is distinctly an indigenous growth. Sheikh Farid-ud-din Masud, Ganji-Shahkar can appropriately be called the progenitor of Sufi tradition of Panjabi poetry. A man of deep religious devotion, he was instrumental in converting large number of the local people to Islam. He wrote both to preach and to express his mystic experiences. A major portion of his works is included in Adi Granth, the Sikh scripture. Sheikh Farid's works in Panjabi other than in the Adi Granth, consist of a set of Kafia, hundred and thirty Shaloks and Nasihatnama. It is a book on religious injunctions tinged with Sufi beliefs. Sheikh Farid set the love and the norm for Panjabi Sufi poetry with his simple and direct style, a natural imagery drawn from the local landscape and institutional life and avoidance of the contrived and the pedantic.

Another Sufi poet was Madho Lal Rusain (1830-1863-4) who was born in Lahore, later known as Shaikh Madho, the saint. There is no other his literary work except Kafis (lyrics) of a highly mystic type. His verse is written in simple Panjabi, slightly overlaid with Arabic words. It exceeds in expression of thought and has a clear flow. In its simplicity and effectiveness it is superior to Farid's Panjabi.

Shah Hussain (1639-1809), the weaver, contributed a great deal to this tradition by drawing heavily upon the folk-lore for his form. His lyrics, known as Kafian, are both deeply emotional and musical, and the reader's response of exultation and passionate involvement is instantaneous. Highly subjective in content and intensity of feeling, they are beautiful specimen of the best romantic Panjabi poetry.

One of the other Sufi poets, who wrote verse of great poetic

1. − .80  
   Singh,PP.105-115  
   Wur Ahmed Chishti,PP 43-48  
3. − Dr.Gopal Singh Dardi,PP.127-132
charm and appeal, was Sultan Bahu (1639-1680 A.D.), a poet who is universally admitted to have been among the greatest mystics of India. He was born at Avan, (Shortot - Jhang District) in 1691 A.D. Bahu was a great scholar of Arabic and Persian literatures, but there is his only one Siharfi in Panjabi which is very lengthy. His verse is composed in simple and unpretentious style. It has a well marked character of its own and rests entirely on the resources of the poet's thought and knowledge of the Panjabi language of Jhang District. Shah Sharaf (1659-1735), another Sufi poet, was the resident of Batala, District Gurdaspur. He became a Sufi saint on account of some domestic trouble and earned a good name both as a Sufi saint and as a Panjabi poet. He wrote lyrics (Kafias) which became popular in the Panjab. His tomb is in Lahore.

Bulhe Shah (1630-1733), another Sufi saint, was born in a Sayyed family residing at the village Pandoki in Kasur, sixteen miles to the south of Raiwind station on the north bank of the river Beas in 1680. He is also equally admitted to have been the greatest of the Panjabi mystics and his lyrics (Kafias) have gained unique popularity in Panjabi poetry. "In truth he is one of the greatest sufs of the world and his thought equals that of Jalal-ud-din Rumi and Shams Tabriz of Iran. As a poet Bulhe Shah is different from the other sufi poets of the Panjabi character which is more reasonable than emotional or passionate."

Bulhe Shah places the Gurus and God on the same level and finds no difference between the two. He is the king of the Panjabi mystics, seeks free from any foreign influence truly what is naturally felt in

1. -Gopaldas, P. 184
2. -Gopal Singh Dardi, P. 235
3. -Gopal Singh Dardi, P. 124
4. -Gopal Singh Dardi, P. 186
5. -Lajwanti Ram Krishna, P. 138
6. -Lajwanti Ram Krishna, P. 40
loving the divine, which is the greatness of Bulhe Shah, the poet. His verse is simple, yet very beautiful in form.

Ali Haider (1690-1785), the Sufi poet, was born at Qasua in the Multan District in 1690. He paints well his disgust of the worldly possessions which one has to leave after death. He calls them false. Haider is the only poet of Punjabi literature who played with words. It is on account of this that his thought is weak and the same idea is differently described. Physical love was his ideal for spiritual love and he, therefore, laid great stress on the use of words which naturally impart a sort of brilliance to his language. He used Lahandi Punjabi (Multani) which is a sweet dialect of Panjab.

Thus the Sufi poets who came to India from 1460 to 1707 with the object of leading the Indians to the beloved Muhammad's path, did creditable work for some years. The old Indian vigour asserted itself and in its turn influenced the Sufi beliefs. The mystics, therefore, observed the best of Islam and Hinduism and developed a new sort of Sufi thought more Indian than foreign in character. Anxious to carry this new thought to the masses, they versified it in their language. In troublesome times, these Sufis maintained with their preachings the mental balance of the different communities and, through their poems, sent the message of peace, unity, and love to almost every home and hamlet. Of them Bulhe Shah's lyrics are known for their criticism of religious bigotry and hypocrisy and Ali Haider is remarkable for introducing the style and the imagery of Persian Sufi poetry in Punjabi, which does not appear to have struck roots here.

Besides religious and mystic traditions of medieval Punjabi poetry, the other two important traditions are those of war-ballads.

2. Hans Chok-Bava Biddi Singh, PP.
5. Ibid., P.1-20.
and love romances. Amongst themselves these three traditions exhaust the three ideal types of manhood accepted by the medieval Panjab i.e. the saint, the soldier and the lover. These were the types which tickled the imagination of the Panjab and commanded its respect. There are numerous war-ballads (Vars) in Panjabi which adopted as their theme the wars waged by the Sikh Gurus against their tyrannical persecution by the Mughal Emperors, of these the most important is "Bhaire di Var" which describes the battles of Anandpur and Chamkaur between Guru Gobind Singh and the combined forces of the Mughals and hill-chiefs. Similarly the martyrdom of Haqiqat Rai, the subject matter of another ballad known as "Agra di Var Haqiqat Rai". Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1707 A.D.) also adapted a chapter of 'Markanday Puran' namely 'Chandi Charit' in a Panjabi Var 'Chandi di Var'. He was a great scholar and a prolific writer. Main body of his works, is included in 'Dasam in Braj Bhasha. 'Chandi Di Var' is the most important of his Panjabi compositions and was written with the ostensible motive of installing enthusiasm in the youth for a religious war against the oppressive overlordship of despotic rulers.

In love-romances, medieval Panjabi literature is very rich. Stress being not laid on the originality of the story, every writer tried his skill on the few prevalent stories, which were either derived from the Arabic and Persian sources as was the case with the stories of 'Tusuf Zulekha' (Joseph and Potiphen), 'Shirin-Farhad', Saif-ul-Maluk, and Laila-Majnu or local tales were adopted for the purpose as in the case of Heer-Ranja, Sohni-Mahival, Sassi-Punnu, and Mirza-Sahiban. Thus a number of story-cycles grew around these tales, sometimes the number of poets contributing to a cycle going up to hundred as in the case of Heer-Ranja. These were mostly local poets known as Karishans, who composed and wrote for the enjoyment of a limited audience. Some important writers are described here under-

Damodar was a native of Jhang District and was the contemporary
of Akbar and is the first poet of Panjabi poetry who wrote the romance of Heer-Ranjha for the first time. His composition is in the Lehnda dialect. A piece of great charm and subtle poetic beauty, Damodar’s story of Heer-Ranjha is in the classical Indian style in which the human situation is made to adhere to the principle of poetic justice. Damodar’s description is indirect and he forges a pregnant style remarkable for its masterly use of innuendo and sly humour. Pilu, a contemporary of Guru Arjan, was the first to write the story of Mirza-Sahiban, which is available today only in parts. Hafiz Barkhuudar, faithfully followed in his footsteps.

Not covered by any of the categories of medi\^al Panjabi poetry referred to above, are the indignant satirical compositions of Suthra Shah, Jalhan, and Wajid. These poets poured ridicule on the shams and the frauds and the hypocrisy of the society in which they lived. There were also numerous Muslim poets, who wrote exclusively Muslim religious poetry, deriving inspiration from the Muslim history and religious and social law.

In medieval age, not much Panjabi prose was written. Whatever little was written related to the lives of Sikh Gurus especially Guru Nanak Dev, and annotation of their works. These are known as ‘Janam Sakhis’ (Birth stories) and ‘Teeks’ (Translations). In ‘Janam Sakhis’, all historical and mythical elements are mixed together and many incredible miracles are attributed to their heroes. As pieces of historical information these are exasperating, but as pieces of literary prose they are very interesting. ’Puratan Janam Sakhi’, popularly known as ’Walait Wali Janam Sakhi’ is the oldest specimen of such writing and is ascribed to the time of Guru Arjan. Another one written by Bhai ‘Meharban’, a nephew of Guru Arjan, is the most voluminous and

1. A History of Panjabi Poetry—Dr. Mohan Singh, P. 42
2. Panjabi Sahit de Itkhan—Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, PP. 141-149
interesting. The one, attributed to Bhai Bala is of dubious authorship and there are so many apparent interpolations in it that its utility is greatly undermined. Bhai Mani Singh also wrote a Janam Sakhi, besides 'Sikhna di Bhagat Kala', a record of the important followers of the Sikh Gurus.

HINDI LITERATURE

During the Sultanate period, Hindi was in a state of evolution, and had not yet become a language of literary expression. The Turkish Sultans were not disposed to extend any patronage to it. Nevertheless it was gradually becoming the language of the people of Central India and wandering saints of the Bhakti Movement were in the course of their pilgrimages spreading it from place to place. This language was further developed by saints like Goraknath (940-1031), Charpat (890-990), Ramananda, Kabir, etc. It also received some impetus from the preaching of the Sufi saints.

When the Mughals came to the scene, Hindi was fast developing to the status of a literary language. The historians are unanimous in offering that from the earliest times up to the middle of Akbar's reign, all Government accounts were kept in Hindi or generally speaking in the local vernaculars. About 1300 A.D. during the reign of Sultan Sikander Lodi we hear for the first time of works composed by Hindus in Persian language. Guru Nanak, while working at Sultanpur Lodi as an accountant during the reign of Sikander Lodi, under Daulat Khan Lodi, the then governor of the Panjab, maintained accounts in Hindi.

Akbar constitutes the golden age of Hindi poetry. The influence exercised by his glorious and victorious reign, his well-known preference for Hindu thought and mode of life, together with his policy of

2. Fataf-Adhivat-1-Farsi mei Hindouon ko Hiza—Dr. Sayyid Abdulla (1943) pp. 7-14
complete religious tolerance and recognition of merit, combined with peace, both internal and external, engendered a bracing atmosphere for the development of thought and literature. The result was that many first-rate Hindi poets produced remarkable poetic works which have become classics. The most notable luminaries of Hindi were Tulsi Dass, Sur Das and Birbal. Akbar himself liked Hindi poetry and extended patronage to Hindi poets. He is even stated to have composed some verses in that language. It is, not therefore, surprising that Hindi poetry made a remarkable progress during his reign. The most important feature of the age was that literary activities were not confined to the court and nobles. It was essentially a movement of the people and a large number of scholars and poets of Hindi were found in the countryside and were patronised mainly by local land-lords and well-to-do public men.

Jahangir too patronised Hindi scholars, saints and artists. Jahangir's brother Daniyal was a noted poet of Hindi. Shah Jahan continued the tradition of his house. The progress of Hindi literature received a setback in the time of Aurangzeb who was not kindly disposed towards it. Nevertheless Hindi continued to flourish at the court of Hindu Rajas.

Kirpa Ram was the unrivalled poet of the Hindi language who had a charming style, because under the patronage of the Great Mughals it was shedding off its grossness and was assimilating into itself all the sweetness and charm of the Persian Language. Kirpa Ram composed his work chiefly in Brijbhasha among which Hit-trangini was fairly well-known all over India for its elegant style and charming diction. It chiefly dwelt upon the nature of man and marked a break with the past in-as-much as it was written in 'Dohas' instead of 'Chhands' which were then generally used for the expression of erotic sentiment. So Kirpa Ram broke a new ground in Hindi literature by trying to comp-
Raja Birbar a great poet of Hindi, was much liked by Akbar who conferred on him the title of Kavi Rai. "Birbar was as much renowned for his liberality, as far as musical skill and poetical talent. His short verses, bon-mots, and jokes, are still in the mouths of the people of Hindustan." Raja Takhat Mal was also a great poet of Hindi and composed Shirikar Kundai Chopai. Ram Chandra's Ram Vino, Nain Sukh's Vaidhya Nanotsava, and Lakhshmi Narayan's Prem Trangini were among the other important Hindi works of this period.

The Sikh Gurus also contributed a lot to Hindi literature. The critics and the scholars of Hindi literature have unanimously agreed that the fifth Guru Arjan wrote his hymns in Hindi. But the tenth Guru had given the real impetus to Hindi literature when he invited the scholars of Hindi and Sanskrit Languages, such as Hans Ram and Mangal, and encouraged them to write as much as they could. Guru Gobind Singh has written his own hymns mainly in Hindi and was its great patroniser. Below is given the list of more poets and prose-writers who contributed to Hindi literature in the Panjab during the period of our study. They were Chandan, Dhanna, Sadama, Bhog Raj, Amri Rai, Karfresh and Charib Dass who were famous poets of Hindi. Sabha Chand Sondhi of Jullundur wrote Katha Ram Rup. Maharaban and Hinde Ram were Hindi writers during Jahangir's reign; Sur Das (1493-1563 A.D.) Khushal Rai Anath Puri (1642-1698 A.D.) Manohar Das Miranjani, Ram Chand (B.1663 A.D.) Anath Puri and Bala Lal of Lahore (1590-1720 A.D.) were other writers. Among the Muslim Hindi writers were Shah Husain, Shaikh Abdul Qadus (D.1637 A.D.), Muhammad Afsal (first name Gopal) (D.1683 A.D.) Shaikh Sharif of Batala and Bulleh Shah Qader of Kasur.
Sanskrit Literature

The Sultans of Delhi did not patronise Sanskrit literature and none of them had any Sanskrit poet at his court. During the later days of the Sultanate, however, a few Sanskrit works were rendered into Persian or some matter from certain Sanskrit works was incorporated in Persian works. Despite lack of royal patronage Sanskrit language and literature continued to flourish during the period and the adverse political conditions did not materially influence their progress.

With the advent of the Mughals, though the prospects of Sanskrit learning seemed to have brightened up, yet we do not have any marked creation of this literature in the Panjab during this period. It might be possible that some Pandits might have devoted their energies and time for teaching and preaching their religious dogmas in Sanskrit, but no creative work of any other is forthcoming. Babar and Humayun were not interested in Sanskrit literature at all. Akbar was the first Mughal Emperor to extend patronage to Sanskrit and many scholars and poets of Sanskrit adorned his court and received recognition at his hands but unfortunately none from the Panjab. Akbar not only listened to their poems but also discussed with them the principles of Hindu thoughts, religious and secular. Jahangir followed in the footsteps of his father and employed Sanskrit poets and scholars. Although Shah Jahan was an orthodox Muslim, yet he, in pursuance of his ancestral policy, extended patronage to scholars of Sanskrit. The court historian Abdul Hamid Lahori gives the names of several Sanskrit poets but none from the Panjab, who were received by Shah Jahan from time to time. Aurangzeb, however, had no soft corner for Sanskrit learning and during his reign Sanskrit scholars ceased to be honoured at the Mughal court. But Sanskrit learning continued to flourish at the court of Hindu Rajas. In spite of royal patronage Sanskrit literature of the Mughal period could not be called first-rate, original and inspiring work of art.