

The *Char Bagh-i Panjab*: Socio-Cultural Configuration

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The descriptive part of the mid-nineteenth century *Char Bagh-i Panjab* of Ganesh Das in Persian is analysed for evidence on the social and cultural history of the Punjab during the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. The disparate facts and places in specific space and time by the author are sought to be classified and put together coherently in terms of urbanization; religious beliefs, practices, and institutions of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs; popular religion; traditional learning, both religious and secular; literature in Persian, Punjabi, Braj and 'Hindi' in Perso-Arabic, Gurmukhi and Devanagri scripts; and gender relations, with special regard to conjugal and personal love. The socio-cultural configuration that emerges on the whole from this analysis is given at the end, with the reflection of the author's personality as a member of the precolonial Punjabi society. Important in itself, this configuration provides the background for an appreciation of socio-cultural change in the colonial Punjab.

Introducton

The *Char Bagh-i Panjab* of Ganesh Das Badhera is by far the most important single source of information for the social and cultural history of the Punjab before its annexation to British India in 1849.* Though a general history from the earliest times to the fall of the kingdom of Lahore in 1849, about three-fourths of the work is devoted to the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, both in its narrative part which is almost entirely political, and its descriptive part which is almost entirely non-political. It is the descriptive part, however, which makes the *Char Bagh* exceptionally remarkable. Its close examination reveals a social and cultural configuration that is both interesting and significant.¹

Ganesh Das was well qualified to write a description of the Punjab. He was a *qanungo* and a *zamindar* of Gujrat. His father, Shiv Dayal, had served as a *nazim* in the time of Sardar Sahib Singh Bhangi, the Chief of Gujrat. His grandfather, Mehta Bhavani Das Badhera, was an eminent person of Gujrat under Gujjar Singh Bhangi. His ancestors had settled in the Punjab three centuries earlier, and the Badhera Khatri were found in many towns and villages of the Punjab, as administrators, professional persons, traders and *zamindars*, providing a wide social network. His experience of administration and social connections were useful for collecting information for a comprehensive description of the Punjab. Ganesh Das knew Persian very well. A close reading of his work reveals his familiarity with a number of historical works in Persian.

Following the example of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i Akbari* and Sujjan Rai Bhandari's *Khulasat ut-Tawarikh*, Ganesh Das, in the descriptive part of the *Char Bagh*, confines himself to the province of Lahore which had come to be equated with the Punjab in the time of Akbar. He talks of the courses of the six rivers and their confluences, which created the five *doabs* (interfluves) of the Punjab, metaphorically called the land of five rivers. Ganesh Das takes up each Doab to mention its administrative and revenue units and, wherever possible, the names of *nazims*, *faujdar*s, *qazis*, *muftis*, *sardars*, *hakims*, *kardars*, *chaudharis*, *qanungos* and *muqaddams*, associated with specific places in the Mughal and Sikh times. Within each Doab, Ganesh Das takes notice of cities, towns and villages known for one or another kind of their significant aspect, whether political, social, economic or cultural. Related to a given space, with an eye on the time, this information has a concrete quality. Collectively comprehensive, the information is provided in rather disparate bits and pieces. These bits and pieces have to be classified and put together for a meaningful configuration in socio-cultural terms.

Before we do that we may notice the general character of this information. It comes from both written and oral sources but remains selective, and not exhaustive. It is also uneven. Ganesh Das knew more about his own Doab, the Chaj, than about the Rachna or the Bari Doab. He knew much more about each of these three than about the Sindh Sagar or the Bist Jalandhar Doab. Within each Doab he made another kind of distinction: the urban and the rural. Ganesh Das knew far more about cities and towns than about villages. The information provided by Ganesh Das relates largely to the three middle Doabs and within these three, very largely to their cities and towns.

Like the range of his knowledge, the range of Ganesh Das's interests is also relevant. He talks of the ideal polity rather than ideal social order. It consisted of four components in proper balance. One of these four components, compared with fire, was the kings, their courtiers, and the army. The second, comparable with water, consisted of the educated class. The third, comparable with air, were the traders. The fourth component, comparable with earth (*khak*), consisted of *zamindars*.² All these four components figure in the *Char Bagh*. In its descriptive part, however, the local administrators, traders, *sahukars*, *sarrafs*, and *zamindars*, and men of letters and learning figure most prominently. In addition to these, the craftsmen are mentioned in connection with manufactures of various kinds, mostly in towns and cities. Ganesh Das was aware of the presence of the service performing groups and the outcastes in the social order, but they did not fall within the range of his interests. It is easy to see that the social order of his times was well differentiated in terms of religious communities, castes and classes.

Ganesh Das was not consciously interested in urbanization either. But he provides enough information on urban centres that makes his work important for a historian of urbanization. Similarly, he was not interested in gender relations *per se* but he provides significant evidence on gender and love in his own way. There is no doubt that Ganesh Das was interested in matters religious, cutting across the religious communities and sects or institutional

and popular religion. Similarly he was interested in learning, both religious and secular, and literature in Persian, Bhakha (Braj), and Punjabi, and what he calls 'Hindi'. Thus, with all the limitations of his information, Ganesh Das has enough to tell us among other things about urbanization, religious institutions, beliefs and practices, traditional learning and literature, and gender and love.

Urban Centers

Ganesh Das makes a clear distinction between a rural and an urban habitation. About Sambrial in the Rachna Doab he says: 'it is a large village, like a town'.³ About Lakhnawal in the Doaba Chaubihat (Chaj) he says: 'it is a large village like a small town'.⁴ Here, Ganesh Das makes a distinction between a town and a small town. He talks also of large town (*qasbah-i kalan*). He makes a distinction between a town and a city (*shahr*) and talks of small city (*shahr-i khurd*), average city (*shahr-i mutawassit*), and large city (*shahr-i kalan*). The term *baldah* is reserved for a metropolis, like Lahore or Amritsar. What distinguishes a village from a town is clear: the former is predominantly agricultural, and the latter has a visible component of trade and manufacture. On this criterion, it is easily understandable why, with the same number of people, one habitation may be rural and the other urban. Population would certainly be the criterion for distinction between a town and a city. But the answer provided by Ganesh Das is not categorical. He appears to think that a city had a larger range of social, economic, intellectual, and cultural activities than a town.

The general pattern of urbanization that emerges from the information provided by Ganesh Das is only a partial approximation to the reality. The Bist-Jalandhar Doab had only 4 urban centres, and all of them were towns. In the Bari Doab there were 2 metropolises, 4 cities and 5 towns. In the Rachna Doab there were 5 cities and 15 towns. The Chaubihat (Chaj) Doab had 10 cities and 10 towns. The Sindh Sagar Doab had 11 cities and 12 towns. In all, there were 32 cities and 46 towns. The actual number of urban centers could be more than 78, not only because Ganesh Das did not have full information but also because he does not mention the status of some centres of administration.

Ganesh Das was aware of the dynamic character of urbanization. Wangli in the Sindh Sagar Doab was a large city (*shahr-i kalan*) at one time but now it was in ruins. Close to its ruins, the town of Kallar had come up. Sadhri in the Chaj Doab was earlier a town but now a village. Khuhi Sialan in the Rachna Doab was a large town earlier but a village now. The towns of Buchcha and Jalalpur Bhattian in the same Doab were lying in ruins now. Ibrahimabad Sodhara, founded by Ali Mardan Khan in the time of Shah Jahan, was now in ruins. The ancient city of Jalandhar, which at one time was a *baldah-i kalan*, was now a town.⁵ It is clear that urban centres could disappear altogether, become smaller, or rural.

However, this was only one side. The other side was expansion of old urban centers and appearance of new ones. Haripur in the Sindh Sagar Doab was a city founded by Hari Singh Nalwa in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Rawalpindi in the same Doab was a town that became a city due to the efforts of Sardar Milkha Singh. Gujrat in the Chaj Doab, which was founded by Akbar, had become an important urban center in Mughal times, and declined due to the political turmoil in the eighteenth century, was revived by Sardar Gujjar Singh Bhangi as his capital. Similarly, Sialkot in the Rachna Doab suffered decline and revival in the eighteenth century. Gujranwala was a small village but became large as the capital of Sardar Charhat Singh, the grandfather of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Qila Suba Singh became a town and Qila Sobha Singh a city in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Rasul Nagar grew from a town into a city. In the Bari Doab, Chak Ramdas or Chak Guru, a town founded by Guru Arjan in the reign of Akbar, became a *balдах* in Sikh times. No other large city of the province was comparable with it. Dera Baba Nanak became a large city. Dina Nagar as a town was founded by Adina Beg Khan in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁶ The evidence provided by Ganesh Das on de-urbanization and re-urbanization is not exhaustive, or comprehensive, but it is enough to suggest that a phase of de-urbanization was followed by a phase of re-urbanization in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century.

It is important to note that more than half of the descriptive part is covered by what Ganesh Das has to say about 5 cities: Gujrat, Sialkot, Wazirabad, Lahore and Amritsar. These cities were located in the three middle Doabs. The history of Sialkot, Lahore and Gujrat went back into the hoary past but all the three emerged as important urban centers in the Mughal times. Wazirabad was founded in the reign of Shah Jahan. Amritsar, though founded in the reign of Akbar, developed into a large city in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Ganesh Das happened to know more about his own city, Gujrat. Sialkot was associated with his ancestors, and Wazirabad had some important Badhera Khatri. In general too, Ganesh Das was more familiar with the Chaj and Rachna Doabs in which these three cities were located. Amritsar and Lahore in the Bari Doab were by far the most important cities in the time of Ganesh Das and he could easily collect information on both.

For the kind of activities in which Ganesh Das was interested, we may turn to Gujrat. He refers to its history, its administrators and rulers, its eminent men, *panchas*, *chaudharis* and *qanungos*, its *sahukars*, and its craftsmen who were superbly skilled in all kinds of crafts and manufactures, like the swords of steel. He appreciates the charitable works of eminent individuals who built tanks, bridges, stepwells, temples, and mosques. Ganesh Das refers to the calligraphists, the experts in composition, and those who were proficient in music, poetry and historical writing. There were some well known poets and satirists in the city, including a woman poet. There were experts in, Persian and Arabic lexicography, in account-keeping, in Indian and Greek medicine, mathematics, and astrology. There were Brahmans learned in the Shastras and the *'ulama* learned in Islamic law and theology. Ganesh Das takes notice of the presence of Vaishnavas, Shaivas, and Shaktas, their temples, *bairagis*, *sanyasis*, and the left-handers.⁷

Religious Institutions, Beliefs and Practices

Sometimes the line between the religious and the secular could be thin, as in voluntary suicide. Talking of the inhabitants of Jalalpur, Ganesh Das refers to the old families of Sethi, Suri, Uppal, Bhalla and Mehta Khatri. Among them was Lala Sehaj Ram Uppal, father of Ganesh Das's mother. In 1783, he went to the Ganges at Hardwar and gave up his life, voluntarily and deliberately. We may be sure that Ganesh Das regarded his suicide as a religiously meritorious act.⁸

Similarly, all charitable works had a religious dimension. That was why all works for public welfare, related not only to worship but also to food, water and comfort, were important and meritorious for the contemporaries of Ganesh Das as much as for him. Lala Devi Das Rang of Gujrat constructed a *baoli* on the road to Wazirabad in 1820 in order to perpetuate his name. Lala Bhag Mal Basambhu constructed a *baoli* on the road to Peshawar in 1828. These were obviously meant primarily for travelers. Jawala Das Basambhu dug a pool for the people to bathe. Kanhiya Mal Panwal dug a pool and planted a cluster of trees; the water and the shade were used by both men and the cattle. A temple dedicated to Mahadev was constructed in the town by Lala Amrik Rai Chhibber in 1840. He left behind also a stepwell (*baoli*) and a garden (*baghchah*).⁹

Baba Kamal Nain, a Brahman of Haranpur, was known for maintaining an open kitchen (*sadavart*). The Sodhis of Haranpur also provided food to travellers, Chaudhari Diwan Singh, proprietor of the village Baghanwala, used to look after the travelers and to provide food for them. Shaikh Saudagar Sachchar, who was in the service of Maharaja Gulab Singh, dug a pool and laid a garden in the environs of Sialkot. Lala Hari Ram Puri of the village Kharat was well known for serving the *faqirs* and the travelers who came to the village or stayed there. A *sahukar* of Lahore, named Ganga Shah Mehra, was known for building a *dharamsal*, digging a tank and a well, and laying a garden on the road to Amritsar. The whole complex served as a *sarai*. The individuals who left something for posterity by way of public welfare generally were religious personages, traders, holders of landed estates, or administrators.¹⁰

Ganesh Das took greater notice of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs as representatives of the established systems of religion. He takes notice of two well known Vaishnava establishments in the upper Bari Doab: the place of Bhagwan Narain at Pindori and the Vaishnava establishment at Dhianpur. The latter was associated with Baba Lal, who was known to Prince Dara Shukoh. A dialogue between them was recorded by Chandar Bhan Brahman. The *faqirs* of Baba Lal had a Lal Dwara in the city of Wazirabad. The Jaikishnia *sadhs*, who worshipped Krishan Avtar, also had their Thakurdwaras in Wazirabad. Raja Gulab Singh built an idol temple for Thakurs at Pind Dadan Khan in 1830 and, founded a village named Gulabgarh for its upkeep, donating its revenues to the temple. At the 'place' of Baba Lahra Bairagi in the town of Narowal, fairs were held at the time of Baisakhi and Janamashtami. In the village Thapar,

near Gujranwala, was the place of Baba Murar Das Bairagi who had attained to divine knowledge; many people were followers of his successors. The place of the *bairagi sadh* Baba Ram Thamman was at about 12 *kos* from Lahore. A number of *smadh*s were important for the Vaishnavas, like the *smadh* of Baba Pohlo Ram Bairagi, who had come to the town of Bahlolpur from Gujrat in 1800; the *smadh* of Billu Sahib Bairagi Wadala Sandhuan in the *pargana* of Pursarur (many people were the followers of his descendant Ram Das); and the *smadh* of Bawa Lal Daryai in the '*ilaqa*' of Ram Nagar. He had worked miracles in the time of Aurangzeb and had two eminent disciples: Sant Das and Sain Das. Most people in the area were their followers. In Sheikhpura was the *smadh* of Baba Balram Das Bairagi.¹¹

Ganesh Das gives special importance to Baba Sain Das and his descendants, all respectable persons. Sain Das had received enlightenment through a miracle performed by Mukand Das Bairagi who was a disciple of Parmanand (linked with Ramanand through a chain of successors). His *smadh* in the village Baddoki Gosain in the *pargana* of Eminabad was a place of worship. On the Puranmashi of Vaisakh a fair was held there for three days. Baba Sain Das had five sons. One of them was named Ramanand who was believed to have performed a miracle at the age of twelve, and vanished in a tank. A large fair was held at this tank on 14 *sudi* of Vaisakh. He was succeeded by Gosain Nar Hardas. He had four sons and a large number of grandsons. Fourth in succession from him, Baba Karam Chand was believed to have taken his chariot (*rath*) over the river Chenab in the rainy season. He was succeeded by his younger brother Hari Ram who had a large number of descendants through several generations till the mid-nineteenth century.¹²

Among the other Vaishnava places was Panj Tirathi, a place of worship in the Rawalpindi area. A *bairagi sadh* chose it for meditation, and gave the name Ramkund and Sitakund to two of the bathing places. In the fort of Gujrat was a place for the worship of Murlī Manohar, established during the period of Sikh rule. A gnostic named Prem Das was associated with a place in Gobindpur on the bank of the Chenab: it was known as the Chautara of Ram-Lachhman. Mayya Das, a well known *bhagat* of Krishna, lived in Zafarwal. Ganesh Das leaves the impression on the whole, that the worship of Rama and Krishna was more popular than the traditional worship of Vishnu. It was a measure of the influence of Vaishnava Bhakti in the Punjab.¹³

Ganesh Das refers to a number of Shaiva temples. Raja Gulab Singh demolished the old Shivdwara in Gujrat to build a new one in its place in 1839. In Dinga too, he built a temple of Mahadev as a place of worship for the Hindus. A Shivdwara in the town of Bhera was repaired by Lala Moti Ram Kapur who was in the service of the Raja of Jammu. In Sialkot, a Shivala was built by Diwan Harbhaj Rai Puri, and a temple of Mahadev was built by Raja Tej Singh in 1848 for worship by the people. The temple of Sri Mahadev in Wazirabad was repaired by Lala Ratan Chand Duggal in 1839, and entrusted to Gosain Shambhu Nath and Mathra Das for the performance of worship in this temple. A Shivala of Mahadev adorned the town of Kirana. The place of Mahadev in the village of Nand (Dhand) Kasel (near Amritsar) was a place of

worship. Thus, old and new Shiva temples were spread almost all over the Punjab.¹⁴

The Shaiva ascetics, generally called *sanyasis*, are mentioned by Ganesh Das at several places. In Gujrat, Buddh Gir was well known as a *sanyasi*. He was believed to possess supernatural powers. In the town of Pursarur, Baba Khushal Puri was an adept in *sanyas* at one time, and now there was Gulab Gir, a *sanyasi* who was known to have realized God. The place of a *sanyasi* on the bank of a stream in the village Punnanke near Sialkot was the site of annual fair at the time of Vaisakhi. Baba Lal Bharati was a famous *sanyasi* in the village Kharat. Ram Kishan, a Joshi Brahman, became a disciple of Swami Chetan Gir, attained to divine knowledge, and became famous as Gosain Raghunath Gir. He visited Wazirabad and gave the blessing of a child to Haria Duggal. Lala Ratan Chand Duggal, mentioned earlier, was a respectable descendent of Haria.¹⁵

More important than the *sanyasis* of the Punjab were the Gorakhnathi *jogis*. On a small hillock at 3 *kos* from Rohtas was the Tilla Jogian, associated with Bal Nath, where a large fair was held at the time of Shivratri. The *jogis* and other people flocked to the place, and food was served freely to all. Both Hindus and Muslims believed in the sanctity of the place. At Makhad was the place of Brindi Nath. The nearby Sarankot was also sacred for the *jogis*. In the city of Bhera, the *gaddi* of Pir Dhiraj Nath was a place of reverence. Sacred especially to Augars, was the place of Sukal Nath in the town of Kirana; he was perfect in divine knowledge and many people believed in him. Ganesh Das himself believed that whosoever prayed at his place had his wishes fulfilled. In the upper Bari Doab, Achal was associated with Sham Kartik, the son of Mahadev. It was an old place of the *jogis*.¹⁶

Ganesh Das takes notice of a number of temples dedicated to goddesses. There were two new Devidwaras in the fort of Gujrat. Two old Devidwaras were in Sodhara: one of these was associated with Sitala Devi, and the other with Kalka Devi. These two places were looked after by two Sants for worship. In one of the villages of Jalalpur Bhattian was a place of Kalka Devi. Between the Lahauri Gate and the Shah Alami Gate in Lahore was the place of Sitala Devi where a weekly fair was held. There was also the place of Kalka Devi in Lahore. At Niazbeg, 5 *kos* from Lahore, was the place of Bhaddar Kali. A large fair was held there in the month of Jeth. There was a place of Kalka Devi in Amritsar. At Garhdiwal in the Bist Jalandhar Doab there was a place of a *devi* who is not named. The left-hander Shaktas would normally conceal their practices. Significantly, however, Ganesh Das notices their presence in Gujrat, the town he knew best. Mohiya Nand and Sada Nand were perfect in the knowledge of the Shakta scriptures. 'But their practices are better not mentioned: drinking of alcohol, eating of meat, and indulging in sexual intercourse are obligatory in their system'. These Shaktas belonged to the seventeenth century.¹⁷

Ganesh Das refers to *sadhhs* and *faqirs* in general, not in association with one or another established system. In Jhelum, on the bank of the river were the places of worship of Hindu *faqirs*. Among them was Bhagat Kesar who lived

in seclusion. In Gujrat, there was Bhagat Parmal; several eminent individuals of the town had renounced the world and gone towards Kashi. Pandit Mansa Ram Razdan had come from Kashmir in the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and settled in the village Kotla in the Chaj Doab; he died there in 1826 but his *dhuni* or *atishkadah* was still there and revenues of the village Kaleke were assigned for its upkeep. In Sialkot, Partap Mal Chaddha was a perfect gnostic (*'arif*). He regarded all religions as manifestation of God and saw Him in every human being. Once a Muslim taunted that according to the belief current among Muslims only two infidels would go to heaven: Naushirwan, who was known for his justice, and Hatim, who was famous for his generosity. According to the belief of the Hindus, retorted Partap Mal, not a single Musalman would go to heaven.¹⁸

In Sambrial in the Chaj Doab there was a *sadh* named Ram Lila who sat in a *dharamsal* for twenty years without eating any food. His *smadh* was still there and the two persons who served him also attained to piety: Dayal Singh Granthi and Sehaj Ram Khatri. In Sodhara there was a *faqir* named Gokul Das. Whatever he uttered came to pass. In Jalalpur Bhattian, Mathra Das was a *sadh* known as the *faqir* of Ramdas. He was an emancipated person, not caring about any external observance but adorned by inner purity. He was well known for his bold sayings. He never looked towards anyone for subsistence and did tailoring to earn a living. He used to wear spotlessly white clothes and his followers in Jalalpur still lived like him. Ganesh Das mentions Durgiana as a sacred pool in Amritsar. A pool at Rahan, known as Suraj Kund, was a place of worship and many Hindus cremated the dead there.¹⁹

Among Muslims, Ganesh Das takes notice of both the *'ulama* and the Sufis. Several descendants of the common ancestor of the Badhera Khatri had accepted Islam. He refers to them casually and appreciates their achievement in various fields as Muslims. However, he was opposed to forcible conversion. That is why he appreciates Kanwal Nain Badhera for accepting death rather than Islam under pressure from the sons of Maulavi Abdul Hakim in the reign of Shah Jahan. In the reign of Aurangzeb the *'ulama* of Sialkot forced many Hindus to accept Islam. Their ascendancy in the reign of Muhammad Shah was reflected in the execution of Haqiqat Rai Puri who died for his faith.²⁰

It is evident from his account of Haqiqat Rai that Ganesh Das did not like the aggressive attitude of the religious fanatics among the Muslims. Haqiqat Rai's father, a Puri Khatri of Sialkot, sent him to the local *maktab* for education. In due course he learnt enough to enter into discussion with Muslim boys. The son of a *mulla* did not like his intellectual superiority, and on behalf of his son the *mulla* incited other Muslims by alleging that Haqiqat Rai was disrespectful towards the prophet Muhammad. The Hindus of the city apologized on his behalf but the Muslims did not relent. They insisted that Haqiqat Rai should accept Islam, or he be put to death. Haqiqat Rai's father bribed the administrators and the corrupt *maulavis* in order to persuade them that the case may be taken to Zakariya Khan, the governor of Lahore (1726-45), who was known for his liberal views. A large crowd of Muslims accompanied Haqiqat Rai to Lahore to ensure that he did not escape

punishment so that they were not exposed for bringing a false charge against him. In Lahore, the *'ulama*, the *qazi* and the *mufti*, among others, supported the Muslims of Sialkot. Zakariya Khan listened to both the sides and came to the conclusion that the charge brought against the boy was false. He advised the men of religion in private not to be unjust. But they insisted that Zakariya Khan should not interfere in a religious matter. He advised Haqiqat Rai to save his life by accepting Islam, and offered a *mansab* of 3,000 with a suitable *jagir*, but the boy refused to sell his faith. The *mufti* pronounced capital punishment. The father asked for a day's delay in its implementation in the hope that he would persuade his son to accept Islam.²¹

Haqiqat Rai, however, insisted that he could not accept a faith which justified oppression, like the imposition of *jizya*, the notion of *dar al-harb*, enslavement of women and children, and discrimination on the basis of difference in faith. They who regarded these forms of oppression as the means of pleasing God were actually God's enemies, and enemies of even the genuine Muslim devotees of God, like Mansur and Shams Tabrizi. Haqiqat Rai's notion of true *dharma* underscores the importance of ritual observances, inner purity and *ahimsa*. He goes on to mention some other ideals of Hindu piety: to observe the rules of purity and pollution in eating and associating with other people, to practise monogamy and to look upon other women as daughters and sisters, to remain steadfast in faith, and not to reconvert a person who has been converted to another faith.

On the day following, the Muslims of the city came to the court of Zakariya Khan to witness Haqiqat Rai's initiation into Islam. But he refused to accept Islam. Zakariya Khan handed him over to the leaders of religion. With the earth upto his waist, they began to stone him to death. A soldier took pity and cut off his head. The severed head continued to utter 'Ram, Ram'. Even the Muslims now expressed regret. Haqiqat Rai's body was cremated in accordance with Brahmanical rites. A *smadh* was constructed over the spot of cremation as a place of worship. On the fifth day of every month Hindus gathered there and remembered God. In Sialkot, Haqiqat Rai's father constructed his *marhi* in the courtyard. It became a place of pilgrimage, and it was still there; people brought flowers, and lighted lamps over there.

Certainly aware of the importance of Muslim orthodoxy, Ganesh Das takes greater notice of Sufi Islam, largely because of the tangible legacies left in the form of the *mazars* of Sufi *pirs* and their popularity. Such sacred spaces were spread all over the Punjab. The influence of the Sufis comes out clearly from what he has to say. The oldest *mazar* in the Punjab was associated with Shaikh Ali al-Hujwiri, now called Data Ganj Bakhsh. Ganesh Das refers to it as his *khanqah*. Many Hindu Gujjars of the area had become Muslims under his influence. Since he was the head of the *fuqara* in the Punjab, the chronogram of his death was *sardar*. A large number of people visited his *mazar* on every Friday.²²

Another place of pilgrimage in Lahore was the mausoleum of Shah Abu al-Ma'ali who was actually the *nazim* of Lahore in 1555-56, but he was known for his piety. Ganesh Das mentions several other Sufis of Lahore: Shah

Bilawal, Mian Muhammad Darvesh, Hazrat Mian Mir, and his disciple, Mullan Shah, who enabled Dara Shukoh to attain to divine knowledge. Another disciple of Hazrat Mian Mir was a *faqir* named Kanwanwale who performed no *namaz* and observed no *rozah*. Yet another disciple was an enunch named Sandal who prayed for rain on request from the people and his prayer was granted. Another *faqir* was 'Surat Bari' who saw God in every human being. Shaikh Hasan Farid was a man of miracles who performed no *namaz* and did not even recite the *kalima*. At the time of his death, Mulla Abdul Hakim insisted that he should recite the *kalima* and he said, 'there is no God but myself', and died. The *khanqah* of Saiyid Miththa was also famous in Lahore. A fair in honour of Shah Madar was held near the Taksali Gate.²³

Next to Data Ganj Bakhsh in antiquity was Shaikh Farid Shakarganj of Pakpattan, also called Ajodhan. His father Jalaluddin was a descendant of Sulaiman Farrukh Shah Kabuli. It was said that Farid had struggled hard through austerities of all kinds in order to attain to God. For some time he tied a wooden loaf to his belly and remained occupied in remembrance of God. He became a perfect gnostic. He died in 1269. His mausoleum was a place of pilgrimage. In the region of Pakpattan, there were two other places of pilgrimage: Hujra Shah Muqim and Shergarh.²⁴

In Gujrat, the most important Sufi was Shah Daulah. In his early life he was a slave. He attained to divine knowledge, and died in the reign of Aurangzeb, in 1675. He was succeeded by Bahawal Shah who had five sons from two wives. In the time of Ganesh Das the descendants of Shah Daulah were Mian Hasan Shah, Fazal Shah and Jiwan Shah. A Sufi named Shah Jahangir was a contemporary of Shah Daulah. Mian Lal was known for miracles in the reign of Shah Jahan. He ate no meat and lived like a *bairagi*. Pandhi Shah was a famous *faqir* of the eighteenth century. A mausoleum was built over his grave in 1807. Another mystic, Husain Shah, died in 1837. Faqir Karam Shah was a contemporary of Ganesh Das. In the rest of the Chaj Doab Ganesh Das notices the *khanqah* of Pir Muhammad Sachiar in the village of Naushehra as a place of pilgrimage. He was a disciple of Hazrat Haji Ganj Bakhsh Auliya. The *khanqah* of Hazrat Hafiz Hayat was near Kot Mir Husain. His disciples still cultivated land and provided food to travelers twice a day. A large fair was held at this place on 19 Muharram. Pir Azam Shah was a famous mystic of Bhera.²⁵

Ganesh Das mentions three places of some importance in the Sindh Sagar Doab. Close to Hasan Abdal was the *khanqah* of Saiyid Qandhari, Shah Wali Allah, where a lamp remained burning all the night unaffected by rain and wind. This was a miracle. In Jani Sang was the *khanqah* of Jani Darvesh. Haqqani in Wangli was a *darvesh* known for miracles; his *khanqah* was a place of pilgrimage.²⁶

Ganesh Das uses the term *khanqah* for a place associated with the tomb of a mystic or a martyr, and not in the sense of a monastic establishment. He talks of the *khanqahs* of Imam Ali al-Haqq, Shah-i Badshahan, Mir Bhel Shahid, Shah Monga Wali, Saiyid Surkh, Hazrat Hamzah Ghaus, and Saiyidan Nadir-i Mast, the guide (*murshid*) of Shah Daulah, and others in Sialkot. These places

are also referred to as the *mazars* of *walis*. A large village, Chhati Shaikh, belonged to Shaikh Saundha, son of Shah Muhammad Raza, who was a descendant of Hazrat Farid Shakarganj. In Sodhara, *faqir* Mastan Shah was known for miracles in the time of Sardar Sahib Singh Bhangi. Saiyid Ahmad Shaikh al-Hind, regarded as the *abdal* of the time, had come from Baghdad in the reign of Bahadur Shah and died in a village near Wazirabad which came to be known as Kotla Shaikh al-Hind. Most of the Muslims of the area were his followers. In Wazirabad itself, in the reign of Ahmad Shah, Baqi Shah Auliya was a mystic of miracles who had only to look at a person to make him intoxicated with the wine of love. His *mazar* was close to the Lahauri Gate. The *khanqah* of his disciple, Daim Shah, was also there. Another of his eminent disciples was Hafiz Hayat who is mentioned in connection with Gujrat. The *khanqah* of Saiyid Mansur, who was famous for his austerities, was in Eminabad. In Jalalpur Bhattian, the *khanqah* of Bahauddin was a place of pilgrimage. In the old city of Chandiot the *khanqah* of Shah Burhan was a place of pilgrimage. In the town of Shahdarah on the river Ravi, opposite Lahore, was the place of Shah Husain Durr who was known for miracles. Like his contemporaries, Ganesh Das believed that the Sufis who attained to union with God could perform miracles. Prayers at their *mazars* were still answered. That was why they were centers of pilgrimage. The *mazars* were generally looked after by the descendants or the followers of the saint, but not always. In Dayaliwal, a village at 3 *kos* from Batala, the *mazar* of Shamsuddin Daryai was kept up by the Hindu descendants of Dayali Ram, presumably the original proprietor of the village.²⁷

As regards the Sikhs of the Punjab, Ganesh Das makes it clear at the outset that the term Khalsa referred to the Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh. The Khalsa regarded themselves as distinct from both Hindus and Muslims, as the third *firqa*. Thoroughly familiar with the Khalsa *rahit*, Ganesh Das talks mostly of the Khalsa Sikhs. The greatest place of pilgrimage for the Sikhs was Amritsar. It owed its name to the tank built by Guru Ram Das. A large number of people came to this place every morning and evening. An exceptionally large number of people visited the place at the times of Vaisakhi and Diwali. Apart from the Harmandar, there were the Akal Bunga, Dukhbhanjani, Dehra Baba Atal, the 'smadhs' of martyrs, and the pools known as Santokhsar, Kaulsar, Bibeksar and Ramsar as places of worship in Amritsar.²⁸

A number of other places were associated with the Sikh Gurus. Dera Baba Nanak on the bank of the Ravi was 'the sleeping place' of Guru Nanak. People from far off places visited his place (*asthan*) by way of pilgrimage and made offerings. A *langar* remained open all the time for food. The *asthan* of Baba Nanak was under the control of the descendants of Guru Nanak. Eleventh in descent from him were Faqir Bakhsh, Sant Bakhsh, Har Bakhsh and Kartar Bakhsh, the sons of Bhup Chand. Baba Sahib Singh Bedi, son of Kala Dhari, who had established himself at Una as a man of great spiritual status, belonged to another line of descent. His *smadh* was a place of pilgrimage. Ganesh Das ends his statement by saying that all the Bedi *sahibzadas* were worthy of respect.²

Among the other places associated with Guru Nanak was Rori Baba Nanak to the west of Eminabad, a place of worship since old times. In Sialkot, there was Ber Baba Nanak as a place of worship. It was believed that Guru Nanak had visited Sialkot in the summer of 1527-28. He sat under a tree that had no leaves and no shade. Suddenly green leaves appeared on all its branches to provide shade for Guru Nanak. It became an object of worship. Its custodians (*mujawars*) now were Akalis who kept a *langar* open for the visitors. Another place of worship in Sialkot was Baoli Baba Nanak. Close to the house of a disciple where Baba Nanak was staying was a brackish stepwell (*baoli*). The disciple rose to bring sweet water from another well but Baba Nanak told him to go to the nearby *baoli*. The moment Guru Nanak tasted the water it became sweet. Yet another place associated with Guru Nanak was Panja Sahib in Hasan Abdal. Ganesh Das relates the legend in which Baba Nanak stops the large stone hurled at him by Saiyid Qandhari from the top of the hillock. The imprint of Guru Nanak's palm was still there on the stone. Since that time the place had been venerated and the praise of Baba Nanak was on the lips of all and sundry. The followers of Guru Nanak built a *dharamsal* for worship, close to the tank for bathing.³⁰

Several places were associated with the successors of Guru Nanak. Close to the place of Mian Mir in Lahore was the place of Guru Ram Das. Like the tank of *amritsar* in Ramdaspur, there was a tank in Tarn Taran, with a structure built by Guru Arjan as a place of worship. A *dharamsal* in Wazirabad was associated with Guru Hargobind. Kiratpur was associated with Guru Hargobind and Guru Har Rai. In Ghalotian, a village opposite Daska, was a place of worship associated with Guru Har Rai. Makhawal was associated with Guru Gobind Singh. All these places were centers of Sikh pilgrimage.³¹

Apart from Gurdwaras associated with the Gurus, there were some other places which were seen by Ganesh Das as important. In his home town there were two famous *dharamsals*. One was that of Bhai Qandhara Singh who was known for piety and generosity. Guru Hargobind was believed to have stayed there. The other was the *dharamsal* of Bhai Kesar Singh who was known for his dedication to his faith.³²

Ganesh Das is clear that the Udasi *faqirs* traced their origin to Sri Chand, son of Guru Nanak, who had become a renunciate and his followers too remained renunciates. The Tahli of Baba Sri Chand in Dera Baba Nanak was an important place of Udasi *faqirs*. Food was available there for travelers all the time. Ramdas was also a respectable place of Udasi *sadh*s. The *smadh* of the *pious* gnostic Ram Kaur was there. In Gurdaspur was a place of the Udasi *faqirs*, with Baba Badri Das as its *mahant*. The tank and garden of Baba Sant Das Udasi were in Batala. Near Garhdiwal in the village Bahadurpur in the Bist Jalandhar Doab was a *dera* of Udasi *faqirs*. Bhai Makhan Singh, well known for his piety and faith in Wazirabad, was one of the Udasi *faqirs*; he was also well versed in the Shastras and Indian medicine. Outside the city was the place of Baba Sant Rein Udasi. In the town of Kot Nainan in the Rachna Doab was the *smadh* of Ram Kaur as a place of pilgrimage. Ganesh Das

mentions Akhara Advait Brahm in Amritsar without saying that it was an Udasi establishment.³³

Ganesh Das does not use the simple term Udasi in all cases. In Jalalpur, Baba Saila and Bakht Mal Suri were Nanak Shahi Udasi *darveshes* known better as Ramdas. Many Hindus were their disciples. In the town of Muraliwala the *bhagat-dwara* was a beautiful place of Nanak Shahi *sadhs*. In Shahdarah there were two *dharamsals* of the Nanak Shahi Udasi *faqirs* where travelers could stay.³⁴

If the Udasis appear to have come closer to the Sikhs in the time of Sikh rule, the Niranjaniyas appear to have remained aloof. Ganesh Das simply states that Aqil Rai Niranjania of Jandiala near Amritsar, with the *smadh* of his predecessor and a tank, was famous as a *guru*.³⁵

Ganesh Das gives some interesting information on what may be regarded as popular religion. At 2 *kos* from the town of Wazirabad was the place of Sakhi Savar at Dharaunkal. It was believed that Sultan Sarvar was the son of Sultan Zain al-Abidin whose *mazar* was at 4 *kos* from the city of Multan. Sultan Sarvar controlled his senses through austerities and many people benefited from his generosity. He stayed in Dharaunkal for some time and many people became his disciples. People from Jammu, Sialkot, Pursarur, Darp and Salhar came to this place for pilgrimage. Most of the Bharais beat the drum for him and people entrusted offerings to them in the name of Sakhi Sarvar. He had gone towards Baluchistan, and his tomb was at 40 *kos* from Multan. It was called 'Nikah' and it was a place of pilgrimage. The *zamindars* of the village Lohan in the *pargana* of Pursarur believed in Sakhi Sarvar. They had raised a domed structure to Sakhi Sarvar as *Lakhdata* for worship. A Hindu named Hukma was a famous follower of Sakhi Sarvar there. All the Bharais and the followers of Sakhi Sarvar were obedient to Hukma. In Lahore, opposite the Lahauri Gate, people gave charities and offerings to the drum-beating Bharais in the name of Sakhi Sarvar.³⁶

A few places of popular pilgrimage were associated with martyrs. A *mazar* in Sialkot commemorated an event that was supposed to have occurred in the late tenth century: the martyrdom of Imam Ali al-Haqq and his companions who had died fighting against Raja Salbahan, the second. Muslims from all directions used to come to this *mazar* in the month of Muharram by way of pilgrimage. One of the companions of Imam Ali al-Haqq was Saiyid Sabzwar who had attained to martyrdom. His tomb was at a place called Pir Sabz. Among the popular places of pilgrimage was the tomb of Shah Husain in Lahore. Ganesh Das refers to a large fair held at the *mazar* of Madho Lal Husain at the time of Basant Panchmi in the month of Phagun. It was believed that Madho was a handsome Hindu boy who was loved by the *faqir* named Lal Husain. Madho died but due to the prayer of Lal Husain he came to life again. He served Lal Husain for a long time and himself became a knower of secrets.³⁷ In this legend, Lal Husain and Madho are seen as a single entity.

Ganesh Das says that there were innumerable gnostics, both among Hindus and Muslims. Many of them remained unknown, but some of them left a legacy behind. One such Indian *bhagat* was Chhajju. Miracles were

associated with him and his Chaubara in Lahore was a place of pilgrimage. Every week, men and women attended the fair. At 3 *kos* from Lahore, there was the place of Bhairo at Achhara where a fair was held on the new moon. Associated with Shiva, Bhairo remains essentially a figure of popular religion.³⁸

Traditional Learning and Literature

We may turn to what Ganesh Das has to say of religious and secular learning in his own town. Talking of his ancestors he refers to Gurdit, who was good in mathematics, and Bami Ram, who was good in the art of composition (*insha*). Har Narain was good in history. Ganesh Das refers to the achievement of some of his ancestors who had accepted Islam, like Iqbal and Abdul Bari who were good in calligraphy, and Nusratmand who was good in music and poetry. Then there were others. Adept in satire were Diwan Thakur Das Vohra, Lala Jaswant Rai and Karori Mal Ghai. Later in time there was Lala Devi Sahai, a Brahman, who was the master of composition, lexicography in Arabic and Persian, and the principles of keeping revenue accounts (*siyaq*). Among the learned Brahmans were Misar Bahar Mal, Misar Bhogi Ram, Nawahu Ram and Misar Bidya Dhar. A famous astronomer of the town was Dilbagh Rai. Saiyid Miran Fazil had a complete mastery over *fiqh* and *shari'at*. In the time of Sardar Sahib Singh, Muhamamd Salih was one of the great '*ulama*' of Gujrat. Many Muslims benefited from his teaching. Mian Muhammad Tufail and his son Muhammad Ashraf were superior to others in composing poetry and prose. Their tradition was kept up by Muhammad Ali and his son Muhammad Salim as contemporaries of Ganesh Das. Saiyid Muhammad Ali composed good poetry in Persian under the pen name '*marg*'. Muhammad Qasim was unrivalled in medicine despite his blindness.³⁹

In Sialkot, Abdul Hakim was the most learned in jurisprudence in the reign of Shah Jahan. His legacy was kept up by Maulavi Abdullah and Qazi Badruddin till the time of Ahmad Shah. Shaikh Ahmad Hakim and Saiyid Game Shah were exceptionally good in medicine and mathematics. Lala Inder Bhan Sialkoti, who wrote under the pen name of '*warastah*', was the author of *Mushtihat-i Shu'ra* and *Isha-i Sialkoti*. In the period of Sikh rule, Lala Moti Ram, a Nanda Khatri who wrote as '*parwanah*', was ahead of everyone else in composing poetry and prose. He left behind a number of works, like the *Diwan-i Parwanah*, *Masnavi-i Haqiqat Rai*, *Munashat-i Chamanstan* and *Ruq'at-i Moti Ram*. Lala Narain Das, a Brahman, was also good in the art of composition. He died in 1813. Ram Kishan, a Brahman was highly skilled in the knowledge of Shastras.⁴⁰

In Lahore, Faqir Azizuddin Ansari, son of Ghulam Muhiyuddin Ansari, was unique in medicine. Khalifa Ghulam Rasul was unique in Arabic learning, especially *fiqh*. Well known in science, mathematics and astronomy were Lala Labhu Ram and Dalpat Rai Sehgal. Both of them had been taught by Lala Sehaj Ram who was a distinguished astronomer of the time of Ahmad Shah. Distinguished in medicine were Hakim Inayat Shah, Hakim Nur Muhammad,

Hakim Khari Shah, Mian Qadir Bakhsh Attar, and Lala Hakim Rai who was the physician of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Nur Muhammad was a good astrologer and Mian Baqir a good surgeon.⁴¹

Traditional learning in the past or the present was not confined to large urban centers. In the fort of Rohtas was an astronomer named Jita Rikh who was famed for his knowledge of mathematics as well. In Jalalpur, Ghulam Qadir Nazmi was good in Persian and Hindi poetry, calligraphy, the art of composition, and letter writing. In the town of Kunjah, Sukh Jiwan Mahajan was wonderful in the art of composition. A poet named 'Ghanimat' wrote the *Nairang-i 'Ishq*, a *masnavi* on the love of Aziz and Shahid, in the reign of Aurangzeb. Sodhara was famous for its calligraphists in the Mughal times. In the town of Wazirabad, Lala Gopal Sahai Badhera was unrivalled in Indian medicine and chess, and Munshi Naudah Rai had mastered the art of composition. Ram Gujrati, a Vaid Brahman, was thoroughly familiar with Indian astronomy. Misar Amir Chand was now distinguished above all in mathematics, (Greek) astronomy and Indian Siddhant. Mian Fazl was foremost among the calligraphists. Most of the *munshis* of Wazirabad were his students. Hakim Gul Ahmad was experienced in medicine. Raizada Akku Mal in Eminabad was excellent in medicine and unrivalled in treating patients. Raizada Ram Dayal had mastery in composing poetry and prose. Ram Das was highly competent in account keeping (*siyaq*) and composition (*insha*). Diwan Kirpa Ram, son of Diwan Jawala Sahai, was good in several fields despite his age: poetry and prose, the art of composition, poetics, medicine and science. In Daska Nidhan Singh, eminent in *siyaq* and *insha* were Bhawani Sahai and Gujrati Mal Chopra. In the town of Gujranwala Mian Faiz Muhammad, who used '*malahat*' as his pen name, wrote two works: *Mirat al-Hijab* and *Sharah-i Makubat-i 'Allami Abul Fazl*. Ram Kiran, a Maharaj Brahman, was perfect in astronomy. In Sheikhpura, Lala Ditt Mal and Amir Chand alias Lakhwarah were excellent calligraphists. Ganesh Das refers to the author of the *Khulasat ut-Tawarikh* as Sujan Singh Dhir (not as Sujan Rai Bhandari), and he mentions Ahmad Shah without referring to his *Tawarikh-i Hind*.⁴²

Learning was not confined to the towns either. In the village of Kiranwala, Saiyid Nur Shah was learned in jurisprudence and his interpretation of the law was accepted in legal matters. In the village Deepoki lived Misar Gulab Rai and Ishar Das who had written a commentary on the *Lilavati*. In the village Chaundah Bajwa in the '*ilaqa*' of Pursarur was Ganga Ram, a Hindi poet. In the large village of Sambrial, Mian Ahmad was well versed in Arabic and Persian learning, and Mian Sadiq was a good calligraphist. In the village Kharat, learning was cultivated for generations by Mian Abdul Karim, Muhammad Azam and Shah Muhammad Khartali. The last two left as their legacy the works entitled *Munashat-i Azam*, *Diwan-i Azam* and *Swad-i Baharain*. In the village of Gakhkhar Cheema, Saiyid Muhammad Ali Shah Hakim was well versed in Persian and Arabic learning. In the village Kalaske, Darvesh Hakim was famous for his knowledge of medicine. Sardar Lehna Singh of the village Majitha was good in mathematics and science.⁴³

Apart from the poets of Persian, Ganesh Das mentions a number of poets who composed in 'Hindi' like Dost Muhammad, Ganga Ram, Dilshad and Gopal Singh. Bhai Buddh Singh of Amritsar composed poetry in *bhakha*. The distinction made by Ganesh Das between 'Hindi' and *bhakha* is not clear. He also refers to the poets who wrote in Punjabi. In the village Ghalotian near Daska was Dayal Singh who wrote a *Siharfi* in Punjabi. Waris Shah, who belonged to Ram Nagar, composed a *Siharfi* which was popular among people. He also wrote the *qissa* of Heer and Ranjha. Others, like Muqbal, had written on this theme before Waris, and many others wrote after him. The Punjabi poet Mian Ahmad Yar, the author of the *qissa* of Kamrup, who used to live in Islamgarh, had migrated to the village Murala to the west of Gujrat. Ganesh Das refers to Qadir Bakhsh as a 'Hindi' poet who wrote on the tale of Puran Bhagat.⁴⁴ However, the most popular *qissa* on Puran Bhagat was written in Punjabi by the poet generally known as Qadir Yar.

Gender and Love

Ganesh Das takes notice of women in various situations. A housewife named Bhola Dai was traveling with other Badhawan Khatri women from Wazirabad to Sodhara. She complained about mud on the banks of a stream on the way. Another woman taunted that she should get a bridge built over the stream. Bhola Dai stopped there, and left the place only after a bridge had been built. It was still known as the Bridge of Bhola Dai. The way in which Ganesh Das relates the story gives the impression that Bhola Dai was the wife of a rich Khatri who really cared for her wishes. Ganesh Das is more eloquent about a woman poet of Gujrat noticed earlier. Her name was Sahib Devi and her pen name was 'Arori'. It is not clear if she was an Arora woman, and whether or not she was married. She composed poetry in 'Hindi language' and produced flawless extempore verses. No man could compete with her in the perfection of *radif* and *qafiah*. A goldsmith woman, named Mai Durgo, was known for her spiritual perfection as an eminent disciple of Baqi Shah Auliya of Wazirabad. Two women of Lahore, Rajo Devi and Dharmo Devi, were well known for their piety, and their place had become a place of worship. Then there was Jeoni who was completely dedicated to her husband Raj Kaur Kohli. He died young and she burnt herself on his funeral pyre. Her *smadh* on the bank of the stream called Palkhu, between Wazirabad and Gujrat, was a place of worship for the people of India. A temple of Mahadev was also constructed near the *smadh*.⁴⁵

Ganesh Das goes into much greater detail in narrating the story of a *sati* in his home town. A pious Brahman of Gujrat, named Sobha Ram, had a beautiful daughter called Radhi. A handsome boy named Bhagwan Das came from Bhimbar to Gujrat to see his sister who was married to the Brahman Ram Kaur. One day Bhagwan Das saw Radhi playing with other girls and was attracted towards her. They enjoyed each other's presence on the pretext of playing children's games. Separation was painful to them. Radhi's parents betrothed her to Bhagwan Das, and they were married. They lived happily for

some time in Bhimbar and came to Gujrat. Ram Kaur's son fell ill. Bhagwan Das prayed to God that he may serve as a substitute for his cousin. Ram Kaur's son regained health and Bhagwan Das fell ill. Despite all kinds of medication and charities, he did not recover. He was very sad to depart but Radhi told him that he would not be alone. Reassured, he died in peace. Radhi declared her determination to burn herself on his funeral pyre. Her parents tried to dissuade her but she told them that a woman without a husband was regarded in their religion as a body without its head; the place of a corpse was in the dust and not in the home.⁴⁶

Many eminent persons of the town offered her all kinds of support for a comfortable living but she was not dissuaded. Pandit Radhe Kishan, son of Misar Bidya Dhar, who was well versed in the Shastras, came with some scriptural writing to advise her. She maintained that the soul was immortal and, therefore, she was not killing herself. The human body consisted of four elements: dust, water, air and fire. On destruction, it mingled with these elements but the soul was everlasting. She added that she had discovered God in her husband and she would be absorbed in God after her physical annihilation. She does not forget to mention that a woman without her husband was never safe from slander even if she locked herself in the home or remained in veil. Pandit Radhe Kishan was now convinced that she was justified in burning herself with her deceased husband. He also explained that *sati* was the one who recognized God and regarded her husband as God, looked upon his service as worship, obeyed his order as mandatory like a *farman*, cast her eyes on none else, and preserved her honour at all cost. If her husband dies before her, she burns herself with him. Such a woman attained to a status that was not accessible to the devotees of God. Ganesh Das says that four kinds of persons received high status in the next world: a gnostic, a brave warrior who dies fighting, a person who protects the cow, and the woman who accepts fire for the sake of her husband. Out of these four, the status of the *sati* was the highest.

Radhi dressed herself as a bride, with the colored turban of her husband over her head, and moved towards the cremation ground in the midst of a huge crowd. Garlands of flowers and golden ornaments were offered to her, and people bowed to her. She distributed with her own hands the precious articles among the poor. The procession reached the tank of Bhag Mal where a pyre of sandal wood had been made ready. She was overjoyed to see the prospect of burning herself with her husband. After the cremation, a domed structure was raised on the spot. People went there to pray to 'Radhi Bhagwan' for relief from their afflictions. This event had taken place in 1845, and Ganesh Das could have been an eye-witness. In any case, his great admiration for the practice of *sati* comes out clearly from this narrative. There were thousands of other people who shared his sentiment.

Ganesh Das takes notice of the women who became *satis* after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It may be noted that the common practices of the time, political considerations, and personal feelings informed Maharaja Ranjit Singh's attitude in matters of matrimony and sexuality. Ganesh Das mentions

casually that Kharak Singh was born to Bibi Sahiba Datar Kaur. Maharaja Sher Singh and Tara Singh were born to Mahtab Kaur. Kashmira Singh and Pashaura Singh were born to Daya Kaur, and Multana Singh to Ratan Kaur. The last two ladies were the widows of Sahib Singh, the ruler of Gujrat. Ranjit Singh had brought them under 'the shade of his sheet' in 1814. The reference here is to the practice called *karewa* or *chadar-andazi* for marrying a widow. The fifth wife of Ranjit Singh was Bibi Jind Kaur, the mother of Maharaja Dalip Singh. Apart from these ladies, Ranjit Singh admitted several other women into his palace, including the daughters of Raja Sansar Chand and other eminent Sardars. Each one was given a *jagir* and daily allowance. In the later part of his reign, he admitted Gul Bahar Begam, a courtesan, into the palace. Similarly there were a number of slave girls of known fidelity in his *haram*. They served the Sarkar and received rewards and gifts. According to Ganesh Das, eleven of the women who had shared Ranjit Singh's bed with him voluntarily burnt themselves on his funeral pyre. Among them were Har Devi, and also a Katoch princess. A strange thing happened: a pigeon also burnt itself in the fire. A *smadh* was built on the place of cremation. Ganesh Das does not conceal his appreciation in his account for the royal *satis*, but it is nothing compared to his admiration for Radhi in a situation of mutual love and fidelity.⁴⁷

Before we take up the stories of love, we may notice that Ganesh Das treats the popular lore about Puran and Raja Rasalu, the sons of Raja Salbahan, as based on history. Born to Rani Achhran, the senior queen of Raja Salbahan, Puran was accused by Lunan, Salbahan's second wife who was the daughter of Raja Deep Raj Singh of Chamba, of incestuous advances. His hands and feet were cut off and he was thrown into a well, still known as the well of Puran. Women desirous of a child bathed in the water of this well. Salbahan's younger son, Rasalu, who was born to Lunan, succeeded Salbahan. Leaving a deputy in Sialkot, he founded a city in the hills of Akhnur. There, a demon was infatuated by his wife. She told Rasalu, and he drew his sword to kill the demon. The demon vanished with a loud cry, and all those who heard the cry became still like the statues of stone. Raja Rasalu fell in love with Koklan, the daughter of Raja Sarkap of 'Sandar' Bar. He built palaces for his beloved in the *shikargah*, which were still known as Dhaular-i Rasalu or Dhalular-i Koklan. Raja Hodi of Peshawar also fell in love with Koklan and she responded to him warmly. Rasalu came to know of it and killed Hodi on his way to the palace. He roasted Hodi's flesh and gave it to Koklan to eat. It tasted much different, and she asked Rasalu what kind of a *kabab* it was. He said: 'this is the flesh of your friend'. Stung by this taunt, she jumped from the roof and died. Rasalu never married again. Ganesh Das goes on to praise the fidelity of the wife of Rasalu's Khatri Diwan who preserved her honour despite all the contrivances of Raja Rasalu to seduce her.⁴⁸

We may also notice that Ganesh Das looks upon the bandit hero Dulla Bhatti, many stories of whose bravery were narrated by the people, as a historical figure. Indeed, Pindi Bhattian had become noteworthy for Ganesh Das because Dulla Bhatti had lived there as an outlaw in the reign of Akbar.⁴⁹

Like Puraṇ, Rājā Rasalū, and Dullā Bhattī, the lovers like Sohni and Mahival, Heer and Ranjha, and Mirza and Sahiba, were historical figures for Ganesh Das. The historicity of all the detail given by him is difficult to ascertain, but the stories told by Ganesh Das are a part of social reality for him and reveal his attitude towards love and gender.

Izzat Bakhsh, the son of a Mughal trader of Samarqand, was so struck by the beauty of Sohni, the daughter of Tulla, a potter in the city of Gujrat, that he fell senseless on the ground. He was taken away to his camp by his men, but he could not sleep for the night. Early in the morning he came to Tulla's shop and requested him to teach his craft to him. When Sohni wanted to know why he wished to learn the lowly craft of a potter despite being a merchant, he said that he was caught like a fish (*mahi-var*) in the net of her looks and had thrown his status into the dust at her door, to be a slave of her father. She understood his meaning and became inclined towards him. 'There is a secret between the lovers which even the angels cannot fathom'. But Tulla saw no point in his request for apprenticeship, and Izzat Bakhsh got the excuse to visit his place every day. His love for Sohni became increasingly intense, and a request was made for Sohni's hand for him. Tulla did not agree. He could never accept a person from outside his brotherhood. He betrothed Sohni to his nephew in the town of Raliala.⁵⁰

Izzat Bakhsh gave his possessions in charity and wandered madly in his love for Sohni. The children laughed at him and called him Mahival (from *mahi-var*). One day he saw Sohni and fell at her feet. Sohni expressed her love for him, but also her helplessness. After a few days, the marriage party from Raliala came to Gujrat. Mahival begged a woman in the neighbourhood to arrange a meeting with Sohni. The woman took pity on him and brought them together. They expressed their mutual love and swore to have become husband and wife. Sohni went back to her father's house. The *qazi* and the *mufti* did not listen to her plea and married her to Tulla's nephew. In Raliala, she did not eat anything. When she did, it was only what was offered to her by a *diwana* who was actually Mahival. The people of Raliala took him to be a *jinn* in the guise of a *diwana*, and forced him to leave the town. They took him across the river in a boat and told all the boatmen not to allow him to recross the river. Mahival saw no use in approaching the local administrator (*hakim*), and put up a cabin on the bank of the river. Sohni thought that her lover should not die of hunger. She began to take food for him every night, swimming across the river on a pitcher. Sohni and Mahival enjoyed their love for a considerable time.

Sohni had persuaded her husband to believe that she was possessed by *jinn* who would not tolerate anyone's presence with her at night. Eventually, however, her husband's sister discovered what Sohni was doing. She replaced the baked pitcher with an unbaked one. She wanted Sohni to be drowned to death in order to save his brother's honor. The night happened to be stormy. It was mad to launch into the river on such a night, but love overpowered reason. The unbaked pitcher began to dissolve in water before she realized what was happening. She cursed the betrayer. More than her life she cared for the sight of Mahival. She began to swim, calling out for him. He jumped into the river

and took her in his arms. She looked at his face and breathed her last. With Sohni in his arms, Mahival sank to the bottom of the river. No one saw their corpses. Ganesh Das quotes a number of verses in his narrative, some of them indicating a certain degree of appreciation for the lovers. But love inevitably brings trouble. That was why the philosophers called it madness, or a fatal disease. The wise avoid it altogether.

Ganesh Das does not say so but his narrative is in a sense realistic enough to explain the tragic end. Mahival is not only a foreigner but also a person with a different social position than that of the potter Tulla. That is the reason why Tulla does not agree to Sohni's marriage to Mahival. Despite their mutual but personal binding in wedlock, the *qazi* and the *mufti* force her to marry Tulla's nephew. Sohni's husband's sister is so much concerned with his honor that she virtually ensures Sohni's death. Personal love has no place in the given social order. Like many of his contemporaries, however, Ganesh Das has a sneaking sympathy for personal love, and believes in the spiritual power of the lovers. The whole clan of her husband died of plague due to her curse. Nothing was left of the town of Raliala; it came under the river due to Sohni's curse.

Ganesh Das is more appreciative of the idea of love in his account of Heer and Ranjha. Dhido, a Ranjha Jatt, was the youngest of the seven sons of Mauju. He got the poorest piece of land as his share on his father's death. After a hard work one day he was sleeping under a tree. He saw in his dream a beautiful girl and fell in love with her. On waking up he was grief stricken not to find her. He was told that a dream was like a line drawn on water but he was not consoled. He left his home in search of his beloved. Since he was sincere in his search he was met on the first stage of his journey by the Five Pirs who gave their blessings and told him to go to Jhang Sial. When he reached the river Chenab, it was in flood. He persuaded the boatman Luddan to ferry him across. In the boat was Heer's bed. Dhido Ranjha gave his golden ring to Luddan and he allowed him to sleep in the bed. Heer came with her companions, beat Luddan, and rudely awakened Ranjha. On seeing him, however, she instantly fell in love with him.⁵¹

Dhido told Heer that he was a Ranjha Jatt from Takht Hazara, in search of work. He knew how to look after the cattle. Heer said that her father, Chuchak Sial, possessed a large number of cows and buffaloes and needed a loyal servant. Heer took him to her father and he was told to look after the cattle. His flute could intoxicate both animals and human beings. He began to graze the cattle in the meadows where Heer would bring food for him. They enjoyed each other's love. One day, Heer's uncle, Kaido, saw them, and informed Chuchak who threatened to kill Heer. Her mother suggested that it was high time to marry her off. Chuchak thought of Saida Khera of Rangpur as a suitable match. Heer was married to him and taken to Rangpur.

Ranjha thought of becoming a *faqir* and joined the *jogis*. But he could never forget Heer. One day he decided to go to Rangpur. There he went from door to door, begging for food. He saw Heer lying in bed due to long illness. He called aloud that he had the cure for all kinds of illness. But Heer did not recognize him; she was actually annoyed with his tall talk and turned him out

of the house. Jogi Ranjha established his place (*takia*) outside the town and people flocked to him, seeking relief from their afflictions. Saida Khera's sister, Sehti, went to him for help. On the plea of curing Heer from a snake bite, Jogi Ranjha was closeted with her in a alone room. During the night he broke the rear wall of the room, and they eloped.

They were pursued, captured near Adilpur, and taken to its *nazim* who had been appointed by Adli, the ruler of Delhi. In view of the fact that Heer had not given her consent to her *nikah* with Saida and their marriage was never consummated, their *nikah* was deemed to be null and void. Heer and Ranjha were set free. Ranjha wanted to take her to Takht Hazara but Heer wanted to go to her parents so that they were properly married. The old man whom they consulted agreed with Heer and suggested that she should stay in his house for some time so that her father was informed and persuaded to accept the course proposed. They accepted his advice and Ranjha went to Takht Hazara. On the same night, however, Heer was bitten by a snake and she died. People took her corpse towards Jhang Sial. Her father refused to see Heer's face. Consequently, she was buried on the way between Maghiana and Jhang. Four walls were raised on the spot, which were still there. When the news of her death was conveyed to Ranjha he too died instantaneously. Ganesh Das comments: 'Happy are they who die in the path of love'.

Ganesh Das tries to make the best sense of the received story of Heer and Ranjha. Dhido dreaming of Heer and receiving the blessings of the Five Pirs provide a mystical dimension for the story. The effect of Ranjha's flute on the cattle is also indicative of his rare talent. Heer's parents cannot think of marrying her to Ranjha because of the social constraints against personal love. But the *nazim* upholds her right to marriage by consent. Interpreted literally, the law of the state dissolves social constraints. But Heer's father is not prepared to see her face because of the dishonor she has brought to the family and, by extension, to the whole clan. It is clear that he would never have agreed to Heer's marriage to Ranjha. But Ranjha cannot live without her. He dies on hearing of Heer's death. Such is the nature of their love as madness. At one place Ganesh Das compares Ranjha with Yusuf; at another, he compares Luddan with Nuh. These passing allusions to the prophets reinforce the mystical dimension, and sanctify love.

The story of Mirza and Sahiba, as told by Ganesh Das, has no mystical dimension but he is clearly appreciative of their tragic love. Mirza was born in Faridabad on the right bank of the river Ravi. His maternal uncle took him as a boy to the town of Khiva Sial for religious education. The teacher of the *maktab* in the mosque recited the Surah-i Yusuf for Mirza's protection against the lure of the Zulekha-like world. It so happened that the beautiful daughter of Khan Khiva, the Sial, who was called Sahiba, was also sent by her father to the same mosque. Mirza and Sahiba were attracted to each other at first sight. The teacher failed to dissuade them from the game of love (*'ishqbazi*). In despair, he told Sahiba's mother and she stopped Sahiba from going to the *maktab*. She was in misery, confined to the home.⁵²

Mirza was taken back to Faridabad. But he could not forget Sahiba. He rode his mare every morning and evening, thinking of the home of his beloved. An old man from the side of Jhang and Khiva Sial came to Faridabad and talked sweetly of the youth and beauty of the peerless Sahiba. Fired afresh by love, Mirza rewarded the old man, rode the mare, and reached the home of his aunt in Khiva Sial. She sympathized with him and went to Sahiba's home. There she found Sahiba in bed due to illness. In the course of conversation she dropped Mirza's name and found Sahiba responding to it with interest. She told Sahiba that Mirza had come to the town. On a sign from her, she talked to Sahiba's mother who agreed to allow Sahiba to go to her home for a change. Mirza and Sahiba met and kissed and embraced each other. They were seen together by a kinsman of Sahiba. He scolded Mirza's aunt and took Sahiba with him to be entrusted to her mother. Mirza rode his mare and flew like wind to Faridabad.

Sahiba complained to her parents that she was being unjustly maligned. They thought that the time had come for her marriage. Her mother mentioned Mirza as a suitable match in view of his equal social standing. But her husband announced furiously that he would never give Sahiba in marriage to Mirza. Their personal love was against the social norms. Tahir Khan, a *sardar* of considerable means, was seen by Khan Khiva as a suitable match for his daughter. Tahir Khan accepted the proposal and a day was fixed for marriage. Sahiba sent a message to Mirza, asking him to come like the cloud of mercy. Mirza reached Khiva Sial and joined the marriage party. Sahiba went to the top of the house, recognized Mirza in the party, came down from the roof, and in a moment Mirza took away the bride on his mare.

Sahiba's parents were naturally upset over what had happened. Sahiba's brothers, Khan Sher (Shamir) and Khan Amir, pursued Mirza and Sahiba with a large number of retainers. When both Mirza and Sahiba felt tired, they thought of taking some rest under a tree. Mirza fell asleep and Sahiba removed his bow and quiver and hung them carefully on the tree. When she saw the horsemen of her brothers approaching, she awakened Mirza. They rode the mare in haste, forgetting the bow and the arrows. Sahiba fell down from the mare and she was killed. Mirza took out his sword and fell upon them as a lion falls on the sheep. He killed many of them but they were too many. He died fighting. 'Happy is he who dies in the path of love'. The cruel pursuers returned to Khiva Sial. The Muslims of the neighborhood buried Mirza there as a martyr. His tomb on the road to Faridabad was now a place of pilgrimage.

The stark reality of the story brings their tragic love into high relief. The primary cause of the death of Mirza and Sahiba was the notion of personal and social honor cherished by Sahiba's father, and her brothers. There is no mystique in the tale. Yet Mirza is seen as a martyr. The idea of personal love is celebrated without questioning the social situation in which there is no room for personal love.

In Retrospect

Intentionally or unintentionally, Ganesh Das provides evidence on the state of urbanization in the Punjab during the Mughal and Sikh times, making a clear distinction between a rural habitation and an urban centre and indicating the grades of urbanization as a dynamic process. He also provides a good deal of information on urban life.

For the religious life of the people in both the urban and rural habitations, Ganesh Das includes the three major communities of the region: the Hindus, the Muslims, and the Sikhs. Among the Hindus he assumes the existence of sectarian differences and talks of the Vaishnavas, the Shaivas, and the Shaktas. They have their respective religious scriptures referred to as Shastras, and they have their own temples with various modes of worship. Both among the Vaishnavas and the Shaivas there were ascetics known as *bairagis* and *sanyasis*. Ascetical practices and austerities were regarded in high esteem. The cult of Rama and Krishna was more popular among the Vaishnavas than the worship of Vishnu. In the past, the left handers among the Shaktas were known to exist but not anymore.

Among the Muslims of the Punjab, Ganesh Das does not notice any sectarian divisions and the main lines of difference are between the orthodox tradition upheld by the *'ulama* and the Sufi tradition popularized by the *mashaikh* and *pirs*. While the *'ulama* tended to be fanatical and overbearing sometimes in the past, the Sufis tended to be catholic and tolerant, or even appreciative of the non-Muslims. The great institution of the orthodox was the mosque and that of the Sufis, the *mazar*.

For the Sikhs, Ganesh Das dwells largely on the Khalsa, or the Singhs of Guru Gobind Singh, who had a distinct identity of their own, with a written code of life. A large number of places associated with the Sikh Gurus had become centers of Sikh pilgrimage. The most important was the Golden Temple at Amritsar which was associated with Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjan, and Guru Hargobind. The Udasis are clearly distinct from the Khalsa, with their belief in Sri Chand and their practice of celibacy. However, Ganesh Das talks of Nanak Shahi *sadhs* or *faqirs* who presumably were celibate like the Udasis in general but who gave importance to the teachings of Guru Nanak. They had their own religious places. The only other sectarian group mentioned by Ganesh Das was the Niranjanias of Jandiala Guru, who are known to have been hostile to the Khalsa.

Then there were forms of popular worship: the shrine of Sultan Sakhi Sarvar who was a Muslim gnostic; the Chaubara of Chhaju Bhagat who did not belong to any known denomination; and the place of Madho Lal Husain at which the difference between a Hindu and a Muslim is dissolved in spiritual unity.

The bits and pieces of information given by Ganesh Das put together amount to considerable evidence in support of the tradition of learning cultivated for several centuries nearly all over the Punjab. The languages of learning and literature were Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, 'Hindi', Braj and

Punjabi. The scripts used were Perso-Arabic, Devanagri and Gurmukhi. The foremost sciences mentioned are astronomy and medicine. The former could not flourish or survive without mathematics, and it was closely allied with astrology too. Possibly, the tradition of Greek astronomy had survived even among those who were experts in Indian astronomy. The physicians practised both Greek and Indian medicine and they were far more numerous than surgeons. Arabic learning covered Tafsir, Hadis, Jurisprudence and Shari‘at. In Persian, the two most important branches of literature were poetry and history. Lexicography and calligraphy related to both Arabic and Persian. The art of composition included grammar, poetics, formal letters, and legal documents. Account keeping and the maintenance of revenue records required specialization. The knowledge of Shastras was kept up by learned Brahmans. Poetry was composed in several languages and in various forms, including satire. In Punjabi poetry, *qissa* and *siharfi* were the two major forms. Ganesh Das was familiar with the names and works of the greatest of the Punjabi poets of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. He does not fail to mention the cultivation of music, both courtly and popular.

Ganesh Das talks of women in several situations, both secular and religious: the familial context, the realm of literature, the field of religious devotion, and personal love. The ideal woman of Ganesh Das is the wife who becomes a *sati* on the death of her husband as the apex of conjugal love and fidelity. She becomes an object of worship. Even the royal *satis* are appreciated in a situation of polygamy in which the idea of dedication to the royal husband is emphasized. A woman who distinguishes herself in literature is admired, and admitted to be superior to the contemporary men. A woman who carves out an autonomous life for herself in the field of religion is appreciated and respected. However, in the social order, with its rigid sexual norms and well entrenched customs, there is no room for personal love between a woman and a man. The only end of a staunch and persistent commitment to personal love is death. Significantly, however, Ganesh Das has sympathy for the lovers and appreciation for their sacrifice in love. As martyrs they become the secular counterpart of the martyrs who die for faith.

Finally, we may note that the *Char Bagh* tells us something about Ganesh Das himself. He was proud of being a Khatri. He looked upon himself as an orthodox Hindu who subscribed to the *varnashrama* ideal, and admired the fidelity of Hindu women, symbolized above everything else in the act of becoming a *sati*. Ganesh Das thought of himself as a Punjabi, and an Indian (Hindi). He does not betray any religious or sectarian prejudice. The range of his empathy was very wide. His tone is seldom hostile. He rarely denounces any set of people as a group. Even in the case of individuals, he disapproves of their actions. Zakariya Khan is praised for his liberal attitudes, and the fanatical ‘*ulama* are deprecated for their narrow religious and sectarian concerns and partialities. Ganesh Das prized his faith, and he respected the religious beliefs and practices of others. He was rather indifferent to voluntary conversion from one faith to another, but he was strongly opposed to forced conversion. He appreciated the learning of the ‘*ulama* but not their bigotry. He

appreciated the learning of some left-handed Shaktas but not their religious ritual which appeared to infringe the moral code. He had a great respect for religion and religious piety, but he was equally interested in the temporal affairs of men. As a well educated person, Ganesh Das extolled the excellence of others in sciences and traditional learning, their skill in *inshapardazi*, account keeping and calligraphy, their achievement in literature and historiography, and their performance in dance and music. What he shared with a large number of people was his catholicity of outlook. Perhaps what he shared the most with the largest number of people of the Punjab was a positive acceptance of cultural coexistence.

[The reader may refer to the Glossary at the end for the meaning of non English terms figuring in the text]

Notes

1. Ganesh Das, *Char Bagh-i Punjab*, ed, Kirpal Singh (Amritsar: Khalsa College, 1965). Kirpal Singh has collated the available manuscripts for the text, given an index of important persons and places, and a chronology of events. In the Introduction he has given an outline of the work, its title and the date of its compilation, some information about the author, his family and his other works, and he has given a literary review. He has also discussed the historical significance of this work. For an English translation of the descriptive portion, see J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, trs. & eds., *Early Nineteenth Century Punjab* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1975). For a brief analysis, see J.S. Grewal, 'Ganesh Das's *Char-Bagh-i-Punjab*', *Proceedings Punjab History Conference* (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1967). For his evidence on Sikh polity, see J.S. Grewal 'Ganesh Das on the Secular aspirations of the Khalsa', *Sikh Ideology, Polity and Social Order* (New Delhi: Manohar, 2007), pp. 154-61.
2. Ganesh Das's *Char-Bagh-i-Punjab*, p. 345.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 171, 249, 262-64, 303.
6. *Ibid.*, pp.160-61, 174-76, 225, 261-62, 293-97.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-81.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 207.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77.

10. Ibid., pp. 167, 169, 225, 227, 247, 301, 305.
11. Ibid., pp. 168, 179, 218, 252, 254, 258-64, 273, 293, 296.
12. Ibid., pp. 161-62, 180, 219, 264.
13. Ibid., pp. 165, 180, 205, 210-11, 226, 252, 301.
14. Ibid., pp. 179, 220, 245, 247-48, 250-51.
15. Ibid., pp. 164, 165, 166, 210-11, 299.
16. Ibid., pp. 178, 180, 249, 263, 282-83, 293, 294, 304.
17. Ibid., pp. 164, 178, 179, 209, 245.
18. Ibid., pp. 246, 249, 264, 295, 304.
19. Ibid., pp. 232-44.
20. Ibid., pp. 231-32.
21. Ibid., p. 279.
22. Ibid., pp. 280-81, 282.
23. Ibid., p. 302.
24. Ibid., pp. 169, 177-78, 179, 206, 210.
25. Ibid., pp. 159, 161, 162.
26. Ibid., pp. 219, 227, 245-46, 248-49, 250, 253, 255, 263, 264, 274.
27. Ibid., pp. 105, 127, 299.
28. Ibid., pp. 293-94, 295, 297-98.
29. Ibid., pp. 159, 227, 255.
30. Ibid., pp. 180-81, 252, 256-57, 282, 300, 302.
31. Ibid., p. 180.
32. Ibid., pp. 152, 153, 218-19, 294, 296, 298-99, 305.

33. Ibid., pp. 207, 262, 274.
34. Ibid., pp. 220-21, 248, 283.
35. Ibid., p. 300.
36. Ibid., pp. 19, 224, 227, 279-80.
37. Ibid., pp. 281-82, 293.
38. Ibid., pp. 175-81.
39. Ibid., pp. 227-28.
40. Ibid., p. 278-79.
41. Ibid., pp. 164, 207, 209, 220, 247, 252-55, 261, 273, 299.
42. Ibid., pp. 208, 219, 246, 249, 256, 258, 301.
43. Ibid., pp. 206, 210, 220, 245, 256-57, 262.
44. Ibid., pp. 14-16.
45. Ibid., pp. 179, 252, 253-54, 282-83.
46. Ibid., pp. 188-200.
47. Ibid., pp. 323-24, 328.
48. Ibid., p. 264.
49. Loc. cit.
50. Ibid., pp. 181-88, 208.
51. Ibid., pp. 211-17.
52. Ibid., pp. 265-72.

Glossary

abdal: an agent of God.

ahimsa: non-violence.

atsh kadah: fire-temple.

bairagi: a renunciate.

bhagat: a devotee.
bhagat-dwara: a place where devotees of God congregate.
Char bagh: a royal garden, a park.
Chaudhari: head of a group of villages.
dar al-harb: an enemy's country.
darvesh: a humble and pious Muslim devotee of God.
dera: an establishment.
devi: a goddess.
dharamsal: a resting place, a place of worship.
dharma: faith, duty.
dhuni: fire kept burning.
diwana: mad, mad in love.
faqir: a religious mendicant.
farman: a mandate, a royal order.
faujdar: a commandant, an administrator of a *sarkar*.
fiqh: jurisprudence.
firqa: a body, a sect.
gaddi: seat.
hakim: a governor, an administrator.
'ilaqa: an area under the jurisdiction of one.
inshapardazi: art of composing letters.
jagir: a grant of revenue-free land.
jinn: a demon.
jizya: tax on non-Muslims.
jogi: a renunciate, generally a Shaiva.
kabab: a piece of roasted meat.
kardar: an administrator.
karewa (chadar-andazi): remarriage of a widow by a simple ceremony.
khanqah: a Sufi monastery.
kos: a measure of distance, about two miles.
langar: a free kitchen.
mahant: head of a religious establishment.
maktab: a school.
'malahat': 'agreeable', 'elegant'.
'marg': 'death'.
marhi: a small structure over a spot of cremation.
masnavi: a poetic narrative composed in distichs of a pair of rhymes.
maulavi: a learned man, a teacher.
mashaikh: plural of *shaikh*, a guide; the head of a Sufi monastery.
mazar: a mausoleum.
mufti: an expounder of Islamic law.
mulla: the keeper of a mosque and its school.
munshi: one who knows the art of composition, a professional writer.
muqaddam: a village headman.
namaz: prayer by Muslims.
nazim: governor of a province.

- nikah*: marriage of a Muslim.
- pancha*: a member of the *panchayat*, an eminent person.
- pargana*: an administrative unit.
- 'parwanah': 'a moth'.
- pir*: a spiritual guide in a Sufi order.
- qafiah*: a measure in poetry.
- qanungo*: a revenue official.
- qazi*: a Muslim judge.
- qissa*: a poetic narrative.
- radif*: a word following the rhyme.
- rahit*: way of life.
- rozah*: fast.
- sadh*: a religious person.
- sahibzada*: a young gentleman; son of a person of sanctity.
- sahukar*: a merchant, a moneylender.
- sanyasi*: a Shaiva renunciate.
- sarai*: a resting place.
- sardar*: a chief.
- sarrafi*: a jeweller; a money changer.
- sati*: a woman who burns herself on the funeral pyre of her husband.
- shari'at*: Islamic law.
- shikargah*: a place reserved for hunting.
- siharfi*: a poem based on 30 letters.
- smadh*: a structure raised on a spot of cremation.
- sudi*: the bright half of the lunar month.
- takia*: a place of repose, the place of a *faqir*.
- '*ulama*': plural of '*ālim*', a learned person.
- varnashrama*: the ideal social order of four classes and four stages of life in the Brahmanical system.
- wali*: a friend of God, a saint.
- '*warastah*': 'humble', 'saved'.
- zamindar*: a land-holder, an intermediary.

