CHAPTER III

SOCIETY, RELIGION AND LITERATURE (A.D. 1206-1761)

1. Social Institutions and Social Life.

The Turkish conquerors of Hindustān differed from the indigenous population in religion, manners and customs, but their advent did not bring about any revolutionary change in the social life of the country. The institutional basis of social order and economic organization remained substantially unaltered. The caste system and the self-sufficient village economy continued to function undisturbed. But the introduction of new elements modified Indian culture, and the transfer of political power had considerable influence on society and culture. In course of time and by the living together of the two, foreigners and Indians, was evolved a 'Hindustānī' way of life in most parts of Northern India. One can obtain a glimpse of this slow and imperceptible evolution in the writings of Alberūnī (11th century), Ibn Baṭūṭa (14th century) and Bābur (16th century), the accounts of the foreign travellers from Islamic countries during the period, and contemporary literature in Persian and Indian languages.

The majority of India's vast population lived in the villages with agriculture as their main occupation. As subjects of the Sulṭān, they were required to pay a part of their produce as land revenue to the state through different types of intermediaries. Some Sulṭāns like 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad bin Tughluq levied high rates which entailed suffering to the agriculturists, but otherwise the peasants could satisfy their modest wants from the fruits of their labour. The incidence of the population on the vast land was low; food was plentiful and cheap. So long as the peasants had land to till, they had nothing to worry about. If oppressed, they fled and set up another village in the unoccupied territory and bagan a new life. Throughout the period under review, life in the villages remained largely isolated and unprogressive, and extremely simple and stereotyped.

In spite of his hard life, the man behind the plough was not unhappy. If occasional famines made his life miserable, the timely arrival of rains removed his anxieties. Cut off from the sophisticated city life, he lived happily under the self-sufficient village economy. The village artisans and servants, the priest and the money-lender satisfied all his requirements. The joint family system afforded him protection; the village *pañcāyat* gave his minor grievances a just redress. If there was little to spare, there

was sufficient to live by and the numerous festive occasions, which encouraged community dances, *kathās* and dinners, must have filled his heart with joy.

The village with its caste *pañcāyats* and headman was an autonomous unit of the state which carried out its routine activities unmindful of what happened to the central government.

The Turkish rulers had a preference for the city life. They were essentially an urban people. The cities were inhabited by a mixed population of Hindus and Muslims. The kings and the provincial governors and nobles held their court there, and set the standards of cultural life and social behaviour.

The Turks from Central Asia and other foreigners like the Persians and the Arabs formed the ruling class. In matters of appointment high lineage was given a premium. Balban never gave any post to a low-born Muslim or a Hindu. Since there was no clear-cut distinction between civil and military services, the nobles and officers were graded into *Khāns, Maliks, Amīrs, Sipah-sālārs* and *Sar-khails* according to their military status. They formed the props of the state. But since their tenure of office depended upon the will of the Sulṭān, they were prone to be sycophants and intriguers. After death their property reverted to the state. Consequently, there was no desire to serve; they lived a life of luxury, even of extravagance. The other well-to-do classes took a cue from them, and they vied with them in having large seraglios, employing a train of slaves and living as luxuriously as their purse allowed.

The educated and literary section among the Muslims comprised the *'ulamā'* who held judicial, ecclesiastical and educational posts. Some of them were teachers in private and government institutions. Not only all the historians of the period, but almost all the literary men belonged to this group. They were consulted by the Sulṭān and the nobles on important points of law and even matters of state policy. Their learning, their importance as custodians of religion and their jealous regard for social position made them no doubt influential among the people. But the conceit, hypocrisy and bigotry of the majority of the *'ulamā's*, to which contemporary chroniclers bear ample witness, reduced considerably their popularity with the kings. Strong rulers like 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad Tughluq hardly paid attention to them in matters of state policy. On the other hand, a peculiar sanctity was attached in Muslim society to the Syeds and *Ṣūfīs* or saints.

The lower classes of the Muslim society comprised mainly the converts from Hinduism, and it was difficult to distinguish them from the Hindu masses. Conversion effected little change in the social environment or economic standard of such Muslims. They continued to work as artisans, shopkeepers and clerks. Many worked in the royal *kārkhānas* and many more as slaves in the royal palace and the households of the nobles and

the rich. The ruling classes treated them as inferiors, and denied them office under government and equality in social matters.

The Hindus, in spite of the fact that they were the conquered people, did not occupy socially any inferior status. They continued to follow the ancient customs and institutions. The Brāhmaṇas looked after the temples, directed religious ceremonies, worked as teachers, administered Hindu personal laws and served the Hindu society in various other ways. The state did not interfere in their activities. They were even exempt from the payment of *jizyah* except in the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluq and Aurangzeb. The Kṣatriyas had lost a large part of their dominion specially in the North, but most of the independent Rājās, *ra'īs* and *zamīndārs* belonged to this caste. They were a proud and warlike class. They rode on horses, carried arms and dressed in white. They were reluctant in paying government dues and fought against the Sulṭāns for safeguarding their interests, position and prestige. The Vaiśyas were quite well off. They were engaged in banking, commerce, transport and crafts. Their industrial and commercial activities provided for the needs and pleasures of the rich and the powerful. All kinds of articles were manufactured in the royal *kārkhānas* and in private establishments. Cloth and silk were brought from as far off places as Multān, Bengal and Devagiri, and Sindhī merchants made good profits. Trading and banking were the monopoly of the Vaiśyas and they had a brisk business. Their importance in the social and political life of the country can be gauged from the fact that they advanced loans to Firūz Tughluq when he went out on campaigns. The Śūdras and the lower classes continued to suffer from disabilities as before. Islām did not attach any stigma to untouchability and conversion offered opportunity of emancipation.

The position of women was far from enviable. A society in which female infanticide, child-marriage, *pardah, jauhar, satī,* and slavery existed was not a happy one for women. Amīr Khusraw laments the birth of a daughter, and Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā' declares that there would be *Qiyāmat* (Day of Resurrection) if women were given freedom. Uneducated and shut up in their homes women excelled their menfolk in conservatism, superstition and belief in magic, sorcery and witchcraft. But there were exceptions too; women like Raḍiya and Rūpamatī were highly accomplished. Though mostly they were not educated in the modern sense of the term, they were well trained in household work. Motherhood was universally respected, and the devotion of the Indian woman to her husband, children and home was proverbial.

All foreign and Indian writers testify to the general prosperity of the country, although they also refer to the acute differences prevailing in the standards of living of the rich and the poor. The common people on the whole were hardworking and of sober habits. Except among the rich, wine-drinking was not common. The chief drink of the people

was plain water and *sharbat*. *Pān*-chewing was quiet common. Many Brāhmaṇas and Hindus in general were vegetarians. Professions went by caste, and the caste *pañcāyats* regulated their internal affairs. Though education was neither compulsory nor universal, there were many government and private schools and colleges. There were no printed text-books, and learning entailed extreme taxing of memory. Consequently, those few who took to studies worked hard. Though higher education was confined to the few, the standard was high. Education of a lower grade was widely prevalent.

Many measures, from time to time, were undertaken by the state for the well-being of the people. 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī resorted to price-control and rationing. Firūz Tughluq opened a hospital at Delhi, and established schools and colleges at various places. He also started a Department of Charities for the poor and provided dowry for the daughters of the poor. He constructed five canals to provide irrigational facilities. By and large, in the period under review, the people were contented.

Among the professions, that of arms was considered very attractive by all sections of the Muslims and many sections of the Hindus. Outdoor sports and exercises consisted of big-game shooting, horse-racing, dog-racing, archery, pigeon-flying, cock-fighting and similar amusements. Chess, *chausar, pachīsī,* and many other games with stakes were played indoors. Professional acrobats, jugglers and mountebanks moved from place to place entertaining people with their performances. There were numerous festive occasions like *Rāma-līlā, Kṛṣṇa-līlā, Dussehrā, Diwālī* and *Holī* in which folk-dances, music and mirth went on for days together. The Muslims celebrated *'Īd, Bārāh-wafāt* and *Shab-i-Barāt* with equal enthusiasm. As in all ages so in the middle ages of India too there were vices and virtues. If there was duelling and debauchery, there was also respect for the elders, loyality to the master, and abundant hospitality.

A pleasing feature of the social and cultural life in the early Middle Ages was the attempt to bring the Hindus and Muslims together, and to evolve a common way of living. Complete fusion between the caste-conscious Hindus and the ruling-class Muslims was not a practical proposition, for many things separated them. But there were many others that brought them together, and the two contradictory forces continued to operate throughout the period. On the one hand, the Turkish families could not forget that they had come as conquerors and were rulers and masters, a feeling shared by others holding high ranks. The rigours of Islāmic law also were responsible for keeping the people apart. On the contrary, there were also forces which urged the Hindus and the Muslims to come together. Both sections of the people enjoyed and participated in the festivals of each other. A large number of Hindus used to attend the celebrations of Muslim festivals. Muslim saints and Hindu *yogīs* also helped to bring the people closer together. The very fact that the

Hindus and the Muslims had to live together made them rub off their angularities. The Muslims learnt to live as Indians, regarding India as their home, adopting much in their dress, food, manners and customs, superstitions, social divisions, etc. They used the Indian languages for mutual intercourse and evolved a new language—Urdu—as a common medium of expression.

But apart from some fanatical *'ulamā'* advocating intolerance, and the orthodox Hindus maintaining their exclusiveness, there were socio-religious reformers like Rāmānanda, Kābir, Nānak and many others who taught the people unity of all religions, equality of all men and brotherhood of Hindus and Muslims. Thus when early in the 16th century Bābur came to India he did not find here any thing exclusively 'Hindu' or 'Muslim'. He found that in India everything was 'in the Hindustānī way'.

Social life in any given period is shaped by the administrative set-up, economic developments and contemporary religious trends. From this point of view the Mughal period witnessed varied changes, all converging upon an emergence of Indian values and a general enrichment of life.

In the field of administration, this spirit is manifested in the new sense of responsibility evinced by the rulers towards the governed, both Hindu and Muslim. It becomes evident in the time of Sher Shāh and increasingly significant in the time of Akbar and his immediate successors. The active desire of the Mughals to promote and safeguard the happiness of the people is to be seen in the duties and responsibilities attached to different offices described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* and in the *Dastūr-ul-amal* (rules of conduct) proclaimed by Jahāngīr. Shāh Jahān's strict enforcement of justice against corrupt and oppressive officers irrespective of their rank, and Aurangzeb's instructions to his sons and officers indicate their solicitude for people's welfare. The ideal they set before themselves is clear, although its realization depended upon the strength of the Mughal arms in the different parts of the far-flung empire and a number of other factors.

One aspect of the new outlook is to be seen in the trust and confidence reposed in the Hindus. State services ceased to be the monopoly of the Muslims, and they were thrown open to all who had the necessary talent and ability. The liberal and secular policy of the government acted as a catalyst, and strengthened the prevailing trend towards harmony and synthesis between the two great religions and cultures. Further, the integration of the greater part of India into a single unit subject to a uniform system of administration, and the consequent elimination of barriers, opened out fresh vistas for a reorientation of religion, art and literature.

Social Structure. As regards social structure and life, there were

important changes in the complexion of the Muslim community, which had a profound effect both in political matters and in cultural life. In the preceding centuries, the Turks and Afghāns, and some Persians, Arabs and Abyssinians, constituted the foreign element among the Muslims of India. With the rise of the Chaghtāīs, new tribes entered the country from Central Asia. Later many Īrānians—soldiers, merchants and literary men—came. Some of them occupied high positions in the empire. For instance, I'timādu'd-daulah, Āṣaf Khān, Ja'far Khān and Mīr Jumla were of pure Persian blood. So were Asad Khān, Dhū'l faqār Khān, Burhānu'l Mulk, Saadat Khān, and many other leading Mughal officers.

India of the Mughals was indeed a heaven for Persian poets and physicians. Mīr Fatḥullah Shīrāzī, 'Urfī, Naẓīrī, Ḥakīm Ḥumām, Jalālu'd-dīn Ṭabāṭabā, Munshī Muḥammad Kāẓīm, and others enriched the cultural life of the country in various fields. In fact, for the upper strata of society, the Persian mode of life was the measure of refinement. The Persians did not confine themselves to Delhi or the Mughal court; they went to every part of India, and added to the lustre of provincial life.

Although community of faith made the Muslims more homogeneous than the Hindus, social divisions were no less pronounced among them inhibiting free intercourse and inter-marriage. In the case of the immigrants and their descendants, old-time differences and prejudices persisted. Among the converts, there was a perceptible difficulty in getting out of the old caste structure and caste mentality despite change in faith. The Rājpūt converts retained their caste nomenclature and family surnames, and refrained from marrying into other Muslim families. Converts from the higher Hindu castes and the descendants of the immigrant tribes enjoyed a higher social status, which they sought to maintain. Tribes like the Meos stuck to their former way of life despite conversion. Further, sectarian differences stood in the way of homogeneity. There was a sharp cleavage between the Sunnīs and the Shīahs but inter-marriage was not uncommon. Humāyūn's wife was a Shīah, and so were Nūrjahān, Jahāngīr's favourite queen, and Mumtāz Maḥal, wife of Shāh Jahān. Among the Sunnīs, there was further sub-division on the basis of the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence, viz., *Ḥanafī, Ḥambalī, Shāfi'ī* and *Mālikī*. Besides, there were attachments to particular religious leaders and their orders. The tribal differences prevented the growth of communal solidarity, and the caste mentality affected Muslim society which recognized divisions of Syed, Pathān and Shaikh, besides those of foreign and indigenous Muslims.

As regards the Hindus, their social structure remained mainly unaffected, and their pattern of life followed largely the same old traditional lines. Even in the earlier period, more important than the system of four

classes, was the rise of a plethora of castes and sub-castes with further sub-divisions, based on professional, regional and other differences. There is no doubt that the changes in politico-economic life had their impact on caste groupings—many old castes vanished and new ones arose or came into prominence, both in the North and the South. For instance, while the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were theoretically bound to their traditional calling, there was no rigidity about it in practice. Among the innumerable sub-castes in Northern India, the Kāyasthas came into great prominence as government servants. The Khattrīs hailing from the Punjab were astute financiers and successful administrators, and their influence spread over the whole of Northern India. The Nāgars of Gujarāt migrated to different parts of North India and exercised much political and social influence in Āgra and Mālwa. In South India, the Brāhmaṇas retained their social leadership, since they continued to be the custodians of Hindu religion and pioneers of reform movements. The Konkan and Citpāvana Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāshtra produced great administrators. Among the other communities, particular mention may be made of the Ceṭṭiars, who held a monopoly of trade. They retained some of the old contacts with South-East Asia where a number of Indian colonies had been established in the earlier period.

Customs and Manners. As regards customs and manners, medieval India, no doubt, witnessed many changes as life could not be static. One broad fact that strikes the eye, however, is the similarity between the customs and habits of the Hindus and Muslims despite the religious disparity. In many important matters connected with the ceremonies of birth, marriage and death, their ceremonial was, broadly speaking, similar. This was no doubt due to the fact that the majority of the Muslims were Hindu converts, who were deeply attached to their old habits of life. This apart, there must have been many cases of conscious or unconscious adoption of each other's customs because of their attractiveness or their social value. For instance, the Mughal sovereigns were very particular on celebrating their birthdays every year, both according to the lunar and the solar calendars. They did not hesitate to join their Hindu subjects in celebrating the *Dussehrā,* the *Diwālī* and the *Holī,* and the Hindus joined the Muslims in celebrating the *Muḥarram.* Akbar's fascination for illuminations perhaps came from the Hindus. To him light had as much religious as social appeal. Royal residences were illumined on all festive occasions—birthdays of the sovereign, birth or marriage of a prince or a princess, etc.

Social Relations. This was essentially an era of growing harmony. As noticed elsewhere, among the Hindus, the *Bhakti* movement, which spread all over the country, did not merely recognize the spiritual equality of all persons despite differences of caste and sect; it also greatly reduced the rigidity of the caste system in practice and contributed towards greater

social harmony. This quest for the essence in Hinduism, which the movement signified, led also to a search for the universal in religion, and the influence of Islām is particularly marked in the outpourings of the Nirguṇa school of the mystics of northern India. Among the Muslims, this spirit is reflected in the rise of the *Ṣūfī* schools and their development of rites and practices which were deeply influenced by the Upaniṣads and the Yoga philosophy. This quest for harmony was not limited to the realm of religion; it found strong expression, more in the North than in the South, in language, literature, art and architecture, general customs and habits, etc. As regards relations in the ordinary business of life, the Muslims had ceased to regard themselves as 'foreigners' and were treated by the Hindus as natives of the soil with common interests. When the Mughals invaded, though the opposition was ineffective, both the Hindus and Muslims resisted, though not on the basis of a joint military alliance. The rise of Hemū and the part that Ṭoḍara Mal played under Sher Shāh are indicative of the close relationship. The coming of the Mughals marked a fresh influx of the foreign element, but the wisdom and the breadth of vision of the emperors, especially Akbar, gave strong impetus to the prevailing trend towards assimilation.

Games and Pastimes. The Mughals were especially fond of hunting, and often went round their dominion as much for pleasure as for transacting public business. Hunt for tigers, leopards and elephants was particularly popular, and the Rājpūts were fond of boar-hunting. There were various modes of deer-hunting, particularly hunting wild deer with the help of domesticated deer. Occasionally, buffalo and boar hunts were also organized. Falcons and hawks were trained for hunting birds in the air.

Bābur was very fond of witnessing wrestling bouts and he gave prizes to successful champions. In the subsequent period, Īrānī and Tūrānī wrestlers came to India and enjoyed royal patronage. Wrestling was a favourite pastime throughout the country.

It was the exclusive privilege of the royalty to hold combats with elephants. Akbar at the early age of 14 had acquired the difficult art of controlling wild elephants. The combat between Surata-sundara and Sudhākara on May 28, A.D. 1633 was a memorable event referred to by contemporary historians. Aurangzeb, then only 14, faced the raging beast Sudhākara. Elephants of good breed and massive proportions were always coveted by the Mughal emperors, and Golconda was noted for big elephants.

Among other outdoor recreations mention may be made of *chaugān* (polo) which was confined to the royalty and the nobility. *Ishqbāzī* or pigeon-flying was as much popular with the royalty as with the other classes. Horsemanship was carefully cultivated, both for exercise and sport, and knowledge of it was essential for army service. Another form

of outdoor recreation and exercise was *shamsherbāzī* (swordsmanship) which required skill and agility of hands and limbs.

Of the indoor pastimes, mention may be made of chess, *chausar, ganjīfa* and *chanḍal-manḍal.* Chess and *ganjīfa* appear to have come from outside.

Entertainments and Festivities. Music and dancing provided entertainment to the masses and classes alike. With the exception of Aurangzeb every Mughal sovereign was fond of music. To the royal court flocked for patronage Hindu, Īrānī, Tūrānī and Kashmīrī musicians, both men and women. The names of Miyān Tānsen, Bābā Rāmadāsa and Ustād Muḥammad Amīn have found a place in contemporary history. Their performances formed a necessary part of the royal feasts and festivities. In South India, the 'Ādil Shāhīs and the Rājās of Thanjāvūr were noted for their patronage of music. The dulcimer, *vīṇā, nāi, qānūn, rabāb, ghīchak, karnā, tambūrā, sar-manḍal, mṛdaṅga, daff* and drum were the well-known musical instruments of the time.

The profession of dancing was not deemed respectable; and yet dance parties were a great and almost irresistible social attraction. There were both male and female dancers among the Hindus and Muslims alike. In rural areas folk-dancing was very common, both men and women participating in it. *Kṛṣṇa-līlā,* a form of dance-drama, was popular over the whole of Northern India.

Reference may also be made to festivals and occasions of public rejoicing, which had a social, apart from religious, significance. The solar and lunar birthdays of the sovereign and the weighing ceremony were great events when there was widespread rejoicing and alms-giving. Akbar introduced the *Mīnā-Bāzār,* which in its original form was a great social function, although confined to the ladies of the nobility.

Besides these, there were festivals such as the *Dussehrā, Diwālī, Holī, Vasanta, Nawrūz* and *Muḥarram,* in which both the Hindus and Muslims freely participated. It may be particularly mentioned that in India, during the month of *Ramaḍān,* fasting and prayer were left to the ultra-pious and the religious. As for the others, instead of fasting there was feasting, and instead of the night-long vigil, large sums of money were spent on fireworks, reminding one of the Guy Fawke's Day in England. There were many other festivals and fairs, often regional and sectarian, which provided occasion for people to meet and rejoice, e.g., *Mahāmāgham* and *Pongal* of Tamilnād. Particular reference may be made to the increasing popularity of worship at the tombs of well-known saints, such as Shaikh Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī, Bābā Farīd, Shaikh Nīẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā' and Shaikh Ghauth of Gwalior.

2. Religious Movements and Philosophy

(*i*) Hindu Religious Movements and Philosophy.

Islām provided a major challenge to Hinduism in this period. Continual defeats on the field of battle, loss of political power, and the domination of an alien religion in this country accentuated frustration. The Hindus became self-critical and turned their attention to inner life. Eventually the Hindu characteristic of toleration of differences in faith, beliefs and observances asserted itself and new modes of living together in harmony were tried. The age of *Bhakti,* or devotion and self-surrender to God, was ushered in. It gave birth to many mystic saints who devoted their lives in the search of God.

The *Bhakti* cult cut across distinctions of high and low birth, the learned and the unlettered, and opened the gateway of spiritual realization to one and all. The mystics and saints of the age, both in the North and the South, were unconventional and anti-ritualistic and ignored the age-old restrictions of caste and creed, or attached little importance to them. A large number of the mystics belonged to the traditional Saguṇa school which believed that God has many forms and attributes, that He manifests Himself in incarnations such as Rāma, and Kṛṣṇa, and that His spirit is to be found in the idols and images worshipped at home and in temples. But the others trod a new path and formed the Nirguṇa school, which believed in a God without form or attributes, but nevertheless merciful and responsive to human prayers. Its basic approach was by no means alien to Hindu Vedāntic philosophy, but there is no doubt that Islāmic thought gave it a new form and strength.

Saints of North India. The *Bhakti* movement may be said to have originated in the South in the teachings of the Tamilian mystic-saints of the 7th–9th centuries A.D. It was systematized by Rāmānuja in the 12th century A.D. and propagated throughout India. It was spread in the North by Rāmānanda, who was greatly influenced by the teachings of Rāmānuja. He gave his teachings through Hindī, the language of the common people. He ignored the traditional barriers of caste and creed and had among his disciples Raidāsa the cobbler, Kabīr the weaver, Dhannā the Jāt farmer, Senā the barber, and Pīpā the Rājpūt.

Kabīr (A.D. 1398–1518) was the most important of the disciples of Rāmānanda, and perhaps the most outstanding mystic of the times. He was a foundling brought up by a Muslim weaver at Vārānasi. He lived the life of a householder, earning his living by weaving. His songs are noted for their literary excellence, besides conveying a great spiritual and moral message to the world. There is in them a denunciation of worldliness, the life of sense-pleasures, sectarianism, formal religious practices and unrighteous conduct. He exhorted people to live a simple spiritual

and moral life. The God he worshipped was formless one; he called Him by many names, both Rāma and Raḥīm. He sharply condemned caste and religious distinctions and taught the brotherhood of man. He appealed to the conscience, the inner voice of man, and not to scriptures, Hindu or Muslim. He believed that the ultimate goal of the human soul was unity with God. He had both Hindus and Muslims as his followers, and when he died both claimed him as their own for performing the last rites. One of his leading followers Dharaṇīdāsa, who had forsaken all his worldly fortune to lead a spiritual life, formed the Dharmadāsī branch of the Kabīr Pantha in the Chhatīsgarh region of Madhya Pradesh.

Raidāsa, a contemporary of Kabīr and a fellow-disciple of Rāmānanda, was a cobbler of Vārānasi. He was a householder like Kabīr, a mystic of the Nirguṇa school, and his fame spread far and wide. Rānī Jhālī of Chitor became his disciple. He composed songs brimming with love and devotion, and unlike Kabīr never criticized or made fun of others' beliefs. Some of them are included in the *Guru Granth Sāḥib*, the sacred text of the Sikhs. After him, his followers formed the Raidāsa Panth.

Another great exponent of the Nirguṇa school was Dādū Dayāla (A.D. 1544–1603). A native of Ahmadābād (Gujarāt) and of uncertain parentage and social status, he was spiritually inclined from his boyhood. He left home in search of God when he was only twelve. Later, he settled down at Nārāinā, earning his livelihood by carding cotton. He practised the teachings of Kabīr, discarded the limitations of caste and creed, and exhorted his followers not to distinguish between Hindus and Muslims.

Other great mystics, Hindus and Muslims, imbued with the teachings of Kabīr, Dādū and others, arose in the years that followed. Sundaradāsa (A.D. 1596–1689) was a great disciple of Dādū, having joined him at the tender age of 6 or 7. He was a Vaiśya, who hailed from Deosā near Jaipur but spent most of his days at Vārānasi. Dādū had also a number of Muslim mystics who spread his message far and wide. Rajjab of Sanganer (A.D. 1567–1683) was so devoted to his master that on the latter's passing away, he closed his eyes, never to open again. His songs are in Rājasthānī mixed with Sanskrit, and number over five thousand. Bakhan from Nārāinā, a low-caste Muslim singer, used to entertain Dādū with his songs. Wājid was a Paṭhān. It is said that he was very fond of hunting when he was young. But once while aiming an arrow at a she-deer he was so moved to pity that he renounced the world, took to spiritual life and followed Dādū.

A century later came Jagajīvanadāsa of Bāra Banki district (Uttar Pradesh), the founder of the Satnāmī sect, and his disciple Dulan. Caraṇadāsa (*b.* 1703) of Mewāt (Rājputānā) was a *Nirguṇa-upāsaka* (worshipper of the formless God) and practised Yoga, but he was a great devotee of Śrī Kṛṣṇa of Vrindāvan. In his compositions we

have a fine blend of Nirguṇa and Saguṇa ideas. Other mystics of the Nirguṇa school who may be mentioned are Shaikh Farīd whom Guru Nānak visited at Pākpattan; Bābā Malūkadāsa (A.D. 1574–1682) of Allahābād; Bābā Dharaṇīdāsa (*b.* A.D. 1656), the author of *Satya Prakāśa* and *Prema Prakāśa*; Yārī Ṣāḥib (*b.* A.D. 1668) of Delhi and his disciple Bullā Ṣāḥib; Daryā Ṣāḥib (*b.c.* A.D. 1674)of Bihār; and Garībadāsa 1717-1778) of the Punjāb.

Guru Nānak (A.D. 1469–1539), the founder of Sikhism, was a mystic of the Nirguṇa school, but his followers branched off from Hinduism and founded a separate religious system. Nānak was born at Talwandi, modern Nankana, now in Pākistān. He married and had two sons, but he had a longing for spiritual life from his boyhood. He became a wandering preacher of a casteless, universal, ethical, anti-ritualistic, monotheistic and highly spiritual religion, which reflected the ideas of Kabīr a good deal. His disciples called themselves Sikhs (derived from Sanskrit *śiṣya*, disciple, or Pali *sikkhā*, instruction) and formed the new Pantha. Nine Gurus followed in succession to Nānak and gave the sect a stability and distinctness which other sects failed to achieve. Guru Aṅgad (A.D. 1539–1552), the immediate successor of Nānak, collected the latter's oral teachings and put them down in a new script, the Gurmukhī. Guru Arjun (A.D. 1581–1606), the fifth Guru, constructed the Harimandir at Amritsar. He had the *vāṇīs* (words) of the previous Sikh Gurus and other saints like Kabīr, Nāmadeva and Raidāsa brought together to form the *Guru Granth Sāhib*, the Bible of the Sikhs. Guru Teg Bahādur (A.D. 1664–1675), the ninth Guru, died a martyr at the hands of Aurangzeb. But his persecution only made the Sikhs tough, and Guru Govind Singh the last of the Gurus, organized them into a military sect. Before his death (1708), he named *Granth Ṣāḥib* as the everlasting Guru of the Sikhs.

As regards the Saguṇa school of the Hindu mystics in North India, Tulasīdāsa, Sūradāsa, Mīrā Bāī and Caitanya were the most important. Tulasīdāsa (A.D. 1532–1623) was a Brāhmaṇa born in Rājāpur village in Bānda district. He had received a systematic education in the Vedas and the Śāstras. While still young he became a Sadhu and went to Ayodhya, the home of Rāma, where he composed the famous *Rāmacaritamānasa* in Hindī. It expounds the different aspects of the Hindu *Dharma* in the form of a narrative of Rāma's deeds. He also wrote *Vinayapatrikā* and several other works.

Sūradāsa (A.D. 1483–1563) was a disciple of the famous religious teacher Vallabhācārya. Living in the land of Vraja, he sang the glories of Kṛṣṇa's childhood and youth in his *Sūrasāgara*. He was indeed the poet *par excellence* of love, human and divine.

Born in a princely family of Rājputānā and wedded to a prince of Chitor Mīrā Bāī (A.D. 1498–1546) became a widow soon after her marriage. She

was deeply religious and devoted to Kṛṣṇa even in her teens, and blossomed into a great saint and poetess, whose songs are as popular as those of Tulasīdāsa or Sūradāsa. Her form of worship was to regard Kṛṣṇa as her lover and real husband, and pour out her pent-up love and devotion to God as Kṛṣṇa.

The popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal today is mostly due to Śrī Caitanya or Gaurāṅga (A.D. 1486–1533), who was both a great mystic and philosopher. Born in Navadvīpa, he had acquired the reputation of being a scholar and successful teacher by the time he was twenty-two. Coming under the influence of the Vaiṣṇava saint Īśvara Purī, his whole life was transformed. He experienced in himself the mystic love of Rādhā and the *Gopīs* towards Kṛṣṇa, and spread the message that *rāga-mārga* or the path of spontaneous love was best for salvation.

Mention may also be made of Śaṅkaradeva (A.D. 1449–1569) who spread the *Bhakti* cult in Assam. He was a contemporary of Caitanya. Another name worthy of mention is that of Nābhājī a contemporary of Tulasīdāsa and the author of the *Bhaktamāla,* a biographical collection of saints.

Besides the Vaiṣṇava mystics and saints of the Saguṇa school, there were other saints also who were devotees of Śiva or Śakti and followed Tāntric practices. In Bengal, Kṛṣṇānanda, Brahmānandagiri and Pūrṇānanda in the 16th century A.D., and Rāmaprasāda Kavirañjana in the 18th century, are well-known. The Śākta saints, Sarvānanda, Gosāiñ Bhaṭṭācārya, Ardhakālī and Vāma Kṣepa are household words in Bengal even to day.

Saints of Maharashtra. The *Bhakti* movement in Mahārāshtra ran parallel to that in the North, and its centre was Pandharpur with its famous temple of Viṭṭhal or Viṭhobā. The leaders of the movement were Jñānadeva (Jñāneśvara), Nāmadeva, Ekanātha and Tukārāma of the Vārakarī group. There was also Rāmadāsa, who was a Dhārakarī or one who sought to harmonize life dedicated to God with the activities of the world.

Jñānadeva (*c.*A.D. 1275–1296), whose father Viṭṭhal Pant was a disciple of Rāmānanda, was the progenitor of the movement in Mahārāshtra. He was a great intellectual and spiritual genius. When still a boy of 15 years he wrote *Jñāneśvarī*, a famous commentary on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, and later *Amṛtānubhava.* His *abhaṅgas* or lyrical poems give expression to his deepest mystical experiences.

Nāmadeva (A.D. 1270–1350) belonged to the *Chīpī* (cloth-painter) caste. While young, he was a robber and murderer, but the sight of the bewailing wives of his victims made him take to religion. He was a disciple of Visobā Khecar, and a *Nirguṇa-upāsaka.* He was noted for his saintliness, and is referred to by Kabīr. Some of his *abhaṅgas* are included in the *Guru Granth Sāḥib.*

Ekanātha (*b.* A.D. 1548) was the grandson of the well-known Mahārāshtrian saint Bhānudāsa, who received his initiation at the age of 12. He was opposed to caste distinctions and evinced the greatest sympathy for men of low castes. He composed many *abhaṅgas* and was reputed for his *bhajans* and *kīrtans*. He wrote a voluminous commentary on the verses of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

Tukārāma (*b.*A.D.1608), a farmer's son, had a shrew for his wife, and domestic unhappiness is said to have led him to religious life. He was a great devotee of Viṭṭhal.

Rāmadāsa was born in A.D. 1608. After years of wandering in search of spiritual light and attaining *siddhi* (realization), he settled down at Chafal in Sātāra district on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā. Unlike his predecessors, he sought to combine spiritual and practical life, and evinced much interest in politics. He established *āśramas* all over Mahārāshtra. It was from him that Śivāji received the inspiration to overthrow Muslim authority and found a kingdom. Apart from his *abhaṅgas*, he was the author of *Dāsabodha*, a didactic work which gave advice on all aspects of life.

Saints of South India. In South India, the *Bhakti* movement originated in Tamilnad sometime after the 7th century A.D. with the Ālvārs (Vaiṣṇava saints) and the Adiyārs (Śaiva saints). Rāmānuja (*b.* A.D. 1018) gave a sound philosophic basis to the *Bhakti* cult of the Vaiṣṇavas. Many saint-philosophers followed who combined erudite scholarship with abiding faith in the *Prapattimārga* (path of self-surrender to God), and of them may be mentioned Piḷḷai Lokācārya (*b.* A.D. 1213), Maṇavāḷa Mahāmuni (*b.* A.D. 1370). and Vedānta Deśika (*b.* A.D.1268). The Śaivite tradition also proceeded in an unbroken line. Āgamic Śaivism received its first systematic exposition among the Tamils in *Śiva-Jñānabodham* of the great saint Meykaṇḍār, a Veḷḷāḷa by birth, of the 13th century. Umāpati Śivācārya (*c.*A.D. 1290-1320) was a prolific writer and eight out of the fourteen authoritative philosophical treatises on Śaivism are attributed to him. Next came, in the 15th century A.D., Aruṇagirinātha whose hymns in *Tiruppugaḷ* are very popular. Tayumanavar, who flourished in the 17th century, was a Veḷḷāḷa by birth and his lyrics are marked "by intense religious feeling, beauty of language, and sweetness of rhythm."

In Karnāṭaka, the fountain-head of the *Bhakti* movement was Madhavācārya, (*c.*A.D. 1199–1278), the founder of the Dvaita school of philosophy. A number of philosophers, saints and mystics followed as in the other regions, but medieval Karnāṭaka is particularly noted for its Haridāsas (servants of Hari), wandering minstrels who spread the message of God through songs, often composed by themselves. Pandharpur in Mahārāshtra and Udipi in South Kanara were the two great centres of the movement and Kṛṣṇa was the favourite deity. The most outstanding of the Haridāsas

in the 15th–16th centuries were Śrīpādarāja, the founder of the movement, Purandaradāsa, the father of the Karnāṭaka system of music, and Kanakadāsa, a shepherd by birth but a person of great spiritual attainment. The songs of all these three were free from sectarianism and had a universal appeal. Vyāsarāya, the foremost of the philosophers and dialecticians of his age, was also a great mystic and composer of songs noted for their philosophic import. Mention may also be made of Vādirāja, Vijayadāsa and Jagannāthadāsa, who came in later years.

An equally important religious movement of Karnāṭaka was that launched by Basava, the Prime Minister of Kalacuri king Bijjala (A.D. 1156-1168), who ruled at Kalāyṇa. He based his doctrines on the 28 Śaiva Āgamas and developed the Ṣaṭ-sthala system of philosophy. Vīraśaivas or Liṅgāyats, as his followers are known, believe that Śiva is the Supreme God and all should worship only Him. Every Liṅgāyat, both man and woman, has to wear a *liṅga* on his person as a symbol of devotion to Śiva. Basava was strongly opposed to the caste system. The movement he launched was able to achieve more or less complete social and religious equality among the sectarians who form a very large proportion of the population of Karnāṭaka and are found in large numbers in Āndhra Pradesh. Among the great saints of the sect may be mentioned Allama Prabhu and Akkamahādevī. Mention may also be made of Mallikārjuna. Paṇḍitārādhya, a contemporary of Basava and the founder of the Ārādhya-Śaiva sect, populor in the Telugu country. Unlike Basava, he accepted the authority of the Vedas and the system of caste. The Liṅgāyat movement is noted for its *Vacanakāras*, ſust as the Vaiṣṇava movement for its Haridāsas. Basava was himself noted for his *vacanas* (aphoristic sayings of great moral and religious import). The greatest of the *Vacanakāras* was Sarvajña, who came at the close of the Vijayanagar history.

The major religious movements ushered in by the great mystics and saints contributed new metaphysical and religious ideas. New *Ācāryas* arose who interpreted the *Prasthānatraya* (the Upaniṣads, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Vedānta Sūtras*) in the light of the devotional utterances of the southern Ālvārs, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* and the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas, all of which are devotional in their nature. The *Ācāryas*, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Śrīkaṇṭha, Nimbārka, Vallabha, Caitanya and others followed the spirit of the age and talked in terms of devotion and self-surrender.

Visistadvaita of Ramanujacarya. Rāmānuja was the founder of Viśiṣṭādvaita Siddhānta. His commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* called the *Śrībhāṣya* and the *Gītābhāṣya,* are among his best known works. Of his followers in later years the most outstanding were Vedānta Deśika and Piḷḷai Lokācārya, the founders of the two sub-schools, Vaḍagalai (Northern) and Tengalai (Southern). The former was the author of the well-known *Śatadūṣaṇī,* a polemic against the Advaita Siddhānta of Śaṅkara.

Viśiṣṭādvaita means modified monism. The ultimate reality according to it is *Brahman* (God) who is immanent in matter and individual souls, and controls them from within. All the three—God, soul and matter—are real, but God is the inner substance, while matter and souls are his attributes. They are absolutely dependent on God, although they are eternal, relatively free and responsible for their actions. God is not *nirviśeṣa* (without quality), but is a being endowed with all the good and desirable qualities and free from evil ones. Although God is the material and efficient cause of the world, He does not Himself undergo any change. It is His body, the *Acit,* that is transformed into the world under His own control and guidance. He is the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world, and for this He manifests Himself in five different forms, viz. *Para, Vyūha, Vibhava, Antaryāmin* and *Pratimā.*

The individual souls are innumerable, real and eternal entities of atomic size, forming the body of the Lord. They exist as means for His ends. They have neither been created nor can they be destroyed. Knowledge is their very essential nature, but it is obscured by their evil *karmas* (actions), which are associated with them from eternity without beginning. The soul is real knower, agent of action, and enjoyer of the fruits thereof. In the state of liberation the soul becomes omniscient, and freed from the 'Law of *Karma',* enjoys everlasting bliss, in the presence of God. It does not become God, but something similar to Him. In *Mokṣa* the souls do not get absorbed in God nor do they lose their identity. The cycle of birth and death or the inexorable 'Law of *Karma*' may be terminated simply by performing one's obligatory *karmas* in an absolutely disinterested and unselfish way and simply to please God. The means of attaining *Mokṣa* or entry into the Lord's abode is *jñāna* (knowledge) which means love, remembrance, and constant thought of God and complete surrender to Him and His will.

Besides God and souls, Reality comprises *Acit* or unconscious substance of three kinds, *Śuddha Sattva, Prakṛti* and *Kāla* (time). *Prakṛti* is the material cause of the world, *Śuddha Sattva* provides the body of the Lord. The creative process and all the objects in creation are real, not illusory as Śaṅkara propounded.

Sivadvaita of Srikanthacarya. Śrīkaṇṭhācārya flourished a little later than Rāmānujācārya. He attached equal importance to the Upaniṣads and the Śaiva Āgamas, and in his commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras* he propounded the view that Śiva endowed with Śakti is the ultimate *Brahman,* who pervades the universe and exists beyond it. The *jīva* (soul) who is called *paśu* is monadic, self-conscious and morally free. Its consciousness is, at present, limited on account of the impurities called *āṇava, māyā,* and *kāmya.* By the grace of God, who is called *Pati* (Lord), it can attain infinite consciousness, and thus obtain *mukti* (freedom). The *jīvas* are infinite in number.

Dvaita of Madhvacarya. Madhvācārya (A.D. 1199–1278), who hailed from Kalyāṇapura near Udipi in South Kanara district, was the founder of the dualism. In his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and other works he opposed the monism and illusionism of Śaṅkara, and tried to establish pluralism and realism on the basis of the *Prasthānatraya.* He recognized five eternal distinctions: (a) between God and individual souls, (b) between God and matter, (c) between the individual souls and matter, (d) between one individual soul and another, and (e) between one material object and another. According to him, the world is not an illusion or false appearance, but a reality full of real distinctions. God, who is called Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, Hari and Vāsudeva can be known only by the testimony of the scriptures. He is the creator, preserver and destroyer. God, matter and soul are all unique in their nature and are irreducible to each other. Matter and souls are ontological realities dependent on God, who is absolutely independent. Knowledge, devotion and action are all necessary for effecting one's release. Even in the state of liberation souls remain different from each other and from God, although similar to Him in some respects. Some souls are eternally damned. In the middle ages Madhva was one of the most influential leaders of Indian thought, and his followers are today found in all parts of India.

Dvaitadvaita of Nimbarkacarya. Nimbārka was a Telugu Brāhmaṇa, who came after Rāmānuja. In his *Vedāntapārijātasaurabha,* a commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras,* he advocated dualistic monism (*Dvaitādvaitavāda*). According to this view, *Brahman* really transformed Himself into the world and the souls, which are real and distinct and different from God (*Brahman*), but cannot exist without His support. The souls are atomic in size and many in number. *Brahman* is identified with Kṛṣṇa, who manifests Himself for the sake of His devotees and for controlling and guiding the world in the form of *vyūhas* and incarnations (*avatāras*). Rādhā is His power or Śakti. Individual souls are in bondage on account of their ignorance about God and their relation with Him. Ignorance vanishes only by the grace of God obtained through devotion.

Suddhadvaita Vedanta of Vallabhacarya. Vallabha (A.D. 1479–1531), a Telugu Brāhmaṇa, founded another Vaiṣṇava school of Vedānta, called Śuddhādvaita (pure non-dualism). He wrote commentaries on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and the *Bhagavad-Gītā.* His philosophy is known as Puṣṭimārga (the path of grace), and his school by the name Rudrasampradāya. Although Vallabha hailed from the South, his influence was great in the North and is still felt in Gujarāt and Rājasthān. Vallabha identified *Brahman* with Śrī Kṛṣṇa. He is one, omnipotent and omniscient, and the cause of all that there is in the universe. He is characterized by *sat* (being), *cit* (consciousness) and *ānanda* (bliss). By a process of progressive concealment of these characteristics He manifests Himself in the form of individual souls and matter. The world and the individuals are not

unreal appearances; they are real manifestations of God. *Māyā* (illusion) is a real power of God through which he engages in His *līlā* (the sport of creation). Although He is the material and efficient cause of the world, He does not undergo any change or transformation in Himself. The creation is only an emanation (*avikṛta pariṇāma*). The world and the souls spring from Him as sparks from fire and as rays of light from shining objects. The souls are *aṇu* (atomic) in size. There is no *avidyā* (ignorance) in *Brahman*. He is *śuddha* (pure) in Himself. God, world and souls are identical in essence but different in manifestation. The world and souls are *aṁsa* (parts) of God. The souls suffer from bondage on account of their ignorance and consequent separation from God. The only means of salvation is *sneha* (deep-rooted and all-surpassing love) of God, which is not attained by the efforts of the individual alone.

Acintyabhedabhedavada of Caitanya. Śrī Caitanya Mahāprabhu (A.D. 1486–1533) wrote no philosophical treatise. His philosophical views are contained in his biography, *Caitanyacaritāmṛta,* written in Bengali by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. God, according to Caitanya, is Kṛṣṇa. He is infinite love and bliss. He is full of infinite power and consciousness. Rādhā is the power of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. There is no difference between Him and Rādhā. He is an abode of contrary qualities. Although infinite, He incarnates in the form of finite mortals and is subject to love. He is all-pervading, yet He lives in the highest heaven which is beyond the sphere of *Prakṛti.* He is immanent as well as transcendent. He is inconceivable both with regard to His being and powers. He is the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer of the world. He possesses a supernatural body, mind and sense-organs. All that is there in the world is a manifestation of some power of God. Some of His powers are *cit, māyā, avidyā, ānanda* and *sat*. God is the Lord of *māyā* while the *jiva* is subject to it. The world is not an appearance. It is real and a manifestation of his power of creativity. *Bhakti* or devotion is the only means of liberation.

His tenets were expounded by his disciples. Rūpa Gosvāmī wrote *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* and *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu.* Śrī Jīva Gosvāmī wrote *Śatsandarbha* and a commentary on it. Another great follower of Caitanya, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana, wrote a commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras,* which is called *Govinda Bhāṣya.*

(ii) Muslim Religious Movements and Philosophy

The middle ages witnessed the rise and development of a very large number of Muslim religious movements, mystic organizations, religious cults and attitudes. Broadly they belong to three schools: (i) the conservative school which believed in strict adherence to Muslim law and

tradition; (ii) the liberal school which emphasized the spirit rather than the letter of the law, interpreted religion as 'love of God' and 'service of humanity', and adopted a catholic attitude towards all social and religious problems; and (iii) the intermediate school which sought to evolve a *via media* between those two extreme and conflicting attitudes. There were besides individuals in every *silsilah* (religious order) who emphasized different aspects of belief and practice and adopted different attitudes towards problems of faith.

Chishti Silsilah. Some Muslim mystics came to India long before the establishment of Muslim political power, but organized *silsilahs* appeared only with the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi. The Chishtī *silsilah,* which claims the largest number of followers today, was introduced in India by Shaikh Mu'īnu'd-dīn Sijzī (*d.* A.D. 1236). He reached India before the battle of Tarain and settled at Ajmer which, besides being the citadel of Cauhān power, was a great religious centre of the Hindus. His simple, pious and dedicated life had tremendous impact on those who happened to come in contact with him. He had two eminent disciples—Shaikh Quṭbu'd-dīn Bakhtyār Kākī (*d.* A.D. 1235) and Shaikh Ḥamīdu'd-dīn Sūfī of Nāgaur (*d.* A.D.1274). Shaikh Ḥamīdu'd-dīn lived like a simple peasant and cultivated a *bīgha* of land. He was a vegetarian. With his innate catholicity of view and cosmopolitanism he refrained from calling any Hindu a *kāfir.* He refused Iltutmish's offer of a grant of some villages to him. Bakhtyār Kākī, the other disciple of Shaikh Mu'īnu'd-dīn, came from Aush, a centre of the Ḥallājī mystics, and was thoroughly imbued with their pantheistic philosophy.

Shaikh Farīdu'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajodhan (*d.* A.D. 1265), the principal Khalīfah of Kākī, popularized the *silsilah* in Northern India. To convey his message he spoke in the local dialects, and recommended the use of Panjabī for religious purposes. The three eminent disciples of Shaikh Farīd founded sub-*silsilahs* : (i) Shaikh Jamālu'd-dīn Hānowī was the founder of the Jamāliyah order, which did not last long; (ii) Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā' of the Niẓāmiyah order; and (iii) Shaikh 'Alāu'd-dīn Ṣābir from Kalyar of the Ṣābirī order. Under Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā' (*d.* A.D. 1325), the Niẓāmiyah branch assumed an all-India status and a network of Chishtī *khānqāhs* (monasteries), *jamā'at khānahs* (assembly halls), *zāwiyahs* (convents) and *takiahs* (hermitages) appeared in India from Delhi to Devagiri and from Multān to Lakhnautī. The heads of the Chishtī order had independent lives and sought no favours from the rulers. Shaikh Naṣīru'd-dīn Chiragh (*d.* A.D. 1357) of Delhi put up a spirited resistance when Muḥammad bin Tughluq interfered with the life of the mystics.

The Ṣābirī branch came into prominence under Shaikh Aḥmad 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq (*d.* A.D. 1433) and under saints like Shāh Muḥibbullah of Allahābād (*d.* A.D. 1648). Shāh Abū'l Ma'ālī (*d.* 1700) and Shāh

'Abdu'l Hādī of Amroha (*d.* 1776), it came to play an important role in the religious life of the Indian Muslims.

Through the efforts of the disciples of Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā' the Chishtī *silsilah* spread in the various parts of India. Shaikh Sirāju'd-dīn, popularly known as Akhī Sirāj (*d.* A.D. 1357), introduced it in Bengal, and his distinguished successors Shaikh 'Alā'ul Ḥaqq (*d.* A.D. 1398), Shaikh Nūr Quṭb-i-'Ālam (*d.* A.D. 1410) and Syed Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (*d.* A.D. 1405) greatly influenced the religious life of Bengal, Bihār and Eastern Uttar Pradesh. The rise of the Chishtī school in Bengal synchronized with the birth of the *Bhakti* movement. A comparative study of the two would show many points of similarity between them. It was under Chishtī influence that Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh of Bengal started his famous Satya-pīr movement, and the rulers of Bengal had many basic texts of the Hindu religion translated into Bengalī. The way in which Shāh Muḥammad Ṣaghīr, Zainu'd-dīn, Shaikh Kabīr, and others wove Īrānian traditions into Indian legends is also a result of the impact.

The Chishtī *silsilah* was introduced in the Deccan by Shaikh Burhānu'd-dīn Gharīb (*d. c.* A.D. 1340), Shaikh Muntakhab and Khwajah Ḥasan, and received great impetus under Syed Muḥammad Gesū-darāz of Gulbarga (*d.* A.D. 1422). In Mālwa it was organized by Shaikh Wajihu'd-dīn Yūsuf (*d. c.* A.D. 1328), Shaikh Kamālu'd-dīn and Maulānā Mughithu'd-dīn, and in Gujarāt by Shaikh Ḥusāmu'd-dīn Multānī (*d. c.* A.D. 1354), Shaikh Barkullah and Syed Ḥasan. The arrival of these saints in the different parts of India synchronized with the rise of the provincial kingdoms and, in return for their help, they received big *jāgīrs* and endowments. The tradition of the *khānqāhs* receiving large assignments from the rulers begins in this period.

Most of the Chishtī saints belonged to the liberal school of thought. They laid much emphasis upon service to mankind. When asked about the highest form of devotion to God (*ṭā'at*), Shaikh Mu'īnu'd-dīn Chishtī replied that it was nothing but 'redressing the misery of those in distress; fulfilling the needs of the helpless; and feeding the hungry'. He exhorted his disciples to 'develop river-like generosity, sun-like affection and earth-like hospitality'.

The Chishtī mystics were believers in pantheistic monism *waḥdat-ul-wajūd*, unity of being, which had its earliest exposition in the Upaniṣads of the Hindus. In adopting this, they established an ideological relationship with the main source of Hindu religious thought. As a working idea in social life, it meant equality of all men, the essential unity of all religions, and freedom from all religious prejudices.

Outside India, the greatest exponent of this thought had been Shaikh Muḥīu'd-dīn Ibn-a'l-'Arabī (*d.* A.D. 1240). The first commentary on his principal work *Fuṣūṣ-ul-Ḥikam* was written by the famous saint of Kashmīr, Mīr Syed 'Alī Hamadānī (*d.* A.D. 1384), and then others followed. By

the 16th century Ibn 'Arabī's works were current in India from Kashmīr to Deccan. Shāh Muḥibbullah of Allahābād was regarded as the second Ibn 'Arabī. Not content with elucidating his ideas in the context of mystic thought, Shaikh Alī Maḥāimī (*d.* A.D. 1432) and Shāh Muḥibbullah wrote commentaries on the *Qurān,* in which they upheld his line of thought.

The Ṣūfīs adopted several spiritual practices of the Hindus, e.g., shaving the head of a new entrant to the mystic fold, the *zanbīl* (bowl) for collecting food, offering water to visitors, audition parties, etc. *Chilla-i-ma'kūs* (inverted forty-day ritual), which Shaikh Farīdu'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar is reported to have performed, was taken from the Ūrdhamukhī Sādhus. Further, the practice of controlling breath (*ḥabs-i-dam,*), was taken from the Hindu *yogis.*

The Chishtī attitude towards Hinduism is epitomized by Āmīr Khusraw in the following verses:

Nīst Hindū archi ki dīndār chū man
Hast basī jāy ba qarār chū man
(Though Hindu is not like me in religion, he believes in the same thing as I do).

Ay ki zi but ṭa'na ba Hindū barī
Ham az way āmūz parastishgarī
(O you who sneer at the idolatry of the Hindu, learn also from him how worship is done.).

In his *Nuh Sipihr,* Khusraw refers to the historical heritage of India in a deeply patriotic strain and looks back at the history and culture of this country as a part of his own tradition. The Chishtīs did not subscribe to formal conversions. "Teach people the method to remember God (*dhikr*); don't be after formal conversion", was the advice that Shāh Kalīmullah of Delhi (*d.* 1729) gave to his Khalifahs. The Chishtīs were opposed to any discrimination between the Hindus and Muslims in matters of government and advocated a common polity. Shāh Muḥibbullah of Allahābād once told Dārā Shukoh that any discrimination between a Hindu and Muslim was opposed to the real spirit of Islam, and cited Qurānic verses in his support.

Suhrawardi Silsilah. The other mystic order which had reached India almost at the same time as the Chishtī *silsilah* was the Suhrawardī order founded by Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn 'Umar Suhrawardī (*d.* A.D. 1234). The credit of organizing it on a sound basis goes to Shaikh Bahāud-dīn Dhakariyā (*d.* A.D. 1262), who set up a magnificent *khānqāh* at Multān and attracted large number of disciples from Sind and other neighbouring areas. Under his grandson, Shaikh Ruknu'd-dīn Abū'l Fatḥ. (*d.* A.D. 1335), it reached its highest watermark. One of the eminent disciples of Shaikh Bahāu'd-dīn Dhakariyā settled at Uch and developed the *silsilah* there. The most outstanding saint of the Uch branch was Syed Jalālu'd-dīn Bukhārī, popularly known as Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān (*d.* A.D. 1384). He

had close personal contact with Firūz Shāh Tughluq and had even influenced his revenue policy.

The main centres of the Suhrawardīs were Uch and Multān. The attitude of the saints of this order towards various problems of religion and politics differed in certain important respects from that of the Chishtīs. They had big *jāgīrs* and had close contacts with the state, and some of them adopted a rigid and uncompromising attitude on many matters of religious and social significance. For instance, as recorded by Ḍiyāu'd-dīn Baranī, Syed Nūru'd-dīn Mubārak Ghaznavī advised Iltutmish to follow a policy of discrimination and persecution against the Hindus. There were, however, some Suhrawardī saints who were very broadminded and catholic, and as such were held in deep respect by the Hindus. The devotion of the Hindus of Bengal to Shaikh Jalālu'd-dīn Tabrīzī may be assessed from *Śekha Śubhodaya*, a Sanskrit treatise which consolidated all the legends about the saint current amongst the Hindus.

Firdawsi Silsilah. Another *silsilah* which reached India very early was the Firdawsī order. It was first established in Delhi by Shaikh Badru'd-dīn of Samarqand, a disciple of Shaikh Saifu'd-dīn Bākharzī, but later on it moved to Bihār and became the most influential mystic order there. Its most distinguished saint was Shaikh Sharafu'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī (*d.* A.D. 1371), who believed in pantheistic monism.

Shattari Silsilah. Three important religious movements developed in India during the 15th and 16th centuries—the Shattārī *silsilah'* the Mahdawī movement and the Raushniyah sect. They reflected the spirit of the *Bhakti* movement, which had gained great strength among the Hindus. The Shattārī order was introduced in India by Shāh 'Abdullah Shattārī (*d.* A.D. 1485), who lies buried at Mandu. He advocated a life of spiritual intoxication (*sukr*) and with a band of devoted disciples, clad in military dress, propagated his ideas in Mālwa, Jaunpur and Bengal. His two eminent disciples—Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alā Qāḍin of Bengal and Shaikh Hāfiẓ of Jaunpur—applied their energies to the expansion of the *silsilah*. The Jaunpur branch attracted men like Shaikh Buddhan and Rizqullah Mushtāqī, the author of *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī;* the Bengal branch produced saints like Shaikh Abū'l Fatḥ Hidāyatullah Sarmast, Shaikh Ẓahūr Ḥājī, Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauth and others. It was, however, under Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauth of Gwalior (*d.* A.D. 1563) that the Shattarī order developed to its full stature. Among his disciples were the famous musician Tānsen and the distinguished scholar of Ahmadābād Syed, Wājidu'd-dīn 'Alawī, whose seminary was one of the most renowned centres of learning in India.

The Shattārī saints sought to synthesize Hindu and Muslim mystical thoughts and practices. Some of them learnt Sanskrit and became familiar with the Hindu religious thought. Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alā spent some time with the *yogīs* at Vaiśālī. Syed Muḥammad Ghauth of Gwalior

lived for a number of years with the Hindu mystics in the lonely recesses of Vindhyāchala and learnt many Tāntric practices. Through his *Jawāhir-i-Khamsah* and *Aurād-i-Ghauthiyah* he introduced many Hindu mystic practices and litanies into the Muslim mystic discipline, and his translation of *Amṛtakuṇḍa* into Persian created a parallel Hindu and Muslim mystic terminology. He considered *Om* to be identical with *Rab* of the Muslims. His *Baḥr-ul-Ḥayāt* was in a way a precursor of Dārā Shukoh's *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain*. Further, its impact was deeper; it was put into practice in Shattārī hospices unlike Dārā's philosophic disquisitions which made little or no impact on contemporary mystic thought.

Mahdawi Movement. The Mahdawī movement was initiated by Syed Muḥammad Mahdī of Jaunpur (*d.* A.D. 1505), who claimed to be the promised *Mahdī,* the deliverer to set all things right. Moved by the moral decay and spiritual degeneration that came in the wake of the fall of the Sharqī kingdom of Jaunpur, Syed Muḥammad concentrated his energies on the regeneration of the people. He kindled genuine religious spirit and set up *dā'irahs* (centres for spiritual practice). Though started with a view to softening controversies between the different sects, the movement became exclusive in its outlook, so much so that its followers recommended the imposition of *jizyah* even on those Muslims who did not agree with them. The Mahdawīs had to face opposition from the *'ulamā'* as well as from the rulers.

Raushaniyah Movement. The Raushaniyah movement owed its origin to Miyān Bāyazīd Anṣārī (*d.* A.D. 1581), a native of Jullundur. He emphasized interiorization of religious rites and inspired his followers with the ideal of ascetic self-denial. His successors frequently came into conflict with the Mughal emperors as their activities often disturbed peace in the Kābul-Indus region. While differing from one another in many respects, the Shattārī, the Raushaniyah and the Mahdawi movements had one thing in common: they laid greater emphasis on the spirit of religion than its form and drew inspiration from the philosophy of *waḥdat-ul-wūjud.*

Qadiri Silsilah. A very important mystic order, that of the Qādirī, was introduced in India very early but came into prominence much later. Shāh Ni'āmatūllah Qādirī (*d.* A.D. 1430) was probably the first notable saint of this order to enter India, but it was Syed Makhdūm Muḥammad Gīlānī (*d.* A.D. 1517) who organized it on an effective basis. The views and attitudes of its members during its long and chequered history greatly varied. If Shaikh Dā'ūd, Shāh Abū'l Ma'ālī and others were inclined towards orthodoxy and the exoteric aspect of religion, Miyān Mīr, Mullā Shāh Badakhshī, and others leaned towards its liberal and esoteric aspects. A third group of the Qādirī saints like Shaikh 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq Muḥaddith of Delhi followed the middle path and tried to effect a balance between the formal and spiritual aspects of religion.

Naqshbandi Silsilah. During the later years of Akbar's reign, the Naqshbandī *silsilah* was introduced in India by Khwājah Bāqī Bi'llah (*d.* A.D. 1603), who came from Kābul and settled at Delhi. This was the most cherished spiritual order of the Turks, particularly the descendants of Tīmūr and Bābur. It attained a position of great importance in India under the leadership of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī, (*d.* A.D. 1624). According to Jahāngīr, he sent his *Khalifahs* to every town and city of the country. He was opposed to the pantheistic philosophy (*waḥdat-ul-wujūd*) on which the entire structure of Muslim mystic thought in India had been built up. He propounded his own theory of *waḥdat-ul-shudūd* (unity of the phenomenal world). He condemned the life of *sukr* as the negation of the true spirit of Islām. Besides, he did not believe in the Chishtī attitude of keeping aloof from politics. He compared the king to the soul and the people to the physical frame. "If the soul is pure, the body is pure; if the soul is impure, the body is impure", he used to say. He was opposed to the religious experiments of Akbar, as he feared that in this process Islām might lose its individuality. "The Muslims should follow their religion, and the Hindus theirs" was what he stood for. In emphasizing the distinctive features of Islām and Hinduism, he sometimes showed much bitterness, but this was largely conditioned by his opposition to Akbar's policies. Whatever the intrinsic merits of his thoughts, his approach towards Hinduism and pantheism was incompatible with the spirit of Indo-Muslim mysticism. The subsequent history of the Naqshbandī *silsilah* shows attempts at revision and moderation.

Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī's opposition to the pantheistic doctrine of *waḥdat-ul-wujūd* led to a bitter conflict of ideologies, and this was noticed even by Bernier who came to India in the middle of the 17th century. Miyān Mīr of Lahore and his disciple Mullā Shāh, Sarmad of Delhi and Shāh Muḥibbullah of Allahābād were the chief exponents of the philosophy of *waḥdat-ul-wujūd*. Dārā Shukoh, who translated the Upaniṣads into Persian under the title *Sirr-i-Akbar* and wrote his famous *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* to illustrate the basic unity of the Muslim and Hindu religious thought, was a devout pantheist.

Khwājah Ma'sūm (*d.* A.D. 1668) and Khwājah Saifu'd-dīn (*d.* A.D. 1582) and some other descendants of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī, who represented the orthodox line of thought, however, captivated the imagination of Aurangzeb, and his hand fell heavily upon all those who believed and propagated the ideology of *waḥdat-ul-wujūd*. Mullā Shāh was harassed, Sarmad was executed and Shāh Muḥibbullah's *Risāla-i-Taswiyah*, which contained an exposition of pantheistic philosophy, was burnt. The mental climate created by the *Sirr-i-Akbar* and the *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* was sought to be changed by the compilation of *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī*,.

In the midst of this controversy a third school of thought appeared which sought to steer a middle course. The most renowned representative

of this school was Shaikh 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq Muḥaddith of Delhi (*d.* A.D. 1642). In *Majma'-ul-Baḥrain* he sought to reconcile the conflicting attitudes of jurists and mystics. He wrote a *risālah* criticising the extreme views of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī. With regard to Ibn 'Arabī, he propagated the views of his teacher Shaikh 'Abdu'l Wahāb Muttaqī, who held that his ideas contained both 'honey' and 'poison'. Khwājah Mīr Dard in his extensive writings in prose and verse supported the mediating view of 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq.

In the 18th century a similar attempt was made by Shāh Walīullah of Delhi (*d.* 1763). In a thought-provoking booklet he pointed out that the difference between Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī and Ibn 'Arabī was like that between a simile and a metaphor. He acknowledged the necessity of following the external rites, but laid equal emphasis on the spirit of religion. In his famous *Ḥujjat-ullah-al-Bāligḥah* he removed many of the prevalent doubts and misunderstandings about pantheistic monism. Though the theory of *waḥdat-ul-wujūd* could not regain the ascendancy it enjoyed before, his efforts had the effect of mitigating and softening the exclusiveness of the Sirhindī school. Besides reconciling the two schools of thought Shāh Walīullah fully realized the need for reconstructing religious thought according to the circumstances of the times. He pointed out that the codification of laws should be related to the social, religious and legal practices of people in the different regions. To acquaint the Muslims with higher religious values he translated the *Qurān* into Persian, and his two illustrious sons translated it into Hindī so that it could be within reach of all the Indian people.

The difficulty in reconciling higher religious thoughts with the rigidity and exclusiveness of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī's ideas was realized by Mirẓā Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān (*d.* 1781), another spiritual descendant of 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq. He extricated Naqshbandī *silsilah* from the position it had assumed under the impact of the passing moods of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī. He did not agree that Hinduism was polytheistic; he defended the Hindu belief in the transmigration of soul and considered the Vedas to be an important link in the long series of 'revealed books', and firmly rebutted the orthodox point of view about the Hindus and their religious institutions. It is difficult to find a more cogent and logical refutation of Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī's views concerning Hinduism than that given in the 14th letter of Mirẓā Maẓhar in his *Kalimāt-i-Ṭayyibātī*.

3. Education

(*i*) *Muslim Education*

The traditions of Muslim education as they had developed under the

'Abbasids of Baghdad were the nucleus of the Muslim educational system in India. They were transplanted in India by the literati and scholars of Muslim lands after the Mongols had overrun them. Within a century of its foundation, the Sultanate of Delhi came to occupy an unrivalled place in the sphere of Muslim education. During the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī (A.D. 1296-1316), scholars of Bukhara, Samarqand, Irāq and Khwarazm looked to India for guidance and inspiration in academic matters. Amīr Khusraw regarded Indian learning superior to that of such centres as Ray, Isfahan and Rum. According to Ḍiā-u'd-dīn Baranī, the scholars of this country attained the stature of Ghazālī and Rāzī. According to an Arab traveller of the 14th century Delhi alone had one thousand *madrasahs*.

Basic Features. The basic feature of Muslim educational system was that it was traditional in spirit and theological in content. Its main purpose was to stabilize a body of beliefs. The curriculum was broadly divided into two categories; the *manqūlāt* and the *ma'qūlāt*, the former dealing with traditional and the latter with rational sciences. Exegesis (*Tafsīr*), Traditions (*Aḥādīth*), Law (*Fiqh*), History and Literature came under the category of traditional sciences; Logic (*Manṭiq*), Philosophy (*Ḥikmat*), Medicine (*Ṭibb*), Mathematics (*Riyāḍī*) and Astronomy (*Hai'at*) were treated as rational sciences. In the early stages the study of the traditional sciences was emphasized, but gradually the rational sciences began to receive greater attention. But this emphasis on *ma' qūlāt* did not lead development of the experimental and inductive methods, which alone could pave the way for scientific and technological advancement.

Types of Institutions. The institutions which provided elementary education were known as *maktabs*, while those of higher learning were called *madrasahs*. While the *maktabs* were generally run by public donations, rulers or nobles maintained the higher centres of learning. One comes across the follwing types of institutions during this period: (a) those established and maintained by the rulers or the nobles; (b) those established by individual scholars with the help of public donations and state assistance; (c) those run by individual scholars exclusively without any outside help; (d) those attached to mosques and financed from mosque funds; (e) those attached to tombs and financed from their endowments; and (f) those attached to the hospices (*khānqāhs*) of *Ṣūfī* saints. The Mu'izzī, the Nāṣirī and the Firūzī *madrasahs* of Delhi, the *madrasah* of Bībī Rājī of Jaunpur, the *madrasah* of Maḥmūd Gāwān in Bīdar, and the *madrasah* of Abū'l Faḍl at Fatehpur Sīkri were some of the most renowned centres of higher learning established by the rulers and nobles. Among the institutions established by individuals, the *madrasah* of Sādiq Khān in Gujarāt, Maham Aṇagā, and Mirzā 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān in Delhi, Shihābu'd-dīn Daulatābādī at Jaunpur and Qutbu'd dīn Sihālwī at Lucknow deserve particular mention. Muṭahhar has given

a vivid account of Firūz Shāh's *madrasah* at Delhi. It was a double-storyed building standing on the bank of the *Hauḍ-i-Khās* surrounded by a beautiful garden. Besides numerous lecture-halls, there were spacious hostels for the teachers and the students, guest-houses for casual visitors and a big congregational mosque. The government met all the expenses of the students, including boarding and lodging.

Mode of Instruction. The *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī* gives the following list of 14 subjects which were taught in the *madrasahs* established by Firūz Shāh Tughluq: (1) *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence); (2) *Qir'at* (Method of recitation, punctuation and vocalization of the text of the *Qurān*): (3) *Usūl-i-Kalām* (Principles of Scholastic Theology); (4) *Usūl-i-Fiqh* (Principles of Jurisprudence); (5) *Tafsīr* (Exegesis); (6) *Aḥādīth* (Traditions of the Prophet); (7) *Ma'ānī-wa-Bayān* (Rhetorics); (8) *Nahw-wa-Sarf* (Syntax and Etymology); (9) *'Ilm-i-Naẓar* (Science of observation); (10) *'Ilm-i-Riyāḍī* (Mathematics), (11) *'Ilm-i-Ṭab'ī* (Natural Sciences); (12) *'Ilm-i-Ilāhī* (Metaphysics); (13) *Ilm-i-Ṭibb* (Medicine); and (14) *Taḥrīr-wa-Khaṭ* (Calligraphy).

From the time of Iltutmish (A.D. 1211–1236) to the days of Sikandar Lodī (A.D. 1489–1517) traditional subjects (*manqūlāt*) occupied a more important place than the rationalistic subjects (*ma'qūlāt*). A change, however, took place when Shaikh 'Abdullah and his brother Shaikh 'Azīzullah of Multān came to Delhi at the invitation of Sikandar Lodī. They introduced the study of philosophy and logic in the curriculum of the day, and thus reduced the religious bias of the existing system. The Hindus now took to learning the Persian language, and a Hindu scholar, Brāhmaṇa by name, instructed Muslims. The next significant step in the direction of making the Muslim system of education more rationalistic was taken by Humāyūn whose *madrasah* in Delhi laid greater emphasis on the study of mathematics, astronomy and geography. Significant though these steps were, they did not bring about any fundamental change in the content and character of the Muslim education in India.

Akbar attempted to reorientate the educational system by introducing subjects like logic, arithmetic, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, accountancy, public administration and agriculture into the curriculum. Fatḥullah Shīrāzī displayed keen interest in mechanical and technical education and under his inspiration Akbar built a workshop near his palace and personally supervised its work. This attempt at placing the educational system on a more secular and scientific basis does not seem to have found much favour. A few state-managed institutions changed their syllabi under Akbar's influence, but the general pattern of Muslim education remained unaltered. Probably the orthodox revival, which set in after Akbar, checked the growth and development of the educational system on the lines indicated by him. The syllabus prepared by Maulānā Niẓāmu'd-dīn in the middle of the 18th century popularly known as *Dars-i-Niẓāmī*, merely consolidated the medieval system of education. It is true

that some nobles like Dānishmand Khān did display interest in the western methods of enquiry, investigation, observation and experiment, but their efforts remained purely personal and did not have any impact on the general system of Muslim education.

Instruction in Muslim *madrasahs* of the middle ages was based on memorization, discussion and writing out the lessons taught. Seminars were considered an integral part of education and students of the higher classes had to master the art of casuistry.

(*ii*) *Hindu Education*

In ancient India, the educational institutions of the Hindus were broadly of two categories. The first category comprised the higher centres of learning financed by kings and nobles or temples and *maṭhas*. Secondly, there were the village schools maintained by the customary contributions of the villagers at harvest time. The small *tols* and *catuṣpāthis,* called by different names in the different parts of the country, continued undisturbed until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the British system of administration with its centralizing tendencies destroyed the self-sufficient village economy and the system of *pañcāyats*. We have an interesting description of a village school in South India by the Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle in A.D. 1623, where fine sand spread on the floor was used for writing by children and instruction was given by rote,. There is evidence that the standard of literacy was high in different parts of India. As regards the training in arts and crafts, knowledge and skill passed mostly from father to son, or was imparted by the master craftsman of the caste group or craft guild.

Unlike the village schools, loss of political power by the Hindus and the predominant position attained by Islamic religion and culture had an adverse effect on the traditional system of higher education. However, in Rājasthān, Gujarāt and southern India, the Hindus retained something of their political authority. The kings of Vijayanagar, the Yādavas of Devagiri, the Nāyakas of Madurai, the Rājās of Travancore, the Rājpūt princes and other rulers patronized scholars and promoted education. It must also be mentioned that a number of Muslim rulers encouraged Hindu scholars and educational institutions.

As regards the important centres of learning during the period, Vārānasi retained its pride of place, attracting students and scholars from all over India. The Dharmādhikārī, Śeṣa, Bhaṭṭa and Maunī families of Mahārāshtra and Karnāṭaka settled down here permanently in the beginning of the 16th century A.D. Nadia in Bengal and the three important educational centres at Navadvīpa, Sāntipura and Gopālpara were next in importance only to Vārānasi. It was here that the Nadia School of

Nyāya was founded by Vasūdeva Sārvabhauma (A.D. 1450–1525). Mithilā, the ancient seat of learning, continued to flourish and the Smṛti School originating here attained great eminence. Tirhut was famous for Theology, Philosophy and Politics; Multān for Astronomy, Astrology and Mathematics; and Sirhind for Medicine. In Rājasthān and Gujarāt, the old system of education maintained a vigorous existence,. From the *bhaṇḍāras* (libraries) of the Jaina monasteries of the region we have inherited large hoards of Prākṛt manuscripts, many of them with delightful miniature paintings. In Tamilnad, Madurai was perhaps the most important educational centre of the times, and Robert De Nobili noted in A.D. 1610 that over ten thousand students thronged the city. Kancipuram in Chingleput district was another famous centre of learning. The inscriptions of the temple at Suchindram in Kanniyākumāri district present a graphic picture of the educational system that flourished there. We have references to other centres of less importance—Adayapalam, Vetūr, Viriñchipuram and Veppūr in North Arcot district, and the grammar school dedicated to Pāṇinī at Tiruvorriyūr in Chingleput district. We have evidence of the progress of learning under the Rājās of Kerala, and special mention should be made of the *Kalaris* or military schools that flourished there.

Besides the schools run on the traditional pattern, we have the beginnings of schools organized by the Christian missionaries. There are references to schools run by Jesuit Fathers at Madurai, Punnei Kayal and Chandragiri in the Vijayanagar period. Again, from the time of Sikandar Lodī Hindus started learning Persian in Islamic schools, and as years rolled by, this trend gathered momentum since knowledge of Persian was the necessary passport to public employment at higher levels in many parts of the country.

4. Literary Activities

(*i*) *Modern Indo-Aryan Languages*

Among the modern Indo-Aryan languages eight are more important—Panjābī, Hindī, Urdū, Bengālī, Assamese, Oṛiyā, Marāṭhī, and Gujarātī. Each one of them emerged from a corresponding middle Indo-Aryan Prākṛt in its Apabhraṁśa phase, and rapidly developed into a literary language. This evolution took place in a period of transition which saw the decline of the Hindu kingdoms of the North and the advent of the Muslim invaders from the North-west. The period was marked by cultural changes. The upper caste domination diminished, the primacy of Sanskrit abated, and waves of religious and social reform, which for propagation made use of popular idioms and the speech of the common people, flooded the country. The confrontation of Hindu and Muslim

cultures led to interesting results and a mixed culture, more marked in the North than the South, grew up. The story of the literary output is briefly told below.

Panjabi Literature. The first phase in the development of the Panjābī literature—the Nātha-Jogī period—is said to have extended from A.D. 900 to 1200., but this is not quite certain. The second period., the early medieval, covers the next three conturies, and this was predominantly an age of religious mysticism on the one hand and of heroic ballads and folk literature on the other. Islamic influence combined with the indigenous elements of Advaita philosophy and the emotional warmth of Ṣūfism mingled with the devotional fervour of the *Bhakti* movement, created the enchanted atmosphere of mysticism and a new school of poetry sprang up. In Punjab, Mas'ūd Farīdu'd-dīn (A.D. 1173–1265), a mystic-poet of high order, was the pioneer. A number of poets, both Hindu and Muslim, followed him and the Punjab rang with the music of their devotional songs irradiated by Nirguṇa philosophy. Towards the end of the 15th century Guru Nānak lent a special charm to these songs by the sweetness and limpidity of his utterances. If he lacked the sternness of Kabīr's voice and the passion of the Muslim mystics, he made up by the chastity of sentiment. His poetry is rich both in quality and quantity, and there is variety in his style and poetic diction. He was followed by Guru Arjun, who compiled the *Ādi-Granth* in A.D. 1604. His monumental work is the *Sukhamaṇi,* one of the longest and the greatest of medieval mystic poems. His contemporary was Bhāī Gurdāsa (A.D. 1551–1629). As a true disciple he concentrated on explaining and illustrating the teachings of the great Gurus. The last and not the least in the line was the tenth Guru, Govind Singh. He was a versatile genius and surpassed all the Panjābī poets of his age in volume and variety. He had drunk deep at the fountain of Sanskrit lore and the literature of all schools of philosophy and religions.

There were also writers of poetical romances, who excelled the saint-poets in the richness of emotional content as also in literary ingenuity. They adopted popular love stories of a legendary character, Indian as well as Persian, more often than not dyed deep in mysticism and having an allegorical form. There is a golden chain of such romances in Panjābī, which is not equalled in any other language in variety and luxuriance. The prince of these poets was Wārith Shāh whose *Hīr* is a classic.

Panjābī prose made good progress during this period and a series of valuable books were written in a distinct prose-style, and a number of religious and philosophical works were translated from Sanskrit between A.D. 1600 and 1800.

Hindi Literature. The origin of the Hindī language is placed by scholars between 7th and 10th centuries A.D. But it was only by A.D. 1206 that Hindī literature had well-nigh crossed its infancy and some of the major

works of the early period, including the nucleus of the famous *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso,* had been written. Rājasthān being the main centre of literary activity in the early period, the literature of the time (*Ādi Kāla*) was by and large either bardic or religious, and was written either in one of the prevalent forms of Rājasthāni Hindī, *viz.,* Ḍiṅgal or Piṅgal or in the Apabhraṁśa which came very close to old Hindī. Two major poets of the *Ādi Kāla,* who flourished in this period were Narapati Nālha and Amīr Khusraw. Narapati Nālha's classic poem, *Bīsalade Rāso,* was written sometime in the latter half of the 12th century A.D. Its language is akin to Rājasthānī Ḍiṅgal and the main sentiment is woman's pining love for her lover who deserts her in anger. Khusraw was the premier poet of Persian in this age. He composed in Hindī also, but his Hindī verses seem to aim more at entertainment, and their authenticity is also not certain.

From A.D. 1318 begins the second era of Hindī literature—the *Bhakti Kāla* or the Age of Devotion, which goes upto A.D. 1643. This was undoubtedly the richest period in literary history. The *Bhakti* movement has been divided broadly into the Nirguṇa and the Saguṇa schools. Whereas the former worshipped an Absolute God free from human attributes, the latter's ideal was a God who was richly endowed with human virtues, and, even with a human form. The Nirguṇa poets were divided into two groups, the saint-poets and the *Ṣūfī* mystics. The saint-poets were comparatively more rigid and, therefore, possibly less poetical. Their leader was Kabīr (*d.* A.D. 1518), a genius of the highest order. His poetry had two distinct planes, mystical and social. On the mystic plane he is ardent and mellifluous and an author of some of the sweetest lyrics. On the social plane he is outspoken. He severely strikes against all social and religious sham within Hinduism as well as Islam. He was followed by Dharmadāsa, Guru Nānak, Dādū and Sundardāsa, who were all great poets and leaders of religious thought. The *Ṣūfī* mystics sang in softer and richer strains. Most of them wrote poetical romances after the Persian style. Their stories are common love tales of the Hindu and Muslim life, which convey a spiritual meaning in allegorical forms. Jāyasī's *Padmāvat* (A.D. 1540) is a superb classic and compares favourably with the best in any Indian language. In the long series of these mystical romances Kutuban's *Mṛgāvatī* (A.D. 1501) and Mañjhan's *Madhumālatī* preceded and Uthmān's *Citrāvalī* (A.D. 1613) and Nūr Muḥammad's *Indrāvatī* followed the *Padmāvat.*

The spiritual symbols of the Saguṇa poets were more concrete and colourful, and their poetry was accordingly richer in human quality. A number of strains were mingled here. Yet the notes of devotion to Rāma and Kṛṣṇa were the most conspicuous and the whole country rang with them. The Rāmaites were headed by Tulasīdāsa (A.D. 1532-1623). His *Rāmacaritamānasa* is an epitome of medieval Hindu culture and has been,

for centuries, a spiritual gospel for the people of northern India, a book of social ethics, and last but not the least, a perennial source of aesthetic joy. Of Kṛṣṇaites Vidyāpati had sung of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in Maithilī Hindī, but his tone was not religious beyond doubt. The real Kṛṣṇa *Kāvya* begins with Sūradāsa (A.D. 1483-1563) whose *Sūra-Sāgara* is verily an ocean of devotional lyrics. In the delineation of the subtler emotions of the human heart, few Indian poets before or after can stand comparison with him. He had an able band of colleagues, the most notable of whom was Nandadāsa. The other major poets of the Kṛṣṇa cult were Hita Harivaṁśa, the founder of the Rādhāvallabha *sampradāya,* Mīrā Bāī and Rasakhāna. The literary output of the Kṛṣṇaites was very much richer in quantity and quality.

While Vrindāvan resounded with the songs of these devotees of Kṛṣṇa, a group of poets at the court of the Mughal emperors wrote secular poetry dealing with the struggles of human life. Their leader was 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān, the great poet-statesman, who wrote didactic poetry of a high order.

The next two centuries upto 1850 is covered by *Rīti Kāla,* the third prominent period in the history of Hindī literature. In this period poetry became essentially secular, although something of the spiritual symbolism lingered. The main theme was carnal love and the medium was a highly polished poetic diction with prolific ornamentation. The poets of the age belonged to an elite class and were by profession academicians who not only practised but also theorized on poetry. Keśavadāsa (*d.* A.D. 1617), who was a junior contemporary of Tulasīdāsa, was the founder of this school. Among those who followed him, Cintāmaṇi (*b.* A.D. 1609), Mati Rāma, (A.D. 1617-1716), Bihārī (A.D. 1603-1663) and Deva (*d.* 1767) deserve special mention. Of these, Mati Rāma and Deva excel in the richness of lyrical element, whereas Bihārī is one of the finest literary craftsmen in Hindi. Quite strangely Bhūṣaṇa also belonged to this group, although his theme was heroic and he sang with ardour of the heroic struggles of Śivājī against the Mughals. The *Rīti Kāla* continued for sometime after 1850, although the best had been produced by this date.

Urdu Literature. Urdū emerged as an independent language only towards the end of the 14th century A.D. Its base was Khaḍī-Bolī, which has been styled by some of the earlier writers as *Zubān-i-Dihlawī* or *Hindustānī.* It assumed a new character by absorbing words and idioms and also the literary forms and themes of Persian, which had itself imbibed Arabic and Turkish elements. It was thus a mixed language and served as a fit medium of intercourse between the people of India and the Muslims who came from Islamic countries and made India their home. Strange though it may appear, the cradle of Urdū literature was the South where it had gone with the soldiers of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad Tughluq, and flourished in the quieter environment of the kingdoms of

Bijāpur and Golconda. In its own homeland, Delhi and its neighbourhood, reigned Persian, the court language of the Mughals.

The earliest available work in Dakhnī Urdū is *Mir'āj-ul-Āshiqīn,* a mystical prose treatise written by saint Gesū-Darāz in the beginning of the 15th century A.D. A few more works are also traceable, but their language is much too archaic. On the break-up of the Bahmanī kingdom, Urdū received adequate patronage at the courts of the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers of Bijāpur and the Qutb Shāhī rulers of Golconda in the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. Among the writers of Bijāpur the two mystics, Shāh Mīranjī Shamsu'l 'Ushshāq (*d.* A.D. 1496) and his son Burhānu'd-dīn Jānam (*d.* A.D. 1582) deserve special mention—the former wrote two fine poems *Khush Nāmah* and *Khush Naghz* and the latter *Irshād Nāmah* and *Waṣiyat-ul-hādī.* One may question their literary merit, but their linguistic significance is beyond doubt. The literary activity in Golconda was distinctly richer. The rulers were not only patrons but also literary craftsmen of a high order. Muḥammad Qulī (A.D. 1580–1612) was a great poet, and he brought Urdū poetry out of the obscure groves of the mystics into the open sunshine of normal life. The other important writers of Golconda were Mullā Wajahī and Ghawāṣī. Wajahī occupies an important position among the authors of poetical romances and masters of prose. Ghawāṣī is the author of two famous *mathnawīs, Saif-ul-mulūk* and *Tūtī Nāmah.*

Deccan was conquered by the Mughals but Urdū flourished under the patronage of the court. Of the early poets Walī played a remarkable role in giving the final shape to Urdū by substituting the idiom of Delhi for that of Dakhnī and hence he is called the Father of *Rekhta.* Urdū literature came to the North from the Deccan in a developed form, and soon became popular. Ḥātim founded the Delhi school of poets who sought to purify the language by excluding the unfamiliar words and expressions of the Dakhnī. Gradually an elegant literary language emerged in the works of Mirẓā Jān-i-Jānān Maẓhar of Delhi (A.D. 1699–1781), Mīr Taqī of Āgra (1720–1808), Muḥammad Rafī' Saudā (1713–1780) and Mīr Ḥassan (1736–1786). Saudā tried successfully all forms of verses—he excelled both in *ghazal* and *qaṣīdah,* but he was a master of satire. None could depict better the world of the decadent Mughals with such brilliant fury. Mīr was a lyricist *par excellence.* No Urdū poet has ever touched the deeper chords of human heart with a more delicate hand. His contemporary and namesake Mīr Ḥasan was the greatest *mathnawī*-writer in Urdū. Mīr Dard was essentially a mystic. He sang of the divine love with great fervour in short metres. This was in a way the golden age of Urdū poetry when classical standards in *ghazal, qaṣīdāh* and *mathnawī* were set.

Oriya Literature. Although the origin of Oṛiyā can be traced to the 8th or 9th century A.D., the first specimens of any literary merit are found

only in the 13th century A.D. in the form of short lyrics and satirical poems. In the 14th century A.D., Oṛiyā literature assumed a proper shape and a definite character in the compositions of the great poet Saraladāsa, who wrote the Oṛiya *Mahābhārata*. He was an unlettered farmer with an extraordinary genius. His inspired work bears a distinct regional character, and has continued to be regarded to this day as a national epic by the Oṛiyās. About a century later, we come across the literary works of the five associates (*Pañca Sakhā*). Of them Balarāmadāsa and Jagannāthadāsa are the most notable, and they rendered the classical works of Sanskrit into the language of the people.

Thereafter begins the medieval period in Oṛiyā literature when the *Bhakti* movements of Śrī Caitanya cast a spell over the land. Oṛiyā literature became deeply dyed in the erotic colours of his cult and lost its robust character. The bulk of the literature of this period is sensuous, though there are unmistakable efforts to spiritualize the theme. Its style is voluptuously lyrical and highly ornate.

Normally two trends are visible in this period : (i) court poetry with emphasis on ornament and intellectual fancy, and (ii) Vaiṣṇava poetry which laid strong emphasis upon love. Quite often the two were mixed up: the court poets adopted Vaiṣṇava themes and the Vaiṣṇavas indulged in the literary sports of the court poets. The top poet in the first group was Upendra Bhañja. (A.D. 1670–1720). Judged purely from the point of view of literary craftsmanship, he was a magician with words. He has written entire epics in which all the lines start with the same letter, and in a number of his cantos the three main seasons are described in the same stanza with the help of *śleṣa* figure of speech. The leaders of the Vaiṣṇava group were Dīnakṛṣṇadāsa, Abhimanyu Sāmanta Siṁharā and Kavisūrya Baladeva. Kavisūrya Baladeva's *Campū* is a unique specimen of musical drama in Oṛiyā, with a series of clever dramatic situations, rich sportive humour and a string of sweet songs.

Outside the common rut of poetry, we find a contemporary work, the *Samara Taraṅga* of Vrajnātha Badajenā, which stands apart in its heroic lustre. It describes the desperate and ultimately successful struggle of the Oṛiyās against the Marāṭhā invaders, giving vivid pen-pictures of military exploits of the two forces in a spirited and vigorous style.

Towards the end of the 18th century A.D., Oṛiyā muse had begun to feel sick of the artificialities and indulgences of court poetry and religious eroticism, and symptoms of a healthy reaction were becoming visible.

Bengali Literature. The beginning of Bengālī literature is generally traced to the songs (*caryāpadas*) composed between the 10th and 12th century A.D. These are folk-songs inspired by the philosophy of the Sahaja cult, which was then very popular in Bengal. By the middle of the 13th century Bengal was conquered by the Muslims. During the turmoil Sanskritic culture lost its importance and folk themes and forms came

to be adopted as media of literary expression. Thus began the middle age in Bengālī literature with its three main trends: (i) Vaiṣṇava poetry, (ii) translations and adaptations from classical Sanskrit, and (iii) Maṅgala *Kāvya.*

Vaiṣṇavism was a country-wide movement and it swept over Bengal like a tornado. The first great poet of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal was Caṇḍī-dāsa (15th century A.D.). He belonged to the school of Jayadeva and Vidyāpati, and inspired the great Caitanya Mahāprabhu by the spiritual fervour of his devotional lyrics. Vidyāpati, the famous poet of Mithilā, known as Abhinava Jayadeva, was probably his contemporary. Although his own language was Maithilī, he cast such a spell over Caitanya that his poems were more or less absorbed into Bengālī, and with the mixture of medieval Bengālī and Maithilī a new poetic diction was evolved in Bengal, namely, the Braja-bolī.

The later Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal was directly influenced by Caitanya and his cult. Of the Vaiṣṇava poets who received direct inspiration from Caitanya in this own time, Murārīgupta, Narahari Sarkār, Vāsudeva Ghoṣa and Ramānanda Basu, and of those who followed in later years, Jñānadāsa, Govindadāsa, Locanadāsa, Balarāma-dāsa and Śekhara wrote excellent poetry, rich both in quality and quantity. Their theme was essentially erotic, but they breathed into it a unique spiritual fervour. Among the poets some were Muslims. Another type of Vaiṣṇava literature which developed from the 16th century onwards was biographical and it pre-eminently centred round the personality of Caitanya. The major works under this category are about half a dozen, the most important of them being the *Caitanya Caritāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (*c.* A.D. 1581).

The second major trend which prevailed from the 14th to the end of the 18th century concerns translations or adaptations of Sanskrit classics, specially the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛttivāsa Ojhā Mukhaṭī (15th century A.D.) is a free rendering in verse of the story of Rāma, based primarily on Vālmīkī's *Rāmāyaṇa* but also drawing freely from other sources. Similarly the *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya* (*c.* A.D. 1475) of Mālādhar Basu Guṇarāja Khān is not a translation but an adaptation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa.* Among the renderings of the *Mahābhārata* the most popular was Kaśīrāma's *Mahābhārata,* which vied with the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛttivāsa in influencing the cultural life of Bengal in the medieval period.

Distinct from these two flowed a third stream, the Maṅgala *Kāvya.* This form of poetry is peculiar to Bengal and its roots are deeply planted in the life of the masses. These narratives, generally of sizeable volume, centred round the struggle of gods or goddesses trying to prove their supremacy against their rivals. They are sectarian in spirit, yet the human touch is palpably felt in the plight of the people who benefit or

suffer from the boons and the curses of the deities. Among the poets of Maṅgala *Kāvya,* Mānika Datta and Mukundarāma of the later 15th and 16th centuries A.D. are prominent.

As in most other literatures of India, the 18th century is a period of decadence in Bengālī literature. The poetry of this period lacked freshness and vigour—it was weak, erotic, imitative in content, ornate and pseudo-classical in style. A series of poetical romances based on semi-historical Hindu life, but deeply coloured by Persian influence, were composed to suit the decaying literary and cultural taste of the so-called elite. In this group of poets the best was Bhārata Candra Rāya (*d.* 1760) and next came Rāmaprasāda Sen (*d.* 1775); and both of them rendered the romantic story of Vidyā and Sundar in colourful language.

Assamese Literature. The first poet of Assamese is Hema Sarasvatī, who composed *Prahlādacaritra* and *Hara-Gaurī Saṁvāda* during the later part of the 13th century A.D. His contemporary was Harihara Vipra, whose poetic narratives, *Babruvāhanar Yuddha* and *Lava Kuśar Yuddha,* describe two well-known episodes from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa.* They were followed in the 14th century A.D. by Mādhava Kandalī and Kaviratna Sarasvatī, who rendered dramatic incidents from the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* into Assamese.

About this time the cultural centre of the land seems to have moved eastward to the court of Mahāmāṇikya, the king of Cāchār, who patronized the chief poet of the time Mādhava Kandalī, who rendered the *Rāmāyaṇa* into the language of the people, giving it local colour and making it not the voice of God but a popular story. The whole of Assam was now under the sway of the Vaiṣṇava movement and the leaders were Śaṅkaradeva (A.D. 1449–1569) and Mādhāvadeva (A.D. 1489–1596). The Bible of the Vaiṣṇavas in Assam is the *Kīrttana-ghoṣa,* an anthology of devotional songs. These were written mostly by Śaṅkaradeva, but other poets like Mādhavadeva, Śaṅkara's disciple, also contributed to it. Mādhavadeva's famous work is the *Rājasūya,* depicting the *Rājasūya* sacrifice of the Pāṇḍavas wherein he established the superiority of Kṛṣṇa over all other kings. The *Bara-gītas* of Mādhavadeva are characterized by a rich variety of notes, the most predominant being that of Kṛṣṇa's sportive childhood.

This was in a sense the golden age of Assamese literature. Besides poetry, other branches of literature like drama and prose also developed. The eminent saint-poet Śaṅkaradeva was also a playwright, an actor and a musician of repute besides being a philosopher. He composed a number of one-act plays in Braja-boli, leavened Assamese prose, interspersed with songs. They are known in Assam and outside as *Aṅkiyā Nāṭs.*

Assamese prose was given a definite shape by Bhaṭṭadeva (A.D. 1558–1638) who translated the *Bhāgavata* and the *Gītā* in prose. His style was academic, laden with Sanskrit vocabulary and idiom. Another

monumental work was the biography of Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva, called the *Kathā-Guru-Carita*, compiled in the latter half of the 17th century. A peculiar form of biography in verse had sprung up about a century earlier in the *Carita-puthis* or biography books. It centred round the Vaiṣṇava saints and portrayed their life and religious activities.

The second phase in the development of Assamese literature covers the period from A.D. 1600 to 1800. Literature in this age flourished mostly under the patronage of the Ahom kings. Many Sanskrit works on medicine, astronomy, arithmetic, grammar, architecture, etc. were translated. A novel but highly developed form of prose literature is found in the *Buranjis*, the chronicles of the Ahom Court. They contain periodical reports, judicial and revenue records, diplomatic correspondence, statements of political significance, etc. and are remarkable for their veracity. Some religious works were also composed or translated from Sanskrit by the court poets. Kavirāja Cakravartī, who was in the court of king Rudra Siṁha (A.D. 1696–1714), translated a part of the *Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa*, Gopāla Candra Dwija rendered the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Bhāgavatā Purāṇa* and the *Harivaṁśā* and Bhaṭṭadeva the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. There is, however, no doubt that the religious fervour of the earlier century was on the wane and romanticism of a secular nature was gaining ground. This is seen in the poetical romances like *Mṛgāvatī Carita, Mādhava Sulocanā* and *Śakuntalā Kāvya*, a poetical adaptation of Kālīdāsa's lyrical drama.

Gujarati Literature. The first literary work distinctly in Gujarātī, the *Bharateśvarabāhubali rāsa* of Śālibhadra, was composed in A.D. 1185. The first phase in the development of Gujarātī literature, which comes down to A.D. 1456, is characterized by two main literary forms, viz., the *Prabhandha* or the narrative poem and the *Muktaka* or the shorter poem. In the first category we come across heroic romances like the *Raṇamallachanda* (*c.* A.D. 1390) of Śrīdhara and the *Kānhaḍa-de-Prabandha* of Padmanābha (*c.* A.D. 1456), poetical romances like the *Sadayavatsa Kathā* (*c.* A D. 1410) of Bhīma, *Rāsas* or long poems like the *Revantagiri rāsa* of Vijayasena and *Kusumaśrī rāsa* (*c.* A.D. 1652) of Gaṅgavijaya. Of these the *Raṇamallachanda* of Śrīdhara is a panegyric of the heroic deeds of Raṇamalla of Idar. *Kānhaḍa-de-Prabandha* narrates in heroic verse Gujarāt's heroic stand against the Muslim invaders and the fall of Somnāth. In these poems romantic fiction is interspersed with historical fact. The poetical romances are in contrast pure fiction based on popular legends, mostly of the neighbouring regions, with exaggerated descriptions of love and adventure. The *Rāsas* in spite of their mythical character are more true to contemporary life.

Among the shorter poems, the predominant forms are the *Phāgu, Bārāmāsī* and the *Chapo*. The *Phāgu* is a short lyrical poem with *viraha*

or separation as its main theme and marked by luxuriant descriptions or seasonal sports and dances. The tragic love of Rajala for Neminātha, the most popular theme, has been treated with artful variety by Rājaśekhara, Jayaśekhara and Soma Sundara in their *Phāgus* in the later half of the 14th century. Prose also was not neglected; we have in the 15th century a beautiful specimen of ornate poetical prose after the style of Bāṇa in the *Pṛthvīcandra Caritra* (A.D. 1422) of Māṇikyacandra.

From about 16th century begins the second phase in the history of Gujarātī literature, which lasts for full two centuries. As in the other major Indian languages, this was the golden age of Gujarātī. The major strain in the literature of this period is religious and mystical. Purāṇic Hinduism had taken the place of Jainaism and the powerful current of the Vaiṣṇava *Bhakti* movement held the whole life of Gujarāt under its spell. The major poets of the period are Narasiṁha Mehtā (*c.* A.D. 1500–1580), Bhālaṇa (*c.* A.D.1426–1500) and Ākho (*c.* A.D.1615–1674). Narasiṁha Mehtā exercised great influence on later poets. On account of the richness of his imagination and the variety of his creative activity, he is considered the father of Gujarātī poetry, although he is not the first of its poets. Bhālaṇa was more of a classical poet in the technical sense of the term. His poetry is rich in content and expression, and he is the first artist in Gujarātī verse. Ākho, on the other hand, banked more on his innate genius and keen spiritual and social insight. Like the mystic-poets of other languages, he was no scholar but sang with fervour to bring about spiritual and social reform. His expression is simple and homely, and his wit has a peculiar naivete.

Decadence set in the life and literature of India after the end of the 17th century A.D., and Gujarāt was no exception. There was, however, variety; we have various forms of literature—devotional, didactic, quasi-metaphysical and secular. In the second half of the 17th century A.D., Premānanda Bhaṭṭa reigns supreme; he may be described as the greatest poet of Gujarāt of all times. About fifty-seven works are ascribed to him and they cover an enormous variety of literary themes and forms. In the *ākhyana* form of poetry he had hardly any equal.

Marathi Literature. Marāṭhī literature emerged in the latter half of the 13th century, and during the next three hundred years it was mainly religious and philosophical in spirit and its medium of exposition was verse. The most prominent poet of the times was Mukundarāja who wrote his *Vivek-sindhu* with a view to showing his patron Jaitrapāla 'the sea of knowledge'. He belonged to the Nātha cult, founded by the famous mystic Gorakhanātha, and wrote primarily for the masses in chaste popular language. Then came the saint-poets of the Mahānubhāva cult who made a marked contribution to Marāṭhī poetry and prose. They were to a great extent the builders of early Marāṭhī literature. The poetical works of the Mahānubhāva writers consist of seven long poems,

four of which are based on the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa. They are characterized by devotional fervour and some of them rise to great philosophical heights without being academic. The prose literature of the Mahānubhāvas is mainly biographical or philosophical, with a strong ethnical and didactic bias. Their most sacred books are the *Līlā Caritra* (*c.*A.D. 1273) and *Govinda Prabhu Caritra,* which are biographies of the founder-saint Cakradhara and his preceptor Govinda Prabhu, and the *Siddhānta Sūtra Pāṭha* which contain sermons regarding day-to-day life. The Mahānubhāvas had revolted against the social tyranny of the orthodox Brāhmaṇa class and declared open the portals of *mokṣa* (salvation) to everybody who qualified himself by devotion and penance.

The thread of *Bhakti* was taken up by the great Jñānadeva, whose *Bhāvārtha Dīpikā,* popularly known as the *Jñāneśvarī,* and the *Amṛtānubhava* have been the sacred books of the Mahārāshtrians for the past seven centuries. From the literary point of view, Jñānadeva represents the finest flowering of the literary and philosophical genius of Marāṭhī. Jñānadeva was followed by Ekanātha, who was deeply influenced by his philosophical outlook. His attitude was more joyful and he spoke of the Bhāgavata Dharma as 'the palace of happiness'.

The Marāṭhī literature of the 17th century A.D. is characterized by two main trends—one religious and the other secular. The landmarks in the religious poetry of the period are the *Khrista-Purāṇa* of Father Thomas Stephens (A.D. 1549–1619), who wrote in the vein of Jñāneśvara, the poetic narratives of Mukteśvara who echoed the events of his age through the episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata,* and the incomparable *Abhaṅga* of Tukārāma which made a direct appeal to the people through the intensity of their lyrical quality. The poetry of Rāmadāsa, the great saint-preceptor of Śivājī, is more sturdy in character; it combines with devotional and religious fervour the spirit of liberation and national reconstruction. The last poet of the age was Vāmana Paṇḍita (A.D. 1615-1678). His approach was academic and literary and consequently he wrote in an ornate Sanskritized style. His commentary on the *Gītā* was a sort of challenge to Jñānadeva and he advocated the path of knowledge as against the path of devotion propounded in the *Jñāneśvarī.* The secular poetry of this period found expression in the *Povāḍās* and the *Lāvaṇīs* of the Śenvīs. The *Povāḍās* were a kind of ballad 'brisk in movement and vivid in diction, eminently suited to describe the lightning warfare and selfless valour of the Marāṭhās.' The *Lāvaṇīs* were romantic in character with a deep colouring of the erotic sentiment.

(ii) Sanskrit

During the period under review, literature in Sanskrit continued

to be produced in the several branches—*belles-lettres,* sciences and arts, religion and philosophy.

Mahakavya. The earliest work of this category is *Jayantavijaya* composed in A.D. 1221 in 19 cantos by Abhayadeva. Amaracandra's *Bālabhārata* narrates the story of the *Mahābhārata* and his poetry is of a high order. *Yādavābhyudaya,* a long poem in 24 cantos, written by Vedānta Deśika in the 14th century A.D., deals with the life of Kṛṣṇa and the history of the Yadu race. Agastya also wrote a *Bālabhārata* in 20 cantos, the verses of which are highly musical. *Udārarāghava* of Śākalyamalla deals with the story of Rāma.

In the 15th century Vāmanabhaṭṭa Bāṇa produced two poems, *Nalābhyudaya* in 8 cantos and *Raghunāthacarita* in 30 cantos. *Narakāsuravijaya, Rāmābhyudaya* and *Haricaritakāvya* are the other *Mahākāvyas* written in this century.

In the next century we find Padmasundara's *Rāyamallābhyudaya* describing the lives of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras. Nīlakaṇṭha composed *Śivalīlārṇava* in 22 cantos. He belongs to the 17th century A.D. Fresh ground in the *Mahākāvya* pattern was broken by Cakra Kavi, one of Nīlakaṇṭha's contemporaries, with his writings on the marriages of Rukmaṇi, Janakī, Gaurī and Draupadī. His *Janakīpariṇaya* is in 8 cantos. *Naṭeśavijaya* of Venkaṭakṛṣṇa describes the defeat of Kālī by Śiva at Ciḍambaram. Other poems worth mentioning are *Patañjalicarita, Viṣṇuvilāsa* and *Rāghavīya.* The last two were written by Rāmapaṇivāda about the middle of the 18th century A.D.

During this period we also find some *Mahākāvyas* dealing with the stories of two or more heroes by using *śleṣa,* a figure of speech in which two or more meanings are attached to the same word or set of words. Their model was *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* of Kavirāja (12th century A.D.). In this category we have *Yādavarāghavīya* (17th century A.D.) and *Rāghavayādavīya,* both dealing with Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. The latter is a work on prosody. *Rasikarañjana* (A.D. 1524) of Rāmacandra is a collection of verses, all having double meanings—*śṛṅgāra* and *vairāgya. Rāghava-yāḍava pāṇḍavīya* of Ciḍambara deals with three heroes. And lastly we have *Saptasandhāna Mahākāvya* (A.D. 1671) by Meghavijayagaṇi, each verse of which applies to seven persons.

Historical Kavyas. Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* presenting a hisory of Kashmīr kings, was followed in this period by a *dvitīya* or second *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by Jonarāja, who carried the story from Jayasiṁha to Sulṭān Zainu'l-'Ābidin, and by a *tṛtīya* or third *Rājataraṅgiṇī* by Śrīvara, who took the history down to A.D. 1486. The story of Kashmīr till its annexation by Akbar is continued in a later work, *Rājāvalipatākā* of Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka. We have in addition some works dealing with other royal dynasties such as *Gaṅgavaṁśānucarita* (15th century) and *Rājakālanirṇaya* dealing with the Kaliṅga and Vijayanagar kings res-

pectively. A number of works on individual kings of both North and South India are available. Of these, *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* and *Hammīramahākāvya* are well known. A number of poems are on Muslim rulers, e.g., *Rājavinoda* on Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ahmadābād. *Akbar Nāmah* has a Sanskrit translation and there is also a work on Jahāngīr. Besides, we have works on several religious and political leaders, e.g., *Todaramalakāvya* on Toḍar Mal, *Śivācarita* on Śivājī, *Śambhucarita* by Bhānu Bhaṭṭa and *Śaṅkaravijaya* of Vidyāraṇya.

Devotional Poetry. The period is rich in devotional poetry, poems in praise of the favourite deities—Śiva, Durgā, Lakṣmī, Narāyaṇa, etc. This was natural with the growth of the cult of *Bhakti*. Vedānta Deśika is credited with the composition of *Pādukāsahasra*, a poem of 1,000 verses, in praise of Rāma's sandals, in one night only. Most men of letters and religious leaders tried their hand on this category of poetry. There are hundreds of such poems (*stotras*), and of these Jagannātha Paṇḍit's *Gaṅgālaharī* is the most prominent.

Didactic Poetry. *Śatakas* (collection of hundred verses) on the model of the earlier work of Bhartṛhari were composed by a number of writers. Of these, mention may be made of Jagannātha's *Bhāminīvilāsa* and Dyā Dviveda's *Nītimañjarī*.

Sandesakavya. Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* served as a model for a number of poems where some bird, a cuckoo, a goose, or a parrot, or even an insect such as a bee, serves as a messenger to the beloved person or deity. Of these, the *Haṁsasandeśa* deals with the union of the individual soul with Śiva through Yoga.

Anthology. This literary form of collecting chosen verses on different topics from various authors originated shortly before A.D. 1000. Of the several valuable works of this category, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (A.D. 1205) of Śrīdharadāsa in 2368 verses, *Sūktimuktāvali* (A.D. 1257) of Jalhaṇa, *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* (A.D. 1363) by Śārṅgadhara of 4,689 verses in 163 sections, and the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Kashmirian Śrīvara deserve special notice. Sundaradeva's *Sūktisundara* contains verses of several poets of the 16th and 17th centuries in praise of rulers, some of them Muslims. Hari Kavi's *Subhāṣitahārāvali* (late 17th century A.D.) has verses from the literature of the whole country, from the north to the south. Rūpa Gosvāmi's *Padyāvali* contains 386 verses devoted to Kṛṣṇa from over 125 authors.

Drama. The dramas produced in this period follow the beaten track and closely adhere to the rules of dramaturgy. *Pārijātamañjarī* (A.D. 1213) is a *naṭikā* available only in fragments. *Pradyumnābhyudaya* and *Unmattarāghava* are other dramatic works worth mentioning. Narasiṁha dramatized the story of Kādambarī in eight acts in *Kādambarikalyāṇa*. *Murārivijaya, Muditamadālasā* and *Jānakīpariṇaya* are other works of importance, the last depicting a comedy of errors.

Allegorical drama following the model of *Prabodhacandrodaya* by Kṛṣṇamiśra (12th century A.D.) also flourished in this period. The *Saṅkalpasūryodaya* is a reply to Kṛṣṇamiśra by Vedānta Deśika. Gokulanātha (16th century A.D.) in his *Amṛtodaya* treats the story of the *Jīvātman* from creation to annihilation. *Saubhāgyamahodaya* represents all the *alaṅkāras* (figures of speech) as courtiers in the court of Vakhatsinghjī of Bhavnagar. One would find in *Vidvanmodataraṅgiṇī* an interesting humorous play where followers of various faiths come together and represent the doctrines of their faiths in dialogues. It was written by Rāmadeva (Cirañjīva) of Bengal in about 1731.

Of the shadow plays (*Chāyānaṭaka,* a behind the curtain representation and narration) may be mentioned Subhaṭaś *Dūtāṅgada* (middle 13th century A.D.) and Vyāsa Śrirāmadeva's three dramas *Rāmābhyudaya, Pāṇḍayābhudaya* and *Subhadrāpariṇaya* (15th century A.D.).

Prose Romances and Campu. Although a few works were written in prose on the model of Bāṇa's works, there was no work of outstanding merit. One of the earliest prose work of this period is the *Gadyakarṇāmṛta* by Vidyācakravartī. The *Kṛṣṇacarita* of Agastya was written in early 14th century. The *Vemabhūpālacarita* of the 15th century is a poor copy of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita.*

Of the *Campū-kāvya,* the *Bhāratacampū* of Anantabhaṭṭa and the *Bhāgavatacampū* by Cidambara (16th century A.D.) have been considered good literary pieces. Mention should also be made of the *Varadāmbikāpariṇaya* of the poetess Tirumālāmbā. *Campū* was specially popular in the South.

Tales. The period is fairly rich in the production of didactic tales, particularly among Jaina works. The *Kathāmahodadhi* (A.D. 1448) of Somacandra is a collection of 126 Jaina stories. Vidyāpati of the 14th century gives a number of stories in the *Puruṣaparīkṣā* illustrating the criteria by which man should be judged. The *Kathākośa* has 27 tales in very simple prose. The *Kathākautuka* written in the reign of Zainu'l-'Ābidīn (A.D. 1420-1470) gives the story of Yūsuf and Zuleikhā in verse.

The *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballālasena (16th century A.D.) is a very interesting collection of stories but with no historical sense as it puts Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Māgha, etc. in the court of Rājā Bhoja of Dhār. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga (A.D. 1306) gives legends of many kings including Vikramāditya and Śālivāhana. The *Prabandhakośa* (A.D. 1348) also deserves mention.

Desavrtta. As regards works of geographical value, Vidyāpati's *Bhūparikramā* details round-the-earth journey of Balarāma, describing 56 countries. The *Prasaṅgaratnāvali* (A.D. 1466), *Deśāvalivivṛtti* and *Sarvadeśavṛttāntasaṅgraha* of Maheśa Ṭhākur and *Pāṇḍava-digvijaya* of Rāmakavi are works of the same type.

Lexicons During the period under review, composition of lexicons of various types such as of homonyms continued, e.g., *Nanārthārṇavasaṅkṣepa* of Keśavasvāmī. Some bilingual dictionaries also appeared, e.g., *Pārasīprakāśa* and *Pārasīvinoda*

Grammars. While commentaries on the classical works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali were written in this period also, a new line of study of grammar in the shape of recasts of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* came up. The earliest was the *Rūpāmālā* of Vimalasarsvati. The *Prakriyā-kaumudī* of Rāmacandra (early 15th century A.D.) gained importance, but the most prominent work was the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita (later 16th century A.D.) which has replaced the direct study of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The other grammatical systems prevalent during the period were the *Śākaṭāyana, Kātantra, Sārasvata, Hemacandra, Bopadeva* and *Saupadma*.

Poetics and Dramaturgy. Of the books in this field of study, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha (14th century A.D.) is a compendium on rhetoric (including dramaturgy) and is one of the most popular works upto this day. The *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya Dīkṣita is another popular work produced in this period (later 16th century A.D.). The most important work on rhetoric was the *Rasagaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, a great master of Sanskrit language and an extraordinarily gifted poet, rhetorician and philosopher. He belonged to Andhra and was in the court of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb at Delhi. Another prominent writer both on rhetoric and dramaturgy was Rūpa Gosvāmī. He was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa and introduced *Bhakti* in this line of literature. Of his works *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* and *Nāṭakacandrikā* deserve to be mentioned.

Metrics. Of the large number of works written in this period, *Chandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa deserves particular mention. There are also some independent works on *prastara* (amplification) showing mathematical calculations on metre.

Astronomy and Mathematics. There were no mathematicians of high rank, the works produced therefore being only some commentaries and hand-books for preparing almanacs. An impulse to the study was, however, given by Mahārājā Jai Singh of Jaipur, the builder of astronomical observatories.

Astrology. The period produced works of great importance on Astrology. The *Tājika* and the *Ramala* systems based on Muslim Astrology and Geomancy grew very popular. Ḍhuṇḍhirāja's *Jātakābharaṇa* which is frequently used in reading horoscopes, and the *Jātakasāra* of Nṛhari need special mention. The most important work in the *Tājika* system is *Tājikanīlakaṇṭhī* of Nīlakaṇṭha and in the *Ramala* system the *Ramalacintāmaṇi* as well as the *Ramalāmṛta*. *Muhūrtamārtaṇḍa* and *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* are two very popular works on the determination of auspicious moment.

Medicine. We find some commentaries on earlier works, such as

Mādhvakara's *Rugviniścaya,* a popular compendium on pathology and Bhāvamiśra's *Bhāvaprakāśa.* Other notable works were Vaṅgasena's *Cikitsāsāra,* Milhaṇa's *Cikitasāmṛata,* Tista's *Cikitsā-kalikā* and Lolimbarāja's *Vaidyajīvana.*

Music. Literature on music flourished abundantly during this period, for there were many kings who not only patronized the art but some of them even wrote books on it. There are works on vocal music dealing with *nāda* and *rāga,* on dance and dance costume, and on theatrical and musical instruments. Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala reduced North Indian music to order, and he was also a master of South Indian music.

Erotics. Kāmaśāstra (erotics) attracted much attention during this period. Besides the commentaries on the *Kāmasūtra,* there were numerous other works. The *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka and *Kāmasamūha* of Ananta are very important, and the latter deals with all aspects concerning love.

Translations of Scientific Literature. It is interesting to note that during the period of Mughal rule a number of works on sciences and fine arts were translated from Arabic and Persian into Sanskrit. The instances are as follows:

Astronomy. Ḥakīm Fatḥullah Shīrāzī rendered *Zīz-i-Mirzāī,* a work on Astronomy, into Sanskrit. Among the other translations that of Ptolemy's *Almagast* (Arabic) into Sanskrit by Paṇḍita Jagannātha is worthy of note. A number of works on the applied Astronomy were written on the basis of the Arab science, and others on Astronomy show Arab influence.

Several astrological treatises in Sanskrit show the influence of Arabic science.

Mathematics. Euclid's geometry was rendered into Sanskrit by Nayaṇa Sukha Upādhyāya, and Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ṭūsī's work on the use of circular instruments was done in Sanskrit.

Similarly in Medicine there was a good deal of translation. Some encyclopaedic works like Ibn Sīnā's *Dānish Nāmah-i-'Alā'ī* and Fakhru'd-dīn Rāḍī's *Jami'ul-'ulūm* were made available for scholars.

Religious and Philosophical Literature. While the period is remarkable for the production of commentaries and digests of many religious and philosophical works, there is not much originality in most of them. In the Purānic literature the only work worth mentioning is the famous commentary, *Bhāgavatabhāvārtha-dīpikā* by Śrīdharasvāmī.

Kullūkabhaṭṭa wrote a very popular commentary on the *Manusmṛti,* Hemādri and Mādhavācārya of the South and Caṇḍeśvara and Vācaspatimiśra of Mithilā belong to this period and are well-known writers of commentaries and digests on Dharma Śāstras. In Bengal, Mitramiśra produced *Vīramitrodaya,* which is a vast digest and is considered to be of high authority.

Of the writers on *Mīmāṁsā,* Vijñānabhikṣu is the most prominent author. His commentaries on the Sāṁkhya and Yoga systems are valuable and attempt to bring Yoga nearer to the Upaniṣadic philosophy. The Navyanyāya school flourished during this period. Vardhamāna carried further the ideas of his father, Gaṅgeśa, who started the school. The popular text-books of Nyāya today such as the *Tarkabhāṣā* and *Tarkasaṅgraha* belong to this period.

The overall production of Vedāntic literature was appreciable as compared to other systems of philosophy. Śrī Harṣa, the reputed writer of the *Naiṣadhīyacarita,* wrote the great Vedāntic work *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* just before this period began. The *Tattvapradīpikā,* written in about A.D., 1225 gives a detailed analysis of some of the concepts of Śaṅkara Vedānta. A famous author of the 14th century is Mādhava, son of Sāyaṇa, also known as Vidyāraṇya, whose *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* is a critical review of all the systems of philosophy,. His *Pañcadaśī* also is very popular. In the 16th century A.D., Madhusūdana Sarasvatī wrote a large number of texts. The well-known text-books *Siddhāntamuktāvali, Vedāntaparibhāṣā* and *Vedāntasāra* belong to this century. *Brahma-vidyābharaṇa* of Advaitānanda is a prose commentary on *Śāṅkara-bhāṣya,* while his disciple Sadānanda's *Vedāntasāra* explains in easy language the viewpoint of teachers of the Advaita Vedānta. Several very important commentaries on the *Śribhāṣya* of Rāmānujācārya and some very good commentaries on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* were written.

(iii) Prākṛt

The tradition of Prākṛt literature continued, although the period cannot claim the production of any outstanding work. In story literature, *Sirivālakahā* and *Rayaṇaseharīkahā* are two high-ranking works. In didactic poetry *Uvaesarayaṇāyara* (A.D. 1319) and *Vaddhamāṇadesaṇā* are important. In *Carita* literature, *Kummāputtacariya* and *Sāntināhacariya* deserve mention. In the 13th century A.D., Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka wrote a poem on the model of Bhaṭṭikāvya of Sanskrit, named *Siricindhakavva,* to illustrate rules of Prākṛt grammar. The *Kaṁsavaho* (middle 18th century A.D.) is an important *Khaṇḍakāvya.* The *Gāhāsahasrī* (17th century A.D.) is a collection of a thousand *gāthās* connected with all spheres of life. For Prākṛt drama, we have two works *Candralehā* and *Ānandasundarī* (18th century A.D.), written on the model of the *Karpūramañjarī,* the first known Prākṛt drama of the 10th century A.D.

Two very important Prākṛt grammars, *Prākṛta-śabdānuśāsana* of Trivikrama and *Prākṛtasarvasva* of Mārkaṇḍeya need special mention. In metrics, *Prākṛtapaiṅgala* of unknown date and *Chandakoṣa* (14th century

A.D.) are important. In other branches of technical literature writers in Prākṛt did not produce any work of importance.

(iv) Dravidian Languages

Tamil. After the decline of the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, the glorious epoch of Tamil literature came to an end. While Sanskrit, Kannaḍa and Telugu made great progress, the standard of Tamil literature deteriorated though it received local patronage. None the less, this period has made its own contribution to Tamil literature and it has given us a large number of philosophical works, commentaries, Purāṇas, and Prabandhas. The numerous authors belong mostly to the Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva sects, though some Jaina writers continued to write also.

Early in the first half of the 13th century, Meykaṇḍar formulated the tenets of Śaiva-siddhānta in his *Śiva-Jñāna-Bodam,* a short treatise of a dozen *sūtras,* perhaps translated from a Sanskrit original. His disciple Aruṇandi wrote the *Śivā-Jñāna-Śittiyār* which gives an authoritative explanation of the *Bodam.* These, together with the works of Umāpati Śivācarya, are looked upon as the fountain-head of the dogmatics of the system.

Aruṇagirinātha, a devout Muruga devotee, composed in the fifteenth century the *Tiruppugal* consisting of over 1360 songs in various metres handled with the utmost skill and characterized by a unique lilt. The *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra was translated into Tamil by Mādai Tiruvengaḍanāthar. Also, in this period, the Vaiṣṇava scholars wrote elaborate commentaries on the *Nālāyiram* of their canon. Of these, Pillai Lokācārya, Vedānta Deśika and Maṇavāla Mahāmuni who flourished under the discerning patronage of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai deserve special notice. This was also the period during which great scholars like Ilampūranār, Perāśiriyar, Parimelalagar and Naccinārkkiniyar wrote their brilliant commentaries on the *Tolkāppiyam,* the *Kural* and a few other *Śaṅgam* works. These commentaries are models of medieval prose noted alike for brevity and clarity. But for them, many ancient texts like the *Tolkāppiyam* would be mostly unintelligible today.

The *Tañjai Vāṇan Kovai* of Poyyāmoli of Vañji is in praise of Bāna general of the Pāṇḍya king Māravarman Kulaśekhara (A.D. 1260–1308). Pugalendi's *Nalaveṇbā,* though short, is brilliant. The *Bhāratam* of Villiputtūrar (c. A.D. 1400), which is not a full translation of the original by any means, established the tradition of using Sanskrit words and expressions freely in Tamil verse.

Ativīrarāma Paṇḍya, who ruled from Tenkāśi, was a royal poet of no mean order and his *Naiḍadam* has special literary merit. Kumāragu-

ruparasvāmī, the reputed founder of the Śaiva *maṭha* at Vārānasi, was patronized by Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai; his works on Goddess Mīnākṣī and Muttukumārasvāmī are some of the best illustrations of the *pillaittamil* type of Prabandha. Śivaprakāśarsvāmī of the 17th century refuted the Christian doctrines in a short work which is no longer extant. He also translated into Tamil the *Prabhuliṅga-līlai* from the Kannaḍa original.

Vaidyanātha Deśikar (the author of the *Ilakkaṇavilakkam* which tried to supersede the *Nannūl*) and his disciples started a new literary school in the early 17th century. Kālamegham, Andakakkavi Vīrarāghava Mudaliyār and Paḍikkāsi Pulavar were a few exceptional men of letters whose stray and occasional poems have become bywords among the Tamils. Early in the 18th century the *Śirāppurāṇam,* a life of Prophet Muḥammad in verse, was written by Umaru Pulavar, who was patronized by Śīdakkādi, Etappa Nāyaka and 'Abdul Kāsim. Rājappa Kavirāyar's *Kuttāla-tala-purāṇam* is a masterpiece though his other work, the *Kurrala-k-kuravañci,* is more popular. The middle of the 18th century saw the publication of a great commentary on the *Śiva-Jñāna-Bodam,* known as the *Mapāḍiyam,* by Śivajñāna Munivar, a veteran poet and scholar. That was the period when Christian missionaries like Father Beschi introduced modern prose as a form of literature in Tamil language.

Kannada. Towards the beginning of the 13th century, two great Vīraśaiva poets, Harīśvara and his nephew Rāghavāṅka, invented and popularized some of the Kannaḍa metres and composed their immortal works in them, employing the standard language of the time. Harīśvara was the first to write a magnificent work entirely in the *ragale* metre. He was also a good biographer. Later Rāghavāṅka carried the new spirit further by composing his famous *Hariścandra Kāvya* in the *ṣatpadī* metre. From his pen emanated also the *Somanātha Carite.* He was a born story-teller. Among other works of literary value produced during the period mention may be made of Bandhuvarma's *Harivaṁśābhyudaya* and *Jīva sambodhana.*

Under the patronage of the later Hoysalas several literary works were produced. Among them special mention must be made of Rudra Bhaṭṭa's *Jagannātha-vijaya,* a *Campū* on the life of Kṛṣṇa and based on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*; *Janna's Anantanātha Purāṇa* representing the story of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara; and *Yaśodharacarite,* an exquisite piece of tragedy. Āṇḍayya's *Madana Vijaya* or *Kabbigara Kāva* which is a work of special interest in pure Kannaḍa without the admixture of Sanskrit words, though *tadbhavas* are largely used. Mallikārjuna's *Sūkti-sūdhārṇava,* the first anthology in Kannaḍa, and Keśirāja's *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* on grammar are two other standard works in Kannaḍa language.

Kannaḍa literature flourished greatly during the 14th-16th centuries under the patronage of the Vijayanagar kings and their feudatories.

Poets of all religious denominations made important contributions to it. Among the literary works produced by the Brāhmaṇas, Kannaḍa *Bhārata* of Kumāra Vyāsa stands out pre-eminent. It is unsurpassed in the art of characterization. Then followed the *Torave Rāmāyaṇa* of Narahari known as Kumāra Vālmīki. This is the first *Rāma-kathā* in Kannaḍa composed on the basis of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Cāṭu Viṭṭhalanātha translated the *Bhāgavata* and filled a great void. Lakṣmīśa composed some time in the 17th century the *Jaimini Bhārata* in *ṣatpadī* metre. He was every inch a great craftsman and earned the title of *Karṇāta-kavi-cūtavana-caitra* (the spring of the Karnāṭaka mango-grove).

During this period there was a great output of literature by Vīraśaiva writers too. Bhīmakavi's *Basava Purāṇa* (*c.* A.D. 1369) depicting Basava's life and miracles was so popular that it was translated into other languages. Cāmarasa (*c.* A.D. 1425), a contemporary of Kumāra Vyāsa, enriched Kannaḍa literature with his *Prabhuliṅga-līlai*, a great biography of the Vīraśaiva mystic Allama Prabhu. The fluency and the peculiar sweetness of his style are delightful. Basava's life and miracles were also immortalized in about A.D. 1500 in the *Mala-Basava-rāja-carita* of Siṅgirāja. Mention must be made of the versatile poet Nijaguṇa Śivayogī also. He wrote several great works of which the *Vivekacintāmaṇi* is of an inestimable value. It is a cyclopaedia of 'Sanskrit terms and Vīra-śaiva lore'. *Kumāra Rāmana Kathe* of Nañjunda Kavi, composed in a pleasing folk metre, is an interesting narrative of the heroic deeds of prince Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kampila. The work acquires additional significance on account of the historical material embedded in it. Virūpākṣa Paṇḍita (A.D. 1584) is another notable poet of the period known for his *Cenna Basava Purāṇa*, an epic recounting the story of the Cenna Basava and other saints. Of the many other poets and *Vacanakāras* Lakkaṇṇa's *Śiva-tatva-cintāmaṇi* and Guru Basava's *Sapta Kāvya* deserve mention.

Among the Jaina poets of the period, Ratnākara Varṇi (A.D. 1557) deserves a special mention. His *Bhārateśvara Carita* is marked by simplicity, serenity, felicity and musical excellence. Abhinavavādi Vidyānanda did great service to Kannaḍa by compiling *Kāvyasāra* (A.D. 1533), an anthology of representative works composed before his time. Śalva (*c* A.D. 1550) produced an elaborate work on *rasa*, the *Rasa Ratnākara*. Among other Jaina works of the period are the *Bijjalarāya Carite* and *Rāmacandra Carite*.

The period is also noted for its output of Vaiṣṇava literature. In A.D. 1510., Timmaṇṇa Kavi translated later chapters of *Mahābhārata* and called it the *Kṛṣṇarāya Bhārata*. But the most outstanding contribution was that of the great Vaiṣṇava mystics, the Haridāsas, of whom Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa are the best known. They spread the *Bhakti* cult throughout Karnātaka through their soul-stirring compositions (*kīrtanas*), strung in a variety of literary forms. In the musings

of these mystics, especially Purandaradāsa and Kanakadāsa, we find a harmonious blending of religion, philosophy, literature and music. It may be noted that the Haridāsas belonged to all castes, high and low, and their *kīrtanas* are very popular and widely sung to this day.

Early in the 17th century *Bhaṭṭākalaṅka Deva,* a Jaina, composed the *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana,* an elaborate grammar of the Kannaḍa language written in Sanskrit. Reference may also be made here to Ṣaḍakṣaradeva (A.D. 1650) whose *Campū, Rājaśekhara Vilāsa,* extols the devotion to Śiva.

The other eminent poet of this period was the great Sarvajña, popularly eulogized as the people's poet. His aphoristic *tripadī* (three-lined) compositions serve as a source of wisdom and ethics.

Cikkadevarāya (A.D. 1672–1704), king of Mysore, was a patron of art and literature. He was himself the author of *Cikkadevarāya Binnrapa,* a devotional treatise written in old Kannaḍa prose. Cikkupādhyāya, Tirumalārya, Siṅgarārya, Mallikārjuna and Cidānanda Kavi flourished under him. Cikkupādhyāya was a voluminous writer. More than thirty of his major works have been noticed. He was practically the last of the *Campū* writers; his *Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Rukmāṅgada Carite, Divyasūri Carite,* etc., were all based on the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas. Tirumalārya, a minister of the king, composed a work on *alaṅkāras* (figures of speech) called *Apratimavīra Carite.* He also wrote a prose work, *Cikkadevarāya vaṁśāvali,* narrating the genealogy of his master. Siṅgarāya's *Mitravinda Govinda,* based on Harṣa's *Ratnāvali Nāṭikā,* is the first extant drama in Kannaḍa. Special mention may be made of Honnamma, perhaps the first outstanding poetess in Kannaḍa. Her *Hadibadeya Dharma* (Duty of a Devout Wife) is a compendium of ethics. Celuvāmbi, the queen of Kṛṣṇarāja Wodeyar, was another poetess of some merit.

Lastly, a word may be said about *Yakṣagāna,* a type of opera or musical drama, mostly using Puranic or quasi-historic themes. It arose for the first time during the 17th century, and was cultivated profusely thereafter. Śāntavīra Deśika and Parti Subba are some of the famous poets of this school of literature.

Telugu. The 13th century, an important period in the history of the Telugu literature, saw many translations of Sanskrit works being attempted by Telugu scholars and the emergence of works on Vīraśaiva doctrine. Nanne Coḍa's *Kumārasambhava,* a *Mahākāvya,* is an instance in point. The work contains a number of Tamil and Kannaḍa words. The influence of Vīraśaivism on Telugu literature could be traced to as late 16th century, when one Somanātha wrote a *Basava Purāṇa.* Tikkanna Somayāji (A.D. 1220–1300), an illustrious poet, translated the latter half of the *Mahābhārata* beginning from the *Virāṭa Parva.* He had previously written *Nirvacanottara Rāmāyaṇa.* Yet another poet who had a hand in the translation of the *Bhārata* was Yerrāpragaḍa (A.D. 1280–

1350). These two, along with Nannaya of 11th century constitute the *kavitraya* in Telugu literature. Ketana, who translated the *Daśakumāra Carita* of Daṇḍin and the *Mitākṣarā,* was a contemporary of Tikkanna. Māran's *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* was the basis for Peddana's *Manu Carita.* This period witnessed the translation of Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* by Eluganti Peddana.

The latter part of the 14th and the early half of the 15th century saw the growth of Śaiva literature, mainly translations of Puranic stories in Sanskrit relating to Śiva. Śrīnātha (A.D. 1365–1440) was a voluminous writer. His *Śṛṅgāra Naiṣadha* is a translation of the *Naiṣadhakāvya* into Telugu. His *Śivarātri Māhātmya* and *Kāśikhaṇḍa* prove his Śaiva leanings. He wrote a popular folk drama entitled *Krīḍābhirāmam.* Bammera Potana (A.D. 1400–1475), a *niyogī,* translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* into Telugu. He is also the author of a minor work *Vīrabhadra Vijaya* written in praise of Śiva. Vemana wrote a *śataka* (centum) on morals. Vīrabhadra translated the *Jaimini Bhārata* and also Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala.* The 15th century A.D. witnessed the translation of Sanskrit works like the *Prabodhacandrodaya,* the *Pañcatantra,* the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and *Hariścandropākhyāna.*

The reign of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagar may be considered to be the golden age of Telugu literature. The emperor was himself a great scholar and patron of poets. His *Āmuktamālyada* indicates his literary achievements. Allasāni Peddana, a great poet and a contemporary of the great Rāya, wrote the *Manu Carita* and was awarded the title of *Āndhrakavitāpitāmaha.* Nandi Timmana's *Pārijātapaharaṇam* elaborates a particular theme in Śrī Kṛṣṇa's life. Bhaṭṭamūrti's *Vasu Caritra* is a beautiful piece of poetry composed during the reign of Tirumala I. Dhūrjaṭi, another famous poet and contemporary of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, wrote the *Kālahasti Māhātmya.* Pingali Sūranna's *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīya* weaves two stories in the same poem by an adroit use of *śleṣa* or pun. Another of his famous works is the *Prabhāvatī Pradyumna.* Tenāli Rāmakṛṣṇa is perhaps the most popularly known of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's poets because he was a poet as well as a jester. He wrote the *Pāṇḍuraṅga Māhātmya.* Śaṅkuśāla Nṛsiṁha Kavi was an equal of the great Peddana himself and was the author of *Kavikarṇa Rasāyana* which deals with the life of Māndhātā, a Purānic emperor. Molla, a poetess of the time, born of a low caste, was the author of the most popular version of the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

After the fall of Vijayanagar, standards in Telugu literary production fell. Except for minor works like folk dramas produced at the various capitals of the Nāyakas there was no significant development in Telugu literature. The latter half of the 17th century began an era of minor poems and *śatakas.*

Malayalam. The earliest literary work in the Malayālam language

is one *Uṇṇunīli-Sandeśam* assigned to the 14th century. Its authorship is not known. Even this early work started the tradition of free and uninhibited use of Sanskrit idioms and is held in high esteem by the Malayālīs. The folk-songs *pāṭṭus* probably belonged to an older age but additions were made in them in later times. Some early Malayālam poetical works like the *Rāmacaritam* and *Rāmakathāp-pāṭṭu* bear witness to strong and undeniable Tamil influence in respect of words and metres. The 15th century was eminently an age of *Campūs* like the *Rāmāyaṇa-campū, Naiṣadha-campū* and the *Bhārata-campū.* Most of them were written by the Nambudri Brāhmaṇas of Malabār. This century also witnessed a trend towards purism in Malāyalam literature, an attempt to avoid excessive use of Sanskrit or Tamil idiom. Rāma Paṇikkar, who wrote *Kaṇṇaśśa Rāmāyaṇam* in pure Malayālam, was a pioneer in this class of literature.

Modern Malayālam begins with the greatest name in Malayālam literature, Rāmānuja Eluttaccan. His literary modes were anticipated to some extent by Cheruṣṣeri Nambudri, the author of the *Kṛṣṇagāthā.* Rāmānuja Ezhuttaccan was a prolific writer and handled mythological themes with great mastery. The *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam-Kiḷippāṭṭu, Harināmakīrtanam, Bhāgavatam Kiḷippāṭṭu* and *DevīMāhātmyam* are some of the works for which he is remembered. He was in particular master of the *Kiḷippāṭṭu* type of literature.

Kathākaḷi as a form of dance-drama became popular in Malabār in the late 15th century, and in the next century many dance-dramas came to be written.

(v) Arabic

In the first few centuries after the rise of Islam, Arabic was the dominant language of the Islamic world, which extended from China to Spain. It was the language of religion and theology as well as of learning and scholarship. It was only natural that with the establishment of Muslim power, increasing attention should be paid to the cultivation of the language in India. The Arabs conquered Sind in the 8th century and made it a flourishing colony of the Muslims, with Bhakkar, Tatta and Multān as important centres of learning.

Sind was a great centre of traditionists and literary men down to the 18th century A.D., but very few of their works have come down to us. Abū 'Aṭā Aflaḥ al-Sindī, the first poet, Abū Ḥafṣ Rabī bin Subayh (*d.* A.D. 716). and Abū Ma'shar Najih bin' Abdu'r Raḥmān (*d.* A.D. 786) were the prominent scholars of the 8th century. Among the later theologians and scholars may be mentioned the great saint Bahāu'd-dīn Dhakariyā Multānī (*d.* A.D. 1262), Abū Ḥanīfa al-Sindī, the *Qāḍī* of Bhakkar, Abū

Ṭayyab al-Sindī, Shaikh Ḥamīd bin 'Abdullah (*d* A.D. 1600), Abul Ḥsasn bin 'Abdu'l Hādī (*d.* 1725), Muḥammad Ḥayāt al- Sindī (*d.* 1749) and Ḥājjī Hāshim (*d.* 1760). Some Arabic works of original merit were written in India under the patronage of the Ghaznavids (A.D. 962–1186). The great Īrānian scholar Abū Raiḥān Alberūnī (*d.* A.D. 1048) came to India, studied Hindu culture and Sanskrit literature and wrote in A.D. 1030 his famous work on India, *Kitāb-ul-Hind* or *Indica,* which brought Indian philosophies and sciences to the knowledge of the Muslims. Among his other notable works are *Qānūn-i-Mas'ūdī,* a treatise on astronomy, and *Jawāhir fil-Jawāhir,* a book on minerology, both dedicated to Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghaznī. It was this Sulṭān that had made Lahore the capital of the Ghaznavid dominion, east of the Indus, and it came to be known as Little Ghaznī. The first *muḥaddith* (traditionist) and *mufassir* (commentator) Muḥammad Ismā'īl (*d.* A.D. 1056) settled down at Lahore during his reign.

When Delhi became the capital of the Muslim rulers of India under the Sulṭāns of Delhi. (A.D. 1206–1290), it assumed great importance in the literary circles of the East. In the time of Iltutmish several scholars sought refuge at Delhi after the sack of Bukhara by Chingīz Khān. Raḍīu'd-dīn Ḥasan al-Ṣaghāni (*d.* A.D. 1252), a prominent traditionist and philologist, was attached to his court as an ambassador of the Abbasid Caliph An-Nāṣir (*d.* 1220 A.D.). He was the author of a scientific dictionary, the *Lubāb-ul-Dhakhīrah,* and of a compendium of tradition, the *Mashariq-ul-Anwār,* which are still reckoned as standard works in Arabic. Unfortunately some of the other works of this period by authors like Shaikh Ḥamīdu'd-dīn Nāgaurī (*d.* A.D. 1274), and Shaikh Jamāl Hānswī (*d.* A.D. 1265) have not come down to us in full, but are still considered as the first-rate contributions of the time.

During the Khaljī period (A.D. 1290–1320), Shihābu'd-dīn Ṣadr-nashīn, a contemporary of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Auliyā', Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥaddith Dihlawī who came from Egypt to Multān, Ṣafīu'd-dīn Hindī (*d.* A.D. 1315) and Amīr Khusraw (*d.* A.D. 1325) contributed a great deal to Arabic literature. Some of these writings have been preserved for posterity. Ḍiyā'-u'd-dīn Baranī, the contemporary historian and author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī,* gives a glowing account of the literary patronage of the Khaljīs.

Muḥammad bin Tughluq who reigned from (A.D. 1325–1351), endeavoured to revive Arabic, but his efforts bore little fruit. His successor Firūz, however, had the good fortune of being the patron of scholars like Maulānā Khwājagī, the teacher of Shihābu'd-dīn Daulatābādī (*d.* A.D. 1445) and the author of *Al-Irshād* and *Sharḥ-i-Hindī* on Arabic syntax; Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-dīn- Dihlawī, the author of a commentary on *Hidāyah;* Ḥusāmu'd-dīn Dihlawī, the author of *Al-Baḥr-ul-Dhakhīrah,* Aḥmad Thānesarī, the composer of the *Qaṣīdat-ul-Daliyah;* and Abdu'l Muqtadir, the

author of the *Qaṣīdat-ul-Lāmiyah* composed in reply to the famous masterpiece, the *Lāmi'at-ul-Ajam*. The great Arabic dictionary, the *Qāmūs* of Majdu'd-dīn Firūzābādī, reminds us of the patronage of this Sulṭān to Arabic lexicography.

The Lodīs (A.D. 1451–1526) made Āgra the capital of their empire and many authors were attracted to it. 'Abdullah Tulambī, the first Indian scholar of Islamic philosophy and Rafī'u'd-dīn Shīrāzī, a pupil of Muḥaqqiq Jalālu'd-dīn Dawwānī in philosophy and of the great traditionist Sakhāwī in *Ḥadīth*, came to Āgra and contributed much to Islamic studies. 'Abdu'l Fatḥ of Thānesar, one of the teachers of 'Abdu'l Qādir Badāūnī, and 'Abdu'l Faḍāi'l Sa'du'd-dīn of Delhi also wrote important books on theology.

Apart from the patronage of the ruling kings at the centre, the provincial dynasties of India also helped the cause of Arabic learning in their own territories and their contributions were of no mean importance. The governors of Bengal had their seats at Lakhnautī, Murshidābād and Buhār, a village in the district of Burdwān. These places became famous as centres of learning before the Mughal period.

The Sharqī kings of Jaunpur (A.D. 1394–1484) patronized scholars like Qāḍī Shihāb'ud-dīn Daualatābādī and Maulānā Ilahdād of Jaunpur. From Jaunpur hailed Syed Muḥammad Jaunpurī (*d* A.D. 1505), the founder of a sect of Islām called the Mahdawīyah, whose adherents are found even now in different parts of India. Later on, during the Mughal period, many scholars and writers arose from Jaunpur, viz., 'Abdu'l Awwal (*d.* A.D. 1560), Mullā Maḥmūd (*d.* A.D. 1651), the philosopher, 'Abdu'r Rashīd (d. A.D. 1672), and the great Mullā Aḥmad Jīwan (*d.* 1718), one of the teachers of Aurangzeb, who was the author of *Tafsīr-i-Aḥmadī* and *Nūr-ul-Anwār*. The *Fatāwā-i-Ālamgīrī*, compiled during the reign of Aurangzeb, is a signal contribution to Muslim canon law by Mullā Ḥamīd, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Jalālu'd-dīn and other Jaunpurī scholars.

Ahmadābād, the capital of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt (A.D. 1407–1572), was founded by Aḥmad Shāh I. It rose into prominence as a seat of learning. Nūru'd-dīn Shīrāzī, a pupil of Syed Sharīf 'Alī bin Muḥammad, and Wajīhu'd-dīn Muḥammad Mālikī, the *Mālikuʾl Muḥaddithīn*, gave great impetus to the study of *Ḥadīth* among the Muslims of Gujarāt. Ibnu'd-Dammanīnī (*d.* A.D. 1424) of Egypt came to India and composed some of his famous works under the patronage of the kings of Gujarāt. Other important contributors are 'Alī ibn Aḥmad Mahā'imī (*d.* A.D. 1432), the author of the well-known commentary on the *Qurān*, the *Tafsīr-ul-Raḥmān;* Muḥammad bin Tāhir Patanī (*d.*A.D. 1578), the author of *Baḥr-ul-Anwār*, an important dictionary of the *Ḥadīth;* Sirāju'd-dīn 'Umar Ulūgh khānī al-Makkī, commonly known as Ḥājjīu'd-dabīr, the writer of the standard history of Gujarāt, known as *Ẓafar-ul-Wālih, bi-Muẓaffar wa Ālih*,

Before the advent of the Mughals, the kingdoms of the Deccan also played a great part in the dissemination of Islamic learning and the growth of the Arabic literature. Among the great Deccani scholars may be mentioned the great saint Syed Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī Gesū-darāz, known as Khwājah Bandah Nawāz of Gulbarga, Ḥasan bin 'Alī Shādkām (*d.* A.D. 1636), Zainu'd-dīn al-Ma'barī, Ibn Ma'ṣūm, the author of *Tuḥfat-ul-Mujāhidīn*, and Mullā 'Abdu'n Nabī, the author of *Dastūr-ul-'Ulamā.*

During the Mughal period great impetus was given to Arabic literature. Of the writers of the time may be mentioned Faiḍī, the writer of a commentary on the *Qurān,* the *Swaṭi-'ul-Ilhām.* Prominent among the contributions are 'Al-Muttaqī 'Alī ibn Ḥuṣāmu'd-dīn al-Burhānpurī's (*d.* A.D. 1567) great compendium of the whole corpus of the *Ḥadīth, Kanz-ul-'Ummal;* 'Abdu'l Ḥaqq Dihlawī's (*d* A.D. 1642) *Ashir'at-ul-Lama'āt,* the famous commentary on the *Mishkāt;* Syed 'Abdu'l Awwal Jaunpurī's (*d.* A.D. 1560) *Faiḍ-ul-Bārī,* commentary on the *Saḥih-ul-Bukhārī;* Shaikh 'Abdu'l Ḥasan Sindī al-Kabīr's glosses on the six canonical works of tradition; Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī, the Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī's (*d.* A.D. 1615) polemical critical works; Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpurī's *Shams-ul-Bazīgāh,* Qāḍī Muḥibullah Bihārī's *Sullam-ul-'ulūm,* a standard work on philosophy and its commentaries; Mirak 'Abdu'l Bāqī Thattawī's *Ash-kāl-ul-Jadīdah* on mathematics; Farīdu'd-din Dihlawī's *Zīj-i-Shāh Jahānī* on astronomy; 'Abdu'l Ḥakīm Siālkotī's glosses and treatises on various literary and philosophical texts ; Shaikh Niẓāmu'd-dīn Sāḥilī's commentaries and glosses; Muḥammad 'Alī al-Thānawī's famous dictionary of technical terms, the *Kashaf-i-Iṣṭilāḥāt-ul-Funūn,* written in 1743; Shāh Walīullah Dihlawī's masterpiece on theology, the *Ḥujjat-ullah al-Balīghah;* Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Azīz and Shāh 'Abdu'l Qādir's commentaries and translations of the *Qurān;* Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī's *Ṣubḥat-ul-Marjān* and *Saba'-Sayyārah;* Maulānā Baḥru'l 'Ulūm and Faḍl-i-Ḥaqq Khairābādī's contributions; Zubaidī's *Tāj-ul-'Arūs,* a standard dictionary of the Arabic language, and Maulānā 'Abdu'l Ḥaī of Lucknow's *Nuzhat-ul-Khawāṭir,* a dictionary of the biography of Muslim authors, *Jannat-ul-Mashriq* and *Ma'ārif-ul-Awārif.*

From the foregoing account it will be seen that India had its own share in enriching Arabic literature. During the middle ages there were many active centres of Islamic studies and Arabic learning throughout the country. In the 14th century Khusraw regarded Delhi as superior to Baghdad in Arabic scholarship. On the whole, however, although India produced commentaries, super-commentaries, glosses and annotations of the works of the earlier authors and a number of competent works on philosophy, traditions, linguistics and philology, the quantum of original work in Arabic was small, and in poetry and creative literature the contribution was meagre.

(vi) Persian.

The beginnings of Persian literature in India go back to the Ghaznavids and the Ghūrids. The eminent poets of Indian origin at the time were Abul Farj Rūnī (alive in A.D. 1098), Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān (*d.c.* A.D. 1131) and Shihābī-i-Muhmirā (*d.c.* A.D. 1295).

The cultivation of the language received great impetus under the patronage of Quṭbu'd-dīn Aibak, Iltutmish and Ruknu'd-dīn. Among important historical works of the time may be mentioned the following: the *Tāj-ul-Ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Niẓāmī Nīshāpurī, the *ChachNāmah,* an early history of Sind, by 'Alī bin Ḥamīd bin Abi Bakr al-Kūfī (*d.* after A.D. 1216), the *Jāmi'-ul-Ḥikāyat,* a compendium of historical anecdotes, by Sadidu'd dīn Muḥammad 'Awfī Bukhārī (*d.* after A.D. 1230), and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by Minhāj-us-Sirāj. There were important works in other fields also. Bukhārī referred to above compiled the *Lubāb-ul-Albāb,* the first extant Persian anthology. Fakhr Mudabbir (*d.* after A.D. 1210) compiled the *Ādāb-ul-Ḥarb wa'l Shujā'at,* a manual dealing with the science of warfare. Abū Bakr al-Kāshānī translated and revised the *Kitāb-us-Ṣaydana* (Book of Drugs) of Alberūnī about A.D. 1215.

The age of the Khaljīs was a glorious period. According to Baranī, the famous contemporary historian, "there lived at Delhi scholars of such eminence and calibre as were not to be found in Bukhara, Samarqand, Tabriz and Isfahan and in their intellectual accomplishments they equalled Rāzī and Ghazālī. Under every stone lay hidden a precious gem of literary excellence." In the midst of a host of literary artists, the two outstanding persons were Amīr Khusraw (A.D. 1253–1325) and Shaikh Najmu'd-dīn Ḥasan, popularly known as Ḥasan-i-Dihlawī (*d.* A.D. 1327). The former is the greatest figure in the world of Persian literature in India. He was a prolific and versatile writer of genius who is said to have composed about half a million verses and 99 works on different subjects. His five literary masterpieces or the *Khamsah,* composed as a rejoinder to the *Khamsah* of Niẓāmī, were *Muṭla'-ul-Anwār, Shīrīn Khusraw, Lailā Majnūn, Āyina-i-Sikandarī* and *Hasht Bihisht.* These were dedicated to his great patron 'Alāu'd-dīn Khaljī. His five *Dīwāns, Tuḥfat-us-Ṣighar, Wasṭ-ul-Ḥayāt, Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl, Baqīya-Naqīya* and *Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl,* written at various stages of his life, show the development of his lyrical talent at best and give him a place next to Sa'dī of Shīrāz, his great contemporary. Since Khusraw enjoyed the patronage of successive. rulers of Delhi, his writings have great historical value. His *Khazā'in ul-Futūḥ* describes 'Alāu'd-dīn's conquests. The *Tughluq-Nāmah* depicts the rise of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq. The *Qirān-us-Sa'dain* is the story of the meeting between Sulṭān Mu'izzu'd-dīn Kaiqubād of Delhi and his father Nāṣiru'd-dīn Bughrā of Bengal in A.D. 1288 His *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ* (A.D. 1291) gives an account of the four victories of Jalālu'd-dīn Khaljī's reign.

The *Duwal Rānī-wa Khiḍr Khān* or *'Ishqiyah* is a poetical narrative of the love adventure of Khiḍr Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn Khāljī and Devala Rānī, daughter of Rāi Karan, the Rājā of Gujarāt. The *Nuh-Sipihr* contains a poetical description of Quṭbu'd-dīn Mubārak Shāh Khaljī's reign, and gives a glowing account of things found in India.

Ḥasan-i-Dihlawī, the friend and contemporary of Khusraw, was also an eminent poet, and the quality of his *ghazals* won him the name of Sa'dī of India.

In the time of the Tughluqs many famous historians and poets adorned the court of Muḥammad Tughluq. The historical works of Ḍiyā'u'd-dīn Baranī, (*b.* A.D. 1285), the poetical writings of Muṭahhar, the *mathnawī* of Abū 'Alī Qalandar (*d.* A.D. 1324), the *Futūḥāt-i-Firūz Shāhī* by Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Tughluq himself, and the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* of Shams-ī-Sirāj 'Afīf, are of importance. The transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatābād had the effect of extending the influence of Persian literature and culture to South India.

There was considerable activity under the Syeds and the Lodī kings also. Shaikh Jamālī Kambo (*d.* A.D. 1536), the greatest poet of the time, composed the *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn* and the *mathnawī Mihr-wa-Māh.* Syed Mu'īn-ul Ḥaqq wrote a genealogical account of the Syeds of Bhakkar. Ibrāhīm Qiwām Fārūqī compiled a lexicon known as *Farhang-i-Ibrāhīmī.* Philosophical studies were specially promoted by the arrival at Delhi of Shaikh 'Abdullah Tulambī and Shaikh 'Azīzullah from Multān. Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad Sirhindī and the great Ṣūfī 'Abdu'l Quddus Gangoh were other prominent *litterateurs.* 'Azīzu'd-dīn Khālid wrote a treatise on natural philosophy, the *Dalā'il-i-Firūz Shāhī,* and 'Abdu'l 'Azīz Shams of Thānesar a treatise on music and dancing.

In South India, the influx of eminent poets, scholars, saints, artists and calligraphers from Persia turned Gulbarga into a virtual capital of a Persian prince. The founder of the Bahmanī kingdom, Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh, was a great patron of learning. 'Iṣāmī composed *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn* in A.D. 1349 and dedicated it to him. Firūz Shāh Bahmanī and 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad Shāh II Bahmanī were also great patrons, and the latter was himself a great poet. The reign of Muḥammad Shāh (A.D. 1463–1482) brings us to one of the greatest figures of the history of the Deccan, Khwājah Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān, his illustrious *Wazīr,* whose glorious achievements, literary productions and educational institutions remain as historic monuments of the period. Khwājah 'Ubaidullah Aḥrār (*d* A.D. 1491), the great saint of the Naqshbandī order, Sharafu'd-dīn-'Alī-Yazdī-(*d.* A.D. 1454), the author of the *Ẓafar-Nāmah,* Jalālu'd-dīn Dawwānī (*d.* A.D. 1502), who wrote the *Shawākil-Ḥūr,* and many other scholars flourished under his patronage. The *Wazīr* himself was a writer of no mean merit.

The 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijāpur (A.D. 1490–1686) and the Niẓām Shāhīs of

Ahmadnagar (1490–1633) have also left a great mark. Their courts were full of talented authors and poets like Malik Qummī (*d.* A.D. 1615), Nūru'd-dīn Ẓuhūrī (*d.* A.D. 1616), Sanjar-i-Kāshānī (*d.* A.D. 1612) and Ātashi. Ẓuhūrī is by far the most distinguished of the poets of this period and exerted considerable influence over later poets. Several historical works were also written under the patronage of these rulers: the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* by Syed 'Alī bin 'Azīzullah Ṭabāṭabā, the *Tadhkirat-ul-Mulūk* on the 'Ādil Shāhīs by Rafī'u'd-dīn Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī (*d.* after A.D. 1611), the *Futūḥāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī* (*c.* A.D. 1644) by Fuzūnī Astrābādī, the *Muḥammad Nāmah* on Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh (A.D. 1627–1657) by Mullā Ẓuhūrī, the *Tārīkh-i-Ilchī-i-Niẓām Shāh* by Khwar Shāh bin Qubādal Ḥusainī, and the *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* by Firishta Muḥammad Qāsim.

In the Quṭb Shāhī court at Golconda, Mīr Muḥammad Mu'min Astrābādī, (*d.* 1580 A.D.), the chief *Wazīr* of Muḥammad Qulī and Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, was a great patron of Persian scholarship. He was himself a noted poet and one of his technical brochures deals with weights and measures and distances according to Muslim law. His protege Mirzā Muḥammad Amīn Shahristān styled Mīr Jumla and 'Allāmāh Ibn Khātūn were also well-known administrators, poets and scholars. Of the other poets and men of learning patronized by the Quṭb Shāhīs may be mentioned *Maliku'sh-shu'arā* Mullā Mu'īn Mirak Sabzwārī, Rukn-i-Masīḥ, Sirāju'd-dīn'Ārif, Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Iṣfahānī, Mīr Ḥasan 'Askarī and Muḥsin Hamadānī.

The foundation of the Mughal empire in India heralded the dawn of a new era in the history of Indo-Persian literature. The Mughal emperors were not only great patrons of art and literature, many of them were themselves *litterateurs* in their own rights.

Bābur wrote his own biography, *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī,* in Turkish which was later translated into Persian by 'Abdu'r Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān. In the time of Humāyūn and his successors, many scholars and poets were attracted to India, and they gave an impetus to the afflorescence of Persian literature. Humāyūn himself was a poet of merit, his brother Kāmrān was a poet and his sister Gulbadan Begam was a prose-writer who composed *Humāyūn Nāmah.* Muḥammad al-Miskīnī compiled his encyclopaedia of Islamic sciences called the *Jawāhir-ul-'ulūm-i-Humayūnī* in A.D. 1539 and Yūsufī Yūsuf bin Muḥammad Harātī wrote in A.D. 1533 the *Badā'i'-ul-inshā'* a treatise on the epistolography. Poets like Shāh Ṭāhir Dakhnī (*d.* A.D. 1545), Ḍamīrī Bilgirāmī (*d.* A.D. 1594) and Khwājah Ḥusain Marvī (*d.* after 1572) adorned his court.

The age of Akbar (A.D. 1556–1605) was indeed a brilliant epoch in the history of Indo-Persian literature. Under him Āgra could justly claim to be the literary metropolis of Central Asia. A host of poets from all parts of Persia flocked to his court, amongst whom Ghazālī Mashhadī (*d.* 1572) Jamālu'd-dīn (*d.* 1591), 'Urfī Shīrāzī, Thanāī Mashhadī, Zuhūrī Turshīzī

and Mullā Ḥusain Naẓīrī Nīshāpurī are the most prominent. Faiḍī (*d.* A.D. 1595), was the most eminent among the numerous poets mentioned by historians. In the field of history the outstanding works are the *Akbar-Nāmah* and the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* of Abū'l Faḍl, the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Mullā Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad Harawī, the *Nafā'is-ul-Ma'āthir* of Mīr 'Alāu'd-daulah Qazwīnī and 'Abdul Ḥaqq Dihlawī's *Dhikr-ul-Mulūk.*

The tempo of progress was maintained under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Abū Ṭālib Āmulī (*d.* A.D. 1626) was the *Maliku'sh-shu'arā* of Jahāngīr's court, and Abū Ṭālib Kalīm, (*d.* A.D. 1651) was the poet-laureate of Shāh Jahān. Besides Kalīm, the other great poets such as Qudsī Mashhadī (*d.* A.D. 1645), Candrabhāna Brāhmaṇa (*d.* A.D. 1662) and Muḥammad 'Alī Sā'ib (*d.* A.D 1677) adorned Shāh Jahān's court. Of the historical writings of the two reigns may be mentioned *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* by the emperor Jahāngīr himself, *Iqbāl-Nāmah* of Mu'tamad Khān, Mullā Muḥammad Ma'sūm Bhakkarī's *Tārīkh-i-Sind,* Muḥammad Murād's *Siyar-ul-Bilād,* 'Alāu'd-dīn Iṣfahānī's *Tārīkh-i-Bangālah* Sikandar binMuḥammad Manjhū's *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī,* and Malik Ḥaidar's *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr.* Shāh Jahān's reign is described in a number of works, e.g. *Pādshāh-Nāmahs* of 'Abdu'l Ḥamīd Lāhorī and Muḥammad Wārith and *Shāh Jahān-Nāmah* of Muḥammad Ṣālih Kanbo.

As regards Aurangzeb, the emperor was himself a great scholar devoted to scholarly pursuits. His letters or the *Ruq'āt* reveal the depth of his learning and his command over the Persian language. Several other great works were produced under his aegis: 'Āqīl Khān Rāzi's *Ẓafar Nāmah-i-'Ālamgīrī,* Mirzā Muḥammad Kāẓim's *'Ālamgīr-Nāmah,* an official history of the first ten years of the reign, Muḥammad Sāqī Musta'idd Khān's *Ma'āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī,* Muḥammad Rafī Khān's *Ḥamla-i-Ḥaidarī* composed on the lines of the *Shāh-Nāmah* of Firdawsī, Muḥammad Afḍal Sarkhush's biography of poets called the *Kalimātu'sh-Shu'arā,* Muḥammad Wārith's *Bādshāh-Nāmah,* Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī's *Wāqāi-i-Hyderābād* a chronicle of the siege of Golconda in A.D. 1686 written in prose and verse and Bakhtāwar Khān's *Mīr'āt-ul-'Ālam.* The *Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā'* by Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm also belongs to this period.

Raī Bindrāban and Īsar Dās, wrote the *Futūḥāt-i-'Ālamgīrī* (A.D. 1690). Bhīmsena completed the *Dilkushā,* an account of Aurangzeb's reign; Munshī Sujān Rāi compiled his famous history, the *Khulaṣat-ut-Tawārīkh;* and Mirzā Khān Fakhru'd-dīn completed the *Tuḥfat-ul-Hind,* an encyclopaedic work dealing with Hindī literature in a variety of subjects.

Another very remarkable personality of the period is prince Dārā Shukoh, who has contributed a great deal to the mystical literature of India and has earned a wide reputation for the catholicity of his views and for his efforts at harmonizing Islamic and Hindu religious ideals. Of his works may be mentioned the *Safīnat-ul-Auliyā',* a collection of the biographies of *Ṣūfī* saints, the *Sakīnat-ul-Auliyā',* a biography of his two

preceptors Mullā Shāh Muḥammad Badakhshānī and Miyān Mīr or Mullā Jiw; the *Ḥasanāt-ul-'Ārifīn* and *Majma'ul-Baḥrain,* containing his philosophical and religious ideas; and the *Sirr-i-Akbar,* containing a translation of fifty-two Upaniṣads.

A noteworthy attempt of the times was to create mutual understanding between the Hindus and Muslims. Reciprocity of learning and exchange of knowledge were advanced through translations from Sanskrit and Hindī into Arabic and Persian and *vice-versa.*

Among the important Sanskrit texts rendered into Persian the following may be mentioned: *Atharva Veda, Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, Rāmāyaṇa,* Upaniṣads, *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha, Līlāvatī, Pañcatantra* and *Rājataraṅgiṇī.*

Apart from religious and philosophical literature, story-books and scientific treatises were translated.

One or two special aspects of the literature may also be mentioned. Firstly, there is a vast literature in Persian left by the *Ṣūfī* saints, and it is of great value both from the religious and literary points of view. A brief account of it is to be found in the section on the religious movements among the Muslims. There are again innumerable anthologies and collections of biographical sketches of poets, and these give a clear picture of the literary climate of the different periods. Finally, the contribution of India to Persian lexicography is particularly significant, since this was a field neglected by the scholars outside India. Of the many works on the subject, mention may be made of the *Burhān-i-Qāti', Chirāgh-i-Hidāyat, Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī, Farhang-i-Rashīdī, Ghiyāth-ul-Lughāt, Farhang-i-Anand Rāi, Muntah-ul-'Arab, Muṣṭaliḥātu'sh-shu'arā* and the *Muntakhab-ul-Lughāt.*

5. Science, Astronomy, Mathematics, Chemistry, Metallurgy and Medicine

The outlook of scientists during the medieval period is best expressed by an anecdote recorded by Sir William Jones:

"A native Musalman afterwards gave me a Persian paper, written by himself, in which he represents the *Sumbul of India* (Skipenard), the *Sweet Sumbul* and the *Jatamansi* are three different plants . . .and the physician, who produced the authority, brought, as a specimen of *Sumbul,* the very same drug, which my Paṇḍit, who is also a physician, brought as a specimen of *Jatamansi*. . . . ." This would show reliance on authority and lack of the spirit of enquiry and observation, and, because of it, there came to be a wall separating Sanskrit and Arabo-Persian traditions.

Since scientists were patronized by kings and chieftains, those branches which were of value to the latter developed to a greater extent, viz., Astro-

nomy, Astrology and Medicine; and Chemistry, Botany and Zoology as adjuncts to Medicine. Development of Zoology was also due to their interest in horses, falcons and hunting.

Data was gathered by observation and to some extent by credulity.

Astronomy. The main purposes for acquiring astronomical knowledge were working out a calendar, fixing the dates of seasons and festivals, navigation, calculation of time and casting of horoscopes.

The main observatories continued to be at Ujjain, Vārānasi, Mathura and Delhi. The first two were ancient centres. Firūz Tughluq had set up a few observation posts at Delhi. These were reorganized on right lines in the time of Humāyūn, and were developed by Rājā Sawāī Jai Singh II of Jaipur in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. An observatory was set up at Daulatābād by Firūz Shāh Bahmanī under Ḥakīm Ḥusain Gīlānī and Syed Muḥammad Kāẓimī. Shāh Jahān's desire to build an observatory for Mullā Maḥmūd at Jaunpur did not materialize.

A remarkable chain of observatories was, however, erected by Rājā Sawāī Jai Singh II of Jaipur. Those at Delhi and Jaipur were started in 1718 and completed in A.D. 1734. The observatories constructed at Ujjain, Mathura and Vārānasi no longer exist. These were masonry instruments erected in preference to small metallic ones for the sake of accuracy in measurements. On the basis of the observations carried out at these observatories *Zīj-i-Jadīd-i-Muḥammad Shāhī* was compiled.

The chief instrument for observation was the astrolabe which reached its zenith in the 17th century; about 40 astrolabes of the period are extant. Lahore seems to have been the major centre for the industry where about 29 were made. Of the astrolabe makers we have an account of one family from the time of Humāyūn to Aurangzeb. Besides the astrolabe, various types of quadrants and armillary spheres were in use.

Numerous instruments were developed by Sawāī Jai Singh, and most of these were of masonry. The reason was: "But finding that brass instruments did not come up to the ideas which he had formed of accuracy, because of the smallness of their size, the want of divisions into minutes, the shaking and wearing of their axes, the displacement of the centres of the circles, and the shifting of the planes of the instruments, he concluded that the reason why the determinations of the ancients such as Hipparchus and Ptolemy proved inaccurate, . . . therefore he constructed . . . . instruments of his own invention . . .of stone and lime, of perfect stability, with attention to the rules of geometry, and the adjustment to the meridian, and to the latitude of the place, and with care in the measuring and fixing of them to remove the inaccuracies and overcome the other limitations."

Both lunar and solar calendars were in use; based on them were a number of calendars depending upon the language of the writer or the country of his origin.

Time was measured either by count of respiration projected to day or year or by the division of day and night in equal parts. Sun dials and clepsydra were also developed to measure time. The general divisions were:

60 *Til*	1 *Bipal*
60 *Bipal*	1 *Pal*
60 *Pal*	1 *Ghaḍī*
60 *Ghaḍī*	One day and night

i.e., each *ghaḍī* was roughly equal to modern 24 minutes. Roughly 7½ *ghaḍīs* were equal to one *pahara.* A day and a night comprised 8 *paharas.*

Earth was considered to be flat or a solid sphere; its rotation though discussed was refuted, and the goecentric theory was generally accepted. The phenomenon of seasons was explained on the basis of revolution of the sun, and in general the Ptolemaic scheme was in vogue.

Most of the books of the time were commentaries on earlier works, mostly of Ṭūsī, Al-Kāshī and other astronomers, or translations from Sanskrit works. Of the Sanskrit works mention may be made of the Tables of Makaranda (A.D. 1478), *Tithyādipatra* or *Grahalāghava* of Gaṇeśa (A.D. 1528), and *Tājikanilakaṇṭhī* (*c* A.D. 1587) which gives the astronomy of Arabo-Persian School. Three astronomical tables were produced: *Zīj-i-Shāh Jahānī* (A.D. 1628) by Farīdu'd-dīn Mas'ūd bin Ḥāfiz Ibrāhīm Dihlawī (*d.* A.D. 1629). In the reign of Shāh Jahān, Malajīta, on whom the emperor had conferred the title of Vedāṅgarāya, compiled *Pārsīprakāśa* (A.D. 1643). It deals mainly with conversion of dates. *Zīj-i-Jadīd-i-Muḥammad Shāhī* was written over a century later by Rājā Sawāī Jai Singh II of Jaipur and it is by far the most outstanding book of the period.

Mathematics. Before the period began, two outstanding Indian mathematicians had made major contributions—Śrīdhara (*b.* A.D. 991), author of *Gaṇita Sāra,* and Bhāskara (12th century), author of *Līlāvatī, Bīja Gaṇita* and *Siddhantā Śiromaṇi. Gaṇita Sāra* deals with multiplication, division, square root, cubes, fractions, zero, natural numbers, partnership, mensuration and shadow reckoning.

Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* covers notation, operation with integers, fractions, commercial rules, interest, permutation and combination and algebra. *Bīja Gaṇita* discusses directed numbers, negative quantities (unknown quantities are designated with colours), and simple and quadratic equations. In *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, 'Golādhyāya'* deals with spheres.

Some of these works along with the works from Central Asia, Īrān and West Asia were translated into Persian. For instance, *Līlāvatī* was translated by Faiḍī in A.D. 1587, and *Bīja Gaṇita* by 'Atāullah Rashīdī in the 8th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. There were other translations and commentaries too. All these exerted great influence.

Riyāḍī (Mathematics) during the period comprised *Ḥisāb* (Arithmetic), *Hindsah* (Geometry), *Hai'at* (Astronomy) and *Mūsīqī* (Music).

The works frequently used were those of Bahāu'd-dīn Āmulī (16th–17th century), Nāṣiru'd-dīn Ṭūsī (13th century), 'Arrāq (11th century), and Al-Kāshī (15th century). Āmulī's *Khulāṣat-ul-Ḥisāb* was used throughout the period and seems to have been the most popular. In Sanskrit Narāyaṇa Paṇḍit's *Gaṇita Pali Kaumudī* (A.D. 1356) and Nayana Sakhā's *Ukārathya Grantha* (A.D. 1731) are worth mentioning.

In Arithmetic, the study covered positive integers, fractions, rule of three, method of trial and error, mensuration, measurement of weight and calculation of distances.

In Algebra, the general development was on the lines laid down by Al-Khwārazmī, Bhāskara and Āmulī. 'Aṣmatullah Sahāranpurī (17th century) contributed to the knowledge of quadratic equations.

In Geometry, Euclid's translations were the most commonly used, and a large number of commentaries were written on them. Of these two *Sharḥ-i-Uqlīdis,* one by Mīr Muḥammad Hāshim (17th century) and the other by Maulavī Muḥammad Barkat (18th century) are the most important ones, and make substantial contributions to the theory of parallel postulate.

Another illustrious family contributed considerably to the development of Mathematics by way of translations or commentaries—Ustād Aḥmad al-Mi'mār Lāhorī, his sons 'Aṭāullah Rashīdī and Luṭfullah Muhandis, and Muhandis's two sons Imāmu'd-dīn Riyāḍī and Khairullah Rashīdī translated *Bīja Gaṇita,* while Riyāḍī is said to have written 25 books on various subjects, particularly on Mathematics and Astronomy.

The general course of development was by way of preparing summaries of or commentaries on earlier works, rather than of developing new techniques, concepts or notations. The application of Mathematics was mostly limited to Astronomy. Its use in drawing magical squares, alchemy and astrology called for intellectual resourcefulness.

Chemistry. The general ideas in the field were alchemical. There were four elements—Fire, Earth, Air and Water—with four qualities (*khawāṣṣ*)—hot, dry, moist and cold. There were neither any definite ideas regarding chemical combination, nor any understanding of the chemical nature of substances. The wide interest in the philosopher's stone and elixir of life gave rise to charlatans and adventurers.

Weights and balances, the first requisite of Chemistry, were crude and rudimentary. The bases of weight measurements were seeds, poppy, black and white mustard, barley, *guñjā, rattī* and *māsā.* The standardization carried out in respect of weights of higher denominations could hardly have any relevance to Chemistry. The theory of Chemistry was alchemical and in close association with Astrology, and its application was limited to medicine and industrial processes, there being no proper relation between the two. The stage had not been reached when it could develop as an independent branch of science to study matter and to investigate its chemical composition.

Various compounds of mercury and arsenic and also extracts and decoctions from different herbs were used in medicine. Although a large number of compounds were prepared or isolated from organic substances, hardly any attempt was made to identify or name them. They were just referred to in connection with processes of drug manufacture.

There were no doubt references to a large number of manufacturing processes, but the approach was empirical and no attempt was made to standardize the processes. Those engaged in the field occupied a low social status, the equipments used were crude, and the processes adopted were elementary.

Mineral acids were used. Making of both fire-works and weapons was well known. Mention may also be made here of the glazed tiles and pottery made during the period. Further, technical skill combined with chemical knowledge was of a high standard, but the knowledge remained only at an empirical level, codified into a set of practices which were to be followed if good results were to be achieved. There was no scope for freshness of outlook or innovations. No doubt some of the manufactures reached the highest standards of quality and excellence, but what is regrettable is that there was little attempt at standardization or systematic efforts to find ways and means of increasing output.

Knowledge was handed down from father to son, or teacher to student. Except in medicine, there was no development of technical literature as such, and much of the stagnation was perhaps due to failure in developing this medium of transmitting knowledge. The few works that have come down are of an alchemical nature, or deal with preparation of medicines. Of them, mention may be made of *Rasaratnasamuccaya, Rasarājalakṣmī* and *Rasasāra*. In the 17th century, Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpurī wrote *Ḥikmat-ul-Balīghah* and its commentary *Ash-Shams-ul-Bāzīghāh*. *Majmū'at-us-Ṣanā'i* of Mīr Yaḥyā (A.D. 1624) is an illustrated encyclopaedia of crafts, and deals with manufacture of precious stones, dissolving of metals, polishing of glass and colouring of wares, and a number of other processes.

Metallurgy. The general emphasis throughout the period remains on the use of metals and alloys for making of armament or decorative objects, and in neither field any significant technological advance seems to have been made.

Cannons and guns were made of brass, bronze, iron and steel. These were generally used in India from A.D. 1400 onwards. The mining and casting processes were crude, and there were no visible efforts at improvement of quality or at reducing cost. Bābur in *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī* gives an account of the casting of cannons: around the mould, furnaces were erected, with channels to the mould; the metal (copper in this case) was melted and allowed to run into the mould, till it was full; and then it was allowed to cool. The weight of a giant size cannon was 30.48 to 47.76 tonnes, length 9.44 m., and the bore 0.475m.

The earliest use of iron in construction seems to have been in the Sun temple at Konārak (9th century) where it was used in making beams. The composition of the beams is very similar to that of the famous Iron Pillar at Delhi, but unlike the latter the beams of the Sun temple have rusted.

An early 19th century account of smelting of iron and making of steel throws light on the primitive techniques. According to Voysey, a cake equivalent to the weight of 110 rupee coins was sold for half a rupee.

Coating of copper utensils with tin came into vogue and gained much currency; according to some it was introduced round about A.D. 1300 Abū'l Faḍl refers to tinning of copper vessels for use in the royal household of Akbar.

The lead alloy Bīdarī (8:2:1 copper, lead and tin) was used mostly for articles of decorative character. White and coloured enamels were also developed and used.

Medicine. Medicine covered a wide range of subjects including dietetics and food technology. The main emphasis was on diagnosis of diseases and their cure. Diagnosis was based on observation of the general condition of the patient and examination of pulse and urine. Though non-quantitative and non-chemical, the great progress made in the development of these techniques was of immense value. A Persian treatise of the 17th century widely used in India, *Tuḥfat-ul-Mu'minīn* by Muḥammad Mu'min Ḥusainī Tunkābunī, discusses in detail differences of opinion amongst physicians regarding drug action.

There were specialized treatises on diseases such as fevers and particular organs of the body such as eyes and stomach. *Nūr-ul-'Uyūn* by Zarrīn Dast (A.D. 1087) deals with the constitution of the eye and its diseases which can be seen and those that cannot, and also suggests prophylactic measures for the latter. The use of spectacles was known, the earliest reference being of 16th century.

There is no conclusive evidence to show that dissection was practised. There are, however, a few treatises on anatomy of the human body, describing in detail the bones, nerves, veins, arteries and muscles and various organs. Something of this knowledge was based on earlier treatises written outside India. In this connection Al-Baiḍawī's *Mukhtaṣar dar 'Ilm-i-Tashrīḥ* (13th century), Muḥammad Riḍā's *Riyāḍ-i-Ālamgīrī* (17th century), *Tashrīḥ-ul-Badan* (15th century), and 'Abdu'r Razzāq's *Khulāṣat-ul-Tashrīḥ* are worth mentioning. The last one incidentally is fully illustrated. These authors knew the difference between veins and arteries, but had no idea of the circulation of blood.

Bhuwā bin Khwāṣ Khān's *Ma'dan-u'sh-Shifā'-i-Sikandar Shāhī* (A.D. 1512), written at Delhi for Sikandar Shāh Lodī, is based on Sanskrit sources, and uses Sanskrit terms extensively.

In the nature of things, physicians were quite occupied by poisons and

their antidotes, and a number of treatises deal with these. The antidotes were both of mineral composition as well as of alkaloidal nature.

A number of treatises of the period show the care and thought given to dietetics. There was knowledge of food preserves, both of pickling and use of sugar syrups (*murabbas*). But the knowledge did not go deep enough and lead to the understanding of the constituents involved in preservation.

In the practice of medicine, considerable knowledge was accumulated relating to description of medicinal plants and their properties, preparation of decoctions and extracts, study of the effect of drugs on human body, chemical processes connected with it—extraction, distillation, evaporation, drying, etc.

Curiously, oils and perfumes also were a part of medicine, and medical lists give details about their preparation and direction for their use, and their benefits.

General regard for sanitation was part of the medical practice and various directions in this respect are given, such as in *Riyāḍ-i-Ālamgīrī* of Muḥammad Riḍā.

Of the Sanskrit works mention may be made of Tisata's *Cikitsā Kalikā* (14th century), *Bhāvaprakāśa* (16th century) of Bhāvamiśra and *Vaidyajīvana* (17th century) of Lolimbarāja. A very interesting book is *Vṛkṣāyurveda* (15th or 16th century) by Parāśara on plant diseases.

The knowledge and practice of medicine at the time reveals a strong and vigorous tradition, but it was a tradition based more on authority than on personal knowledge or experience.

There are a few references to hospitals, but the practice of medicine was highly individualistic. The individual practitioners, however distinguished, could not command resources to effect great improvements, either in basic knowledge or on the organization side.

Other Sciences. Besides the sciences described, there was considerable development in engineering, mainly civil, as is evident from various constructions of houses, mausoleums, mosques, bridges, dams and canals. There was some progress also in technology, particularly textiles, ceramics and metallugry. There is some evidence to indicate that windmills, telescopes, cranes and automatic firing guns were developed as toys. Watermills were in use, but not extensively. Lack of development of printing technology is one of the most significant facts with very far-reaching consequences.

The developments of this period (A.D. 1206–1761) can only be appreciated fully in the context of the developments in contemporary Europe. In making a comparative evaluation one becomes intensely aware that these developments were in a very limited framework, unaware of and impervious to contemporary developments in spite of direct contacts with Europe. It is amusing that the emissaries of Rājā Sawāī Jai Singh did

not bring back the books of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton, but only of De la Hire. The lack of awareness was the same in other fields too. Hali's epitaph truly depicts the times: "Like the ox in the oil-press though they move, yet they remain where they start."