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Mughal Gujarat: An Acme of Learning

ABSTRACT: Here, in this paper, an attempt has been made to examine the extent to which the society and culture in Gujarat, India, was enriched, and how the province became a seat of learning after the incorporation in to the Mughal empire as the place became a conglomeration of a large number of heterogeneous communities, due to its prosperous trade and commerce. The province of Gujarat was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1572 AD (Anno Domini), under the reign of Akbar and became not only most urbanized regions of India, but the most flourishing province of Mughals owing to its overseas trade and commerce. Historians have systematically studied the prosperous economy of Mughal Gujarat and the impact of Mughal annexation on its overseas trade; but, in contrast, the culture of Gujarat under the Mughal rule has not received the attention, it deserves. The main focus of the paper is: to reveal how Gujarat had flourished not only economically, but culturally also became one of the highest seats of learning in Mughal India; to analyse the educational system prevalent in Mughal Gujarat; to explore the role of the intellectuals, literati, and physicians in the society in Gujarat; and what was their patronage network and how they contributed in the rich syncretic culture of Gujarat. The paper further discusses the institutions controlled by the men, in particular "maktabas", "madrasas", and hospitals; and their course of content and forms of instructions etc. In the presence of such a large number of heterogeneous communities, obviously due to its prosperous trade and commerce, Gujarat was culturally "syncretic" and "composite"; this is also the central aim of the paper to trace.

KEY WORDS: Mughal Gujarat, seat of learning, educational system, patronage network, course of content, forms of instructions, and cultural syncretism.

INTRODUCTION

Gujarat has been a seat of learning and culture from the ancient days. The rulers, like Mahmud Begada, Muzaffar Shah II, and Muzaffar Shah III of independent Gujarat, were the men of literary taste and established different cultural canvass, which has been continued till the annexation of Gujarat by the Mughals (Firishta, 1874:214; Khan, 1906:60; Briggs, 1909-1910:97; and Jaffar, 1936:71).

According to the author of *Mirāt-i Ahmadi* (*Khatima*), Ali Mohammad Khan (1928), in describing the Gujarat, stated as follows:

The Sultans of Gujarat were zealous in propagating the faith of Islam defending it, and so many learned divines, sages, and men of righteousness (*Ulama wa Fuzala*) from various places were invited with all honour to settle in land, and they were given generous stipends and royal patronage. Some of them yearning to preach

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to the people came over of their own record and settled here (Khan, 1928:24).

In another place, Ali Mohammad Khan (1928) writes also as follows:

[...] during the reign of Sultans of Gujarat, all sorts of men, nobles, *syeds*, great, *sufis*, respected *ulmas*, and adventurous traders (*sadat*, *mashaikh karam*, *ulma wa shorfa*, *najba*, *tijarat-peshgan*) of different countries: Arabia, Persia, Syria, Rum, Sind, and Hindustan came from time to time and settled here, attracted by the beneficence, justice, equity, and piety of its rulers (Khan, 1928:24).

Under the governorship of Abdur Rahim *Khān-i Khānā*, it received a fresh impetus a large number of intellectuals, literati, and physicians flocked in his court (Tirmizi, 1968:88). Nicolao Manucci (1965-1967) informs that in the reign of Shah Jahan, Ahmadabad emerged as an important seat of learning and attracted a number of students from far and wide (Manucci, 1965-1967:224). And the process was continued, in fact, reached to its zenith in the reign of Aurangzeb.

THE INTELLECTUALS, POETS, LITERATI, AND PHYSICIANS

During the time of the Mughals, the Gujarat benefitted by the learned men and scholars like Abdul Latif, Abul Fatah, and Maulana Ahmad. Abdul Latif received education under the guidance of Muhammad. Sufi Mazandarani, the celebrated poet, mystic and traveller, and settled down at Ahmadabad. It was the influence of his teacher that he compiled his work *Khulasatush Shu'arā*, in 1612-1613 AD or *Anno Domini* (Lahori, 1867-1868:446; and Tirmizi, 1968:85, 89, and 90).

Abul Fatah Askari, son in law of Mir Syed Muhammad of Jaunpur, the great *mahdawi*, was born at Ahmadabad in 1591-1592 AD, who was a *sufi* and a teacher and was invited by Aurangzeb to Delhi, where he received grants as a reward for his teaching (Fazl, 1882:167; Khān, 1888-1891:120; Tirmizi, 1968:90-100; and Ahmad, 1975:395). Maulana Ahmad, son of Suleman of Ahmadabad, was a great scholar in the field of science and traditions (Khan, 1928:102).

There was another teacher with the same name Maulana Ahmad better known

as Makhdum Bohra, son of Muhammad bin Qasim resided at Nahrwala or Pattan (Khan, 1928:119). Abdul Wahab, *Qāzi-ul Quzzāt* of Pattan, was well versed in the Islamic science, the *fiqāh* (Khān, 1888-1891:235-36). Shaikh Nuruddin was a genius person of the time, whose fame as a talented Arabic scholar spread far and wide and students flocked him to learn. He was accomplished pious and generous man as well as a versatile author and commentator (Khan, 1928:57-58).

Qāzi Muhammad Nizamuddin Khan, the author of *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, was a scholar of repute. He was a good Mathematician, a prose writer, a poet, and a *Hāfiz* (Khan, 1928:60). Syed Muhammadd Mahbub Alam taught by his own father was a scholar, *sufi* (mystic), *mudarris* (teacher), and ascetic. Shaikh Hasan Muhammad taught students for forty one years. His two daughters, Bibi Khadija and Bibi Aisha, surnamed *Achhi Ma* (a virtuous lady) were devoted in the reading and teaching of the *Al-Qur'an* (Khan, 1928:75).

Another most popular scholar of the time was Miyan Wajihuddin Gujarati, whose ancestor Syed Bahauddin came from Arabia and settled in Gujarat. He was a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliari. He learned various branches of knowledge and was well versed in theoretical and traditional learning or *ulūm-i aqlī wa naqlī*. He was a profound teacher or *mudarris* and thinker or *mutajjir* (Badauni, 1864-1869:43-44; Khan, 1865:108-109; Baqi, 1924-1931:17-18; Khan, 1928:69; Ahmad, 1975:393; and Burges, 1997:53).

Abdul Qādir Badauni (1864-1869) calls Miyan Wajihuddin Gujarati as greatest of the learned men of the age and at the same time, Abul Fazl (1882) placed him among the highest men of learning (Badauni, 1864-1869:43; and Fazl, 1882:116). Miyan Wajihuddin Gujarati did not like to live in the company of worldly men (*cf* Badayuni, 1864-1869:43; Fazl, 1882:166; and Baqi, 1924-1931:18). A Bohra merchant, S. Hamid, was the great scholar of the time who wrote 20,000 books on different topics. And his son, S. Fazil Hamid, had the collection of rare books on philosophy, religion, and politics (Sharma, 2014:96). Thus, the merchants were also involved in intellectual activities.

The province of Gujarat has produced the poets of good repute. Malik Muhammad Piyaru Gujarati was very famous poet and had much experience of contemplation and absorption in God with spiritual perfection in the matter of devotion or *sulah* and piety or *taqwā* to God (Badauni, 1864-1869:140; and Ahmad, 1975:399). Malik Muhammad Piyaru Gujarati's devotion to God can be seen in his beautiful composition of verse as quoted by the authors of *Tabaqāt* and *Muntakhab*, as follows:

دارم دلی گردان که من قبله نماخو انمش
روسوی ابرویش کند هر چند میگردد انمش

Translation:

I have an ever veering heart which nevertheless I call my Qiblanuma. Withersoever I turn it, it still turns towards his eyebrow (cited in Badauni, 1864-1869:140; and Ahmad, 1975:399).

Miyan Khub Muhammad Chishti was also a *sūfi* poet and composed *Khubtarang* and *Amwāj-i Khūbi* (Khan, 1928:103). In the line of Mughal aristocracy, the nobles of Gujarat showed their utmost interest in poetry and even they themselves composed verses of high standard. Abdur Rahim *Khān-i Khānā*, *subedār* of Gujarat composed poems (*nazm*) and verses (*sher*) of high standard. The author of *Mirāt-i Ahmadi* records the verses composed by Abdur Rahim *Khān-i Khānā*, as follows:

شمار شوق نداسته ام که تا چند است جز این قدر که دلم سخت آرزو مند است
نزل فدا نم و نه دام این قدر دامنم که پانی تا شرمین هر چه است در بند است
خیال آفت جان کشت و خواب دشمن چشم بلال نیم چشم است این نه مهر پیوند است
ادای محبت عنایتی است زدوست و کر نه خاطر عاشق ز پیچ خوشند است
بدوستی که بجز دوستی نمیدانم خدای داند و آنکومر خداوند است
از آن خشم بختی آشنای رحیم که اندک به ادا بای عشق مانند است

Translation:

Except to this extent that my heart too much desirous of it. I neither know rings nor a snare. I know this much that whatever there is from head to foot in me is in captivity. Idea is a calamity to life, sleep an enemy of eyes. It is a midnight affliction. It is not love and bond. Fulfillment of

love's claim is a favour from friends. Otherwise a lover's mind is not content with anything. I swear by friendship that I know nothing except friendship. God knows it and he who is a lord to me. I am pleased with words of love of Rahim. That slightly they are similar to graceful manners of love (cited in Khan, 1906:166).

Khan-i Azam, *subedār* of Gujarat under Akbar, used to compose verses whenever he was free from administrative works. The following quatrain (*rubai*) is a composition of Khan-i Azam:

در کوی مراد خود پسندد گراند درودی عشق مستمند ان دگراند
آنانکه بجز رضای جانان طلبند آنهان دگراند و دردمندان دگراند

Translation:

Those who are in line of desire of self-conceived persons are different. Those who are in the valley of love of afflicted persons are different. Those who seek, other than the pleasure of the beloved are different and the afflicted ones are different (cited in Khan 1906:210).

S. Fazil Hamid, a Bohra merchant, was a poet of good repute who composed poetry with pseudonym "Fazil" in Arabic, Persian, and Hindi as well as Gujarati (Sharma, 2014:96). Gujarati Hindus were also expert in composing poetry. A native poet, Bunta Gujarati, was bestowed a title Brikh Ray (*Bad Farush*) along with a reward of Rupees 1,000 by Jahangir for his excellent poetry (Jahangir, 1863-1864:229).

No ceremonies among the Hindus could be performed without singing local songs composed by the local poets, whether it was the ceremony of child's births, marriages, or the funerals. Not only these occasion but there are evidences that even when there was delay in rain, they used to sing song to please their Rain God.

In case of the rain delayed for long time, the people of Gujarat thought that *Indra* wanted to lay waste their town or village. So in a superstitious way, they left the village in a body for the day to deprecate his wrath by leaving it waste (*oujud*). They cooked their dinner outside the village or town. This was called as *Oujanee*. The tribal women of Koonbee and Bheel paraded in the streets

singing a song addressed to the Goddess of the rain, as follows:

The cultivator has abandoned the plough,
O! Meyhoola.
In pity to him do the rain, therefore, O! Meyhoola.
The good man has packed off the good women
home, O! Meyhoola.
Separated from her are her little children,
O! Meyhoola.
The stream is dry the raiver's bed, O! Meyhoola
(cited in Forbes, 1973:605).

If the rain did not fall in the first five days of *Shrawan* (August), it was believed that there will be a famine. At this moment, the Gujarati woman used to sung the following verse:

If the first five days of *Shrawan*.
The cloud king does not begin to scatter his drops.
Husband, do you go to Malwa.
I shall go home to my father's house
(cited in Forbes, 1973:606).

The labourers used to sing pious songs, mixture of holy rhymes, from the dawn till the dark, when they were engaged in their works and manual occupations to keep themselves active and to exercise devotion in their works (Ovington, 1929:172-73). *Rās Malā: Hindu Annals of Western India with Particular Reference to Gujarat* is a historical work edited by Alexander K. Forbes (1973), itself has been based on oral songs and different available Gujarati chronicles (Forbes, 1973).

There was a sect in Gujarat known as “bards” displayed their poetical capabilities in composing heroic songs closely connected with the warrior caste, the Rajputs. In support of the authenticity and importance of the songs, the poet asserts in a couplet that:

As a large belly shows comfort to exist.
As rivers show that brooks exist.
As rain shows that heat has existed.
So songs show that events have happened
(cited in Forbes, 1973:559).

In spite of all the claims pronounced by the “bards”, the extent of exaggeration and fiction in the bardic poem has been confessed by the poet himself:

Without fiction there will be want of flavour,
but too much fiction is the house of sorrow.

Fiction should be used in that degree,
that salt is used to flavour flower
(cited in Forbes, 1973:560).

With the annexation, the province of Gujarat received a fillip in the field of historiography also. It already produced historians like Shaikh Sikandar, the author of *Mirāt-i Sikandāri*, who was Gujarati by origin (Jahangir, 1863-1864:208); Mir Abu Turab Wali, the author of *Tārikh-i Gujarat*, was the *Mīr-i Haj* or the leader of the pilgrims, who brought Prophet's foot prints from Macca to Ahmadabad (Khan, 1906:145; and Burges, 1997:50-52); and Nizamuddin Ahmad, a *bakhshī*, under Mughals, wrote a well-known work *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* (Jahangir, 1863-1864:211).

In the eighteenth century, a pioneer work on the history of Mughal Gujarat, *Mirāt-i Ahmadi*, was compiled by Ali Muhammad Khan, the *diwān* of the *Sūba* Gujarat. In the closing year of the Sultanate of Gujarat, Shaikh Mubarak, father of Abul Fazl and Faizi, received education under the two celebrated scholars of Gujarat, Abul Fazl Astarabadi and Abul Fazl Gazrani, at Ahmadabad (Fazl, 1882:163; and Tirmizi, 1968:xi).

Among the physicians of Mughal Gujarat, *Hakim* Ruhullah and *Hakim* Mir Muhammad Hashim, have been very famous. *Hakim* Ruhullah was in the royal service of Akbar as his name listed among the physicians of Akbar by Abul Fazl in *Āin-i Akbarī*. It is clearly mentions that his predecessors (*abawā ajdād*) were from Broach in Gujarat. It has been reported that Jahangir and Nur Jahan, both were treated by him during their visit of Gujarat. The physician *Hakim* Ruhullah advised Jahangir that “as soon as you moderate your habit of taking wine (*sharāb*) and opium (*afyun*), all these troubles will disappear” (cited in Jahangir, 1863-1864:230, 242, and 253; Fazl, 1882:167; and Baqi, 1924-1931:43).

Hakim Hashim, tutor of Aurangzeb and the student of *Hakim* Ali Gilani, opened his own *madrasā* at Ahmadabad, was appointed by Shah Jahan as head of the government hospital (*dārush shifā*) at Ahmadabad (Lahori, 1867-1868:446). Mukarrab Khan was the famous surgeon of the time and he became the

favourite of Jahangir on account of his talent in surgery (Hawkins, 1968:63). A *parwānā* in 1645 AD (*Anno Domini*) was issued for immediate appointment of the physicians (*hakim*) in another government hospital at Surat.¹

Jahangir ordered that physicians should be appointed, for the sick, in the newly established hospitals at every towns and cities (Jahangir, 1863-1864:4). The author of *Mirāt-i Ahmadi* also records the order of Emperor Jahangir that administrators or *hukkām* should built hospitals or *darush-shifā* in big cities and appoint physicians or *hākīm* (Khan, 1906:196).

Besides, *Yunani* physicians, *Ayurvedic* physicians (*tabīb-i Hindī*), and surgeons (*jarrāh*) were also appointed in Ahmadabad hospital (Khan, 1928:186). However, both the *Unāni* and *Ayurvedic* technique of treatment were prevalent in the Mughal Gujarat. Thus, both the Hindu as well as the Muslim physicians were involved in this profession. J. Ovington (1929) records that *Brahmans* were skilled physicians and made cure of diseases. Whenever any person of the English Factory became ill, the President directed him to visit the Indian physician or the English surgeon according to his problem (Ovington, 1929:205).

John Fryer (1985) informs that in fever the Indian physicians prescribed the cooling effect to low down the temperature. He further explains that the Hindu physicians were unskilled in surgery and even the Muslim physicians who followed the Arab method thought it unlawful to dissect human bodies. Even Pharmacy was not in a better condition (Fryer, 1985:114).

Sometimes *baniās* acted as a local doctor “who pretend to do great cures by amulets, philters and prayers”; and when they failed in this trick, they left their patient on

salvation of their own (cited in Khan, 1868-1874:219). Khafi Khan (1868-1874), the author of *Muntkhab-ul Lubāb*, records again a conversation with the *Brahman* of Surat who claimed his profound knowledge in astrology or *ilam-i najūm*, medicine or *tabābat*, and religion or *shāstra* (Khan, 1868-1874:219).

MAKTAB, MADRASAS, AND HOSPITALS

As for educational institutions, there were two types of schools: one established by the State; and another run by the rich individuals and the learned scholars privately (Khan, 1906:209; and Khan, 1928:69-70). These educational institutions were called as *maktab* and *madrasā*. The *maktab* was a primary school, while a *madrasā* was a school or college of higher learning. Although there was no permanent department in the Mughal administrative system to look after the education, the organization of education in Mughal India was markedly different. A large number of *maktab* and *madrasās* were attached to the mosques and the hospices, where the scholars used to impart education, like the *madrasā* and mosque of Shaikh Wajihuddin, Hidayat Bakhsh, Shuj'at Khan; and the *madrasā*, mosque, and hospital of Saif Khan etc. (Khan, 1906:209 and 363; Khan, 1928:62-63; and Burges, 1997:63).

The *madrasā* in the time of Shaikh Wajihuddin was built by Sadiq Khan, at the time of Jahangir at Khanpur locality of Ahmadabad. A mosque and reservoir attached to it were later built by Shaikh Haidar, the grandson of *Maulana*. Along with this *madrasā*, there was a very big library. Shaikh Wajihuddin used to teach in this *madrasā* (Khan, 1928:70; and ICB, 1945:342). The *madrasā* of Hidayat Bakhsh (lit. imparting guidance) was built by Shaikh Akramuddin, the *sadr* of Ahmadabad in 1691 AD (*Anno Domini*) at Ahmadabad in respect of Maulana Shaikh Nuruddin.

The students, in large number, used to attend the seminar of Shaikh Nuruddin. In return, the students were provided free boarding and lodging (Khan, 1906:209 and 363; Khan, 1928:62-63; and Burges, 1997:63). Another *madrasā* was built by Shuj'at Khan, *subedār* of Ahmadabad, in 1697 AD, which

¹See, for example, Ms. Blochet (n.y.a), *Supplementary Pers*, 402 (Paris: Bibliotheca National), a collection of contemporary documents, mostly concerning Surat, compiled in the mid seventeenth century by an anonymous Mughal official, that is available at the Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History AMU [Aligarh Muslim University]; and also Ms. Blochet (n.y.b), *Supplementary Pers*, 482, ff.174b-175a (Paris: Bibliotheca National), rotograph copy of the manuscript is available in Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History AMU. There are also some letters of Emperor Aurangzeb published in the name *Ruqqāt-i Alamgiri* (Aurangzeb, 1972:124).

became a centre of knowledge seekers. For the construction of this *madrasā*, the material collected from the different parts of the province, thus 200 carts of marbles were brought from Pattan to Ahmadabad (Khan, 1906:246; Commissariat, 1937-1938:196; and Burges, 1997:63).

Besides these famous *madrasās*, the other *madrasās* were constructed by the different sects in the Mughal Gujarat. *Sham-i Burhani Madrasā* at Ahmadabad also known as *langar-i do-azda imam* was established by Burhan Nizam Shah I at the time of independent Sultans for *Shiā* learning. Scholars from Iraq, Arabia, and Persia were brought as *mudarrīs*. This *madrasā* was existed during the time of Akbar (ICB, 1945:341; and Ray, 1984:41 and 118).

One *madrasa* attached to a mosque of Nahrwala Pattan was constructed in 1681 AD. A chronogram found on the attached mosque corresponds the date of its construction 1092 AH (*Anno Hijriah*). The ICB (Islamic Culture Board), in 1945, showed that chronogram thus read, as follows:

بناشد مدرسہ مسجد پر فیض صفا
در ہزار و نود و دوز عنایات خدا

There were several other *madrasās* constructed by the different community of Gujarat, such as the *Dai's madrasā* of Bohra community and *madrasā* of Shaikh Ahmad Ibrahim at Kutiana in Kathiawad founded in 1688 AD or *Anno Domini* / 1099 AH or *Anno Hijriah* (ICB, 1945:343; Cunningham, 1969:76-77; Law, 1973:189; and Ray, 1984:118). A renowned physician, *Hakim Hashim*, built a *madrasā* at Ahmadabad. Saif Khan established a *madrasā* attached to the hospital at Ahmadabad (Lahori, 1867-1868:345-46; and Khan, 1928:186). Probably the *madrasās* attached to the hospitals were the medical colleges.

The author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* informs us about the presence of two government hospitals at Ahmadabad and Surat respectively. Shah Jahan appointed *Hakim Hashim* as head of the government hospital

(*dārush shifā*) at Ahmadabad, which was especially built for the poor patients (Lahori, 1867-1868:345-346; and Khan, 1906:209). Aurangzeb issued an order in 1645 AD for the appointment of the physicians (*hakim*) in government hospital of Surat (Blochet, n.y.b.; and Aurangzeb, 1972:124).

Jahangir ordered for the establishment of hospitals at every towns and cities, where physicians should be appointed. The information is attested by Ali Mohammad Khan's work that Emperor Jahangir ordered that administrators (*hukkām*) should built hospitals (*darush-shifā*) in big cities and appoint physicians (*hākīm*) and travellers (*musafīr*) should be taken to hospital for free treatment (Jahangir, 1863-1864:4; and Khan, 1906:196).

Besides, there were a large number of veterinary hospitals in Mughal Gujarat. Each and every travellers, who came Gujarat, noticed animal hospital or *pinjrapole* built by *baniā* merchants at Cambay, Surat, and Ahmadabad.² These hospitals were for the benefit of the animals that were sick, deprived of their mates, decayed by age, or need food and care. In *pinjrapoles*, there were birds like cocks, peacocks, pigeons, ducks, and small birds; and beasts like cow calves, goats, oxen, camels, horses, dogs, mice, cats, bugs, flies, and other vermins were kept for perfect health (Ovington, 1929:177; Careri, 1949:165; Thevenot, 1949:16 and 18; Fitch, 1968:14; Tavernier, 1977:64; and Valle, 1991-1992:67, 68, and 70).

These hospitals were run by the common funds of the Jain and Hindu merchant's community. *Mahājans* of the *baniā* merchants taxed its members and took a small fixed amount from every *baniā* in order to run these *pinjrapoles* (Gupta, 1979:79 and 80).

FUNDING AND PATRONAGES

Likewise, the imperial system there was funding and patronage network in Mughal

²*Pinjrapoles* are generally supported and funded by Jain religion; it dates back from the time of Ashoka, as mentioned by the Arrians. They respected animals on account of their belief in the "transmigration of soul" not only from man to man, but man to animal also on the basis of his merits and demerits in his life. They were much charitable to beasts than men. See, for further information, Gemelli Careri (1949:165) and Pietro Della Valle (1991-1992:68).

Gujarat. Monetary aids were extended, both by the state as well as individual nobles, to the mosques, *madarsās*, teachers, poets, physicians; and to the hospitals in form of gifts, stipends, land grants, and cash money (Jahangir, 1863-1864:4 and 229; Khan, 1928:57-58; and Tirmizi, 1968:99).

Specifically, the reign of Aurangzeb was distinguished for the promotion of learning through state patronages. A royal order issued to all the *subās* of the empire to appoint learned teacher (*mudarris*). As a result, three teachers in Ahmadabad, Pattan, and Surat were appointed to educate the forty five students alone in the *sarkār* of Ahmadabad. It was further ordered that students from lowest to highest class and communities should be given the stipends from the state treasury by the order of the *sadr* after the verifications of the teachers. In 1671-1672 AD (*Anno Domini*), another order was issued to make out the expenditure of the stipends from the public treasury (*khazana-i amra*) and land customs (*mahsul-i saer*). Thus, it was enhanced to three *dams* from the earlier amount of two *dams* (Khan, 1906:272 and 293; and Ashraf, 1970:51).

On the basis of the daily allowance of one Rupee and four *ānā*, the daily livelihood of the students of the *madrasā* of Shaikh Wajihuddin was arranged. The *langarkhāna*, attached to the *madrasā* received its grants from Ahmad Shah's mausoleum (Khan, 1928:70; and Law, 1973:163). The *madrasā* of Hidayat Bakhsh with an attached mosque was built at the cost of Rupees 1,024,000. At the request of Akramuddin, Aurangzeb gave two villages, Metha in *parganā* Kadi and Ranasan in Pattan, although the additional stipend of Rupees two daily from Ahmadshah's *langarkhāna* for the maintenance of the teachers (*mudarris*) and students (*tolbā*). Third village Lasundhara in *parganā* Savli has granted as a gift for organizing the annual function of *Milād-i Sharif* or the Prophet's birthday (Khan, 1906:363; Khan, 1928:58; ICB, 1945:343; and Burges, 1997:63).

It appears that generally *langarkhāna* has been attached to *madrasā* for the benefit of the poor students, in a pattern of *Khanqāh*. In 1677 AD, the Emperor Aurangzeb assigned an

amount of Rupees 1,580 for the repair work of the *madrasā*, *masjid*, bath (*hammām*) and hospital of Saif Khan (Khan, 1906:309). Thus, learning received the state patronages in the Mughal Gujarat, especially during the reign of Aurangzeb.

Yunani physicians, *Ayurvedic* physicians (*tabīb-i Hindī*), and surgeons (*jarrāh*), appointed in the government hospital of Ahmadabad, were paid daily allowance of 8 *ānās* and sometimes 10 *ānās* in addition to annual amount of Rupees 2,000 to spent on medicine or *dawā* and food or *ghīzā* of the sick or *bimarān* and poors or *muflīs* from the treasury or *bait-ul māl* (Khan, 1928:186). A daily allowance of two Rupees for medicine or *dawā* and mixture or *ashnār* was allotted, to the hospital of Surat, out of the revenues of the mint house or *dār-ul zarb* (Blochet, n.y.b.; and Aurangzeb, 1972:124).

Jahangir ordered that the expenditure of the physicians, appointed in the hospitals at every towns and cities, should be meted out of the *Khalisa* lands (Jahangir, 1863-1864:4). A physician like Hakim Ruhullah was given money and land grants and was weighed in silver coins by Jahangir. Under the patronage of *Khān-i Khānā*, he received much more (cf Jahangir, 1863-1864:230, 242, and 253; and Baqi, 1924-1931:43-44). There are also examples of patronages given to the students, *madrasas*, and the hospital of Ahmadabad and Surat from the *langar* grants of Sultan Ahmad's mausoleum and allotted funds from the treasury and mint (Khan, 1928:70).

Not only the students, teachers, physicians, *madrasas* and hospitals were funded by the state, but other literati like poets and scholars were also patronized. Jahangir bestowed a title Brikh Ray (*Bad Farush*) along with a reward of Rupees 1,000 to a native poet Bunta Gujarati (Jahangir, 1863-1864:229). S. Hamid, a Bohra merchant, who was a graet scholar, was given 4,000 coins of gold and silver by Aurangzeb (Sharma, 2014:96).

CURRICULUM, TEACHING, AND LEARNING

About Course Contents. As far as the curriculums prevalent in the schools are concerned, it was based on both science and tradition. Abul Fazl (1882) records the general

curriculum followed in the schools run by the state, as follows:

Every boy should read books on morals (*akhlāq*), arithmetic (*hisāb*), mensuration (*masāhat*), geometry (*handsāh*), astronomy (*najūm*), physiognomy (*ramal*), household matters (*tābdār-i manzil*), the rules of the government (*siyāsāt-i madan*), medicine (*tibb*), logic (*mantiq*), physical sciences (*ilm-i tab'i*), sciences and spiritual sciences (*ilm-i ilahī*) as well as history (*tārikh*). In studying Sanskrit, students ought to learn the grammar or *vyākaran*, Vedānta or *niyāzi vedānta*, and yoga or *patāñjal* (Fazl, 1882:143).

The overall picture shows that the emphasis was given to all the known branches of sciences. In Mughal Gujarat, the scholars were well versed in various branches of knowledge. The education of metaphysics (*ulūm-i naqliā*), mathematics (*riyāzi*), *hadīth*, *qirāt*, *fiqāh* in *usūl* was imparted (Khān, 1888-1891:123; and Khan, 1928:102). However, the curriculum was based on both the theoretical and traditional knowledge.

Akbar ordered to regulate the rules for acquiring primary education in the Mughal empire and, thus, explained that the teachers should look after with sincerity the five things: knowledge of the letters or *hurūf*, word or *alfāz*, the hemistich or *misrā*, the verse or *bait*, and the earlier lessons or *peshtan khāndā* (Fazl, 1882:143).

Aurangzeb also introduced free and compulsory educations to coup with the fundamental rights of the subjects. Although he was not succeeded to enforce the system throughout his empire, but as an experiment he enforced it in Gujarat among the Bohra community (Fazl, 1882). Teachers were appointed to teach them the tenets of Sunnism with the system of monthly examination (*imtehān*) and the result of these examinations were communicated to the emperor for his personal assessment of the educational improvement (cf Khan, 1906:378; and Ashraf, 1970:16).

The condition of Hindus in regards to education was not as good as of the Muslims. The youths were receiving education from their parents and sometimes from the teachers, who teaches the letters or ciphers on the ground by writing on the dust with

their fingers. This was their primary education and after that they were allowed to write on plastered board like slates. When they started writing on paper, they were presumed to be a teacher (Fryer, 1985:112).

According to Surendra Gopal (1975), the existing system of education was not suited to the growth of bourgeoisie in Gujarat. They had only limited knowledge of reading, writing, and of arithmetic's which was necessary for business accounts and correspondence. The secular content in education was negligible, thus was based on ethics, religion, and philosophy. As a result, the merchant community remained ignorant about the mysteries of higher education (Gopal, 1975:243).

According to Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1977), the *baniās* stressed their children to taught arithmetic and made them expert in calculation without using pen. It was further supplemented by J. Ovington (1929) that they were more expert and quicker in calculation through memory than the readiest arithmetician who calculated with the pen (Ovington, 1929:166; and Tavernier, 1977:144).

Even the Muslim craftsmen were not imparting education in science. Generally, the Muslim traders and craftsmen were the neo-convert from the low caste of the society; thus, it seems that because of their low caste background either they were denied to access to the education or they intentionally avoided it. They were comfortable in following the old practices on the basis of experiences thus were unable to add anything new (Gopal, 1969:44-45; and Gopal, 1975:243).

As far as the education of women is concerned, it was not so common. John Fryer (1985) wrote at one place that the girls make small account in the field of education, they being instructed within the house only the method of prayer (Fryer, 1985:94). Imperial women like Gulbadan Bano Begum (1959) were well educated, while her husband, Khizr Khwaja Khan, was illiterate and could not read any letter written by her (Begum, 1959:80). But the number of such educated women was few and Gujarat was no exception to it.

The Hindu girls used to get education at

home by their mother as a teacher from whom they learnt moral and religious education by means of religious songs. In view of H.R. Majumdar (1965), the Hindu girls:

[...] learnt bargaining and purchasing at home in course of daily transactions with the hawkers. They picked up minor arithmetical calculation in checking home accounts. They learnt social etiquette by attending social gatherings, marriages, festivals etc. The joint family system taught them obedience to elders, consideration for their equals, and service for all from the highest to the lowest. Daily doles of coins and rice to poor and the needy taught them to be charitable. However, the virtues of hospitality and graciousness were developed in honouring guest invited and uninvited (Majumdar, 1965:352).

About Forms of Instructions. After the annexation of Gujarat, Persian became an important language. In the beginning, the Hindus received less appointment in state office since they did not know Persian, the court language. But in course of time, they became well versed in Persian and acquired the position. *Maktab* and *Madrasā*, which were only for the Muslims, now frequented by both the Hindus and the Muslims to learn Persian and they became expert in it.

However, the daily cash book and custom house books at Surat were written both in Persian and Gujarati (Foster ed., 1906-1907).³ Z.A. Desai, on the basis of *malfuzt* of the *sūfis* of Gujarat, opines that generally the Arabic and Persian were understood and fluently spoken by the well educated people of Gujarat. However, Persian were more widely understood and spoken among the general people. The masses, including the trading class, seem to have conversed in their local dialects of respective regions may be designated as Hindi or Hindawi (Desai, 1991:61-62).

CONCLUSION

Conclusively, the Gujarat emerged as a centre of cultural activities. It was because of the incorporation of Gujarat by the Mughals

that its commercial contacts with the people of the outer world like Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Abyssinians was established. However, "heterodoxy" became a characteristic feature of the people of Gujarat. The intellectuals, literati, poets, and physicians were flocking in Gujarat and the place became a "hub" of them. Obviously it was, primarily, because of its geographical location favourable of prosperous trade and commerce; and the other most important reason was its existing harmony provided by the rulers of Gujarat, as Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle (1991-1992) writes that it was because the great Mughals made no difference between the Hindus and Muslim.

There was a well-organized system of patronage networks, sometimes by the state, sometimes by individual nobles, and sometimes by the other rich merchants also. *Langarkhanas* were there not for sufi *khanqah* (shrines) only, but for the students living in *madrasas* as hostel also. They were getting scholarship and there was proper system of examination to judge their performance and progress. *Madrasas* attached to hospitals were perhaps working as medical colleges. Mughal chronicles show the prevalence of both the *Unāni* and *Ayurvedic* medicines in Mughal Gujarat. The extent of the spread of education at that time could be seen through he well organized *madrasās* at the urban centres and its funding system.

Besides the religious education, the secular education was also given, as the evidences refer that the scholars were well versed in various branches of knowledge, like metaphysics and mathematics. Generally, the *baniās* had working knowledge of reading, writing, and of arithmetic, necessary for business accounts. And, merchants were not only taking interests in trade and commerce, but were doing intellectual pursuits also.

After the conquest of Gujarat, Persian became an important language as it was the court and official language. A large number of Hindus learned Persian as they were in the administrative services. Daily accounts (*khatās*) of the merchants were written both in Persian and Gujarati. The Gujarati language was Persianised with the inclusion of several

³The official record of the British employees and officers in the seventeenth century are published as *EFI: The English Factories in India, 1630-1633* (London: Oxford University Press, edited by W. Foster in 1906-1907), pp.101 and 154.

Persian words into Gujarati vocabulary under the influence of the Mughals.

Most importantly, in the presence of such heterogeneity according to the “modern” trend, there was more chances of “clashes” but in spite of that the people used to live together, mixed with each other freely and friendly, and ready to adopt each other’s culture.⁴

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⁴**Statement:** I, hereby, declare that this article is my own writing, not a product of plagiarism, and not being sent, reviewed, or published in other scholarly journals.

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The Mughal Empire in India

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