The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors

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To the Memory of

Sir Jadunath Sarkar

KT., C.I.E., M A., D.LITT.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

In the following pages a systematic attempt has been made to study the religious policy of the Mughal emperors from the original records of their reign. I have tried to approach the subject with sympathy and understanding. If I pass judgement, it is because no study of the subject can be complete without doing so.

I am grateful to the authorities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Khuda Bakash Oriental Public Library, Bankipur, the Muslim University, Aligarh, the Punjab Public Library, Lahore, the Punjab University, Lahore, and the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta for their kindness in allowing me to use the manuscripts and printed materials in their possession. I am thankful to M. M. Rai Bahadur Pandit Gori Shankar Ojha who very kindly allowed me access to all his valuable collections of books, manuscripts and advance copies of some of his works. Sir Jadunath Sarkar placed at my disposal his unique collection of manuscripts and printed works on the period and gave me every facility for carrying on my work. To their Highnesses, the Maharana of Udaipur, the Nawab of Rampur, and the Maharaja of Bikaner, I am grateful for their kind permission to examine relevant historical material in their possession.

I have not given any detailed description of the books and manuscripts listed in the Bibliography as I have already described most of them in my *A Bibliography of Mughal India.*

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CHAPTER I

INDIAN GOVERNMENT DURING THE SULTANATE

UNDER the Sultanate India was held in subjection mainly by the military strength of her rulers. The Sultāns and their governors maintained whatever peace they could, collected the land revenue and other taxes, and were otherwise content to leave their subjects alone except where religious policy was concerned. The Sultanate in India was based on the distinction between its Hindu and Muslim subjects. The Muslims formed the ruling caste. Naturally, the position of the Hindus differed in many respects from that of their Muslim neighbours. *Ahkām-ul-Salātinya* of the Almawardi lays down 6 compulsory stipulations for non-Muslims living under a Muslim ruler: (i) no criticism of the *Quran*, (ii) nor of the Prophet, (iii) nor of Islam, (iv) no marriage or adultery with Muslim woman, (v) no seduction from the true faith, and (vi) no help to the enemies of Islam. The non-compulsory demands include a special dress for non-Muslims, prohibition against religious propaganda among Muslims, the sounding of 'Nagus' so loudly as to reach Muslims ears, building houses higher in height than neighbouring Muslims houses, drinking in public and riding fine horses and the stipulation that they should bury their dead without openly chanting religious prayers. The building of new temples could be prohibited. The non-Muslims were permitted to have their cases decided by their own judges (Qazis)[1].

Distinction between the Status of the Hindus and the Muslims: the Jizya

The foremost among these distinctions was the payment of a special tax, the Jizya,[2] which had always to be paid personally.[3] The *Fatawa-i-'Ālamgīrī*, a digest of Muslim law prepared under Aurangzeb, but embodying earlier practices, recognizes two types of the Jizya.[4] One was the payment of an agreed-upon amount by the ruler of a territory or the people thereof. It did not always mean an additional tax, because the amount could well have been paid out of the existing sources of revenue. But in the territories directly under Muslim rulers the Jizya was levied on individual

tax-payers and its amount had to be individually assessed. Except probably in the earlier days of the Muslim occupation of India, the Jizya seems to have been levied directly. Even when new territories were conquered or vassal princes subdued, it was not customary to make any bargains with them so far as the payment of the Jizya was concerned. If the new territory formed a part of the dominions of a Muslim ruler, its inhabitants were expected to pay the Jizya according to the rates prevailing elsewhere. If a prince was made feudatory, he was expected to pay a tribute which, though it might have originally included the Jizya, was now, only the sign that he had accepted an overlord. His subjects were not expected to pay the Jizya which seems to have been levied only in the territories directly under Muslim rulers. At first Brahmans were exempted from the payment of this tax; but in Feroz Shāh's reign it was discovered that it was unreasonable to tax the humble followers of a religion in this fashion and not the leaders who instructed the people. Brahmans therefore were ordered to pay the Jizya.[5] There were times when an exceptionally enlightened monarch, like Zain-ul-'Ābadīn (1420 to 1470 A.D.) in Kashmir, remitted the Jizya.[6]

As we have discussed below,[7] the Jizya was a very heavy burden to the masses. But it was not its burden alone which was irksome. It was a badge of inferiority round the necks of the unfaithful reminding them constantly that they formed a subject people under an alien rule. The payment of the Jizya guaranteed the non-Muslim subjects a second class citizenship in the state. The non-Muslims were invariably prohibited from criticising the Quran, the Prophet and Islam. They could not marry a Muslim and forfeited the protection granted to them on committing adultery with a Muslim woman. Similarly they were not allowed to make converts. Old temples were not to be repaired nor new temples built. The ruler could prescribe a special dress for the non-Muslim and forbid them from riding good horses. Their religious ceremonies had to be performed in such a way that neither Muslim eyes nor ears could be profaned thereby. They could be prohibited from building houses higher than those of their Muslim neighbours.[8]

Pilgrimage Tax

The Jizya was not the only additional tax imposed on the non-Muslims. Most Muslim rulers collected a pilgrimage tax at Hindu

places of religious fairs. As we shall presently see, it represented a compromise between the strict injunction of the Muslim law not to tolerate public celebration of non-Islamic practices and the desire of a vast Hindu population to perform their religious rites. Under a pious Muslim king, like Feroz Shāh Tughlaq, this source of profit to the Muslim State from an unholy source was sacrificed to the stricter demands of the Muslim law.[9]

An 'Alā-ud-Dīn would sometimes improve upon the injunction of his theologians and order a scheme of confiscatory taxation leaving the Hindus only their daily needs. But ordinarily, the Hindus paid the Jizya and the pilgrimage tax as additional taxes. The Jizya could not be avoided, but the pilgrimage tax need not have been paid by those who attended no fairs. The Jizya was a regular annual tax whereas the pilgrimage tax was an occasional one. The Jizya was paid only by all non-Muslims living in Muslim territories whereas the pilgrimage tax was paid by all who visited places of pilgrimage situated in the Muslim States. As various ceremonies connected with deaths in families had usually to be performed at certain holy places, most Hindus paid the tax. Feroz Shāh's order prohibiting these fairs, however, would lead us to believe that the village fairs, which formed so important a part of mediaeval economic and religious life and which were held in most places at certain times of the year, were also made a source of income to the State. If that were so the pilgrimage tax would almost be as universally paid as the Jizya.

Public Religious Worship

The payment of the Jizya and the pilgrimage tax was intended to ensure the free exercise of their religion to the non-Muslims. But this was limited to private worship alone. Public worship of Hindu idols was forbidden. It is difficult to say definitely how far this injunction was enforced and obeyed. In villages, where there were hardly any Muslims, it would have always been possible to carry on the worship of the village gods as before. Of course, there might have been chances of trouble if a zealous Qāzī in a neighbouring town heard of such 'malpractices'. The Muslim chroniclers record very few cases where the Hindus were punished for open and public worship of their gods, thus offending the eyes and ears of the faithful. This might either mean that orders were usually obeyed and therefore no cases of defiance are recorded or that though the orders

were disobeyed, it was only under pious kings like Feroz Shāh, that their defiance was punished. It would be safer to hold that some attempt at the enforcement of the law against Hindu worship must have been made. How often this led to clashes in the important towns and cities, where Muslim officials usually resided, we have no means of judging.

This, naturally, implied denial of any extension of the existing facilities for such worship. Thus it was held that the Hindus should not be allowed to build new public temples or to repair old ones. Again, it is difficult to decide how far this was insisted upon in all parts of Muslim territories. Perhaps again, only in big cities where Muslim officers were present and where a considerable number of Muslims lived, the building of new public temples was strictly prohibited. It should be borne in mind, however, that this did not mean denial of religious worship. Oftener than not, the houses of the well-to-do Hindus contained temples of sorts where they, as well as their humbler brethren, could worship their gods. Public temples mainly existed in places which were sanctified by centuries of religious traditions. Such new places were not likely to appear in the Muslim period. Hinduism at this time had become an individual religion where opportunities for co-operate public worship were not many. Of course cases of public temples being destroyed or desecrated at the time of the fresh conquest of a territory—as witness Feroz Shāh Tughlaq's desecration of the temples at Kangra,[10] and Jagannath Puri[11]—stand in a class by themselves and were taken as a sign and a proclamation of the Muslim conquest of non-Muslim territories. The restriction on the building of new temples was interpreted as a restriction, if not the denial, of already existing opportunities for public worship. Sometimes a particularly pious Muslim king, like Sikandar Lodī, would have a fit of religiosity and desecrate or destroy even existing temples[12] in peaceful times. Religious festivals like the Holī or the Dīpāvalī, raised problems which might sometimes have proved obnoxious to the more orthodox among the Muslim rulers. The Muslim chroniclers, however, are mostly silent on these questions and as we have no other original records of the period, we have to be content with their accounts.

Public Services

The third distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims

appeared in the public services. Revenue records were usually kept in Hindi except probably at the headquarters. This implied the employment of a large number of Hindus in the revenue department. Of these many were paid, not by the state, but by the cultivators themselves.[13] It would not be, therefore, right to consider them public servants; they were servants of the community. The lowest state officer in the revenue department seems to have been the officer-in-charge of a Parganah and it is extremely doubtful whether Hindus were ever employed in large numbers in this or other higher offices. Qrdinarily, it would be safe to assert, that the Hindus were excluded from all except the lowest posts in the state. On the military side, it was customary at one time to employ Hindu soldiers. The Ghaznavīds had contingents of Hindu troops under them. There is no reason to believe that the practice completely disappeared under the Sultanate. We have, however, to remember that pre-Mughal Muslim dynasties in India did not last very long. Three centuries saw the rise and fall of nine dynasties. Thus every dynasty had to employ only such soldiers and commanders as commanded its confidence. This would, sometimes, restrict their choice even to particular sections of Muslims. It is safe to hold, however, that Hindus were usually excluded from all high offices and were employed otherwise only when their employment was unavoidable.

Sumptuary Laws

The fourth distinction existed in the sumptuary laws that were sometimes enforced. As the *Fatawa-i-Ālamgīrī* declares,[14] the Hindus were not to be allowed to look like the Muslims. This, as in the hands of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, meant the enforcement of certain restrictions. The underlying principle was that the Hindus should look humble and should provide no occasion for creating trouble for their Muslim rulers. 'Alā-ud-Dīn forbade Hindus to wear rich dresses, ride horses, and drive in carriages and palanquins. Ghiās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq very nearly did the same. But these orders clearly sound exceptional. Sometimes the Hindus might be asked to wear distinguishing marks on their new dresses so that they might not be mistaken for Muslims.

These restrictions, when and where enforced, must have been confined to the cities where alone there was any danger of the

Hindus emulating the Muslims in their dress and ways of living. In the villages where the Muslim population was small, the Hindus were probably not subject to these restrictions.

Law of Blasphemy

There were also laws against blasphemy.[15] The unreasonable extent to which these could sometimes be carried is well illustrated by the fate of a Brahman who was beheaded under Sikandar Lodī for maintaining that Hinduism and Islam were both true.[16]

Apostasy

Conversion of Muslims to Hinduism or the reconversion of Hindu converts to Islam was not usually permitted. Sometimes there were exceptionally tolerant rulers, like Zain-ul-'Ābadīn in Kashmir, who were prepared to allow all Hindu converts to Islam to return, if they wished, to their original faith. But this tolerant attitude was so exceptional that a story had to be invented proving him to be a Hindu recluse who had projected his own soul into the dead body of the king on his death-bed.[17] Usually this prohibition must have been strictly enforced as it would have been considered highly objectionable in a Muslim king to encourage or tolerate apostasy which was a capital offence. But Chaitanya reconverted the chief minister and the Mir Munshi Husain Shah of Bengal (1493-1518) to Hinduism. He also reconverted Bijili Khand and Haridas to Hinduism. A group of Pathans was also admitted into the charmed circle of Hinduism.[18]

Occasional Persecutions

Under some Muslim rulers there were series of fierce persecutions. Forced conversion to Islam took place, sometimes in thousands, as it did under Sikandar Butshikan of Kashmir. Those who defied their fanatic persecutors were slain or had to seek safety in death.[19] Jalāl-ud-Dīn of Bengal (1414 to 1430), a convert himself, with a new convert's zeal, forcibly converted hundreds of his Hindu subjects and persecuted the rest.[20] Most of the Tughlaqs possessed a persecuting strain and Sikandar Lodī suffered from the same defect.[21] It is consoling to find, however that very few Muslim

rulers tried to play the part of fanatical persecutors.

Hindus under the Sultanate

This seems to be a formidable count. But we have to remember that all these manifestations of religiosity were not always to be found together. Generally the Muslim rulers were content if the Hindus paid the Jizya and the pilgrimage tax and did not make any attempt to force their wealth or their beliefs on the notice of their Muslim rulers. Of course, the Hindus were not usually allowed to make converts. They were certainly denied any share in the higher appointments in the state but they held the monopoly of many petty offices in the revenue and accounts departments. Secondly we have to remember that we are dealing with circumstances which were universal in the Middle Ages and for many years after. The position of the Hindus in India was generally much better than that of many communities in Europe whose faith differed from that of their rulers. Roman Catholics in Ireland form an instructive parallel. After the Reformation the majority of the population was Roman Catholic under Protestant rulers. Yet their faith was penalized; they were excluded from the higher appointments and they were aliens in their own country. Nor was the position of the Roman Catholics in Protestant England ever enviable. Even under the prudent Elizabeth, the Roman Catholics could abstain from attendance at Protestant churches by payment of a fine alone, which was parallel to the Jizya of Muslim India. The position of the Protestants in the Netherlands under Spanish Roman Catholic rulers furnishes an interesting illustration of religious intolerance of these times. The state was long subordinate to the church and it was considered to be a sin if its institutions were not used for the propagation of the state religion. Thus the religious policy which governed Muslim politics in India till the beginning of the sixteenth century was nothing singular. It was but one example of the intolerance and fanaticism which characterized the period and which continued elsewhere even long after that date. The only exception was the general policy of the Hindu rulers in India who usually did not interfere with their subjects' religions and did not indulge in persecution.

NOTES

[1] *Qazis*, p. 116.

[2] When the Jizya was first levied by the Prophet in 9 A.H., it included a land tax as well and probably represented the entire financial burden borne by the non-Muslims under his protection. Under the earliest Caliphs the terms Jizya and Kharāj seem to be interchangeable. "The differentiation in the two forms of taxation implied in Jizya (capitation tax) and Kharāj (land tax) was not made until the time of the late Umayyad." A later tradition ascribed this act erroneously to Umar, whose 'convent' was supposed to define the terms granted to those who undertook to pay the Jizya. When it was introduced in India by her Muslim conquerors, it had become an additional capitation tax. See Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their non-Muslim Subjects*, 21, and P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 119,171, 218. For a fourteenth century discussion of the subject, see Muhammad, *Mu'alim-al-Qurba* (ed. R. Levy). 38-45 (Arabic text) and 13-16 (English abstract by the editor); *Ahkam-ul-Salātinya* of Abul Hasan Almawardi, pp. 235ff, *Conversion and Poll Tax in Early Islam*, D. C. Dennet.

[3] See Ch. VII below where Aurangzeb's reimposition of the Jizya is discussed.

[4] Article on Jizya, III, 435 (Urdu translation, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow).

[5] *'Afīf*, 382.

[6] *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, 545.

[7] See Ch. V.

[8] Almawardi, 235 to 241.

[9] *'Afīf*, 388.

[10] Firishta, II, 547.

[11] *'Afīf*, 379.

[12] *Haft Aqālim*, f. 127, *b*, states that he forbade the Hindus bathing at Mathura, desecrated their temples and destroyed their idols.

[13] *Ain-i-Akbari* credits Akbar with the abolition of these cesses.

[14] Vol. III, 442-25 Cf. also *Mu'alim-al-Qurba* and Almawardi as quoted in 1.

[15] Cf. *The Caliphs and Their non-Muslim Subjects*, *History of the Arabs*, and Almawardi, 234.

[16] *Tārikh-i-Firishta*, I, 281.

[17] Cf. Sri Ram Sharma, *Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism during the Muslim Period* in his *Studies in Medieval Indian History*.

[18] *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, 509; *Chaitanya and His Age*, 25, 219, 220, 228, 229, both by D. C. Sen, *Chaitanya Movement* by Kennedy, 213, 214, *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*, Jadunath Sarkar (3rd edition), 233, 234, 327.

[19] *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*, 397.

[20] *Riyāz-us-Salātin*, 116.

[21] Firishta, 288. Barni's advice XI in his *Fatawa-i-Jahāndāri* (English translation in the *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 43-49) throws a good deal of light on the contemporary Muslim attitude towards Hindus.

NATURE OF THE STATE IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

WHEN Qutb-ud-Dīn became ruler of Delhi in 1206, Muslim rule elsewhere in the world had passed through several phases. Formally "elected" Khalīfas had yielded place to several lines of hereditary rulers every one of whom could in turn be ousted from his place by any bold adventurer. None of these rulers enjoyed the status which the first four Khalīfas had enjoyed by virtue of their being companions of the Prophet. The *jizya* had ceased to be the one single tax which the non-Muslims had paid during the earliest period of Muslim history.[1] It was an additional tax now levied in a manner so as to proclaim aloud the lower status of those who paid it.[2] The Qāzīs pronounced judgments in cases brought before them, but to be valid these judgments had to be backed by the ruler's recognition of the Qāzīs;[3] the "law" did not cover the actions of the rulers as such. No Qāzī ever dared proclaim a ruler a heretic for not acting according to law, nor did any one among them denounce an occupant of the throne for his religious shortcomings, not even for regicide. The "law" was supposed to be derived from the Qurān but as it did not contain much that could be considered law in the mundane affairs of this world. It was supplemented by the traditional memory of what the Prophet or his companions were supposed to have done under certain circumstances. Such "traditions" depended upon memory, very often they had arisen in the course of cases that came up for decisions before the court.[4] But these traditions—or the law—seldom covered the public law, the organization of government and the relations of its various organs with one another or even their proper functions. Whatever went under the name of the "law" in this sphere had been smothered under the local institutions, customs and traditional practices.[5] The personal law of the Muslims had similarly been influenced by local, pre-Islamic practices and customs and even by non-Islamic practices and usages.

The Muslim states dotted over the Middle East, Arabia, north Africa and elsewhere were by now in no sense theocracies. The original Muslim state under the Prophet could have been considered a theocracy, the rule of the companions could pass as such

somehow. But when Islam emerged out of its formative period, the states presided over by Muslim rulers could no longer be considered theocracies. No infallible religious head was recognized now; Islam never had an organized consecrated church charged with the official interpretation of the law : as such the states had never bowed to an outside authority or yielded any part of its authority to a rival contender. Islam put the burden of proselytization as much on lay shoulders as on any religious agency. The ruler, like his Muslim subjects, was expected to act as an agent of Islam, only much more so and thus contribute to the spread of Islam and to the maintenance and spread of Muslim ways of life.[6] He very much did so usually after the first conquest of a Hindu territory or after suppressing a rebellion. But there was no institution, religious or political, nor any agency charged with the task of "overseeing" that they did so. No one as such had the authority to proclaim aloud a king's shortcomings or censure him for the same.

While these changes had taken place outside India, the Arab conquest of a part of Sind was followed by three remarkable departures from Muslim practices and law as developed elsewhere. Apostasy was a capital offence all over the Muslim world. But when many of the Hindu and probably Buddhist converts to Islam went back to their original religion, on the suggestion of his deputy in Sind, the Khalīfa ruled that such lapses in Sind were not to be treated as a capital crime.[7] The number of those going back to their original faith became at one time so large that the "faithful" Arabs had to seek safety behind the walls of a fort.[8]

There was then the problem of the *jizya*. Muhammad-bin-Qāsim is said to have excused Brahmans from the payment of the *jizya* probably because it was represented to him that they paid no tax.[9] It does not seem probable that other classes undertook to pay an additional levy on their behalf. As Hindu men of law they seemed to have been excused, an exception which Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq rightly deplored and put an end to.

The third exception may also have developed in Sind. Public celebration of non-Muslim festivals and fairs was elsewhere prohibited. But the conquest of Sind was not followed by a conversion of its people to Islam. The Muslim administrators seldom penetrated into rural areas, nor to Hindu places of pilgrimage. Rather than prohibit the public holding of such fairs and festivals, a pilgrimage tax came to be levied on Hindu pilgrims visiting various places

of pilgrimages.[10]

The exceptions seem to have become the law of the Sultanate in 1206. Neither the Arabs in Sind nor the Ghaznavīds in Punjab and Multan were in a position to enforce the Muslim law of apostasy in its entirety in the areas under their control. Even when a grandson of Jai Pāl, Nāwāsā Shāh, renounced Islam and rebelled in Multan where he had been installed as a ruler, he does not seem to have been awarded capital punishment after his defeat and discomfiture ; he was made a prisoner.[11] The *jizya* and the pilgrimage tax continued as evolved in Sind. The Muslim rulers seem to have acknowledged that they had not much chance of being able to convert the vast bulk of their subjects to Islam by force as they had sometimes been successful in doing so elsewhere. They reconciled themselves to the inevitable, and hence these three departures.

Between 1206 and 1526, eleven dynasties occupied the throne of Delhi.[12] Iltutmish, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī, Nāsīr-ud-Dīn Khusrū and Bahlol Lodhī got rid of the last representatives of the preceding ruling house by intrigue and violence rather than open revolt. Ghiās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq, Iqbāl Khān and Khizr Khān broke into open revolt against the occupants of the throne and founded dynasties of their own. Only Balban, Iqbāl Khān and Daulat Khān succeeded in founding new dynasties without bloodshed. Within a ruling house the same story is repeated. Of the thirty three rulers of Delhi between 1206 and 1526, only three succeeded to the throne peacefully[13] and only 15 died a natural death.[14] Kingship does not seem to have recognized any kinship. A father, an uncle, a brother and a sister were all a fair game in the sport of attaining kingship.

Under such circumstances "royalty" failed to attract any mystery or "mystique". The Muslim law recognized no law of succession. In theory an occupant of the throne was an elect of the faithful.[15] But as neither the method of election was laid down nor the qualifications of the members of the college of electors if any were defined,[16] it was possible for every occupant of the throne, after ascending it to have his elevation to the throne confirmed by his adherents at the first public ceremony of his reign. Fīroz Shāh's accession to the throne well brings out the hollowness of "election" in settling succession. He is described as having been elected to the throne in Sind where he was on the

death of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq. The nobles at Delhi elected a son of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq to the throne and called upon Firoz to swear allegiance to him. Firoz did not confound them by telling them that he had been elected to the throne and was therefore their king in law. His answer to their demand was to set up an investigatory commission to determine whether the boy king at Delhi was in fact Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq's son. The commission upheld Firoz's right to rule not because he had been elected but because the alleged son of Muhammad was held to be an imposter.[17]

It is sometimes claimed that nomination by the reigning monarch decided succession. Iltutmish nominated Raziya as his successor but she was easily put aside in favour of her more convenient brother.[18] Balban named Kaikhusru, his grandson, as his successor, but Qaiqubād succeeded him. Firoz Shāh is said to have been nominated by Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq as his heir and successor but so thin was this claim considered to be that Firoz dared not act upon it when he heard of Muhammad Tughlaq's death.[19] Even when he had ascended the throne and his authority was challenged he thought it useless to claim that he had acquired the throne by virtue of such nomination.[20] When Sikandar Lodhī died, his territory was divided between Ibrāhīm Lodhī and his brother Jalāl-ud-Dīn Lodhī who was later on easily pushed out from his part of the patrimony.[21]

The rulers of Delhi professed to rule on behalf of the Khalīfa; they almost claimed to be his "Viceroys". But this so called sovereign of all the Muslim World never appointed any of these "Viceroys" to hold sway in his name. All that happened was that the name of the Khalīfa was included in the Friday public prayers and inscribed on the coins. The "letter of appointment" came after a ruler had ascended the throne and in answer to a mission carrying costly presents to the Khalīfa. It was a recognition of an accomplished fact rather than a factor contributing to the settlement of the question of succession. The mockery of the Khalīfa's nomination of a ruler and the recognition of the Khalīfa as an "overlord" by a ruler of Delhi is well brought home to us by the fact that though Al-Mustasim had been murdered in 1258,[22] his name continued to appear on the Indian coins of the Sultanate till 1296.[23]

Government was thus a personal acquisition. A ruler acquired

the right to rule when he succeeded in driving out the occupant of the throne and enjoyed it as long as he had the strength of arms to do so. Contemporary attitude to royalty is well illustrated by what happened in 'Alā-ud-Dīn's reign. Iq'at Khan openly proclaimed that he had murdered 'Ala-ud-Dīn and demanded that his generals and administrators should recognize him as their ruler. They were prepared to do so provided he could convince them that he had actually murdered 'Alā-ud-Dīn by producing his severed head.[24] Amīr Khusru, a most cultured Muslim in medieval times, not only makes no reference to 'Alā-ud-Dīn's murder of his uncle Jalāl-ud-Dīn, but does not even hold it against him.[25] Bābur declares that it was customary for a ruler of Bengal to ascend the throne by murdering his predecessor;[26] he could as well have said the same without much exaggeration about the Sultanate at Delhi.

To what extent acquisition of power at Delhi was personal and transcended even the charmed circle of Islam is brought home to us in the reign of Nāsir-ud-Dīn Khusrū. Semi-contemporary accounts seem to indicate that on ascending the throne he renounced Islam and started ruling as a Hindu king of Delhi.[27] Might had become the rule of law in Delhi to such an extent that his rule was quietly accepted by the Muslim and Hindu chiefs and administrators and even when Ghiās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq defeated him and ordered him to be beheaded, his captor dared not advance his apostasy or his overturning Muslim institutions in Delhi as a cause for ordering that he be beheaded! Curiously the only thing that was said to merit death was his ingratitude to his benefactor, but not king, Qutb-ud-Dīn.[28]

The Muslim rulers of Delhi, were occasionally the playthings of their courtiers. Shihāb-ud-Dīn Khiljī is said to have been placed on the throne "in mockery", to let the courtiers run the government as best as they could.[29]

As elsewhere, the early Muslim rulers of Delhi relied on their own Muslim background in setting up political institutions. But as we have said earlier and as had happened elsewhere as well, they allowed expediency to have the better of the law without incurring displeasure of their Qāzīs much less of their Muslim subjects. Fīroz Shāh imposed the *jizya* on the Brahmans; he is said to have done it on his own.[30] If Sikandar Lodhī held the levy of pilgrimage tax unlawful and prohibited the holding of religious fairs and festivals, no mention is made of any one else prompting him to do so.[31] The

practices of their predecessors which Fīroz and Sikandar condemned never became a target of attack during the rule of those rulers who were so lacking in conformity to Muslim law. But 'Alā-ud-Dīn's reign brings out the lack of dependence of the Muslim rulers on Muslim law most clearly. He is said to have become anxious to learn how his methods of administration looked in the light of the Muslim law. He started explaining them to Qāzī Mughīs-ud-Dīn and enquired how each of them fared ; the Qāzī declared that all these were unlawful ; 'Alā-ud-Dīn was in a rage. The Qāzī trembled but meekly submitted that he had only answered an academic question ; he had not condemned the king's practices ; the Sultān was free to govern his kingdom as he thought best.[32] Despite this denunciation of his administration as contrary to the Muslim law, devout Muslims like Barni[33] and Amīr Khusrū[34] speak of 'Alā-ud-Dīn as the "shadow of God on earth" and presumably on that account, above the law ! Some rulers would not, even when pressed by interested parties, enforce the Muslim law.[35] Balban seems to have known that according to that law no Hindu should be allowed to practise his religious rites and mode of worship ; he did nothing to enforce the law.[36] Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī openly regretted his inability to live upto the law.[37] Of course certain rulers are highly praised by contemporary chroniclers for their conformity to Muslim law. It is said of Fīroz that he never did anything that was declared unlawful by his theological advisers.[38] But when we examine the history of his reign we find that this involved only three changes in the administrative practices ; two of them were illusory. He is said to have remitted certain cesses that were declared unlawful, thus sacrificing some 30 lakhs of *tankahs* in revenue.[39] The remission took place in the twenty-seventh year of his reign. He is further said to have been content with only 1/5 of the plunder which fell into the hands of his soldiers.[40] The fact that after the promulgation of this "law", he led few successful campaigns gives it at best an academic value. The imposition of the *jizya* tells the same story. At first the Brahmans themselves were required to pay it. Then in theory other classes were supposed to have undertaken to pay it on their behalf. But instead of this raising the rate of taxation, we find him lowering the rate to a general imposition at half the minimum rate prevailing before this imposition.[41] He is further said to have prohibited Muslim women and children from visiting the tombs of the saints and Hindu

temples.[42] Sikandar Lodhī has been credited with following the law by some of his chronicler to such an extent that Nizām-ud-Dīn finds those accounts hard to believe. He is willing to assert however that he destroyed all Hindu temples, released offenders if they embraced Islam, admonished a Muslim officer showing consideration to a Hindu and prohibited pilgrimage to sacred places.

Muslim rulers in medieval India may have been anxious to make their Muslim subjects conform to the Muslim way of life and enforce the Muslim civil law on Muslims. But it is interesting to notice that when 'Alā-ud-Dīn invited Shams-ud-Dīn, a great Muslim jurist of Egypt to India, the Qāzī accepted the invitation, came as far as Lahore and then turned back probably because he found that Qāzīs were not free to perform their function according to law in India.[43] Muslim personal law as applied to converts from Hinduism stood modified by local and tribal practices and it is doubtful whether converts at least from the higher castes gave up their recourse to local Panchayats in favour of Qāzīs' courts at least in the rural areas. Rajput converts to Islam continued to be reckoned members of the sub-caste or the group from which they had originally come till 1947. This practice did not arise either during the Mughal period or later on ; it could have only originated when conversions had taken place long ago.

If Muslim converts probably followed their tribal or local customs, the Hindus were certainly apt to do so ; the personal law was a matter for the non-Muslims to settle on their own. It has usually been said that village Panchayats settled whatever civil litigation there was among the villagers. Signs of these institutions at work in northern India are scarce, if there are any at all. But of the caste or the sub-caste Panchayats at work, we get some signs.[44] The village was certainly a community and an entity, social and economic. Besides the lands owned by the individual land owners, some land was owned by the village as a whole. These seem to have vested in the village elders holding their place on account of their status rather than to any type of election. Individually or as a whole they may have settled question concerning the civil disputes in the village, more as knowledgeable elders than as judges sitting in judgment in the case. In some parts of the country land may have been held by members of a community —Bhayyachari villages for example. Here the village and caste

Panchayats may have been identical. There are signs that even criminal cases among the non-Muslims might have been decided in the Panchayats unless a religious offence had occurred or one of the parties happened to be Muslim. As in Muslim law a non-Muslim could not be a witness in a case and as Hindus seem to have been averse to making any statement on oath, at least in Qāzī's courts, such cases would have been rare and when they emerged, there was little hope for the party that happened to be Hindu unless it could substantiate its case or enter upon defence based on the evidence of Muslim eyewitness. The religious offences included apostasy, blasphemy against Muslim institutions,[45] Hindus marrying Muslim women and bringing up their children as Hindus, noisy public celebration of Hindu festivals in localities where Muslim sensitivity could be taken to be thus offended, evasion of *jizya* and performance of pilgrimage without paying tax or going on such pilgrimage at all under Sikandar Lodhī. It is necessary to remember that Muslim rulers of India never tried to ban private exercise of Hindu religious rites or even their public exercise in areas where there were no Muslims. No attempt seems to have been made to force a distinctive dress on the Hindus; presumably such an order was unnecessary; for, Hindus did wear a distinctive dress. Building of new temples and repairs to old temples seem not to have attracted much attention even though *Futūhāt-i-Firozshāhi* has it that the building of idols is not permitted in the law of Muhammad. All that Fīroz claims to have done is to build mosques instead of temples.[46] A similar claim is made on behalf of Sikandar Lodhī. Converts may have been made by the state from among the prisoners taken during a successful war; this alone would explain the conversion of Rajputs on a large scale in several areas in the Punjab. But unlike Europe about the same time, there seems to have little of heresy hunt or outright proscription of other faiths. It seems to have been accepted as a hard fact that there was little chance of converting the bulk of Hindu population to Islam by force. The state held back its hand except in times of war. The need for enforcing conformity on Muslims brought forth the offices of the Sadr-us-Sudūr and the Muhtsib. The Sadr combined in his person the office of the royal chaplain, the king's spiritual guide, the best jurist in the state and only occasionally that of a royal adviser. Our records have not preserved much information either about the office or its holders. But

if what used to happen between the king and his Sadr in Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq's reign is a safe guide to early practices, it seems that its holders were more venerated as the king's spiritual guides, not averse to materially capitalizing their position without appearing to do so, than as office holders entitled to advise the king, much less to control his action.[47] The Sadr did not preside over an independent organization capable of defying the king occasionally. The Qāzīs did not control as large an area of the lives of the people as did members of the Church in Europe; nor did they enjoy immunity from state control which their counterparts did in Christian Europe. All that our records mention of royal attempts at enforcing conformity to Muslim law on Muslims is an order of Fīroz Tughlaq forbidding Muslim women to pay visits to the tombs of the Muslim saints.[48]

Slavery and hereditary *jāgīrs* made the government feudal in a way. We are told that Fīroz Tughlaq had as many as 1,80,000 slaves.[49] They were certainly bondsmen but no legal disability clung to them as to serfs and villeins in contemporary Europe. They were supposed to be loyal to their masters, though not necessarily to their memories. Their loyal masters were glad to make full use of their talents, so much so that they were able to supplant the representatives of their masters even on the throne and to found or try to found ruling houses of their own. Qutb-ud-Dīn, Balban, Nāsir-ud-Dīn Khusrū, among others, achieved that eminence.

The Delhi Sultanate was one single instrument of government. The ruler entrusted "parts" of his kingdom to "holders of territory" who undertook to pay him a round sum from the receipts of the territory under his command.[50] In his turn the Iqtā-holder gave land to others. Whatever may have been the practice earlier or later, at least Ghiās-ud-Dīn seemed to believe that whosoever had been given a *jāgīr* had transmitted the right to it not only to his sons or descendants but to his sons-in-law and even to his slaves. He is said to have sought for such claimants and bestowed *jāgīrs* of their ancestors on them.[51]

Hindus seem to have been usually excluded from high office. But the thirty five rulers of these nine ruling houses usually conferred high offices on their clansmen, their personal followers or on those who might have helped them to rise to the dizzy heights of the throne. Naturally this excluded not only Hindus but Hindu

converts to Islam as well. Not one of these rulers except Nāsir-ud-Dīn Khusrū could be said to have any contacts with the Indian converts to Islam. It is curious, however, to find orthodox Barni lamenting that Muhammad Tughlaq bestowed office on persons unworthy to hold such office,[52] presumably Indian converts to Islam. Such converts seem to have risen to eminence under Mubārak Khiljī as well. As a Hindu, Nāsir-ud-Dīn Khusrū employed such of them at least of his own tribe as went back to Hinduism. But to most Muslims a non-Muslim seemed incapable of being trusted to hold a royal office. As the administration under the Sultanate was not well organized there never were many such offices to go around. But the Muslims were usually averse to account-keeping, they did not trouble to understand the agrarian system in India to be able to make good revenue servants. But there was no legal bar against a Hindu holding a high office, so that the last champion of the Pathān rule in India to challenge the Mughal right to reconquer India under Humāyūn was Hemū, the commander-in-chief cum prime minister of 'Adal Shāh Sūrī.

When all is said and done it is difficult to fit the state and government under the Sultanate into any known category. It did not form a theocracy as it exercised much less control over the lives of a bulk of its subjects than did many a contemporary European kingdom which we do not recognize as theocratic. It is not right to call the Sultanate a "Muslim state" as Islamic law was never considered to bind the rulers in the exercise of their authority.[53] Some of the rulers did function as agents of Islam much more than did the others, but this was due to the personal leaning of the ruler rather than due to any institutions or political traditions.[54] If a Fīroz could bind himself to the law, an 'Alā-ud-Dīn could consider himself well above it and be none the worse for it in the eyes of even the most scholarly and the most orthodox of his Muslim contemporaries. The government could not be called even monarchical ; for we usually understand the term as the rule by a dynasty with a defined law of succession. Whatever the status any ruler may have claimed, regicide was never a sin it was usually taken to be in contemporary Europe. The right to rule was a personal right, acquire it how one will. The theory of election seemed to have been used to cover attempts by the courtiers to make a mockery of royalty by raising children in their teens to office,[55] preferring a profligate Kaiqubād to the probably promising

Kaikhusrū. When one occupied the throne, his power was unlimited by any thing but his own sweet will. It made possible 'Alā-ud-Dīn's attempt at a totalitarian control of the state as well as the humility of a Bahlol[56] or a Jalāl-ud-Dīn[57] who would not even sit on a throne. It was a despotic personal rule all in a class by itself.

NOTES

[1] Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 28-45, 119, 171, 218; Tritton, *Caliphs and Their non-Muslim Subjects*, 21.

[2] *Mu'alim-ul-Qurba*, edited by Levy; *Ahkām-ul-Salātīnya*, Māwardī, Urdu translation, 235; cf. *Fatuhāt-i Fīroz Shāhi* and *Kitāb-ul-Khirāj*, Abu Yusaf.

[3] Māwardī, 116; cf. Dennet, *Conversion and Poll Tax in Early Islam*.

[4] Cf. Joseph Schacht, *The Origin of Muslim Jurisprudence*, and Maurice G. Demombynes, *The Muslim Institutions*.

[5] Nizām-ul-Mulk, *Siāsat Vāmā*, Urdu translation, especially 110 & 111; Barni 511.

[6] Von Kramer, "Politics In Islam" translated in *Islamic Civilization* by Khudā Bakhsh, 43 to 118; cf. *Tarikh-i-Fakhr-ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh* for a contemporary opinion about monarchy; *Fatawa-i-Jahāndārī*, translated in *Source of Indian Tradition*, 479, 482, 488, 1 9.

[7] Elliot and Dowson, I, 125; *Fatūh-ul-Buldān*, Urdu translation, II, 190.

[8] Cf. Sri Ram Sharma, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, 122, 123.

[9] *Chach Vāmā*, Elliot and Dowson, I, 182, 183; *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram* (Elliot and Dowson, I, 476, n. 3) mentions that a special agent was sent to collect *jizya* in Sind. *Fatuh-ul-Buldān*, II, 220, has it that the *jizya* was first levied in Sind in 221 A. H. (836 A. D.)

[10] *Chach Nāmā*, Elliot and Dowson, I, 185-187; in the Appendix, 168-469, are noted departures from the policy of toleration practised in Sind in early years.

[11] Girdīzī, *Zain-ul-Akhbār*, 59, translated by Sri Ram Sharma as "An Almost Contemporary Account of Mahmūd's Invasion of India", included in his *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, 24; Utbi, translated, *ibid.*, 43, 44; Firishta, 25 & 26.

[12] Rulers of Delhi (1206-1526) *House of Aibak*: Qutb-ud-Dīn, Ārām. *House of Iltutmish*: Iltutmish, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Raziya, Bahrām, Ma'sūd, Nāsir-ud-Dīn. *House of Balban*: Balban, Kaiqubād. *The Khiljīs:* Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Nāsir-ud-Dīn Khusrū, *The Tughlaqs:* Ghyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Tughlaq, FīrozTughlaq, Ghiās-ud-Dīn Abū Bakr, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Sikandar Shāh, Mahmūd. Iqbāl Khān (Mahmūd Tughlaq's nominal rule again after Iqbāl Khān's death). Daulat Khān Lodhī. *The Sayyids*: Khizr Khān, Mubārak Shāh, Muhammad, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Hamīd Khān. *The Lodhīs*: Bahlol, Sikandar, Ibrāhīm.

[13] Balban, Kaiqubād, Sikandar Lodhī.

[14] Qutb-ud-Dīn Aibak, Iltutmish, Nāsir-ud-Dīn Mahmūd, Balban, 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī (poisoning alleged), Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq, Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq (twice poisoned), Nāsir-ud-Dīn Tughlaq, Sikander, Muhmūd Shāh, Khizr Khān, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahlol Lodhī, Sikander Lodhī. Of the house of Iltutmish, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Raziya and Bahrām were assassinated, as were Jalāl-ud-Dīn

Khiljī and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Khiljī; and Ghiās-ud-Dīn Tughlaq II was similarly murdered by his own relative. Ma'sūd, grandson of Iltutmish, and Abū Bakr Tughlaq died in prison. Only the Sayyid and Lodhī rulers were free from the taint of regicide.

[15] Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, 25, 39, 64.

[16] Māwardī cites authorities laying down that the number of electors varies between 1 to 11.

[17] 'Afif, Urdu translation, 44; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, I, 242.

[18] Barni, 121-22; Yahiya, 53; Firishta, 83.

[19] Cf. "Accession of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq" by Sri Ram Sharma, in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Lahore;* also in *Studies*, 139 to 144.

[20] *Studies*, 139, 140 & 141.

[21] *Tārikh-i-Dāudī*, 104; *Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī*, 81; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 341; Firishta, 181.

[22] *Tārikh-i-Guzīda*, 71.

[23] Wright, *Catalogue of Coins*, 58, 66, 83 & 84.

[24] Barni, 121-22; Yahiya, 53; Firishta, 83.

[25] Cf. Khusrū's Works.

[26] *Bābar Nāmā*, 11, 482.

[27] Cf. "Nāsir-ud-Dīn Khusrū Shāh" in *Studies in Medieval Indian History* by Sri Ram Sharma, 103 to 120.

[28] *Tughlaq Nāmā*, Amir Khusrū, 151; Isami, *Futūh-us-Salātīn*, 380.

[29] Barni, 382.

[30] 'Afif, 382 to 384. Of course Afif mentions earlier (29) that Shaikh Chiragh-ud-Dīn had made Fīroz promise that he would follow the law on ascending the throne.

[31] *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (English), I, 186; *Haft-Iqalīm* (MS), f. 127 b.

[32] Barni, 295, 296, 445; Firishta; Muhammad Tughlaq in his autobiography however describes 'Ala-ud-Dīn's reign thus: "During 'Ala-ud-Dīn's reign no trace of Islam remained. What was legitimate was made illegitimate and vice versa;" cited by Mahdi Husain in the *Rise & Fall of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq*, 172.

[33] Barni, 168.

[34] *Khazāin-ul-Fatūhāt.*

[35] Iltutmish, "Sana Muhammadi", translated in the *Medieval India Quarterly.*

[36] Barni, 70 to 79.

[37] Barni, 151, 216.

[38] 'Afif, 373.

[39] 'Afif, 375 to 379. But compare *Fatūhāt-i-Fīroz Shāhi* cited in Firishta, I, 150, 151 where details of his abolishing unlawful practices are given. Some of them softened the rigours of the criminal law. He claims to have abolished torture, skinning an offender, cutting his feet, drawing nails into his hands and feet, sawing an offender in two. But he does not claim that these were unlawful and abolished on that account. He seems to assert that he was capable of carrying on his government without using these measures. He does claim that he gave up unlawful levies. His assertion that he put an end to wearing of silk dresses, and using of silver and gold utensils seems to refer to his own practices. The tall claim that he drove all lacking in faith, heretics, and revisionists may be dismissed but his punishing the people who were put in this category during his reign and whose names are mentioned by chroniclers has to be accepted.

[40] 'Afif, 375 to 379; *Fatūhat* reproduced in Firishta, I, 151.

[41] 'Afif, 382 to 384. It has been suggested that the reduced rate may have

applied to the Brahmans alone. Even then it is a departure from the law.

[42] *Fatūhat* in Firishta, I, 151. [43] Barni, 299.

[44] Dr. G. N. Sharma has described some of the references to the organization and functioning of Panchayats in contemporary inscriptions and Jain Records in his paper on the Village Government in Rajputana submitted to the Seminar on the Medieval Indian State, Chandigarh, March, 1966.

[45] Under Sikandar Lodhī, Bodhan, a Hindu scholar was executed for declaring that both Hinduism and Islam were true. The case seems to have given a good deal of headache to the Government. A special conference of jurists was called to consider it, probably because it could not be easily placed under any known category of 'crimes'. The death sentence was pronounced for his offence, though he was invited to become Muslim in order to escape punishment.

[46] *Fatūhat* in Firishta, I, 151. But Fīroz himself claims here that he built only 40 mosques in his entire reign. His language seems to emphasize that whereas his predecessors allowed temples to be built, he razed 40 temples to the ground and built mosques in their places rather than that he destroyed all temples and built mosques in their places.

[47] 'Afif, 283, 284; whenever the Sadr visited the king, he carried in his turban a note about what he desired the king to do for him. When he rose to take his leave, the turban would get out of order a little, the note would fall to the ground when the king would take care of it and do the needful.

[48] See note 42 above. [49] 'Afif, 270.

[50] 'Afif, 95. [51] Barni, 438; 'Afif, 95.

[52] Barni, 499 ff.

[53] We find even orthodox Barni in his theoretical discussion of Muslim polity in the *Fatawa-i-Jahāndārī* (English translation, 64) conceding to the king the right of making laws of his own.

[54] For some time past undue stress has been laid on what has been called the Indo-Muslim theory of the state. If by theory we mean generalization from the practices prevailing in this period, what has been said in the text above can well be exalted, however erroneously, to the status of a theory. But the "Indo-Muslim theory" seems to be something different. It seems to confine itself to the contemporary exposition of what certain writers thought should have been—and were not—the principles governing the conduct of the Muslim rulers of India. Mubārak Shāh's *Shajra-i-Insāb*, Ziā-ud-Dīn Barni's *Fatawa-i-Jahāndārī*, and Hamdani's *Zakhīrat-ul-Muluk* are three extant works that shed some light on what the orthodox religious scholars thought should be the organisation and function of the state in a Dār-ul-Islam, a country where Islam prevailed. They composed their works in the thirteenth and the fourteenth century; the first when Aibak had just established his authority in Delhi, the second in the region of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq; the third in Kashmir in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

If Barni's theory is our guide in the matter, the entire rule of the Muslim kings was un-Islamic. He thus summarises the practices of the Muslim rulers in India: "(If) the kings of Islam take for granted infidelity, and infidels, in return for the land revenue and jizya. If they become content with extracting the jizya and the land tax from Hindus taking for granted the Hindu ways of life. (If) rulers allow the infidels to keep their temples, adorn their idols, and to make

merry during their festivals with beatings of drums, *dhols*, singing and dancing".

Having done so, he pronounces his judgment by asking a question "If (the kings of Islam do all this) how will infidelity and infidels be overthrown—the purpose of the domination of Sultans of Islam since Islam appeared...how shall infidelity be brought to an end? How will true faith prevail over other religions if the kings of Islam permit the banners of infidelity to be openly displayed, idols to be openly observed as far as possible?"

If according to Barni—who cites Shafī with apparent approval—"the decree for Hindus is either Islam or death" and "it is not lawful to accept jizya from Hindus"[7], not a single Muslim ruler of India lived upto this ideal or even tried to do so—neither his favourite Fīroz Shāh, nor the miracle worker Sikandar Lodhī, nor even Aurangzeb in the Mughal period. Thus 'the theory' which Barni seems to propound was never accepted even as an ideal or a goal by any ruler of Delhi. As such it cannot be considered to be a theory of Muslim rule in India.

But what is even more significant is the fact that Barni himself believes—except in moments of excessive religious inspiration—that a king of Delhi need not behave in entire accordance with his theory, "The customs and traditions of Ajam (Iran) are permitted in times of need"! Further when he concedes that the king is "vicegerent and shadow of God on earth" he seems to make him repository of a power which cannot be controlled by its very nature. It is the kingship as such that is exalted, not kingship when exercised according to the theory he lays down. It is wrong to say that he was interested in the use which a ruler actually made of his power. Had such been the case, 'Alā-ud-Dīn could not have been described by him as "the Shadow of God on earth". To Barni any concessions to Hindus were beyond the law and not permissible. Yet when he praises Fīroz almost as a model Muslim ruler, Barni quietly ignores the fact that Fīroz was permitting to Hindus all that had been held reprehensible in the *Fatawa-i-Jahāndārī*.

If we compare the theory propounded in his academic work and the value-judgments which he uses in his history of Muslim rulers of India, it would not be wrong to say that the 'theory' propounded by Barni was only an "intellectual pastime" incapable of being applied to the facts of the contemporary Muslim world.

Another school goes to the other extreme. Because Barni entertained certain ideas about kingship, he—and other writers—invented facts about certain rulers so that he could prove that they were great Muslim kings. The extracts given above from the *Fatawa-i-Jahāndārī* easily dispose of this specious argument. Barni notes that jizya was levied and in return some protection was granted to Hindus. But this was reprehensible in his eyes. Naturally he could not have said that Muslim kings levied jizya when it was not so in fact for the purpose of proving how great they were as Muslim kings. He could not have invented what he records as measures taken by 'Alā-ud-Dīn against the Hindus. 'Alā-ud-Dīn was not claiming to act according to the law but outside it.

As noted in the text, certain general statements made by some of the contemporary historians may have to be rejected either because they themselves cite cases which prove that the general statements were wrong—as when we are to pl

that Fīroz killed no Muslim in his reign—or because other evidence is available which throws doubt on the statements, as when *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* claims that Sikandar destroyed all the temples of the Hindus. But we have no reason to reject our authorities when they specifically mention that Sikandar destroyed certain temples on specified dates.

[55] Barni, 382.

[56] *Waqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī*, 9, 10; *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* in Elliot and Dowson, IV, 436, 437; Firishta, I, 179.

[57] Barni, 178, 179.

CHAPTER II

BĀBUR AND HUMĀYŪN

BĀBUR inherited his religious policy from the Lodīs. Sikandar Lodī's fanaticism must have been still remembered by some of the officials who continued to serve when Bābur came into power. Bābur was not a great administrator. He was content to govern India in the orthodox fashion. He projected no great changes in the government of the country except the design of a royal road from Agra to Kabul. But the Hindus, he met with, occupied no humble position. Rānā Sāngā, a Hindu, led a host wherein even Muslim armies were present under disaffected Pathān chiefs. It was Bābur's success at the battle of Khanava against Rānā Sāngā that enabled him to remain in India as her ruler. These two factors seem to have governed his religious policy. Bābur, the born fighter against heavy odds, knew he was at a great crisis in his life on the eve of his battle against Rānā Sāngā. In order to conform strictly to the Muslim law he absolved Muslims from paying stamp duties thus confining the tax to Hindus alone.[1] He thus not only continued, but increased, the distinction between his Hindu and Muslim subjects in the matter of their financial burdens. One of his officers, Hindu Beg, is said to have converted a Hindu temple at Sambhal into a mosque.[2] His Sadr, Shaikh Zain, demolished many Hindu temples at Chanderi when he occupied it.[3] By Bābur's orders, Mīr Bāqi destroyed the temple at Ayudhya commemorating Rāma's birth place and built a mosque in its place in 1528-29.[4] He destroyed Jain idols at Urva near Gwalior.[5] There is no reason to believe that he did anything to relax the harshness of the religious policy which he found prevailing.

Some time back a document, alleged to be Bābur's will was brought to the notice of scholars by the Government of Bhopal (Central India).[6] It was exhibited at one of the meetings of the Indian Historical Records Commission. But all attempts to examine the original document were frustrated by the refusal of the then ruler of Bhopal to show the document. The National Archives of India has been able to secure a photostat copy of "the original". Even a cursory study of the document is enough to prove that it is a forgery and a clumsy forgery at that. The spelling mistakes

that disfigure the document could not have been made by a royal scribe, however ignorant. Even 'the royal seal' affixed to the document misspels such a well known word as Ghāzī; curiously the word is similarly misspelt in the document itself. The facts stated in the secret testament are also wrong. The document is dated 21 January, 1530. But it states that 'God *bestowed the Bādshāhi* on Humāyūn'; this while Bābur was still alive. In January, 1530 Bābur was in good health and had no reason to make a last testament. Humāyūn was no doubt in Badakshan, but could have been easily recalled. Humāyūn had been writing to Bābur for some time past that he was thinking of retiring from the affairs of this world. To a prince in a mood for retirement a last testament on governing India could scarcely have been addressed. The tailpiece of the document supplies the most damaging argument against its being genuine. After having been advised to show tolerance towards Hindus, Humāyūn is told now to keep in view the deeds of Amīr Timur so that 'administrative affairs be strengthened'. This advice cannot be reconciled with the liberal policy recommended earlier.

Humāyūn

Bābur's son Humāyūn had not much chance of developing any distinct religious policy of his own. He followed the path of least resistance, the system already in vogue. We have no information whether or not he re-imposed on the Muslims the stamp duty abolished by his father. Probably he did. His religious outlook is well exemplified in his behaviour when he set out against Bahādur Shāh. He would not attack Bahādur Shāh as long as he was busy against the Rānā of Chitor. Humāyūn sacrificed his own chances of an easy success against Bahādur Shāh rather than interfere in his chances of earning religious merit by defeating an infidel.[7] But Humāyūn lived to introduce a partially modified religious policy. Bairam Khān was the most brilliant of his officers who followed him into Persia and back into India. But he was a Shi'a. As we shall see later, to the orthodox Sunnī heresy was almost as great a crime as infidelity. But Bairam Khān's faithful services naturally led to a modification of the attitude of the state towards the Shi'as. Humāyūn's stay in Persia also obliged him to show at least some outward respect to Shi'a practices.[8] Thus Humāyūn tolerated

heresy to a greater extent than did his predecessor. One of his Sadr-us-Sadūrs was reputed to be heretic.[9]

Humāyūn made a grant of 300 acres of land in Mirzapur district in the Uttar Pradesh for the maintenance of Jangamvadi Math of Banaras.[10]

Sher Shāh and the Hindus

But we must go back a little and study the religious policy of Sher Shāh Surī and his successors who supplanted Humāyūn for sixteen long years in the government of India. Sher Shāh was a great ruler: undoubtedly the greatest Muslim ruler before Akbar. We can understand, therefore, the anxiety of his biographer to credit him with a religious policy which he never dreamt of pursuing. *He could not have seen the folly of putting Hinduism under a ban*, as his biographer fondly imagines,[11] without abolishing the Jizya, the pilgrimage tax and various other signs of the religious hegemony of the faithful. If Muslim chroniclers do not praise him for his religious fanaticism as they do 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Feroz Shāh, or Sikandar Lodī, they simply bring him to the level of the general run of Muslim rulers who had been governing India before his time. The only positive evidence in his favour is the presence of a Hindu commander of doubtful standing and the provision for Hindus in the post-houses which he established. The first does not prove much, as Hindu commanders were found even in the army of Mahmūd Ghaznī to whom nobody could attribute a liberal religious policy. The second brings us to the question of the nature of these rest-houses. They were essentially a part of a working postal system. The postal runners might well have been Hindus for whom provision was necessary in these rest-houses. There is a separate caste of Hindus which even today works as carriers. It is doubtful whether Muslims could have been found willing enough to undertake this humble work. Thus the provision for the Hindus at the rest-houses was in the nature of a provision for a class of state servants. Hindu caste rules would not admit of the arrangements described being utilized by high caste Hindus and the places seem clearly to have been utilized, if at all, by Hindus of a lower caste, most probably public servants.

It is wrong to say that Sher Shāh did not destroy a temple or break an image. His conquest and occupation of Jodhpur was

followed by the conversion of the Hindu temple in the fort into a mosque.[12] The *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī* ascribes his attack on Māldev, Rājā of Jodhpur, partly to his religious bigotry and a desire to convert the temples of the Hindus into mosques.[13] His treachery towards Pūran Mall was not, as Qanungo tries to assert,[14] the result of a fanatic religious leader forcing his opinions upon an unwilling king. It had been planned by Sher Shāh beforehand, discussed by him with his officers and was deliberately done to earn religious merit by exterminating this arch-infidel. Sher Shāh said prayers of thanks after this 'religious' deed. No amount of mere rhetoric can enable us to get over the accounts of the expedition, especially when we find Sher Shāh, who got ill on the eve of the battle, inviting his officers and confiding to them that ever since his accession he had been anxious, in the cause of his religion, to defeat Pūran Mall. All accounts give this expedition a religious significance which no argument can destroy.[15]

Sher Shāh was only a product of his own age as far as his religious policy was concerned. Like Feroz Shāh before him, he combined administrative zeal with religious intolerance. His place in history does not depend upon his initiating a policy of religious toleration or neutrality. He had no more to do with founding a united nation in India, which is yet in the making, than any other successful ruler before him [16]

His successor, Salīm Shāh, brought the state under complete subjection to the Mullās. His relations with Shāh Muhammad, a Muslim theologian whom he treated just as Charles X in a later age in France treated the Papal nuncio, prove his subordination to religious leaders. The civil war that followed Sikandar Shāh's accession gave Hemū, a mere Hindu shopkeeper, the chance to become 'Ādil Shāh's commander-in-chief and prime minister, thus breaking the religious tradition of intolerance.

This was the system Akbar inherited when he came to the throne in 1556.

NOTES

[1] *Tūzak-i-Bāburī*, II, 281.
[2] *Archaeological Survey Report*, XII, 26-27.
[3] *Tārīkh-i-Bāburī*, (MS.), 145.

[4] Cf. the inscription on the mosque as reproduced in Bannerjee's article *Bābur and Hindus* (Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, 1936, Allahabad).

[5] *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, 340.

[6] *The Twentieth Century*, Allahabad, published a photographic reproduction of this document in its issue for January, 1936. See appendix reproducing the reading of the photographic reproduction on page 29.

[7] Firishta, I, 328.

[8] Firishta, I, 362. Cf. Firishta, I, 372, where it is related that Kāmrān had doubts about Humāyūn's orthodoxy.

[9] Badāyūnī, I, 392.

[10] The Math has the original Farmān in its possession even today.

[11] Qanugo, 417.

[12] Local tradition in Jodhpur. Sher Shāh's mosque is still there.

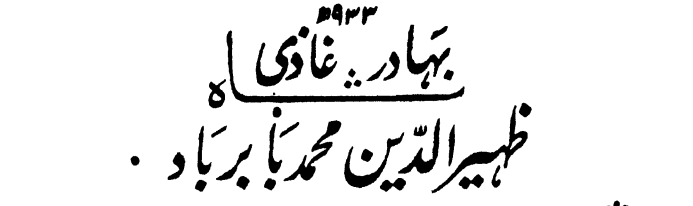
[13] *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, 236.

[14] *Sher Shāh*, 293-96.

[15] *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, 229-32. Cf. Abbās, 132-33, Yādgār, 75*a*, 83*a*-85*a*.

[16] Cf. Sri Ram Sharma, *Sher Shāh's Administrative System* in his *Mughal Government and Administration*. For the cause of historical scholarship Prof. Qunungo in the second edition of his work published under the title, "Sher Shāh and His Times," has given up all their tall claims on behalf of Sher Shāh.

BABUR'S LAST TESTAMENT



۹۳۳
بہادر غازی شاہ
ظہیر الدّین محمد بابر بادشاہ

وصیت نامہ مخفی ظہیر الدین محمد بابر بادشاہ غازی بشاہزادہ نصیر الدین محمد ہمایوں ظل اللہ
در استحکام سلطنت نوشتہ شد ای فرزند مملکت ہندوستان از مذاہب مختلفہ
ماموراست ۔ بحمد اللہ کہ حق سبحانہٗ تعالےٰ بادشاہی آں چنوں کرامت فرمود باید کہ تعصبات
مذہبی را از لوح دل پاک نمودہ موافق طریق ہر ملت معدلت کن خصوصاً از قربانی گاؤ
بہ پرہیز کہ تسخیر قلوب اہل ہندوستانست و رعیت ایں ولایت باصفات بادشاہی
وابستہ شود و منادر و معبد گاہ ہر قومیکہ زیر فرمان بادشاہی ست خراب مکن چناں
عدل گستری اختیار کن کہ شاہ از رعیت و رعیت از بادشاہ آسودہ شود ۔ ترقی اسلام از
تیغ احسان بہتر است نہ کہ از تیغ ظلم و از منافقات اہل سنت و شیعہ چشم پوشی کن
والا ضعف اسلام موجود است و رعیت مختلف القلوب را بحکم اربعہ عناصر قائم کن
کہ جسم سلطنت از امراض مختلفہ ایمن باشد و کارنامۂ حضرت امیر تیمور صاحبقرانی پیش باید
روز و شب کہ بامور شہریاری پختہ شود ۔

I am thankful to the National Archives for a photostat copy in its possession. Dr. Tirnusi helped me in deciphering the text and also confirm the evaluation of this document I had made in the first edition of my *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors* in 1940. I am grateful to him and to the Director for the facilities provided in this connection.

CHAPTER III

AKBAR AND THE FOUNDATION OF A NEW ORDER

His Accession

AKBAR's reign forms the dividing line between the old and the new methods of government which he was to make so successful. When he succeeded his father in 1556, he was only thirteen. The government of the country was administered on his behalf by Bairam Khān. In 1560 Bairam Khān was ousted and a petticoat government established under the auspices of Maham Anagā. By 1562, however, Akbar was able to assert himself and assume the supreme direction of affairs. From 1562 to 1605 he was his own master consulting whomsoever he liked but shaping his policy mostly according to his own lights. These years saw fundamental changes in the policy of government and enabled Akbar to leave behind him a name which entitles him to a high place among the foremost rulers of mankind

The Contemporary Atmosphere

When his reign began, it gave no signs of the opening of a new era in the religious policy of the Mughal emperors. Almost his first act of state was to earn religious merit and the title of Ghāzī (slayer of infidels) by striking at the disarmed and captive Hemū after his defeat at the second battle of Panipat. Akbar was not asked to whet his sword on Hemū because he was a rebel, but because he was a Hindu. He was to perform not the task of the official executioner, but that of a victorious soldier of Islam. Abu'l Fazl would have us believe that the boy Akbar was wiser than his years and refused to strike a defenceless enemy.[1] But most other writers are agreed that he struck at Hemū and earned the title of the Ghāzī thereby.[2]

This was not an isolated instance of popular feelings. The spirit of the age sanctioned such and even worse practices. Mubārak, a scholar of no mean repute, was persecuted even though he was a Muslim, for holding rather unorthodox views.[3] Mīr Habshī was executed for the offence of being a Shi'a ;[4] Khizar Khān met his

death on a charge of blasphemy;[5] there were others as well who shared a similar fate.[6] As Badāyūnī tells us, it was customary 'to search out and kill heretics', let alone non-Muslims.[7] The popular attitude towards heretics and non-Muslims can be well understood by several incidents of Akbar's reign itself. In 1569-70 (977 A.H.) Mirzā Muqīm and Mīr Yā'qūb were executed for their religious opinions.[8] Hemū's father, when captured, was offered his life if he turned Muslim. Even in 1588 when the murderer of a Shi'a was executed, the people of Lāhore showed their religious sentiments by desecrating the tomb of his victim.[9] Feelings towards the Hindus could not be restrained—'Abdun Nabī executed a Brahman for blasphemy on the complaint of a Qāzī.[10] Husain Khān, the governor of Lahore who died in 1575-76 (983 A.H.), made his government famous by ordering that the Hindus should stick patches of different colours on their shoulders, or at the edge of their sleeves, so that no Muslim might be put to the indignity of showing them honour by mistake. Nor did he allow Hindus to saddle their horses but insisted that they use packsaddles when riding.[11] The *Akbar Nāmā*, the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* and Badāyūnī are all agreed that prior to 1593, some Hindus had been converted to Islam forcibly.[12] When Todar Mal was appointed Finance Minister, Akbar had to defend this appointment of a Hindu to such a high office by reminding his Muslim critics that they were all utilizing the services of Hindu accountants in their own households.[13] When Mān Singh was appointed the leader of the expedition against Mahārānā Pratāp, the appointment caused some resentment in the Muslim military circles.[14] Badāyūnī accompanied Mān Singh in this expedition. On the battle-field he failed to distinguish between the Imperial Rajputs and those led by Mahārānā Pratāp. He consulted a Muslim friend nearby who told him that he need not worry. He should shoot indiscriminately; whosoever would be killed would mean one Rajput less and hence Islam would gain.[15] In 1581 some Portuguese captives at Surat were offered their lives if they would turn Muslims.[16] When Kangra was invaded in 1572-73 (980 A.H.) even though Bīrbal accompanied the expedition as a joint commander, the umbrella of the goddess was riddled with arrows, 200 cows were killed and Muslim soldiers threw their shoes full of blood at the walls and the doors of the temple.[17] Salīm, at one time, intended demolishing some of the Hindu temples at Banaras but desisted therefrom on Mān Singh's intervention.[18] A Mughal officer, Bāyazīd,

converted a Hindu temple of Banaras into a Muslim school.[19] Some Jain idols are said to have been broken in Gujarat, though Akbar later on sent a *Farmān* to the governor asking him to protect the Jain temples from further injury. A cartload of idols was removed from the temples by a Mughal officer and was yielded up to a Jain on payment of money some time after 1578.[20]

Such seem to have been—and continued to be—the popular prejudices against the Hindus.

Akbar's Heritage

Akbar's task was, therefore,not an easy one. He had to formulate his religious policy in this atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion. There whould have been nothing easier than to continue the age-long traditions and govern as most of his predecessors had governed in India. But it seems that the problem as Akbar saw it was complicated. It is true that most of the Muslim kings in India had governed as outsiders but their fate left an interesting lesson behind it. Their occupation and government of India seemed to have been superficial. Dynasties had risen and crumbled to the ground with a suspicious ease. During the last three centuries, the Slaves, the Khiljīs, the Tughlaqs, the Sayyids, the Lodīs, the Mughals and the Surīs had had their turn. The average life of these dynasties had been fifty years. Akbar's father, Humāyūn, had been expelled from India easily enough. It seemed that to the Hindu population the names of their Muslim rulers, their places of origin, or their sub-castes did not matter. To them all were foreigners, non-Hindus and unholy. They were not interested in the changes of dynasty. These facts stared Akbar in the face. Unlike his predecessors, he possessed an unusual amount of imagination and initiative. They had been content to govern as of old, because they knew no better and were content to tread the beaten path. Akbar, like his grandfather Bābur—but in a different field—loved adventure and was prepared to plunge into new experiments in government. Besides, he possessed an intensely religious nature and a profoundly inquisitive mind. This combination prevented his becoming a fanatic. Fortune favoured him in rather an unusual manner. His first Prime Minister and regent, Bairam Khān was a Shi'a and, therefore, to a majority of Muslims in India, a heretic. He appointed 'Abdul Latīf his tutor, who was so liberal in his views that among Sunnīs he acquired the

reputation of being a Shi'a (a heretic), and among Shi'as that of being a Sunnī and, therefore, again, a heretic.[21] Bairam Khān further used his power as regent to appoint Shaikh Gadai, a Shi'a, as the Sadr-us-Sadūr of the empire.[22] Humāyūn in his own days, as the emperor of India, had been suspected of being a Shi'a[23] and, like Bābur, he had bought Persian aid with an outward show of respect for Shi'a practices and a promise to encourage the Shi'a religion in India.[24] All this weakened the outer bulwarks of the orthodox Sunnīsm in India and gave Akbar a starting point for his experiments. His marriages with Hindu princesses further contributed to the liberalizing process. Before his time, such marriages had taken place.[25] But Akbar improved upon the earlier practice by allowing his Hindu spouses to perform their religious rites in the palace.[26] This had its effect upon his religious attitude to his people. If idol worship was tolerated in the palace, it would have looked rather unreasonable to prohibit it outside. Akbar, thus, came to be surrounded by Hindu influences at home which must have worn away the natural repugnance of a Muslim for Hindu practices.

Akbar's inquisitiveness also came to his help. He desired not only to profess and practise the faith of his forefathers, but to understand it as well. With this end in view, he established his 'House of Worship' and started religious discussion there. Here came theologians, scholars learned in law, Sufīs of all grades and conditions and his officers. When the discussions once started, it was discovered that orthodoxy was divided against itself. Differences of opinion appeared, not only on questions of detail but of fundamentals as well.[27] Discussion on the number of wives a Muslim could lawfully marry went deeper and stirred up trouble over the question of the legality of the Nīkāh and Mutāh marriages.[28] When Jalāl-ud-Dīn was appointed to write a commentary on the *Qur'ān* it was discovered that the work could not proceed any further on account of the differences of opinion on many important matters.[29] One pronounced a thing lawful, another would pronounce the very same thing unlawful.[30] But more disconcerting than this difference of opinion was the intolerance for each other's views exhibited by the Mullās when they happened to differ. At the very outset, as the emperor sat listening to their discussion 'a horrid noise and confusion arose'. The emperor was very much upset and commissioned Badāyūnī to report to him such disputants as talked nonsense

and could not behave themselves. Badāyūnī in an 'aside' declared that this would empty the house of all its members.[31] Hājī Ibrāhīm Sirhindī declared that wearing of yellow and red-coloured clothes was lawful. Sayyid Muhammad, the chief Qāzī, could not tolerate the expression of this heretic view and abused Ibrāhīm roundly in the imperial presence.[32] 'They would call one another fool and heretic.' Their personal bickerings necessarily detracted much from their claims to infallibility. They did not even leave the ancient commentators alone. In order to support their arguments they quoted from ancient authorities and proved that there existed as great a difference of opinion among them as among their modern representatives.[33]

The fall of the mullādom was hastened by its pretentiousness as well. 'Abdun Nabī, the Sadr-us-Sadūr, would not pay heed to even the greatest among the imperial officials. The emperor used to handle his shoes to make it easier for the Shaikh to put them on.[34] The combination of ecclesiastical office with unlimited patronage also brought forth its nemesis. The Sadr-us-Sadūrs were supposed to be the highest religious dignitaries in the empire. Left to themselves, the Sadrs might have proved patterns of saintly life. But to their office was attached, among other things, the distribution of royal charities. This exposed the holders of the office to temptation. Patronage provided opportunities for corruption and left little room for saintliness of life. The dishonest and corrupt working of the ecclesiastical department under 'Abdun Nabī became a disgrace to the state.[35] Minor dignitaries were no better, Mukhdūm-ul-Mulk, another leader of the orthodox party, invented and pursued a very disingenuous method of defrauding the exchequer.[36] Hajī Ibrāhīm Sirhindī, provincial Sadr of Gujarat, was indicted for bribery and dismissed.[37] Qāzī Jalāl-ud-Dīn of Multan forged a Royal order for half a million tankas.[38] These fraudulent acts made the holders of these offices unpopular. 'Abdun Nabi was strangled to death in his bed in A.D. 1584 (992 A.H.).[39] Mukhdūm-ul-Mulk died possessed of a princely fortune. Such representatives of orthodoxy naturally failed to impress the emperor. Under the circumstances they failed to make good their claim to exclusive protection, much less to a right to persecute rival groups. This might, however, have never been noticed but for the fact that in Mubārak, Abu'l Fazl, and Faizī, Akbar found three kindred spirits able to meet the scholars on their own grounds and give

them as good as, if not better than, they received. They had been victims of the spirit of vindictiveness and persecution which was so common in those days. When, at last they obtained royal protection, their royal patron proved to be as liberal as themselves. But let us not forget that though they might have encouraged Akbar on his path, they did not choose for him, Akbar had already made up this mind and made a start before they were allowed to be received at court. Their reception was the effect of a liberal policy already decided upon, rather than its cause.

The religious ferment through which India was passing at that time also made its contribution to the final evolution of Akbar's religious policy. Hindu India was at that time astir with life; the cult of devotion to a personal god had caught the imagination of some chosen spirits who were making it popular. The religious ideas of the people were in a melting pot. The leaders of the Bhakti movement were busy creating a saintly brotherhood in which weavers, butchers, cultivators and shopkeepers were rubbing shoulders with the high caste leaders of Vaishnava thought.[40] It was only in such an atmosphere that Hindu teachers could be found willing enough to initiate the emperor into the mysteries of Hindu thought. A hidebound orthodoxy could not have tolerated this propagation of Hindu views to an outsider even though he was an emperor. Akbar's marriages with Hindu princesses and his relations with the Hindu rājās provided the means for bringing Hindu teachers of all shades of opinion to the religious discussions in the imperial presence. These meetings were thrown open to the adherents of other religions as well. Akbar's relations with the State of Bikaner procured for him the services of Karm Chand who had once served as a minister at the court of Bikaner. He was a Jain and through him were introduced to the court such eminent Jain scholars as Mān Singh and Jai Chand Sūri.[41] The presence of the Portuguese on the western coast enabled the emperor to request for and receive at his court three representatives of their religion.[42] The Parsis were also invited.[43] The discussions in the 'Ibādat Khāna had their immediate influence outside as well. When the Hindus could dispute with impunity with the Muslim scholars nice points of their respective theologies in the palace, some sort of freedom of views was naturally secured outside its walls as well.

All these things played a part in shaping Akbar's religious policy. But it was his mind that gave definite shape to the policy of tolerance

to the several religions in his kingdom. Many of these factors, if they tended to create a liberal atmosphere were themselves in their turn created by Akbar's natural liberalism and political far-sightedness. It has been maintained, sometimes by way of reproach that Akbar's religious policy was due to political rather than religious reasons. Even if that were true, it would not detract much from his greatness. As we shall soon see, Akbar's great achievement lay in liberating the state from its domination by the mullās. Even if for the toleration he granted to the vast majority of his subjects, he found sanctions outside orthodox Islam, it was not his fault. But this is far from being the case. Akbar's religious policy was intimately connected with his own religious views. It was the realization of the fact that 'the Truth is an inhabitant of every place'[44] that finally completed the process, which might have been begun earlier by Akbar's political sagacity.

The Jizya

Let us now study what Akbar's religious policy was. The greatest achievement of Akbar in this field was the abolition of the hateful Jizya.[45] As a tax the Jizya was bad enough, it was retrogressive in its demand and its incidence on income was great.[46] But it was hated more as a sign and emblem of inferiority. It implied a declaration that the Muslim rulers of India were still her conquerors, holding the inhabitants down by sheer force. It proclaimed the superiority of Islam over Hinduism in too brazen a fashion.[47] Every other aspect of the religious policy of Muslim emperors of India was founded upon the imposition of this tax. Thus its abolition in 1564 was a turning point in the history of the Muslim rule in India. As long as the Jizya was levied, the Muslims were the only true citizens in the Muslim state. Hindus were subjects who acquired certain rights as a result of their undertaking to pay the Jizya to their conquerors. With its abolition, Akbar created a common citizenship for all his subjects, Hindus and Muslims alike. It may be added here that Jizya was abolished years before Abu'l Fazl and Faizī were introduced to the emperor.

Public Worship

Akbar further removed all restrictions upon the public religious

worship by non-Muslims. The question of the pilgrimage tax levied on the Hindus was brought home to Akbar when he lay encamped at Mathura in 1563 at the time of a Hindu festival. It irked him to discover that his State was making money out of the religious obligations of the vast majority of his subjects. Forthwith orders were issued to stop the collection of the tax.[48] Akbar further removed all restrictions on the building of places of public worship as well.[49] This led to the building of numerous public temples in the famous places of Hindu pilgrimage. The rājās made most of their opportunities and built temples dedicated to their favourite gods. Mān Singh built a temple at Brindaban at a cost of half a million rupees and another at Banaras. A cultured Muslim traveller describing some of these temples in his travel diary compiled early in the reign of Jahāngīr was so pleased with the beauty of their structure that he wished they had been built in the service of Islam rather than Hinduism.[50] A Christian church was built at Agra, another at Lahore,[51] while permission to build churches at Cambay and Thatta[52] was also sought and given. Several Jain temples seem to have been built at Satrunjaya and Ujjain.[53] Local tradition credits Akbar with the presentation of a golden umbrella to the shrine of the fire goddess of Jwalā Mukhī in the modern district of Kangra in the Himachal Pradesh[54]. Bhavani's temple below the Kangra fort which had been desecrated by the imperial soldiers in 1572-73 and the idol carried away was allowed to be repaired and the idol restored to its place of honour. It seems to have been given out that the Mughals had thrown the idol in the river nearby. A search for it was made in the river bed and the idol was 'discovered' and duly installed at the temple. Possibly a gold umbrella of the goddess was put up at that time.[55] Akbar allowed the Hindus of Thanesar to rebuild the temple in the sacred tank at Kurushetra which had been demolished earlier by Muslim zealots who had built a mosque at the site.[56] Similarly he had the temple at Achal Makani near Batala rebuilt after the Muslim Faqirs had demolished it during a fight with the Sanyasis there.[57]

Cultural Contacts

The permission to build temples and churches implied toleration of public worship after the Hindu and the Christian fashion.[58] Combined with the abolition of the pilgrimage tax, it made it pos-

sible for the followers of all religions to worship their gods in their own way. But Akbar's generosity and justice did not stop here. He had destroyed the prevalent myth that the public celebration of the Hindu worship was a profanation to Muslim ears and eyes. There was another fiction almost of the same type. The study of the religious books of other religions was, to the average Muslim of the times, a sheer waste of time, if not worse. He was content with his own religion and had no use for anything else. The Hindus, on their side, were not willing to let other prying eyes look into their religious books.[59] Akbar tried to break through these barriers which were keeping the two communities apart. He organized a translation department which, among other things, was entrusted with the task of translating the religious books of the Hindus into Persian. Sanskrit work had been translated into Persian and Arabic before, but these had been mostly secular. Akbar now ordered that the *Atharva Veda*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivamsa* and the *Rāmāyana* be translated into Persian. Most of these translations were completed enriching Persian literature.[60] It is difficult to be sure what work it was that was translated as the *Atharva Veda*. No MS of this translation has been traced anywhere yet. Badāyūnī tells us that several of its precepts resemble the laws of Islam. He cites a passage which declares that no one will be saved unless he recites a text in it which repeats the sound several times. Badāyūnī in his zeal held that it resembled the Muslim declaration of faith. Badāyūnī tells us that he found several passages which his Brahman (now a convert to Islam) adviser did not understand. This Brahman, it is said, became a Muslim because he found in the *Atharva Veda* many passages which were contrary to current Hindu beliefs.[61]

Conversions to other Religions

Under earlier kings conversions to other faiths from Islam were not allowed. Such apostates paid with their lives for their 'falling off from grace'. Akbar began experimenting in this field modestly. In 1562, he struck at the barbarous custom of making slaves of prisoners of war.[62] In the hands of their Muslim masters, such slaves used to be converted to Islam. Akbar's order therefore put a stop to a very common source of adding to the flock of the faithful. The author of *Tazkir-at-ul Maluk*, mentions that while he was

travelling from Agra to Gujarat, one of his companions was punished for his 'possessing' a slave.[63] Not content with this, Akbar issued orders permitting the Hindus to reconvert to their faith such Hindus as had been forcibly compelled to accept Islam earlier.[64] It is difficult to judge precisely the effects of this order. Contemporary accounts are silent as to the number of Hindus who went back to their faith as a result of this permission. Surely it could not have been an idle gesture.

In 1603, a *Farmān* was issued permitting the Christians to make willing converts.[65] Mullā Shāh Ahmad, a Shi'a, is known to have made some converts to his way of thinking.[66]

These orders did not put an end to forcible conversion everywhere. At Surat, we have already noticed[67] some Christian prisoners of war were asked to become Muslims and on their refusal were executed. A Portuguese was forcibly converted to Islam in 1604.[68] It can however be safely assumed, that the active persecution of the Hindus and the systematic conversion of the believers of other religions to Islam became rare.

Public Services

The permission to make converts was a very great concession to the members of other faiths.[69] Combined with other aspects of Akbar's policy, this permitted his Muslim and non-Muslim subjects to live together in peace without any fear of their religious activities being checked. But as we know from the history of political institutions elsewere, toleration alone does not put an end to all the civic disabilities of citizens. Akbar knew that, and therefore, decided to remove all civic disabilities of non-Muslims. High public appointments had been the monopoly of the ruling caste till then.[70] The Muslims in India, like the English in the nineteenth century, formed the governing group from among whom all high officials were drawn. Akbar disregarded this monopoly and drew his officers from all ranks and conditions of men[71] Hindus were freely admitted to such high posts as they were fit for. Todar Mal became Akbar's Finance Minister and for some time his Prime Minister as well. Mān Singh, Bhagwān Dās Rāi Singh and Todar Mal served at various times as governors of provinces. Out of 137 mansabdārs of 1,000 and above mentioned in the *Āīn*, 14 were Hindus. Out of 415 mansabdārs of 200 or above, 51 were Hindus. The percentage of

Hindu officers in Akbar's army was higher than the percentage of Indian Officers holding the Kings' commissions in the Army in India before the World War II. Against four governors in Akbar's reign of half a century, there was only one Indian Governor in India during a century and a half of the British rule till 1937. No one in British India ever rose to the high rank which Todar Mal held as the Vicegerent and Finance Minister. Of the twelve provincial finance ministers appointed in 1594-95 eight were Hindus.[72] Further Akbar devised another channel for the utilization of the administrative talents of the Hindus. When they happened to be brought to the royal courts, cases between Hindus had hitherto been decided by the Muslim jurists. Akbar set up new courts under Brahman judges to decide such cases.[73]

For the success of the royal policy, Todar Mal as Finance Minister issued orders for the use of Persian as the language of record throughout the empire.[74] The Hindus, who ran the lower sections of the accounts and the revenue departments of the empire were thus compelled to learn the language and thereby assured promotion to higher ranks in the administration.

Respect for Hindu Sentiments

Akbar's toleration was not simply passive. He was not content with being neutral alone. He saw no reason why his being a Muslim should prevent his showing respect to the religious sentiments of the vast majority of his subjects. As Badāyūnī puts it, 'on further hearing how much the people of the country prized their institutions, he began to look on them with affection'.[75] Use of beef was forbidden as the cow was considered a sacred animal by the Hindus.[76] Blochmann,[77] and, following him, Vincent Smith[78] are wrong in stating that those who killed cows were awarded capital punishment. The Persian text of Badāyūnī records the fact that the Hindus kill good men if they kill cows.

It has to be remembered that by this injunction Akbar did not interfere with the performances of any religious rites of the Muslim. The eating of beef is lawful for Muslims, not obligatory. We are further told that in 1583 Akbar forbade the killing of animals on certain days.[79] Jahāngīr, when he mentions this fact, does not connect it with any anti-Muslim bias of Akbar. He seems to consider the prohibition in the same light in which the Sūfīs forbade

the use of meat—a self-denying ordinance. Badāyūnī declares that on these days Akbar abstained from taking meat as a religious penance. In 999 A.H. (1590-91) Akbar is said to have forbidden the eating of the flesh of oxen, buffaloes, goats or sheep, horses and camels.[80] Fishing also was prohibited for some time when Akbar visited Kashmir in 1592.[81]

It is difficult to decide whether Akbar simply made the use of these materials unlawful for himself or tried to enforce his own personal opinion about their being unlawful on his Muslim subjects as well. The flesh of goats and sheep was used in the royal kitchen at the time when the *Āīn* was compiled. Its price is also recorded in the *Āīn*.[82] Thus there is every reason to suppose that these injunctions were not enforced on his subjects by Akbar. There is no warrant for supposing with Vincent Smith[83] that these measures amounted to a great persecution of the large flesh-eating Muslim population. Even today a vast majority of Muslims living in the villages eat flesh very rarely. We can almost safely presume that Akbar's acts were mostly pious expressions of personal opinion which were disregarded even in the royal kitchen. They do not seem to have been 'measures', in the sense of being laws, to be enforced by the State. Unlike Asoka and Aurangzeb, Akbar had no overseers of morals and these expressions of personal taste were expected to be respected presumably just as much as, and no more than, Akbar's mode of dress!

We are further told that Akbar 'avoided garlic, onion, beef, association with people with beards and introduced these heretical practices in the assemblies'.[84] Here again was no question of persecution. Some of the 'forbidden' food stuffs were openly sold in the markets and the price of the preparations containing them is recorded in the *Āīn*.[85] Akbar, however, respected the feelings of the Hindus enough to abstain from the use of some of these articles.

Akbar started participating in some of the Hindu festivals. The *Rākhī* was celebrated in the court when the Brahmans came to tie strings of different types of threads to the imperial wrists. But it was a purely social festival as celebrated in Akbar's court. Even today its religious side is not much in evidence and the festival is celebrated simply as a means of making presents to the Brahmans and one's relatives. However, after some time the celebration got so elaborate and ceremonious that Akbar discontinued the prac-

tice.[86] Further in common with the vast majority of his subjects Akbar started celebrating in the *Dīpāvalī*, the festival of lamps.[87] Again, his participation herein was confined to its festive side only. There is nothing to suggest that he participated in the worship of the goddess of wealth which forms part of the festival.

His participation in the celebration of the *Sivarātrī* seems to bear a religious tinge.[88] But all that Badāyūnī's account suggests is that he made that night an occasion for assembling *yogīs* from far and near and listened to their discourses on their beliefs and practices. We cannot but treat all these things as constituting an attempt by Akbar to conciliate the Hindus without at the same time implying any disrespect to his own religion. Several Muslim communities in the Punjab—Meos, Bohrās, Khojās and Khānzadāhs—were found celebrating some of the Hindu festivals in the census held in 1881. Till recently in Indian States under Muslim rulers, Hindu officials attended the social and court ceremonies held in connexion with many Muslim festivals and all officials, including the Muslims, attended similar Hindu festivals in the Hindu states. In the early days of the British acquisition of India, even Christian administrators participated in the celebration of Hindu and Muslim festivals without thereby ceasing to be Christians. Muslim officers continued participating in the non-religious parts of some of the Hindu festivals even during Aurangzeb's reign.

Social Reforms

Though Akbar was tolerant, he did not extend his toleration to anything he considered an evil practice. He was content to leave every one of his subjects to his own mode of worship. But if it was necessary for the sake of social reform or administrative convenience to take some action in a matter, he would not stop to inquire whether what he proposed had the religious sanction of the Hindus or the Muslims. On humanitarian grounds and for administrative efficiency he was not afraid of taking steps which might be considered by the Hindu or the Muslim orthodoxy as an interference with their religious (or social) practices. He discouraged child marriages[89] though they had then, as now, the sanction of both Hindu and Muslim orthodoxy. He permitted widow remarriages among the Hindus.[90] He prohibited the burning of young Hindu

widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands if the marriage had not been consummated.[91] He would not, and could not, prohibit the evil custom of Sati altogether but declared that no compulsion was to be used to make an unwilling Hindu widow burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. This was not merely a pious expression of his individual opinion. When he learnt that the parents and the son of a Rajput widow were trying hard to compel her to become a Sati, he left the capital in haste and hurried to the place. He arrived in time to prevent her immolation and showed his Rajput subjects that he would have his orders obeyed, even if they went against their cherished religious or social usages.[92] He forbade marriages between cousins and near relations, even though this was sanctioned by the Muslim law.[93] Similarly circumcision of children of a tender age was forbidden.[94] He recognized the evil of drink, but made a compromise by controlling its use and restraining its evil influences instead of either insisting on total prohibition, as Aurangzeb tried to do without much success, or shutting his eyes to the existence of the evil, as most of his predecessors had done. Shopkeepers were required to apply for licences for the sale of liquor and Akbar fixed all liquor prices himself. The use of wine in moderation was allowed for medical purposes. It was sold only on the buyers' giving their names. This must have discouraged some who were not prepared to make their indulgence known to the public. He tried other means to control the evil effects of drink. Drunkenness was to be punished and disorderly conduct had to be paid for with a fine. He insisted on these regulations being enforced and every day, according to Badāyūnī, many drunkards were punished. But if Badāyūnī is to be believed, the evil of drink had gone so far that Akbar's measures fell short of Badāyūnī's—and presumably Akbar's expectations.[95] We need not be surprised at the partial failure of Akbar in dealing with the drink problem. Most modern states have fared no better.

He made similar attempts to control prostitution. A special quarter was set apart for prostitutes. An officer was appointed and whosoever wanted to visit them or take them home had to give him his name and address. Akbar tried to insist on sending all women of ill-repute to this quarter when their proceedings became notorious.[96]

In dealing with these evils Akbar was far ahead of his times.

His measures remind one of the excise policy in British India, the municipal control of prostitution in Indian cities, the Sarda Act and early British measures to confine Sati to willing victims. His policy in dealing with these problems involved as much interference with the religion—as it was then understood—of the Hindus as of the Muslims.

An attempt was made by him to deal with the beggar nuisance in the capital at least by setting apart three colonies for beggars where arrangements were made to maintain them by royal charity. Khair Pura for the Muslims, Dharm Pura for the Hindus, and Jogī Pura for the Hindu *Yogis* were the main organized centres.[97] The seclusion to which women were generally condemned then was lessened by the setting apart of a time for women to visit the exhibition of trades and industries in the Mīnā Bāzār held once a month.[98] This must have shocked many Muslims and Hindus alike. Gambling seems to have been so prevalent, in spite of Muslim injunction to the contrary, that Akbar not only recognized its existence but tried to bring it under state control.[99]

Some Administrative Measures

To increase the efficiency of his government, Akbar adopted many new measures. He introduced trial by ordeal.[100] This must have been necessitated by the requirement in Muslim law that an accused could be held guilty of a crime only if at least two eye-witnesses testified to his having committed it or if he himself confessed. How far this method of trying offenders became common we have no means of ascertaining. A standard year for official purposes was adopted. The Muslim lunar year, the Hindu Faslī year and the many local eras in use caused a good deal of administrative confusion. The lunar era was not suitable for revenue purposes as its months did not correspond with harvest seasons. On this account it was not possible to fix any dates in the era either for the issue of demand slips for revenue to the cultivators, or for the collection of revenue. A new era with a solar year was therefore introduced in the year 1586 (994 A.H.) and called the Ilāhī Year.[101] It was not intended to, and it did not, supersede the use of the Hijrī era. The Ilāhī era was intended to be used in official records, oftener than not, along with the Hijrī dates. It did not involve the disuse of the Muslim era either by Akbar or his

subjects.[102] So convenient was the new era that it was continued by his successors including Aurangzeb who only gave precedence to the Hijrī dates in state papers.[103] Yet Akbar was so careful in respecting the religious feelings of his Muslim subjects that he hesitated long before the introduction of this measure lest its introduction be misunderstood. He had, earlier in 1582, tried without success, to make the Hindus reckon the beginning of their month from after the 16th lunar day rather than the 29th.[104]

Akbar was a patron of literature and science of all kinds. He refused to believe, unlike his Safavī contemporary of Persia, that only the legalities (Muslim theology, tradition and law) need be studied.[105] He patronized, therefore, the study of astronomy, mathematics, history, *belles lettres*, medicine and many other subjects.[106] A contemporary Persian poet regretfully recorded the fact that on account of the orthodoxy of the Persian princes it was impossible for any one to become learned in different sciences. Only when one came to India, he acknowledged, could one really acquire proficiency in studies.[107] Naturally the Mullās who were themselves brought up on the old lore found the change hard to accept. It involved the disappearance of their monopoly of learning. They could hardly adapt themselves to the new order of things and keenly resented this change. Badāyūnī's wrath against the emperor who sponsored this change from 'classicism' to 'modernism' can be easily understood.

Akbar's patronage of literature added a splendid chapter to the history of Persian literature. It drew to his court a large number of men of letters driven out partly on account of persecution at home. Of these Urfī Shirazī and Nasirī of Nishapur occupy a prominent place in the development of Persian poetry. Of the Indian writers, Faizī is respected as a great Persian poet wherever Persian is studied.[108]

It is difficult to believe Badāyūnī when he tells us that the emperor interdicted the study of Arabic.[109] It is only the lamentation of an old man on the passing away of the old order. We know Akbar's library contained Arabic books.[110] Some Arabic works were translated under his patronage.[111] Again the assertion of Badāyūnī that Akbar directed that the letters peculiar to Arabic should not be used in spelling words in Persian,[112] seems to have originated in Badāyūnī's attempt at ridiculing the main plank of Akbar's policy. At best Akbar may have tried to encourage

reversion to what he may have been led to consider was 'pure' Persian. But there is nothing to prove that this order was enforced in the way in which Badāyūnī wishes us to believe it was intended. No documents of Akbar's reign have come down to us with this peculiarly fantastic attempt at reforming spelling. The *Farāmin-i-Salātin* includes a *Farmān* of Akbar dated 1595 (1004 A.H.), where many words appear without any change in their spelling.[112] This 'tale', therefore, must be credited to Badāyūnī's resentment at Akbar's patronizing useful, as against purely religious, and modern, as against classical studies and accomplishments. It has been suggested that men of letters of Akbar's age gave expression to what have been called 'the cosmopolitan ideas as a popular theme on which they harp again and again.'[113] The theme that recurs in the works of many Persian poets of the time derived itself from the mystic traditions of earlier writers in India and elsewhere. Like those writers they speak disparagingly both against formalism and dogmatism and emphasize the esoteric aspect of religion in favour with the sufīs. Many of these writers had adopted this line of thought in their native lands before coming to India. It is rather the volume of their protest which is remarkable rather than the protest itself.

Akbar felt that the administration of the Sadr-us-Sadūr's department was far from satisfactory. Even an orthodox Muslim of Badāyūnī's type was not pleased with the way things had been going in this department for years. The Sadrs had had far too much power and they had not used it well. A Sadr, we must remember, was the minister for ecclesiastical affairs, the chief theologian, the charity commissioner and the chief justice besides usually being the religious preceptor of the head of the State. The concentration of so many and so exalted functions in one man could not but have turned his head. 'Abdun Nabī was Akbar's Sadr when he turned his attention to this department. Akbar started by cutting down his territorial jurisdiction and appointed Makhdūm-ul-Mulk as a separate and independent Sadr of the Punjab. In 1581 Akbar appointed six Sadrs in the provinces.[114] Inquiries were also held into the rent-free grants made earlier in the reign. 'Abdun Nabī's grants, according to Badāyūnī, far exceeded in value the grants made by all the earlier Muslim kings.[115] Even under Shaikh Gadāī at least one theologian held a grant worth ten million tankas.[116] Akbar was therefore driven, in order to protect

his own financial interests, to inquire into the grants so far made. After investigation he reawarded the heredity grants made to scholars, theologians, priests and teachers according to his own estimate of their worth. One class of people, however, suffered in these proceedings and, according to Badāyūnī suffered justly. Those who 'enlisted disciples of their own, or held assemblies, or encouraged any kind of counterfeit worship' were imprisoned or exiled to Bengal or Sind.[117] The leaders of the Ilāhī sect were exiled to Bhakkar and Qandahar and exchanged for colts. Their practices constituted 'a bundle of foul lies and nonsense', according to Badāyūnī.[118]

But some Shaikhs (scholars) and Faqīrs (pious men without any means of support) might have suffered innocently in the course of these proceedings. Badāyūnī's statement that some of them were exchanged for mules in Qandahar is either a repetition of the fate that befell the Jalālīs or must be referred to some other unpopular group of theologians. It would have been rather difficult, if not impossible, to send any Shaikhs or Faqīrs as prisoners to Qandahar and there sell them as slaves among an orthodox Muslim population unless they had first lost all popular support. It was a punishment that could not have been carried out against popular or respected scholars and religious mendicants.

Akbar transferred the grants made to many scholars when he discovered that their influence on the people was not good. The collectors were given general directions to inquire into all cases of rent-free grants of land and revert to the State the share of a deceased grantee, an absentee, or a public servant.[119] These grants were always made to relieve the grantee of the burden of earning his livelihood in open competition. But when a grantee acquired another means of earning his livelihood, as for example by becoming a public servant, he obviously had no claims to the grant. Death naturally put an end to the reason for which the grant was made.

Akbar's policy is well illustrated by Badāyūnī's own example who, though as an orthodox mullā got no preferment, was yet able to keep his original jāgīr of 1,000 bīghas intact. In 1603-04, almost all the grants made in Gujarat were halved. The only exception made seems to have been the grant made to Dasturji Meharji Rana, the Parsi priest.[120] Earlier periodical examination and resumption of these grants are mentioned by Badāyūnī himself and

amply prove that Akbar was moved not by any feelings of revenge but by economic necessities.[121]

The emperor further sanctioned the charging of interest.[122] Here again he could not have made it obligatory. If good Muslims did not want to receive interest they could avoid it. But if the Hindu lenders wanted a return for their money, Akbar made it possible for them to secure it through the imperial courts. The measure indicates the growth of commercial intercourse between the Hindus and Muslims and seems to have been rendered necessary by commercial considerations.

Court Ceremonies

Akbar further introduced certain new ceremonies in the court.[123] The method of doing honour to the emperor by way of *kürnish* and *taslīm* had been introduced by Humāyūn. Both involved bowing to the emperor. Akbar, however, seems to have made it common.[124] But despite the special pleadings of such divines as Tāj-ud-Dīn of Delhi,[125] the faithful objected to it as against the teachings of Islam. Thereupon it was discontinued in the open court but permitted in the private audience chamber.[126] But those who had any religious scruples were never compelled to undergo this indignity. In 1590-91 (999 A.H.) Badāyūnī refused to perform obeisance to the emperor in this fashion even when some courtiers urged him to do so. Not much harm came to him thereby.[127] Four years later, in 1595-96 (1003 A.H.) however, he changed his mind and performed what he calls *sijida*.[128] This also required bowing down when one met the emperor. It became the common method of salutation to the emperor and continued under Jahāngīr. Shāh Jahān excused the *sijida* to scholars but continued it for other people for some time.[129]

Akbar's charity adopted *Tulādān*, the Hindu custom of giving alms to the poor. On different auspicious occasions the emperor would be weighed against different commodities which would then be given away to the needy, Hindus and Muslims alike.[130] The institution so appealed to the generous instincts of the Mughal emperors that this was continued even under the puritanical Aurangzeb whom we find writing to one of his grandsons urging him to get weighed twice a year in order to ward off evil.[131]

The Infallibility Decree

But the most important of Akbar's administrative measures was the promulgation of what has been miscalled the 'Infallibility Decree'. Akbar had tried to bring together his divines, but, as we have already seen, when they met, they failed to agree. Partly used by the practical necessity of providing for an authoritative interpretation of the Law, partly led on by his own ambition to brook no rival authority in the state, Akbar secured the presentation of the following petition to him.

'Whereas Hindostan is now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home.

'Now we, the principal 'Ulamā, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of Law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, first, of the verse of the *Qur'ān*, "Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you", and secondly, of the genuine tradition, "Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgement is the Imām-i-'ādil; whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Thee; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Thee", and thirdly of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that the rank of Sultān-i-'ādil is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a Mujtahid.

'Further, we declare that the King of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God on the earth, Abul-fath Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad Akbar, Pādshāh Ghāzī (May God his kingdom perpetuate) is a most wise, and a most Godfearing king.

'Should, therefore, in future a religious question arise, regarding which the opinions of Mujtahids differ and His Majesty in his penetrating intellect and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the people and for the betterment of the administration of the country, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point he should issue an order to that effect.

'We do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation. Further we declare that should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order all shall likewise be bound

by it, provided always that such order shall not be in opposition to the injunctions of the *Qur'ān* and be also of real benefit to the people. Any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

'This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God and propagation of Islam, and is signed by us, the principal 'Ulamā and the lawyers in the month of Rajab in the year 987.'[132]

This declaration was drawn up by Mubārak but was signed by Makhdūm-ul-Mulk; 'Abdun Nabī, the Sadr-us-Sadūr; Sadr Jahān, the Grand Muftī of the empire; Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Chief Qāzī; Mubārak, 'the deepest writer of the age', and Ghāzī Khān, 'unrivalled in various sciences'. The declaration was thus authoritative, bearing as it did the signatures of the highest religious dignitaries in the empire along with the two greatest scholars of the reign. Of course it has been very often urged that Mubārak was the emperor's tool in the matter and that others had been dragged into signing it. Unfortunately, Badāyūnī on whose authority this statement is based seems to have been carried away by his wrath against this lodging of an authority in the emperor which he thought rightly belonged to the divines. He makes two contradictory statements. In one place he declares that some signed it willingly and others against their convictions. Elsewhere he tells us that only Mubārak signed it willingly.[133] This latter statement could not obviously have been true. Among the signatories, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Chief Qāzī, was the emperor's nominee whom Akbar had recently appointed in supersession to his inconvenient predecessor.[134] Sadr-i-Jahān continued in his office long after the issue of this declaration[135] and could not have been opposed to its issue. Ghāzī Khān, a mansabdār, who continued in office till his death in A.D. 1584 (902 A.H.) again seems to be little likely to require any undue pressure for putting his signature to this document. Makhdūm-ul-Mulk who had his eyes on the office of the Sadr-us-Sadūr and 'Abdun Nabī who was filling it at that time are likely to comprise Badāyūnī's 'some who signed it against their convictions'. Their unwillingness can be easily understood.

But the nature of the document has been a little misunderstood in the heat of arguments raised over it.[136] It gave Akbar no power until and unless the divines failed to agree. Even then he had the

power to interpret the Muslim law and not to make it. It is necessary to remember that Akbar only gathered into his own hands powers and functions which had been so far exercised by a subordinate functionary, the Sadr. He did not create a new office, he brought an older one under imperial control. Even here Akbar differed from Aurangzeb. He frankly assumed the right to his own judge rather than dismiss a Sadr who criticized him—as Aurangzeb did—and appoint a successor who would give a convenient opinion.[137] Akbar claimed to be infallible no more than the Privy Council or the House of Lords does in the Commonwealth. His interpretation of the laws was to be final, just as a ruling of the Privy Council is. Thus Akbar made no claim to infallibility in any metaphysical sense. Still further his decision could not, and in fact did not, silence opposition to his views. As an instrument for suppressing opposition it was valueless. Decision given under its authority would not convince those who did not recognize it as valid. It could be used effectively only by Akbar himself for justifying his own personal practices. The main planks of his policy of toleration had already been laid. The Jizya had been abolished, the pilgrimage tax remitted, the Hindus admitted to public services and public religious worship by other faiths tolerated long before the issue of this so-called 'Infallibility Decree'. These departures from the accepted orthodox policy had not necessitated any artificial support. The decree was only a manifestation of Akbar's anxiety to be considered a good Muslim. Badāyūnī's statement that after the Fatwa the distinction as hitherto understood between the lawful and the unlawful was obliterated, can have reference to Akbar's personal actions alone. No orders of his could force his people to adopt as lawful modes of action which they considered unlawful. It was thus not a decree, much less an infallibility decree. All that it really affected was to take away from the theologians the right to persecute others for their opinions. The declaration however does assert that those who deny Akbar's right to exercise powers claimed on his behalf in it would earn 'damnation' in the other world and may lose religious privileges and property in this. Akbar did not claim to define the religious beliefs of his subjects and force his definition on them as the Tudor 'Governor of the Church' was claiming to do at this time in England. No one was persecuted for belief in his own faith. Akbar issued no 'Thirty-nine Articles', nor did he enforce an 'Act of Uniformity'.

This 'Infallibility Decree' was issued between August and September 1579, after Akbar had earlier in March 1579 tried to officiate as the leader of the faithful on Friday prayers. Much has been made of that incidents as well. It is forgotten, however, that, as Faizī Sirhindī tells us,[138] Akbar only followed the example of his ancestors. The Friday on which Akbar made this attempt came after Akbar had celebrated, in the company of theologians, scholars, lawyers and courtiers, the anniversary of the Prophet's death with due religious ceremonies.[139]

Marriage and Religion

In another field Akbar apparently restricted religious liberty. Mixed marriages were not allowed. Under the Muslim law, a Muslim could marry only a Muslim. Thus if a Hindu girl wanted to marry a Muslim, she had to be converted to Islam before the marriage could be solemnized. The problem of a Muslim girl trying to marry a Hindu was still more difficult. Her marriage would not be legal according to the Muslim law. It is doubtful whether the Hindu law, as then understood, sanctioned such marriages either, as long as the girl remained a Muslim. Akbar decreed that as such conversions to Hinduism or Islam were based on passion rather than on religion, they should not be permitted.[140] He does not seem to have introduced any substantial change in the contemporary practice here. An earlier story related by Badāyūnī himself bears this out. A Muslim, Mūsa by name, who wanted to marry a Hindu girl, eloped with her and had then to keep himself and the girl concealed, for fear the parents of the girl would be able to get her back by judicial process if they learnt of their whereabouts.[141]

The Alleged Persecution of the Muslims

There has always been much discussion regarding the question of Akbar's persecution of the Muslims. 'Akbar showed bitter hostility to the faith of his fathers and his own youth, and actually perpetrated a persecution of Islam', says Dr. Smith.[142] 'In the latter part of his life', says Sir Wolsley Haig, 'he persecuted its followers and destroyed its places of worship.'[143] These are grave charges and, made by serious students of history, they compel examination. They are based on two sets of authorities, the orthodox

Badāyūnī and his followers and the Jesuit missionaries who came to convert Akbar to their faith. A good deal of misunderstanding has been caused, however, by the confusing of two different questions. Akbar's personal practices might have become objectionable but they do not and cannot prove that he persecuted Islam. But when we have to examine the charge that Akbar persecuted Muslims or Islam, we have to look for such acts of his as forced a line of conduct on his Muslim subjects which was contrary to Islam.

Even thus limited, Badāyūnī's list is formidable and the Jesuit statements carry it still further.

(i) Akbar made the wearing of silk dresses and ornaments obligatory at prayer times.

(ii) He forbade Islamic prayers.

(iii) He discontinued public prayers and the call to prayers in the Assembly Hall.

(iv) He forbade Muslim fasts.

(v) Pilgrimages to Mecca were stopped. Any one even mentioning the subject in 1595–96 (1004 A.H.) received capital punishment.

(vi) Muslim festivals were discontinued.

(vii) Akbar changed some names, wherein the name of the Prophet figured, in order to avoid using it.

(viii) Mosques and prayer rooms were turned into stables and given to Hindu chaukidars.

(ix) Akbar, when in need of money, would even plunder mosques.

(x) Shaving of the beard was allowed with the support of the unprincipled and scheming Mullās.

(xi) The eating of the flesh of tigers and wild boars was permitted.

(xii) The king razed to the ground the towers built for the Muslim call to prayers.

(xiii) Mosques were turned into stables and those decaying were not repaired.

(xiv) Blochmann and Low have both interpreted a passage of Badāyūnī's implying that good men were killed in place of cows presumably by Akbar.

(xv) Another passage has been translated as stating that killers of animals on certain days were either killed or their property confiscated.

(xvi) Besides, Akbar is generally credited with the design of

'annulling the statutes and ordinances of Islam'. Badāyūnī refers to Islam as having died in this reign,[144] and Mullā Ahmad described it as having become old and decrepit.[145] He further adds that under Akbar many ceremonies of the Hindus had been introduced by the King.[146]

Now to examine these complaints. In connexion with the first Badāyūnī is self-contradictory. If, as he says in (ii) prayers of Islam were forbidden, Akbar could not have made the use of the unlawful silken dresses and ornaments obligatory at them. Either prayers were still being held, in which case the second complaint disappears as also the third, or if they were not held, there could have been no point in making a certain dress obligatory. We may concede that Akbar might haye become remiss in offering public prayers himself, but that is a personal question. Akbar could not have forbidden the offering of Muslim prayers throughout his empire. No case of anyone being persecuted for offering prayers is on record anywhere. We have on the other hand the testimony of Badāyūnī himself to prove that when Mīr Fath Ullah Shīrāzī offered his prayers in open court, he was not interfered with at all. Akbar was so far from being offended with him on that account that he was appointed vizīr. Shaikh 'Ārif Husain, Mūsa and 'Abdul Ghos are also alleged by Badāyūnī himself as performing prayers in the imperial court. 'Abdul Ma'ālī said, prayers with his companions, 'Abdus Samad is described as being much occupied in praying.[147] The obligation to wear silk dresses at prayer times could only have been imposed on his courtiers alone and that also when they said their prayers in his company. It is rather ridiculous to suggest that it involved any persecution of Islam.

The fourth charge is that Akbar forbade fasts. Did he go about compelling every one of his subjects to take their meals in the month of fasting? That could have been hardly possible. He might have discontinued keeping fasts himself but that would not amount to a persecution of Islam. Fortunately evidence is available at least of the year 1582 that the fasts were still kept by the faithful. Akbar's Muslim ambassador who had been sent to bring the Jesuit Fathers to the court stayed at Sultanpur, near Surat for the purpose of celebrating the fast and the sacrifices connected with it.[148]

The fifth charge again is not tenable. The stoppage of pilgrimage is mentioned in the year A.D. 1582 (990 A.H.). But Gulbadan

Begum returned from Mecca the same year and was royally welcomed. In A.D. 1584 (992 A.H.) Shāh 'Ali Taarāb brought the impress of the Prophet's foot from Mecca and it was received as a holy relic. It was brought to Ahmedabad where a splendid edifice was built for housing it. A theologian was appointed to keep guard over it as over a sacred relic. When Badāyūnī completed his history, Qutb-i-'Ālam was guarding it in 159-596.[149] More conclusive, however, is the account of Du Jarric. The third Jesuit Mission while coming to the court in 1595 met in Gujarat many men and women going on a pilgrimage to Mecca.[150] Khān-i-A'zam, governor of Gujarat, went to Mecca in 1593 (1001 A.H.), returned in 1594 (1002 A.H.), and came to the imperial court.[151] The discontinuance of the Muslim festivals cannot be termed persecution. It implies, if anything, Akbar's ceasing to celebrate them himself. The suggestion contained in the seventh charge is fantastic. Muhammad remained a part of Akbar's name and occurs in many of the *Farmāns* he issued in the latter half of his reign.[152] *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī's* list of scholars and grandees contains such names as also Abu'l Fazl's list of the grandees.[153] Badāyūnī's third volume, as well, contains many such names. What is Akbar supposed to have done? Did he issue a roving commission for the purpose of changing the names of such persons all over his extensive empire? Turning of mosques and prayer rooms into stables or porter's lodges may be true in some cases where Akbar's toleration made the maintenance of mosques in an entirely Hindu centre both impolitic as well as useless. It is possible that in some villages where mosques, like Protestant churches in Ireland in some places, were maintained simply as an emblem of the Muslim conquest, the mosques might have been converted to other uses. Akbar might have been utilitarian enough to turn such mosques to civil or military purposes. But if it implied that Akbar turned all mosques and prayer rooms into stables, or an appreciable number thereof either, one must deny it. On his march to Kabul Akbar set apart a special tent for prayers. He said public prayers on his return to India in the mosque at 'Ali Masjid.[154] Many mosques of his day are still standing. The Jesuit Fathers, who support Badāyūnī in these assertions, did not find the mosques of Delhi turned into stables or porter's lodges.[155]

Mullā Ahmad writing in the reign of Jahāngīr, but referring probably to the reign of Akbar, declares that Islam had become so

weak that the Hindus were destroying mosques without fear. But the only example that he cites in favour of this statement is the fact that the Hindus had destroyed the mosque built in the midst of the tank, sacred to the Hindus, at Thanesar and built a temple.[156]

Murray's statement about Akbar's plundering mosques is based on a misconception. Mosques are hardly worth plundering and Akbar was very seldom in straits for money. The third Jesuit mission in 1595 did find some mosques in ruin because they had not been repaired. But then, this state of things refers to 'many towns and large cities which were mostly in a state of ruin'.[157] If shaving of the beard constitutes persecution of Islam or its profanation, Akbar may be held guilty along with millions of Muslims today, including the head of an 'Islamic State' among them. It could only have been a permissive order. The eleventh charge relates to stoppage of persecution for 'unlawful' practices rather than constitutes an act of persecution. The 'unlawful' meat does not seem to have been forced down his subjects' throat. Those who took it might have been saved from punishment.

The general statements of Badāyūnī remain But he is not sure in his description of the state of things that prevailed. Sometimes the Shi'as seem to him to have been gaining ground, at others he is bewailing the disappearance of Islam and yet again talking of the progress of Hinduism.[158] As we shall presently see the whole regime of toleration was distasteful to Badāyūnī and his sort and in their disgust they gave it different names. While Badāyūnī talks of Islam as a dead religion, Du Jarric in describing the persecution of the Fathers of the Third Mission speaks of Muhammadanism and Hinduism as 'strongly established' in 1603.[159]

Akbar's Religious Beliefs

Another charge remains. Vincent Smith is definite in his opinion that after 1582 Akbar ceased to be a Muslim. Unfortunately even he cannot get away from certain facts which proclaimed Akbar's faith in Islam. He holds Akbar, therefore, guilty of still another sin, hypocrisy. The reasoning is rather ingenious. Akbar was not a Muslim presumably because he was not practising certain rites. When he practises them, he is called a hypocrite and there is an end of the matter! But Vincent Smith, unfortunately, overlooked

certain rather inconvenient facts. The Jesuit letters may be 'full of emphatic declaration that at the time of the First Mission Akbar was not a Muslim', but Du Jarric's account mentions that Akbar held many disputations with the Fathers of the First Mission in defence of Islam. When the Mullās could not defend the Muslim conception of paradise, Akbar came to their help and tried to defend it. Similarly, he so earnestly tried to defend his Mullās on another occasion that the Fathers were reluctantly compelled to conclude that they had no chance whatever of converting him to Christianity. Botelho writing in 1648–54 declared that 'in spite of discussions the king remained as much a Moor as before'. Peruschi writing in 1595 no doubt mentions rumours current about Akbar's religious beliefs. He comes to the conclusion that the more intelligent think him to be a Muhammadan who outwardly conforms to all religions in order to obtain popularity. Akbar's letter written in 1582 to the philosophers of Europe and entrusted to Monserrate speaks of the Prophet with all respect.[160] Further in his letters to 'Abdulla Khān Uzbek written in 1586 Akbar definitely declares himself a Muslim and proudly boasts that on account of his conquests Islam had now spread to territories where it had never been heard of before and the temples of the non-believers had been converted into mosques. He also roundly declares that the institutes of the Prophet and revelation of God have always been his guides.[161] Thus Akbar seems to have considered himself a Muslim to the very end of his life.

But we have to admit that to Badāyūnī and men of his way of thinking Akbar ceased to be a Muslim. The orthodox spread tales of his straying from the true path throughout the empire. The courts of the independent kings in the Deccan rang with rumours of his apostasy.[162] In Persia, Kabul and Turan these stories were often told.[163] Even here in India, a rebellion was organized ostensibly on behalf of the true faith. But the failure of this rebellion, even when Akbar's brother Hakīm had been discovered as a convenient peg on which to hang the claims for an empire, proves that to a majority of his Muslim courtiers and subjects, Akbar had not departed far enough from the true path to merit the fate of an apostate.[164] When Prince Salīm rebelled against his father, he could have found his father's apostasy a very powerful weapon against him. But neither Jahāngīr nor his historians used this argument to justify his rebellion.[165] Salīm no doubt got Abu'l Fazl

murdered but all that he alleged against him was his ascendancy in the councils of his father. He could have conveniently mentioned Akbar's renunciation of Islam as an excuse for his own crime at least. His silence is suggestive. We have it on the authority of Du Jarric that when in 1598 a Christian accepted Islam in order to be able to marry the niece of his dead wife, though Prince Salīm desired to punish him, he dared not do so for fear of his father who obviously must have been pleased at this conversion. A little later in 1599 the Fathers converted a Muslim girl. They were afraid that if the matter was made public and brought before the judges, they would hold it against the *Qur'ān* and the king's regulations. Such a king could not have ceased to be a Muslim. Monserrate again tells us that 'Akbar does not listen to actors because acting is forbidden by the Muslim Law'. Here again we have evidence enough to prove that Akbar was a Muslim. Botelho declared that Akbar died a Muslim and Roe also came to the conclusion that Akbar was a Muslim all his life and was one when he died.[166]

But let us examine the delinquencies of Akbar as set down by the Jesuits and the orthodox Mullās. Akbar is accused of having violated the law because from A.D. 1591–92 (1000 A.H.) onwards he shaved his beard. He kept dogs and pigs in the palace yard, and inspected them every morning. He discontinued keeping fasts. Bīrbar, Abu'l Fazl and Hakīm Gīlānī, we are told, 'led Akbar to reject inspiration, prophetship, miracles, even the whole law'. 'He listened to the early history of Islam and began to think less of the Companions of the Prophet.' He gave up going to public prayers. Akbar laid aside 'the Resurrection and Judgement and other details and traditions of which the Prophet was the repository'. 'He ceased to believe in the evil spirits, angels, invisible beings, the Prophet's method of receiving revelation and miracles and the authority of the Prophets and the Imām.' He is further accused of acknowledging 'reason to be the basis of all religion' and of possessing 'a spirit of inquiry opposed to every principle'. All doctrines of Islam, Akbar is said to have set down as 'senseless'. It has been asserted that Akbar examined some accounts of the Prophet's life and refused to believe certain incidents as related therein. But what Badāyūnī actually says is that others made such remarks in Akbar's presence and not the king himself. We have then Badāyūnī's specific statement that till A.D. 1578–79 (986 A.H.) Akbar was an earnest seeker after truth. But on account of the

quarrels of the Mullās themselves, 'doubt was heaped upon doubt so that after five or six years (1584–85) not a trace of Islam was left in him'. The *Āin* also quotes a saying of his that 'not being himself a Muslim it was unjust to force others to become such'. Du Jarric is emphatic in his assertion that 'he is certainly not a Muhammadan'.[167] Mullā Ahmad suggests that in the reign of Akbar enmity of the king towards the Prophet could be inferred and further adds that the Qāzīs were not appointed. But the only example he mentions is of Sirhind where there was no Qāzī for some years.[168]

Most of these things concern matters of belief rather than action.

It is not possible for anyone to assert with certainty what Akbar did or did not actually believe. Some of the misunderstanding is due to the fact that Akbar's detractors have attributed to Akbar himself some of the statements he allowed to be made by others in his presence.

But in two things Akbar seems to have obviously violated Muslim commandments. He kept a perpetual fire burning and as he sat in the *Jharoka Darshan* (the Salutation Balcony) he kept muttering one thousand and more names of the Sun which had been particularly strung together in Sanskrit verse for his special benefit.[169] He had a peculiar regard for the Sun and fire and had Zoroastrian priests brought to the court and explain the mysteries of their religion. The Hindu scholars as well had been instructing him in their own mysterious ways and in his own fashion he had been learning from their teachings what he could.[170] It is necessary to remember, however that as Badāyūnī tells us, Akbar did all these things in order to 'subdue the Sun to his wishes'.[171]

But though he assimilated as well as discarded several views from the teachings of different religious teachers he remained a monotheist.[172] He did not worship the Sun as a god but considered it the most powerful manifestation of God. He did not worship fire either.[173] There is nothing to warrant the statement of Smith that Akbar hated the very name of the Prophet. Despite all that is recorded by Badāyūnī, his belief in the Prophet remained unshaken and any one insulting the Prophet in his dominions was sure of having a dagger plunged in his breast even in 1598. He cautioned even the Christian Fathers of the first mission to take care not

to slander the Prophet. The *Akbar Nāmā* mentions the Prophet with all respect; Faizī's *Nal-o-Daman* presented to Akbar in 1595 contains a section on the Prophet's praise.[174] The assertion of the *Āīn*, that Akbar did not regard himself a Muslim, falls to the ground when confronted with Akbar's assertion in his letters to 'Abdulla Khān that he was a sound Muslim and a follower of the Prophet as well. It simply implies that he could not consider himself as one fulfilling all the ordinances of Islam—a common enough confession in the Orient.

The Dīn-i-Ilāhī

But then there is the Dīn-i-Ilāhī to be explained. Its official name was Tauhīd-i-Ilāhī, divine monotheism. From the meagre information that is available in the *Āīn*, Badāyūnī, and the *Dābistān-i-Mazāhib* about its beliefs and practices it would be a gross exaggeration to raise it to the rank of a religion. It had no book, no priests, no ceremonies, and practically no religious beliefs.[175] Of the 'ten virtues enjoined by the Divine Faith', Abdul Aziz asserts, 'nine were directly derived from the *Qur'ān*.[176] It was an order rather than a religion and more akin to freemasonry than any religious movement. Smith, on the authority of Bartoli and Badāyūnī, dates the proclamation of the Dīn-i-Ilāhī in the beginning of the year 1582.[177] Yet according to Monserrate, the first Jesuit Mission when it left in 1583 had only suspicions that Akbar intended to found a new religion of his own.[178] Botelho writing in 1648–54 declared that Akbar desired to found a new religion combining Islam and Christianity.[179] Even Pinheiro, writing in September, 1595, from the royal court, is doubtful about the religion Akbar followed. 'It is the opinion of the many', writes Pinheiro, 'that he aims at making a new religion of which he himself is to be the head.' He admits that 'it is said that he already has numerous followers', but is not prepared to vouchsafe for the fact himself. All that he can definitely say in the matter is that 'it is more or less certain that he has a strong desire to be looked upon, and esteemed as a God, or some great prophet'.[180] It must be a curious sort of religion, the existence of which was still a matter of doubt thirteen years after its inception. Monserrate and Pinheiro's statements knock the bottom out of the story of a council held for the purpose of promulgating the new religion.

After the date assigned for the foundation of the Dīn-i-Ilāhī. Akbar is found defending his Mullās so earnestly that the Fathers think of retiring from the task of converting him. A thing discussed and promulgated after a public meeting of Akbar's advisers could not have been concealed from the Fathers of the First Mission and must have found a place in Monserrate's account and Du Jarric's history of the Three Missions. Smith has further confused the *Darshaniyās* with the followers of Dīn-i-Ilāhī.[181] *Darshaniyās* were those of Akbar's subjects who had taken a vow not to take their meals without having obtained a sight of Akbar. After his death they behaved in the same fashion towards his successors.[182] Still further Smith has exalted the voluntary statement, made by one courtier, into a regulation issued by Akbar for followers of Dīn-i-Ilāhī. Badāyūnī only states that Mirzā Jānī and other apostates signed a declaration that they 'had abjured Islam, accepted the four grades of entire devotion and embraced the divine religion of Akbar Shāh'. He lends no support to Smith's categorical assertion that Akbar ordered all members of the Divine Faith to sign such declarations.[183] Badāyūnī admits that Akbar never used persuasion, force, or bribery for gaining adherence to his opinions and that he took care to broadcast it that those who joined the band should expect no favours from him. Smith accuses those who joined the ranks of Akbar as being mostly actuated by such base motives.[184] Thus it is clear whatever Dīn-i-Ilāhī was, Akbar was not very anxious to obtain adherents for it. He seldom used the resources of his empire for advancing the fortunes of those who were admitted thereto, still less did he force his subjects to adopt it. He had overthrown the conception of a state religion in India. It was not to be revived even in the service of the order he had created. It seems that it aimed at nothing higher than banding together a number of Akbar's courtiers in personal devotion to their ruler. The only obligation its entrants assumed was devotion to Akbar, their only badge of brotherhood was Akbar's likeness, the only leader they were to follow was Akbar. It is true Akbar laid down some rules of life for these devotees of his, but it would be a mistake to exalt the order into a religion on that account. He appointed no missionaries. Badāyūnī's statements about the members who joined are all vague. At one place he declares that all courtiers—of whom he was one—became 'Akbar's faithful disciples'—but not converts to the Dīn-i-Ilāhī. Numerous conversions are

said to have taken place on the coronation day in 1582 (992 A.H.) in batches of twelve. 'Base and low men of higher and lower classes professed themselves his disciples.' There is no warrant for Van Noer's statement that in 1585—or at any other time—thousands were admitted into the fold of the Dīn-i-Ilāhī.[185] The total number of its followers does not seem to have exceeded twenty. In fact no attempt seems to have been made to admit the masses.

Of course the Hindus and the Muslims alike deified Akbar who is said to have performed many miracles in spite of the fact that Badāyūnī declares him to be a disbeliever in miracles.[186] His mere sight is said to have produced enlightenment. He breathed on cups of water which were then used for curing the sick and the suffering. He prophesied future events. Vows were made to Akbar and when they were fulfilled offerings were made to him. He cured the sick. He joined together the tongue of a recluse who had cut it into two. Akbar's clothes, we are assured, fitted every one.[187] Faizī advised his readers that they should understand Akbar so that thereby should be able to understand God.

We admit that, like most kings, Akbar was susceptible to a good deal of flattery. It is not to be wondered at that his achievements turned his head a little and he came to believe, according to his friend and biographer, that he could work miracles. But those who know the Indian masses would readily testify that their credulity is amazing and a man need not claim to be a prophet before such tales will be believed of him. Even today many men are found in the countryside about whom similar tales are told. Thus Akbar's miracles do not constitute proof enough of the fact that he claimed to be a prophet. Badāyūnī in his third volume mentions several Muslim saints who were credited with the power of working miracles. His Dīn-i-Ilāhī was neither 'a monument of his folly' nor of great wisdom. It was an attempt at getting together a band of enthusiastically devoted followers, some of whom like the English murderers of Becket, were prepared to give their all in the royal service. Badāyūnī talks of the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty being defined in 1578 (988 A.H.).[188] Readiness to sacrifice religion would naturally mean sacrificing one's religious principles — whatever they were — in Akbar's service and not conversion to another faith, the Dīn-i-Ilāhī. It was not an intellectual brotherhood either. Its only Hindu member was Rājā Bīrbar. No adherents of Jainism or Zoroastrianism are found among its ranks. It was able to draw

adherents mostly from the ranks of the Muslims alone. Whatever it was, it did not affect Akbar's religious policy as apart from his personal views. No one seems to have suffered for adherence to Islam or Hinduism either. Badāyūnī would have us believe in one place that many owed their places at court to their admission into the order. But, as he is at pains to admit, it was not because of any persuasion on the emperor's part.

It has been suggested that the initiation into the Dīn-i-Ilāhī was followed by Akbar's giving its members a likeness of his in gold which they were expected to wear round their necks. That it had no religious significance, is proved by the fact that Jahāngīr continued this practice and gave the Shist (this golden likeness) to Roe and Austin as a mark of honour.[189]

Some writers have gone to the length of suggesting that Akbar claimed Divine honours.[190] That 'Khalifat Ullāh' (God's regent) was a title frequently used by Akbar and publicly assumed by him is true.[191] But this carried no factual claim even to the Divine Right of Kings much less to Divinity. Akbar publicly denied that he ever intended making any such claim or that he had made it either.[192] His successors Jahāngīr,[193] Shāh Jahān,[194] and even Aurangzeb[195] continued bearing this title without ever being suspected or accused of laying claim to Divine honours. The legend, Allāhu Akbar, was no doubt adopted by him for his coinage[196] and even introduced as a form of salutation.[197] But its use in Sufī circles as a sort of formula in God's praise was already well recognized.[198] Its adoption by Akbar does not seem to have been resented even by the orthodox who continued using it.

His Critics

What can be said of Akbar's critics? The authority of the Jesuit Fathers is tainted because of the fact that though they were always ready to see him baptized, they never succeeded in bringing him into their fold. They took his spirit of inquiry as willingness to be converted. Accustomed to the horrors of the Inquisition, they were dazzled by the sight of a king, who allowed them full liberty of opinion. As he did not gainsay them, they thought he agreed with them. Their statements about his readiness to be converted are all an indication of their desire to see him admitted into their church and so are their statements about his having ceased to be a Muslim.

We have to remember that Akbar understood neither Latin nor Portuguese nor did most of the Fathers know Persian well enough to converse with him. The conversation was almost always carried on with the help of interpreters. We have already seen that the general statements of the Jesuits are sometimes contradicted by particulars they themselves relate. Naturally we cannot believe those general statements when they are opposed to the story they themselves tell us.

Badāyūnī alone remains. In order to understand his criticism it is necessary to understand him first. He was an ultra-conservative in religious matters for whom the beaten path was the only path to salvation. All non-Muslims were condemned to eternal hell according to him. He could not mention a Hindu name without boiling over with pious wrath. Shi'as were equally creatures for contempt. If Bīrbar is called 'a bastard', Shi'as were dubbed 'heretics, fools, worshippers of the devil, fit only to be cast out'. He could not tolerate even a scholar of Muhammad Ghaus's reputation if he happened to show common courtesy to Hindus. He would not go to pay his respects to Muhammad Ghaus when he discovered that he used to show respect to certain Hindus by rising to salute them. When Abu'l Faizī becomes a Shi'a, he is at a loss how to describe the change, and says alternately that he became a religious recluse and a Hindu. Islam to him seemed to centre not even in the observances of its outward ceremonials alone but in the display of militant hostility towards the non-Muslims. He was prepared heartily to condemn any one found negligent in these outward things. When Akbar sent Prince Dānyāl to learn Portuguese from the Fathers, Badāyūnī distorts this to mean that he sent him to learn the elements of Christianity. Thus if Badāyūnī describes Akbar as having founded a new faith, we should be rather cautious in accepting his word too literally. If he says that Akbar had ceased to be a Muslim, it only amounts to the fact that he ceased to be an instrument for perpetuating the fantastic distinctions between his Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. It is true he ascribes particular opinions to him, as well, but it is difficult to decide whether those opinions are Akbar's or simply represent a point of view put forward in the religious discussions in the 'Ibādat Khāna'.

Badāyūnī is himself a great enigma. He believed with Mubārak and Akbar in the advent of a new Mahdī. He helped Akbar in

riding over his difficulty regarding the question of the number of wives the emperor could legally marry. He had little respect for many of the leaders of orthodoxy. He condemned prostration but performed it himself He calls Akbar, a Khalīfa. He refused to hold with his friend Naqīb Khān that to follow a Hindu leader, even though serving a Muslim emperor, was not a sure method of gaining religious merit. 'Whosoever is appointed by the king is good enough for me.' He kissed Akbar's foot. But it seems that disappointed in his chances of recognition and reward he became a bitter enemy of the court party. Their religious vagaries supplied him with excuse enough for venting his wrath on them.[199]

It is well to remember that there are many other contemporary historians of Akbar besides Badāyūnī and Abu'l Fazl. Firishta wrote in Akbar's lifetime, and the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* was compiled while Akbar was still alive. Yet neither of these works represents Akbar either as a persecutor of Islam or the denier of its truth. 'Abdul Haq, author of *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī*, writing in the 42nd year of Akbar's reign prays: 'May it be the will of God that through the aid of this omnipresent emperor, the Muhammadan Law and Religion may be established for ever and ever.[200] Abdul Latīf writing early in the reign of Jahāngīr praises Akbar.[201] But the list of those who give Akbar a clean bill is a very long one. Mubārak whom Badāyūnī at one place describes as a 'Shaikh-i-Kāmal'; Abu'l Fazl, Faizī, Qāzī Husain, Jalāl-ud-Dīn-Multānī 'a profound and learned man'; the Gīlanī brothers, Sharīf of 'Āmil, Tāj-ud-Dīn of Delhi, 'in mystic philosophy second to Shaikh 'Al Ahmad alone', Mullā Ullah Dād of Sirhind, 'the villainously irreligious Ulama who in their works found the emperor to be without sin', and Mullā Shair are all found ranged on Akbar's side. The list at the end of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* contains many names of scholars who are found serving the emperor in various capacities. This list includes muftīs (lawyers), teachers of repute, Qāzīs of provinces, the Sadr-us-Sadūr, and Sufīs of great authority. Badāyūnī's third volume contains many names of living scholars, theologians, teachers, and saints of repute some of whom were in receipt of allowances from the state. He describes India as full of such people and they do not seem to have been persecuted.[202] Despite the wailings of Badāyūnī, Islam was not a 'dead religion', nor do all the Muslims seem to have migrated to other countries. Even among his contemporaries, Akbar does not appear to have been regarded as a non-

believer by any considerable section of his Muslim subjects. According to Finch his tomb was worshipped by pious Muslims in Jahāngīr's reign.[203]

But even if all that Badāyūnī alleges against Akbar be accepted as true,[204] does Akbar become a non-Muslim thereby? Now that Muslim countries have been governed by rulers like Aman Ullahs, Razā Khāns, and Kamāl Pāshās, it is useless to condemn Akbar as a non-believer for having anticipated the march of events by some centuries. Akbar offended the orthodox beyond any hope of pardon by his policy of toleration. Naturally they revenge themselves on Akbar by tarring his memory. We have seen that Akbar believed in one God and His prophet Muhammad. That coupled with the fact that he continued calling himself a Muslim is decisive.

His Achievements

On the larger question again it is difficult to agree with Akbar's detractors, Badāyūnī, Sir Wolsley Haig or Dr. Smith, who have tried to represent Akbar as partial to Hindus and a persecutor of Muslims. As the foregoing study shows Akbar's toleration was not absolute. In certain spheres without abandoning his policy of toleration Akbar preserved his liberty of action by refusing to be guided in all matters by the opinions of his theologians. His social legislation and some administrative measures prove that. He offended Hindus and Muslims alike when he tried to interfere in their social customs. It has been usual so far to focus attention only on those measures which affected Muslims. Interference with Hindu customs and usages is taken for granted as it was a recognized part of Muslim policy. But this is rather a distorted view of things. If one likes to assail Akbar's toleration, one will have to admit that, it was not absolute, but relative. What can be fairly claimed for him is that he emancipated India from its domination by the religion of the minority. Other Muslim rulers in India had claimed such independence earlier but only to be able to persecute the Hindus better (e.g. 'Alā-ud-Dīn and Muhammad Tughlaq). Akbar emancipated the state from its thraldom to the Muslim theologians in order to create a common citizenship in India. His toleration was more comprehensive than that of his contemporary, the English queen, Elizabeth. Indeed it was not till the latter half

of the nineteenth century that England was able to adopt religious toleration and freedom from civic disabilities to the extent to which Akbar had done in India in the sixteenth century. The greatest of monarchs in his time, Akbar is sure of a very high place among the rulers of mankind for his brilliant success in the great adventure of governing men. Among the rulers of India he occupies a very high place for—among other things—his having attempted to bring Hindus and Muslims together with some success. If he did not succeed in creating a nation, it was because he could not hurry the march of events. It is worth remembering that at a time when Europe was plunged into strife of warring sects, when Roman Catholics were burning Protestants at the stake, and Protestants were executing Roman Catholics, Akbar guaranteed peace not only to 'warring sects' but to differing religions. At a time of progress and development, he was the first and almost the greatest experimenter in the field of religious toleration if the scope of his toleration, the religions to which it was applied, and the contemporary conditions be taken into account.

NOTES

[1] *Akbar Nāmā*, II, 41, 42. Cf. also Badāyūnī, II, 17.

[2] *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī*, MS., 75; *Tārīkh-i-Afāghana*, MS., 128a; *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, MS., 318.

[3] *Inshā-i-Abu'l Fazl*, Story of Abu'l Fazl's Life, Badāyūnī, II, 198-99.

[4] Badāyūnī, II, 198, 255.

[5] Ibid., II, 155.

[6] Ibid., II, 198.

[7] Ibid., II, 198. This refers to the period before 982 A.H.

[8] Ibid., II, 124, 125.

[9] *Akbar Nāmā*, II, 46; Badāyūnī, II, 364-65.

[10] Badāyūnī, III, 80-81.

[11] Ibid., 223, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 386.

[12] Badāyūnī, II, 391. The date is of the order sanctioning reconversion of such new Muslims to Hinduism.

[13] *Āīn*, III, 384.

[14] Badāyūnī, II, 228.

[15] Ibid., II. 231.

[16] Monserrate, 167.

[17] Badāyūnī, II, 102.

[18] *Travels of 'Abdul Latīf*, 51.

[19] *Tārīkh-i-Bāyazīd*, 263-64.

[20] Jayasoma, 66, 74.

[21] *Akbar Nāmā*, II, 20.

[22] *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 249.

[23] Firishta, 372.

[24] Jauhar, MS., 56.

[25] Rāo Māldev of Jodhpur is referred to as the father-in-law of the ruler of Nagore.

[26] *Tazkirāt-ul-Malūk* by Rafi'-ud-Dīn Shīrāzī, MS., 566-67; *Akbar Nāmā*, II, 159.

[27] Badāyūnī, II, 255.

[28] Ibid., 207-08.

[29] Ibid., 211.

[30] Ibid., 259.

[31] Ibid., 211.

[32] Ibid., 210-11.

[33] Ibid., 255, 259-60.

[34] Ibid., 204. III, 80.

[35] Ibid., 77, 204-06.

[36] Ibid., 203.

[37] This happened in 992 A.H. (Badāyūnī, II, 811).

[38] Ibid., I, 813.

[39] Ibid., I, 311.

[40] Cf. the list of contemporary devotees in the *Bhakt Māl*, Kumbhu Dās is said to have been twice invited to the imperial court. His couplets quoted in *Mishra-Bandhu Vinod*, I, 278-79, refer to his experiences at the court and his subsequent refusal to revisit it. Akbar also saw Jadurūp Gosāin several times (*Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, 117).

[41] Cf. *Life of Karm Chandra* (Sanskrit) edited by Mm. Pt. Gauri Shanker Ojha, to whom I am indebted for his kindness in letting me have an advance copy of this work.

[42] Cf. Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*.

[43] *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 253.

[44] Badāyūnī, II, 256.

[45] *Akbar Nāmā*, II, 203-01. Abu'l Fazl's comments are worth reproducing. 'In spite of the disapproval of statesmen, and of much chatter on the part of the ignorant, a sublime decree was issued. On account of deep-rooted enmity they (Akbar's predecessors) were girdled up for the contempt and destruction of opposite factions, but for political purposes and their own advantage, they fixed a sum of money as equivalent and gave to it the name of the Jizya.'

[46] Cf. below.

[47] Cf. *Maktubāt-i-Mullā Ahmad*, I part 3, 84.

'The main object of levying Jizya on them (the Hindus) is their humiliation...God established (the custom of realizing) Jizya for their dishonour. The object is their humiliation and the (establishment of) prestige and dignity of the Muslims.'

[48] *Akbar Nāmā*, II, 190.

[49] Du Jarric, 75. Churches were built at Agra and Thatta.

[50] 'Abdul Latīf, 33-34, 50-51.

[51] Annual report of the Jesuit Mission for 1597 in Maclagan, 77.

[52] Xavier's letter for 1598 in Maclagan, 77, Du Jarric, 75.

[53] *Life of Karm Chandra*, 68.

[54] 'Oh, my mother! Akbar came barefooted. He donated a gold umbrella', runs a popular song in the praise of the goddess. The *Akbar Nāmā*, however declares that though he intended visiting this shrine, difficulty in travelling prevented him from reaching the place. He may, however, have sent a donation. Akbar's visit to the neighbourhood is perpetuated in the existence of a Dharm Shāla at Churru in the District of Kangra. Its mahants claim that the establishment was founded by a personal grant from Akbar who allowed the founder, a recluse, to claim as much land as his cow could cover in a day.

[55] *Tūzak*, 347.

[56] Mullā Ahmad, II, 7, 93.

[57] Sujān Rāi, 425.

[58] Du Jarric, 28, 97 ; Badāyūnī, II, 371, 391.

[59] Badāyūnī, II, 320.

[60] Persian translations of Akbar's reign include besides those mentioned in the text, *Nal-o-Daman*, *Gangādhar*, *Mahaish Mahānand*, *Līlāvati*, *Panchatantra*, *Memoirs of Bābur*, and two almanacs, one from Arabic, and another from Sanskrit.

[61] Badāyūnī, II, 212, 213.

[62] A. N., II, 154.

[63] F., 171a.

[64] Badāyūnī, II, 391.

[65] Du Jarric, 152-59. Oral permission had been given much earlier. Cf. Du Jarric, 28, 30, 67, 70, 71, 87, 92, 94.

[66] Badāyūnī, II, 317.

[67] The Portuguese prisoners from Daman were offered Islam or death as the two alternatives before them.

[68] Maclagan, 100.

[69] Cf. Tritton, also *Conversion and Reconversion to Hinduism during the Muslim Period* by Sri Ram Sharma in his *Studies in Medieval Indian History*.

[70] Cf. above, Chapter I.

[71] Bairam Khān's Dīwān includes some verse which seems to imply that Akbar had started employing Hindus while Bairam Khān was still the regent (P.84). This is hardly possible.

[72] *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 670.

[73] Badāyūnī, II, 356.

[74] *Khallāq-us-Styyāq*, written during the reign of Aurangzeb mentions that Todar Mall made Persian the language of official record in the 28th year of Akbar's reign.

[75] Badāyūnī, II, 258.

[76] Ibid, II, 261, 303.

[77] Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 183-84.

[78] Smith, 220. Blochmann was doubtful about his text and put a note of interrogation. But Smith ignored that.

Badāyūnī, II, 261, refers to the Hindus, in retaliation, killing those who kill cows. There is some confusion in the phraseology and order of the different phrases in the text.

Badāyūnī, III, 118-19, records that Hājī Sultān of Thanesar killed a cow there. The only punishment awarded to him was his transfer from the place. After sometime he was made Karori of Thanesar and Karnal.

[79] Badāyūnī, II, 321-22, *Tuzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, 22.

Badāyūnī declares that those who killed animals on these days were killed and their property confiscated, Jahāngīr mentions the prohibition but does not mention any punishment for those who transgressed it. I see no reason to doubt that Jahāngīr's silence was not intentional. He said nothing because he had nothing to say. As we have seen in the text even the absolute prohibition of the slaughter of certain animals did not put a stop to the sale and use of their meat. It is too much to believe on the authority of Badāyūnī alone that people suffered the extreme penalty of the law for killing animals on certain days. The *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 393, mentions the prohibition, but says nothing about punishment.

Abu'l Fazl had no reason to be reticent in the matter. Aquaviva's letter dated September 27, 1582, complains that the Jesuits were unable to get meat on Sundays (Maclagan, 57).

[80] Badāyūnī, II, 376,

[81] Jayasoma, 92. The *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 380, however, speaks of an earlier order of 1582 prohibiting fishing in general on the suggestion of Khān-i-Khānān.

[82] *Āīn*, I, 58.

[83] Smith's *Akbar*, 220.

[84] Badāyūnī, II, 303.

[85] *Āīn*, 2, 63.

[86] Badāyūnī, II, 63, *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, 126.

[87] *Āīn*, I, 216.

[88] Badāyūnī, II, 325.

[89] *Āīn*, III, 398, Badāyūnī, II, 306.

[90] Badāyūnī, II, 356.

[91] Badāyūnī, II, 336, *Āīn*, II, 375-76, 380.

[92] She was the widow of Jaimal and a daughter of Rājā Udai Singh of Jodhpur. Her son insisted on forcing her to burn herself and on Akbar's arrival was imprisoned for his offence. *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 402.

[93] *Āīn*, II, 398, Badāyūnī, II, 306.

[94] Badāyūnī, II, 301-02.

[95] Badāyūnī, II, 302. Cf. however, *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, II, 169, 185, where an order of Akbar is mentioned prohibiting the manufacture, sale and use of spirits and proposing exemplary punishments for all offenders.

[96] Badāyūnī, II, 302, 380.

[97] Badāyūnī, II, 324, *Akbar Nāmā*. III, 262.

[98] Ibid., II, 339, *Āīn*, I, 276.

[99] Badāyūni, II, 338.

[100] Ibid., II, 356.

[101] Badāyūni, II, 301, *Āīn*, II, 30, *Akbar Nāmā*, II, 10-12, *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, II, 159-62 contain the full text of the Royal order.

[102] Letters of the period are still found in many collections bearing the Hijrī date.

[103] Documents of Aurangzeb's reign are in existence giving both the dates.

[104] Badāyūnī, II, 356.

[105] Brown, *Modern Persian Literature*, 26. 'Abdulla Khān, king of Turan, prohibited the study of logic and philosophy in his kingdom': Badāyūnī, II, 150.

[106] Badāyūnī, II, 301, *Āīn*, I, 279.

[107] Shiblī, III, 10.

[108] Hādī Hasan, 30.

[109] Badāyūnī, II, 306, 356, 363.

[110] *Āīn*, I, 103.

[111] *Āīn* I, 104.

[112] Badāyūnī, II, 301.

[113] *Farāmin-i-Salātin*, 246.

[114] *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 234, 372.

[115] Badāyūnī, II, 71, 204.

[116] Ibid., II, 34.

[117] Ibid., II, 278.

[118] Ibid., II, 299.

[119] *Āīn*, II, 47.

[120] Cf. the *Farmān* reproduced in Modi, 138.

[121] Badāyūnī, II, 29-30.

[122] Ibid., II, 338.

[123] Barnī, 124.

[124] *Āīn*, I, 158.

[125] Badayūnī, II, 301. Persian rulers had claimed the right to exact Sijjida. Shāh Ismāil in his *Diwān* declares that Sijjida is due to him (*Unity and Diversity in Islam*, 195).

[126] *Āīn*, I, 158. [127] Badāyūnī, II, 376.

[128] Ibid., II, 402

[129] *Bādshāhnāmā*, I, 110-12. See below.

[130] *Āīn*, I, 266-67.

[131] *Letters of Aurangzeb*, Letter No. 17. Aurangzeb declares that though weighment is not current among the Muslims of Persia, it is efficacious.

[132] Badāyūnī, II, 271-72. [133] Ibid., II, 270-72.

[134] Ibid., II, 107, 110. [135] *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 392.

[136] Cf. Blochmann, Smith, 178-81, Haig, 364, Malleson, 158. A modern scholar however declares that the decree "is obviously issued on the authority of the Quran and the Hadis defining the position of the just ruler". He holds that it could have been issued with a clear conscience by the most pious of the Muslim Caliphs (Abdul Aziz 171).

[137] See below Ch. V. [138] Faizī Sirhindī, 257-58.

[139] Ibid., 246.

[140] Badāyūnī, II, 391-92, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 413.

Smith (257) rather unfairly omits to notice the provision in the Dabistān concerning such conversions to Hinduism notwithstanding the fact that Blochmann refers to it. Smith's criticism is therefore misplaced and unjust. Akbar treated Hindus and Muslims alike in this matter and there is no justification whatever for finding in this regulation persecution of Islam. Badāyūnī records what appeared to him an invasion of Muslim rights though as we shall see below, he is wrong even there. Return of Muslim girls to their families was an ordinary affair for him and called for no comment or record.

[141] Badāyūnī, II, 110-18. [142] *Akbar*, 257.

[143] *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, 378.

[144] Badāyūnī, II, 239, 265,274, 301-07, 312, 322; Du Jarric 44-45, 61. Cf. Monserrate, 64. [145] Murray's *Travels*, II, 95.

[146] *Maktūbāt*, II, (7), 93.

[147] Badāyūnī, II, 315, 316, III, 59, 92, 126, 139, 150.

[148] Monserrate, 13. Shāh Jahān was excused the duty of keeping fasts in his old age.

[149] Badāyūnī II, 321, III; 111, *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, II, 138, 179.

[150] Du Jarric, 60. [151] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, II, 181, 182.

[152] Du Jarric, 46.

[153] *Tabaqāt*, 383-85, 388-92, 395, 398, 401-05.

[154] Monserrate, 155.

[155] Ibid., 95, 97-98.

Sub-deacon Leo Grinon, when he conveyed Akbar's invitation to Goa for the Second Mission, is said to have told the Provincial of Goa in 1590, 'The emperor turned all the mosques of the city where he lived into stables for elephants or horses on the pretence of preparation for war. He destroyed the Alquran'. Report of the Provincial of Goa dated 1590, quoted from Spitilli by Maclagan (62).

This is supposed to have reference to Lahore. It is needless to refute this statement because it is followed by the wholly incredible and untrue statement that Akbar had confined himself to one wife and distributed the rest among his courtiers.

Pinheiro's Letter dated 3 September, 1595, repeats this assertion, 'in the city there is no mosque and no copy of the *Qur'ān*. The mosques previously erected have been turned into stables and public granaries' (Maclagan, 70).

Badāyūnī writing in (1595-96/1004 A.H.) mentions among living scholars, Abdul Qādir at Lahore, Qāzī Nūr Ullāh of Lahore, a Muhtasib at Lahore and Maulānā Muhammad, Muftī of Lahore, who gave a public dinner on his completing his studies of the Muslim law and tradition. Badāyūnī, III, 101, 138, 154. It is impossible to believe that these Muslim divines had not a single copy of the *Qur'ān* between them. We cannot but reject the Jesuit testimony. The Qāzī, the Muftī, and the Muhtasib could not have functioned in a city where all mosques were stables and all copies of the *Qur'ān* had been lost.

[156] *Maktūbāt-i-Mullā Ahmad*, II, (7), 93.

[157] Du Jarric, 61.

[158] Badāyūnī, II, 162, 265, 272, 300. [159] Du Jarric, 192.

[160] Du Jarric, 192; Botelho quoted in Hosten, 150, Peruschi, 14, quoted by Maclagan, 52; Letters of Abu'l Fazl, No. VII (Section I).

[161] *Letters*, Nos. 1-3. [162] *Tazkirāt-ul-Malūk*, MS., 566-67.

Botelho was asked by 'Ādil Shāh of Golkanda whether Akbar had been converted to Christianity. Botelho, however, had to confess that Akbar remained and died a Muslim (Hoston, 151).

[163] *Letters of Abu'l Fazl*, from Akbar to 'Abdullā Khān of Turan written in 1586.'

[164] Cf. *Letters of Abu'l Fazl*, from Akbar to 'Abdullā Khān written in 1586 and 1596.

[165] Lest it be thought that references to the misdeeds of an earlier king by his son and successors were not considered in good taste one had only to refer to the accounts of Shāh Jahān's rebellion in *Iqbāl Nāmā Jahāngīrī* and the official histories of Shāh Jahān's reign.

Jahāngīr, however, speaks with all reverence of Akbar's austerities. Of course *Tazkirat-i-Maluk*, MS., 566, refers to Salīm's issuing a *Farmān* when he rebelled justifying his action as taken in defence of the true faith and against Akbar's religious vagaries. It is difficult, however, to believe this statement. The writer further tells us on page 468 that Jahāngīr became a follower of Dīn-i-Ilāhī after his accession. According to our author, then, whatever Akbar's religious vagaries, Salīm fell a victim thereto. Rafi'-ud-Dīn wrote his account in far off Deccan.

[166] Roe, II, 313, Botelho, 141, as quoted above, Monserrate, 171, 202, Du Jarric, 86-87, 91, Roe says, however, that Akbar began to make a breach into the law 'but that a certain outward reverence detained him and so he died in the formal profession of his *sect*'.

[167] *Āin*, I, 290, III, 381-84, 388, Du Jarric, 68, Monserrate, 64-65, 67, Badāyūnī, II, 211, 255-57, 260-62, 273-75-286, 301, 305-08, 312, 324-25.

[168] Mullā Ahmad, I Part 2, 45 and Part 3, 85.

[169] Hīrānand Shāstrī, *IHQ.*, March 1933, Monserrate 183-84.

[170] Badāyūnī, II, 261, *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 252-53.

[171] Many Hindu scholars were received at one time or another at his court and played their part in giving him information on religious questions. The following names of Hindu savants, theologians, and men of God are mentioned

in the *Āin-i-Akbarī*.

Mādhav Sarasvatī, Madhu Sūdhan, Nārāyan, Harivijya Sūrī, Dāmodar Bhat, Rām Tīrath, Narasingha, Parmendar, Aditya, Bāba Bilās, Babā Kapūr, Rama Bhadra, Yadu Rūp, Bishan Nāth, Rām Krishna Bhat, Vidyā Nivās, Gorī Nāth, Gopī Nāth, Krishna Pandit Bhattāchārya, Bhāgīrath, Kāshī Nāth Bhattāchārya, Vijya Sen Sūrī, Bhānu Chandra.

[172] Badāyūnī, II, 261.

[173] 'Why should considering this exalted element, which is the source of man's life and his continued existence, great, be held improper?' *Āin-i-Akbarī*, I, 43.

[174] Smith, *Akbar*, 215-16, Du Jarric, 68, 84, Monserrate, 180, *Akbar Nāmā* III, 12, 281.

[175] Badāyūnī tells us of Bhagwān Dās asking Akbar what this new 'religion' was and what opinion its followers held. Akbar is said 'to have reflected a little and ceased to urge the Rājā'. Badāyūnī, II, 313. Akbar is said to have continued alteration in Islam thereafter (1592).

[176] P., 171.

[177] Smith, *Akbar*, 148. [178] Monserrate, 151, 184.

[179] Botelho, quoted in Hosten, 151.

[180] Du Jarric, corrected by Payne in his note, Smith, 68.

[181] Smith, *Akbar*, 219. [182] 'Abdul Latīf, 16, Roe, 314.

[183] Smith, *Akbar*, 216, cf, Badāyūnī, II, 304-05.

[184] Badāyūnī, II, 269, 291, 312-13, 336, 339, 364

[185] Von Noer, *The Emperor Akbar*, I, 341.

[186] Badāyūnī, II, 291.

[187] *Āīn*, I, 164-65, 169, III, 389-90, Du Jarric 68-69.

[188] Badāyūnī, II, 291.

[189] J.P.H.S., IV, 7, Roe, 4, 244-45, Badāyūnī, II, 338.

[190] Rogers' *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Government Museum*, XV.

[191] Badāyūnī, II, 278.

[192] Ibid., II, 210, *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 271-72.

[193] *Iqbāl Nāmā*, II, 303. [194] *'Amal-i-Sālih*, I, 128.

[195] *Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 8, 20.

[196] *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 271-72, Wright's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum*, III, 20, 22, 23, ff.

[197] Badāyūnī, II, 367. [198] Cf. Mullā Ahmad.

[199] Badāyūnī, II, 8, 13, 64, 198, 207, 211, 226, 229, 246, 264, 273, and 304.

[200] Abdul Haq, quoted in Elliot's *Bibliographical Index of the Historians of Muslim India*.

[201] *Travels*, II, 12. [202] Badāyūnī, II, 158.

Badāyūnī's list includes the following living scholars and theologians serving in official capacities. 'Ārif Husain, III, 59, Mūsa (ibid., 92), Allāh Bakhsh, Sadr of Gujarat (101), Jalāl Qāzī of Jaunpore (106), Qutb-i-'Ālam at Delhi (110). Allāhdād, Qāzī of Allahabad (117), 'Usmān (118), Īsā, Muftī of Agra (128), Muhammad (133), Qāzī Nūr Ullāh of Lahore (138), a Muhtasib at Lahore (138), Maulānā Muhāmmad Muftī of Lahore (154), Shaikh Mansūr, Fojdār of Bajwara (155).

Cf. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 389-93: *Āin-i-Akbarī*, III, Amīn Ahmad Rāzī speaks

of Mubārak, Abu'l Fazl and Faizī as three great scholars of Agra without imputing heresy either to them or their writings (*Haft Aqālim*, MS., 76*b*, 77*a*).

[203] *Early Travellers*, ed. Foster, 186.

[204] Badāyūnī villifies Abu'l Fazl and Faizī as non-believers, and as the arch-conspirators against Islam. Yet we find Faizī writing a commentary on the *Qur'ān* (completed in 1593-94) the only objection against which was its literary style. His Dīwān contains verses soundly declaring his faith in the Prophet and His Companions.

ما پیروی اطریقت اصحاب رسول ایم
این شرح دگر راه نما را نه شناسیم ،

(quoted by Shiblī in his *Shi'r-ul-'Ajam*, 54.)

SANSKRIT WRITERS OF AKBAR'S REIGN

1. Anantadeva, patronized by Bāz Bahādur of Malava, is the author of the famous work *Dattakadīdhiti* recognized as the standard work on adoption by our High Courts even today. He wrote, besides, *Saṃskārakaustubha* of which the above is one of the twelve parts. He is the author of works on expiations of different offences, a description of Mathura, and an essay on devotion.

2. Ananta, author of various works on astrology.

3. Anantadeva, son of Appadeva wrote on devotion, law and penances.

4. Anonymous.

(*i*) A work on the consecration of Paṇḍalas (1574).

(*ii*) An Anukramaṇī of Nighaṇṭu (1562).

(*iii*) *Cayanaprayoga* on the construction of five altars (1590).

5. Kavikarṇapūra wrote on poetics and metaphors, besides being the author of a drama with Caitanya as its hero and an account of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana.

6. Kavicandra, author of works on medicine, poetics and grammar.

7. Keśava Miśra, patronised by Rājā Manak Chandra of Kangra in the Himachal Pradesh, wrote on poetics, similes and metaphors.

8. Keśava, on astrology.

9. Nārāyaṇa.

10. Gaṅgādhara author of *Manoramā*.

11. Guṇavyaya Gaṇi wrote a commentary on *Raghuvaṁśa*, and another on the story of Damayantī.

12. Gopālācārya commented on *Rasamañjarī*.

13. Gopāla Bhaṭṭa wrote several works on devotion.

14. Gopāladāsa wrote on devotion.

15. Cintāmaṇi Miśra wrote on poetics.

16. Rāmakṛṣṇa wrote on law, astrology and various other subjects.

17. Rāmakṛṣṇa commented on *Parāśara Smṛti*.

18. Rāmadāsa.

19. Rūpa Gosvāmin, author of more than thirty works on devotion, poetics, dramaturgy.

20. Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa on poetics.

21. Vijñānabhikṣu, author of some eighteen known works on different subjects.

22. Viśvanātha commented on several rituals.

23. Vīrabhadradeva on erotics.

24. Vedānta Dīkṣita wrote on law.

25. Vedyarāja on medicine.

26. Śaṅkara Miśra commented on *Vaiśesikasūtras*.

27. Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, author of some eight works.

28. Śiva, son of Rāma.

29. Śivarāma, a voluminous author.

30. Śrīvallabha.

31. Sādhusundaragni.

32. Samayasundaragni.

33. Haradatta Miśra.

34. *Vīrabhadradeva Campū*, anonymous in 1587.

35. Jīvagosvāmin wrote various works mainly on devotion.

36. Toḍar Mall wrote on medicine.

37. Nīlakaṇṭha wrote under the patronage of Toḍar Mall, '*Todarānanda*', a voluminous work on judicial procedure, auspicious times for marriages, religious ceremonies and law and medicine.

38. Dhuṇḍirāja wrote some thirteen works on astronomy and astrology.

39. Dāmodara Paṇḍita wrote for his patron Chuhar Mall.

40. Dhanvin wrote on ritualism.

41. Nanda Paṇḍita was a great jurist.

42. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote on philosophy.

43. Nārāyaṇa Saraswatī.

44. Nārāyaṇa wrote on the determination of auspicious hours.

45. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa is the author of some thirty-three works on various subjects.

46. Nārāyaṇa wrote on eclipses.

47. Nīlakaṇṭha, a great astrologer and astronomer wrote some twenty works.

48. Narasimha Sarasvatī wrote on Vedānta.

49. Pūrṇānanda wrote more than a dozen volumes of Tantric subjects.

50. Prabhākara, commentator and author.

51. Mahīdhara of Banaras is the author of some sixteen works.

52. Raghunandana Sūrī.

53. *Raghunandana Bhaṭṭa wrote on devotion, law and ceremonial.*

54. *Raghunandana Miśra author of Toḍara Prakāśa,* work on law written under the patronage of Rājā Toḍar Mall.

55. Raghunātha Śiromaṇi is the author of some 31 known works on various subjects.

56. Ratneśvara Miśra.

57. Ratnanāthārya.

58. Rāma wrote on astronomy.

APPENDIX 2

HINDU MANSABDĀRS OF AKBAR

Haft Hazārī (7,000)

1. Mān Singh of Jaipur.

Pānj Hazārī (5,000)

2. Bhagwān Dās of Jaipur.
3. Bhār Mall of Jaipur.

Chahār Hazārī (4,000)

4. Todar Mall, Finance Minister.
5. Rāi Singh of Bikaner.
6. Jagan Nāth, son of Bhār Mall of Jaipur.

Do Hazārī (2,000)

7. Bīrbar.
8. Rām Chandra Baghela of Bandhav.
9. Kalyān Mall of Bikaner.
10. Surjan of Bundī.
11. Bhāo Singh.
12. Rām Dās Kachhwāhā.
13. Mahā Singh.

Yak Hazār Panj Sadī (1,500)

14. Durgā Sassodia of Rampur (in Rajputana).

Yak Hazār Do Sadī (1,200)

15. Rāi Shāl.

Yak Hazārī (1,000)

16. Rūpsi, brother of Rājā Bhār Mall.
17. Udai Singh of Jodhpur.
18. Jagmāl, brother of Bhār Mall.
19. Asakarn.
20. Kalyān Dās.

No Sadī (900)

21. Pratāp Singh.

22. Jagat Singh, son of Mān Singh.
23. Rāj Singh, son of Asakarn Kachhwāhā.
24. Bhōj of Bundi.

Haft Sadī (700)

25. Bihārī, son of Todar Mall.
26. Rāo Pitri Dās.
27. Mednī Pat Chohān.
28. Bābū.
29. Salahadī, son of Bhār Mall.

Panj Sadī (500)

30. Parmānand.
31. Jagmāll.
32. Bhīm of Jaisalmer.
33. Arjun Singh, son of Mān Singh.
34. Sahāl Singh, son of Mān Singh.
35. Rām Chandra Bundelā.
36. Rām Chandra of Orissa.
37. Dalpāt, son of Rāi Singh of Bikaner.

Chahār Sadī (4,00)

38. Shakti Singh, son of Mān Singh.
39. Manohar, son of Lūn Karn.
40. Rām Chandra Kachhwāhā.
41. Balaka Kachhwāhā.

Sih Sadī (300)

42. Bal Chandra Rāthor.
43. Keshav Dās, son of Jayamall.
44. Tulsī Dās Yādav.
45. Krishna Dās.
46. Mān Singh Kachhwāhā.
47. A Rājā of Orissa.

Do Sad Panjāhī (250)

48. Jagat Singh, son of Rājā Mān.
49. Mathrā Dās Khatrī.
50. Sanwāl Dās Yādav.
51. Mathrā Dās.

52. Keshav Dās Rāthor.
53. Udand, zemindār of Orissa.
54. Sundar, zemindār of Orissa.

In 1582 Akbar divided the work of the government into several departments. In all, forty-six public servants at the centre were appointed to look after the various affairs of the state. Out of these nine (Rājā Todar Mall, Rāi Shāl, Rāi Durgā, Rāi Surjan, Jagan Nāth, Lūn Karn, Asakarn, Jagmall, and Bīrbar) were Hindus (*Akbar Nāmā*, III, 404-05).

In the year 31 (1586) Akbar appointed two Joint Governors, one Diwān, and one Bakshī for every one of the twelve provinces of the empire. Of these, two Diwāns (Todar Mall, the Imperial Dīwān and Dīwān of Lahore and Rai Pitri Dās, Dīwān of Bihar) were Hindus, besides one Bakshī (Tārā Chand of Oudh) and six Joint Governors (Rājā Jagan Nāth and Rāi Durgā of Ajmer, Rājā Asakarn in Agra, Rājā Mān Singh in Kabul, Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Rāo Rāi Singh in Lahore).

CHAPTER IV

JAHĀNGĪR

His Accession

WHEN Akbar lay dying, Jahāngīr was but nominally reconciled to his father. However, when at last he entered the royal presence, he was acknowledged by Akbar as his successor and on his father's death he quietly succeeded him. He inherited Akbar's liberal policy and tried to follow it.

As we have already seen, Akbar had abolished the Jizya and the Pilgrimage Tax, permitted conversions from Islam to other religions, put an end to persecutions for religious opinions, and freely allowed public celebrations of religious fairs and festivals of non-Muslims. Places of public worship had been built by the Hindus and Christians without hindrance. Admission to higher public services had ceased to be governed by religious considerations; Hindus, Muslims, and even Christians, were welcomed at his court and allowed to serve the State to the best of their abilities. He patronized literature, art, and science, without narrow, theological considerations. To conciliate the Hindus, he gave up many practices that were offensive to them. The court ceremonies were enriched by the introduction of many Hindu and old Persian customs. Administrative convenience further led him to adopt many measures that, to some, appeared opposed to Muslim tradition. His religious toleration, however, was bound up with humanitarian considerations and he made war on what he considered to be evil, even if it was sanctioned by contemporary Hindu or Muslim religious opinion. To bring the two communities together, he had Persian translations made of Hindu religious works so that even Jahāngīr could assert that there was not much difference between the Sūfī traditions in Islam and the Vedāntist school of Hindu philosophy. Akbar's religious policy had resulted in fraternization of the learned in the two communities; as they were drawn together, their angularities were rubbed off, their hatred of each other decreased. The Hindus came to consider the Muslims less of a defiling influence, when they met them on terms of equality in the private audience-chamber, on the battlefield, and in the

administrative secretariat. The Muslims ceased to think of the Hindus as an offence against their religion when they stood shoulder to shoulder with them in the great enterprise of governing India.

At Jahāngīr's accession, the Muslim theologians, who had not been pleased very much with Akbar's attempt at secularizing the State, seem to have tried to win back their lost influence. Mullā Shāh Ahmad, one of the greatest religious leaders of the age, wrote to various court dignitaries exhorting them to get this state of things altered in the very beginning of the reign because otherwise it would be difficult to accomplish anything later on.[1] His efforts seem to have been successful to some extent. Jahāngīr gave orders to Shaikh Farīd to submit to him names of four scholars who should see that nothing that was against the Sharī'at should take place. Here was the rub. Mullā Ahmad protested to Shaikh Farīd that this would not work. No four scholars would ever agree. He suggested therefore that only one scholar be appointed for the purpose.[2] Nothing however seems to have come out of this suggestion. The orthodox seem to have greater faith in Jahāngīr than in his father. He was said to be less favourably inclined to the Hindus, and, the Muslims in general were asked to make persistent efforts to wean him away from Hindu customs and ceremonies.[3]

These efforts seem to have been partially successful. Jahāngīr would not go back on the path of toleration which his father had opened. But without embarking on active persecution or impairing the newly acquired status of the Hindus, he began to take a greater interest in the fortunes of Islam in his own territories.

Conversion to Islam

Under Jahāngīr converts to Islam, according to Jesuit authorities, were given daily allowances.[4] In the beginning of his reign in 1605 Jahāngīr forcibly converted an Armenian Christian, Zulqarneyn, to Islam but finding him steadfast in his religion he left him alone.[5] In the tenth year of his reign Roz Afzūn, son of Rājā Sangrām, 'was honoured by admission into Islam' and given the status of his father.[6] A Hindu who had been circumcized during Akbar's reign, is said to have been converted to Islam by Jahāngīr.[7] A Goanese was admitted into the 'true faith' in 1606.[8] Some

prisoners were offered pardon if they turned Muslim.[9] In order to protect the law, so Jahāngīr assures us, he had two Muslim young men, Qutub and Qumar Khān, whipped and imprisoned in his fourth year because they had been frequenting the house of a Sanyāsī and seemed inclined towards Hinduism.[10] Kalyān kept a Muslim dancing girl. In order to conceal the fact, he killed her parents and was duly punished in the second part.[11] Further, when Jahāngīr discovered in his fifteenth year that the Hindus at Rajauri converted and married Muslim girls of the locality, he gave orders that this practice be put a stop to and the guilty be punished.[12] Thus Jahāngīr attempted to act as the protector of the true faith and tried to defend it against attacks from without. But he would not tolerate forcible conversions. A royal order issued to provincial governors in the sixth year openly declared that they were not to convert anyone forcibly to Islam.[13]

Places of Worship

Jahāngīr continued, with some exceptions, his father's practice of allowing non-Muslims to build public places of worship. His friend, Bīr Singh Bundela, built a magnificent temple at Mathura,[14] which was now once again rising into prominence as the sacred city of the Vaishnavas. He raised another magnificent place of public worship in his own State as well. More than seventy new temples were built in Banaras alone towards the end of his reign. They were, however, not yet complete when Jahāngīr died.[15] He allowed the Christian Fathers to open a church at Ahmedabad in 1620 and another at Hugli. At Lahore and Agra public cemeteries for the Christians were allowed to be set up.[16]

But when he made war on the Hindus and the Christians these considerations were sometimes given up. When Mewar was invaded, many temples were demolished by the invading Mughal army.[17] When he visited Kangra, he decided to celebrate the first Muslim occupation of this famous fort by a Muslim emperor by desecrating the fort and gloried in it.[18] Orders were issued to erect a mosque in the fort. But Bhawani's temple below the fort was not touched. His forebearance might have been inspired by the tales of the supernatural power of the goddess. It was common belief that if a dumb person cut his tongue in two as an offering to

the goddess, after some time the broken pieces would join together and the devotee would start speaking. If a devotee, it was believed, cut his head as an offering to the goddess, it would be carefully preserved and after some time when it was placed on his body, the devotee would come alive.

Jahāngīr paid visit to Jawalamukhi in the neighbourhood. He was at first persuaded that the everburning flame in the temple was a trick of the priests. To confound them, he had a stream of water poured over the fire. This failed to extinguish the flame. He left the temple unharmed and gave order that the adjoining buildings be not only repaired but also added to.[19] Portuguese, church at Agra was closed and the churches elsewhere also suffered similar indignities.[20]

Sometimes his fury would break out even without the aggravating cause of war. When he visited Ajmer in the eighth year, the temple of the Boar god, Varāha, was destroyed and the idols were broken.[21] Probably these instances made a contemporary poet of his court sing his praises as the great Muslim emperor who converted temples into mosques.[22]

These exceptions apart, Jahāngīr usually followed the path shown by his father. It is interesting to note that some of the Hindu shrines of Kangra and Mathura continued to attract a large number of Muslim pilgrims besides their Hindu votaries.[23]

Pilgrimages

Jahāngīr also continued to allow, as Akbar had done, Hindu pilgrims to visit without hindrance their holy places. Coryat estimated the number of annual pilgrims to Hardwar in Jahāngīr's reign at 400,000. Roe was prepared to take it even to half a million visitors.[24] Of course there must have been other similar places of pilgrimages in other parts of the country as well. It appears that the open celebration of Hindu religious customs and festivals was continued, just as in Akbar's time.[25] In some places, at least certain days of Hindu fasts were observed as public holidays when no buying or selling—even of foodstuffs—was allowed.[26]

Relations with Christians

Nor did he withdraw the permission granted to the Christians

to make converts to their faith.[27] Non-Catholic writers are all agreed that most of the converts, the Christians, made were attracted by pecuniary considerations—an allowance according to Withington,—and renounced Christianity when it ceased to benefit them.[28] This is further proved by the statements made in the annual Jesuit letter from Goa, dated February 1, 1621.[29] Besides the needy, the Jesuits were able to convert the dying or to buy slaves and convert them.[30] Guerreiro tells us that some twenty persons, most of them whilom Christians, were baptized at Agra.[31] A Brahman and a Moor were converted at Lahore, but in secret.[32] But the most sensational of the conversions was the public baptism of Dānyāl's sons and a grandson of Jahāngīr in 1610. The Fathers were overjoyed. Even the English Protestants participated in the public procession that marched through the streets in order to proclaim such a good fortune.[33] To the Jesuits it seemed that grace was at last settling on the princely house of Temur and they were waiting for the time when it would be possible for them to number the Emperor himself among their followers. But they counted without their host. Jahāngīr had not had the princes converted because he was convinced of the truth of Christianity. He had been told by his astrologer that his brother's line, rather than his own, would succeed him. To make that impossible he decided on this ingenious method of disqualifying them for the imperial throne by making them Christians.[34] Roe has another motive to offer. The king wanted a Portuguese wife and thought this was the easiest way to secure one.[35] Anyhow the conversion proved but a fitful affair and in 1611 the princes renounced Christianity and re-embraced Islam.[36] Thus were the Jesuit castles in the air shattered. Jahāngīr was broad-minded or cynical enough to tempt Hawkins to his service by offering to procure a Muslim wife for him and to allow him to convert her to Christianity.[37]

Jesuit accounts of their success in making converts seem to be more hopeful than true. Some of these assert that Muqarrab Khān, Customs Officer at Cambay, was secretly converted to Christianity in 1611 when on a mission to Goa.[38] It is difficult to believe this story for various reasons. Muqarrab Khān did not give up his numerous wives.[39] While he was Governor of Surat in 1611-18 he always favoured the Portuguese as against the English. Now his conversion, howsoever secret it may have been, would have at least become known among the English especially when they must

have been on the lookout for anything that could give them an advantage against him in their dealings with the Emperor.[40] Further Maclagan, on the authority of the Annual Letter from Cochin, dated 1621, asserts that Muqarrab Khān's son fell ill, was cured by Christian spells and prayers, and converted to Christianity.[41] But Guerreiro as translated by Payne stops short at the child's recovery and mentions no conversion.[42] It is likely, therefore, that in this case the fact that Christian prayers were uttered in order to restore the child to health was interpreted by some of the Christians to imply that the father had become a Christian.

The Jesuit accounts of their conversions soared even higher. Some of them reported that Jahāngīr had himself become a Christian in 1627[43] though they made no attempt at reconciling this with the number of wives he kept. If, as the Fathers asserted, the number of Akbar's wives stood between him and Christianity, Jahāngīr was in no better position to be admitted to Christianity. In Akbar's case one of them invented the story that he had distributed all his wives except one among his nobles in preparation for Christianity.[44] But to Jahāngīr they do not pay even that much of a compliment.

Jahāngīr not only tolerated Christianity, he maintained it as well. The Christian Fathers were paid from Rs. 3 to Rs. 7 daily; occasionally he would give them money for their religious services, and once at least he tried to relieve the distress of the Christian poor by a monthly grant of Rs. 50.[45]

Jahāngīr and the Sikhs

Jahāngīr's relations with the Sikhs raise many a thorny issue. Guru Arjun, the contemporary head of the Sikhs, had incurred Jahāngīr's displeasure on account of his proselytizing activities. Some Muslims were reported to have accepted him as their religious leader and thus renounced Islam. Two courses, Jahāngīr tells us, were open to him. He could either convert him to Islam forcibly or take steps to close his 'religious shop'. He had been considering both these courses when fortune provided him with an excuse which settled the matter for him. When Khusru rebelled, he met the Guru who rather unwisely blessed his enterprise. After the suppression of this rebellion, Jahāngīr called the Guru to his

presence and awarded him capital punishment for countenancing treason.[46] Some influential Hindus, however, intervened and it was decided that the Guru might be let off if he paid the heavy fine of Rs. 100,000.[47] A Hindu; probably Dīwān Chandū Lāl of Lahore,[48] stood surety for him in the hope that the Guru's followers would probably pay that sum for the release of their spiritual chief. The Guru seems to have discountenanced the attempt whereon the Dīwān tried to force him to pay the money. Every attempt, however, failed, and the Guru died in imprisonment;[49] he seems to have been permitted to bathe in the Ravi which then used to flow just near the fort. He did not come out alive. Jahāngīr had originally given orders that his son and wife be also arrested, but this does not seem to have been done in 1606.

Though Jahāngīr declares it to have been his intention to close the shop of the Sikh Guru for religious reasons, the actual facts contradict him. Had Jahāngīr's persecution of the Guru been directed by religious motives, he would have persecuted the Sikhs as well. Neither Sikh tradition nor Muslim fanaticism tells us anything of any further persecution of the Sikhs. Guru Arjun's son, Guru Hargovind, was no doubt imprisoned by Jahāngīr but here again the motive was not religious. It is difficult to reconcile the Sikh tradition, which puts the imprisonment at a very short period followed by a reconciliation between the Emperor and the Guru with the account given in *Dabistān* which extends this imprisonment over twelve years. The reason for this imprisonment according to *Dabistān* was the non-payment by Hargovind of the fine imposed on his father. The Sikh tradition places the imprisonment in 1612, whereas according to *Dabistān* it occurred after 1616.[50] It seems probable that in taking action against Guru Arjun, Jahāngīr acted from mixed motives but when once his immediate purpose was served he left the Sikhs alone. It is further probable that Jahāngīr thought that the execution of their religious leader was so severe a blow to the Sikhs in the Punjab as to make it unnecessary for him to take any further action against them. But we do not know what led Jahāngīr to arrest Hargovind in 1612 or 1616. If he remained a prisoner for 12 years, as Mahsin Fani says he did, he must have been released probably during the usual clemency that followed Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne in 1627.

Jahāngīr and the Jains

There is then the question of his attitude towards the Jains. Mān Singh and Bāl Chandra, the leaders of the two Jain schools of thought, had enjoyed royal hospitality under Akbar. When Khusrū rebelled Mān Singh became guilty of an act of indiscretion. Rāi Singh of Bikaner consulted him in order to shape his own conduct during those troublous days. Mān Singh told Rāi Singh that Jahāngīr's reign would not extend beyond two years. Believing in the prophecy of the Jain monk, Rāi Singh rebelled, threw up his command under Jahāngīr, and repaired to Bikaner. Khusrū's capture, however, soon brought matters to a head. Rāi Singh was defeated but was soon pardoned and restored to his former position in the royal service.[51]

Now Mān Singh's prophecy seems to have been reported to Jahāngīr. He could, however, take no action against him as Rāi Singh had been pardoned and Mān Singh was living under his protection at Bikaner. In the twelfth year, however, when Jahāngīr visited Gujarat where there were many Jains, he decided to embark upon their persecution. They were accused of having built temples and other buildings which were reported to be centres of disturbance. Their religious leaders were accused of immoral practices (probably of going about naked). They were generally believed to be a troublesome class of Hindus. Jahāngīr first of all summoned Mān Singh to the court. Afraid of meeting a mere ignominious fate he took poison on his way from Bikaner to the Emperor. Jahāngīr issued orders thereupon for the expulsion of the Jains from the imperial territories.[52] These orders do not seem to have applied to the territory of the Rajput Rājās where the Jains were driven to seek protection.

Jahāngīr here seems to have been prompted by religious rather than political motives. Unlike Guru Arjun, Mān Singh had been left alone for several years after his alleged act of treason. All Jains were punished irrespective of their political proclivities. Still further there was a section of the Jains which did not even acknowledge Mān Singh as their leader.[53] They were also included in the order of expulsion. Dr Beni Prasad is wrong in stating that the order of expulsion was confined to one sect alone.[54] His version of this event is vitiated by the fact that he has neglected to take notice of the time when the order for expulsion was issued. His

statement that the order was withdrawn some time after its promulgation is not supported by any authorities though he says that Jain works of the period are clear on the point.[55] He has named no works nor quoted from any. In the absence of such authorities it is not possible to believe that Jahāngīr withdrew the order. But even if any Jain authorities mention the withdrawal of such an order it is necessary to know the exact date. Dr. Beni Prasad's statement leads one to believe that it was withdrawn some time after Khusrū's rebellion. In that case the Jain testimony becomes valueless as Jahāngīr is referring to an order issued in the twelfth year of his reign. But, withdrawn or not, it was clearly an act of religious persecution. Jahāngīr himself is far from asserting that he issued the order on political grounds. We have to remember that Shāh Jahān was the Governor of Gujarat at this time.[56] His orthodoxy may have had something to do with the issue of the order.

Muslim Heretics

Jahāngīr's attempt at playing the part of a protector of 'the true faith' led him into the persecution of religious opinions not favoured at the court. Soon after his accession it was reported to him that Shaikh Ibrāhīm had set himself up as a religious leader in a Parganah of Lahore. He had gathered together a large number of Afghans as his followers. Jahāngīr ordered that he be brought before him. He was not able to satisfy the Emperor and was thereupon entrusted to Parvez to be imprisoned in the fortress of Chunar.[77] Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn Farukī of Thanesar was driven out of India partly on account of his showing Khusrū in rebellion a little more than usual courtesy due to a prince visiting a Chishtiya hospice.[58]

Qāzī Nūr Ullāh was flogged to death by Jahāngīr on account of his being an effective Shi'a writer.[59]

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī's case is sometimes cited as another example of persecution for religious opinions. He had his deputies and followers in every part of the country. He was the leader of the Chistia, Qādaria, and Naqshbandia sects of Muslims. Some Muslim theologians complained to Jahāngīr that in some of his writings Ahmad Sirhindī claimed to have risen to a status higher than that of the Caliphs[60]. Jahāngīr thereupon called him from Sirhind and asked him to explain his position. The Shaikh was

ready with his answer. He told Jahāngīr that when he called one of his meanest servants to him, in order to approach him, the servant traversed the stations of all the Amīrs and stood nearer to the Emperor than even the highest among them. Similarly there was nothing blasphemous in his stating that he had passed and left behind him even the Caliphs. It did not prove that he claimed for himself any higher status. Jahāngīr was not satisfied with this explanation. To add to the Shaikh's enormities, a mansabdār suggested that the Shaikh had not performed the Sijida even. Now Khurram was a follower of the Shaikh. When Jahāngīr had summoned him, the prince had sent his messenger to the Shaikh telling him that as the Emperor was very keen on having the Sijida performed to him, the Shaikh should perform the Sijida. Shāh Jahān undertook to see that no harm came to him. The Shaikh, however, had turned down the suggestion of the prince and declared that no one could claim the rite of prostration from him except God.[61] Jahāngīr now ordered that the Shaikh be imprisoned in Gwalior under the supervision of Ani Rāi Singhdalan.[62]

Unlike Shaikh Ibrāhīm, Ahmad was a great scholar. Though Jahāngīr did not probably know it, Shaikh Ahmed had shown himself anxious that on his accession Jahāngīr should conform to Muslim orthodoxy more than Akbar had done in the Shaikh's eyes. He had several followers at court, including prince Khurram. When Jahāngīr was in Kashmir next year, he seems to have realized that he had been a tool of rival theologians in ordering Shaikh Ahmed's imprisonment on such a fine point of theological belief. He was brought to Kashmir with all honours from Gwalior. In an open court he was given a robe of honour and one thousand rupees and released. On his release, he declared that he bore the Emperor no ill will as he had been prompted by a laudable attempt to safeguard the true religion and chastise heresy. It seems Mullā Ahmad spent some time with Jahāngīr.[63]

It has been claimed that Mullā Ahmad by his writings brought about a coordination between orthodox Islam and Sūfī thought and this saved Islam in India from being influenced by Vedāntic thought as much as it otherwise might have been. Though his teachings made possible a return to pre-Akbar attitude towards non-Muslims later on, neither Jahāngīr nor Shāh Jahān seem to have been under much influence of the Naqshbandia order. Even though Aurangzeb is alleged to have come under the contem-

porary leader of the Naqshbandia order, Shaikh Ahmad's tomb at Sirhind had still not acquired any fame even towards the end of the seventeenth century. Sujān Rāi of Batala does not mention it even when he described other mazārs at Sirhind and several contemporary Muslim scholars and theologians at other places in the provinces of Delhi, Lahore and Multan. Be that as it may, the imprisonment of such a defender of the faith as Mullā Ahmad for his religious opinion well illustrates the lengths to which Muslim orthodoxy could go in its hunt for heresy.

Fairs and Festivals

Then there is the question of the public celebration of the fairs and festivals of different religions. Guerreiro tells us that on his accession Jāhangīr restored the fairs and festivals of the Muslims.[64] Pelsaert gives an account of the celebration of the Muharram when so intense was the religious fanaticism engendered that no Hindu ventured out till mid-day.[65] The Governor of Surat held a public polo match soon after the feast of the Ramazān on October 10, 1614.[66] In his thirteenth year Jahāngīr kept the fast of Ramazān and in the evening invited all the local Shaikhs and Sayyids to break their fast with him.[67] In his fourteenth year Jahāngīr celebrated the Shab-i-Barāt.[68] In the seventh year, Jahāngīr celebrated the Rākhī festival for the first time and had auspicious threads bound on his wrist.[69] He met the yogīs on the night of the Shivarātrī in his eleventh year, when he was staying the night at Sangor, renamed by him Kamalpur, in Bengal.[70] Dasehra was celebrated by the Emperor by holding reviews of troops and elephants.[71] On the Dīpāvalī, Jahāngīr allowed gambling to go on in his presence.[72] The Christians were publicly allowed to celebrate the Easter, the Christmas, and other festivals.[73] Thus there was no restriction whatever on the public celebration of religious festivals. It was not Jahāngīr alone who thus took part in the celebration of Hindu festivals. Many Muhammadans—men and women—participated in the festivities that accompanied these celebrations.[74]

Religious Discussions

To some extent Jahāngīr continued the practice of his father of holding religious discussions with the followers of different faiths.

The first one, he records, was with the Hindu pandits against their belief in the reincarnation of God in different forms.[75] Guerreiro speaks of Jahāngīr's discussing religious questions with the Jesuits in 1607.[76] But in this case, unlike Akbar's discussions in the Abādat-Khānā, it was the king alone who sat listening to the discourse of the Fathers on Christianity. A Mansabdār or two and the King's reader are said to have been present but they do not seem to have taken much part in the discussions. The king would now and then try to bring his Muslim courtiers into the circle of conversation but it was usually only the king listening to the Jesuits. Jahāngīr met the famous Muslim saint, Miān Mīr, at Lahore in order to benefit by his discourses.[77] He sent a letter to the Governor of Gujarat asking him to pay something to the son of Wājid-ud-Dīn whose reputation had reached the court, in order to make him prepare and send a list of names of God specially selected for Jahāngīr's recitation,[78] though he had already had a list of such names prepared by the learned men of his time.[79] With Jadurūp, the leader of the Vaishnavas at that time, he held many discussions at Ujjain and at Mathura and came to the conclusion that the Vedānta of the Hindus and the Sūfī thought among the Muslims were almost identical.[80] He visited the Gorakhtiri in order to gain some knowledge from the yogīs reported to be living there. But he found no yogīs there.[81] Mullā Ahmad Sirhindī refers to an assembly in the month of Ramazān when religious matters were discussed in the presence of Jahāngīr.[82]

Hindus in the Public Services

The admission of the Hindus to the higher public services, begun under his father, continued. Of forty-seven mansabdārs holding the rank of commanders of 3,000 horses or above, mentioned by Hawkins, six were Hindus.[83] The position of the Hindus at his court had been threatened by the events connected with Khusrū's rebellion. Mān Singh, the highest Hindu dignitary in the empire, was suspected of complicity. Rājā Rāi Singh of Bikaner actually rebelled during the course of the insurrection. It seems, however, that the Hindus were soon able to remove the Emperor's suspicion. But in Jahāngīr's reign of twenty-two years, we come across only three Hindu governors of provinces, and they served only for short periods. Mān Singh, who was Governor of Bengal when Akbar

died, was continued in that office.[84] Some time after, Rājā Kalyān, son of Rājā Todar Mal, rose to be the Governor of Orissa,[85] though it is difficult to say whether he was in independent charge of the provinces.[86] Rājā Vikramājīt served as the Governor of Gujarat for some time.[87] Unfortunately not many appointments of provincial Dīwāns are mentioned and we do not know whether or not here the preponderant proportion of the Hindus was disturbed during Jahāngīr's rule. Indeed Hawkins tells us that Jahāngīr preferred to employ Muslims under him.[88] Only one Hindu, Mohan Dās, is mentioned as serving as a Dīwān under Jahāngīr in the third year.[89]

Social Evils

Jahāngīr made war on certain social evils. The public sale of intoxicants, *bhang* and wine, was forbidden.[90] No one was allowed to drink wine without permission and Roe records some cases where certain nobles were punished for drinking.[91] Jahāngīr reversed Akbar's practice of allowing the sale of wine for medicinal purposes and in moderation, and conformed to the Muslim law by prohibiting its public sale. But he was a hard drinker himself, and it is difficult to say whether he was any the more successful in dealing with the problem than his father had been. The fact that the order prohibiting public sales was issued twice, immediately after coronation and later in the fourth year, proves that, at any rate, the first order might have remained ineffective. Again he departed from his father's practice and ordered total suppression of public gambling.[92] Here again he followed the Muslim law. The castration of children in Bengal was also forbidden.[93] He continued his father's disregard of Hindu religious sentiments by prohibiting Sati without permission. The burning of child widows, whose marriage had not been consummated, was ordinarily prohibited, though special permission could be granted by the governors.[94] In other cases as well permission had to be obtained. This naturally prevented unwilling Satis. At Agra the Emperor himself decided all these cases.[95]

Court Ceremonies

Some of the ceremonies introduced by Akbar to increase the

regal splendour of his court continued. The New Year was celebrated as of old.[96] Weighing of the Emperor continued.[97] Jahāngīr had himself weighed during an eclipse in order to ward off evil.[98] When he was told that some evil was likely to befall Khurram, he had him weighed as a protective measure.[99] Employment of Hindu astrologers for fixing auspicious hours for most things continued and Muslim nobles took up the fashion and kept Hindu astrologers attached to them.[100] On the vexed question of the Sijida, Jahāngīr made a compromise. The Mīr 'Adals and Qāzīs were excused Zimīn Bos in the sixth year.[101] Thus the two classes likely to object to the practice on religious grounds were granted exemption. But when too orthodox a mullā came to the court it was possible to stir up trouble if he refused to perform the Sijida. We have already seen that Shaikh Ahmad suffered partly on that account. But the reconciliation that took place on his release seems to have been based on Jahāngīr's exempting him from the performance of the Sijida. Jahāngīr was too anxious to have him with him to subject him to this indignity. Jahāngīr's meeting with another great scholar of his times, Nāsir-ud-Dīn Burhānpurī, bears out the suggestion that Jahāngīr was prepared to allow the same concession to scholars or theologians of eminence as he had granted to the officials of his court. This great scholar was summoned from Burhanpur. He met the Emperor as he was coming out of the royal garden. As he was getting ready to perform the Sijida, Jahāngīr advanced and embraced him.[102]

Slaughter of Animals

Jahāngīr continued Akbar's abstention from slaughter of animals twice a week, on Sundays and Thursdays.[103] This was strictly enforced. Guerreiro speaks of the King's visits to the city in order to discover how far his orders were being obeyed. Once he discovered meat being sold on one of these visits. The Kotwāl, the officer responsible for seeing that the royal orders were observed, was called for and flogged.[104] Soon however he was restored to favour. So strict however was Jahāngīr in enforcing these injunctions that when in the fifth year the 'Īd fell on a Thursday, the sacrificial slaughter of animals was postponed to the following Friday.[105] Now this was not merely a concession to Hindu feelings. These days were sacred as Jahāngīr's day of accession (Thursday)

and Akbar's birthday (Sunday night) according to official Muslim reckoning. Safety of life was accorded to all living creatures on these days in order to keep them sacred. Jahāngīr refers to this practice as Sūfiyāna, pertaining to the Sūfīs.

In Gujarat, Roe describes the slaughter of certain animals being prohibited by royal orders chiefly because rich Jains of the place agreed to pay highly for this concession.[106] Whether the order continued after the expulsion of the Jains is not known.

Cultural Contacts

Jahāngīr continued Akbar's work of bringing the learned of the two communities together by having translations of Hindu sacred books made under his patronage. Two Persian renderings in verse of the Rāmāyana were made during his reign. Girdhar Dās, a Kāisith of Delhi, rendered Vālmikī's Rāmāyana into verse, called it *Rām Nāmā* and dedicated it to Jahāngīr.[107] Masīhī made another Persian translation of the Rāmāyana and took pains to prove by inserting a section in praise of the Prophet, that he still remained a Muslim. Jahāngīr asked Sayyid Muhammad to prepare a plain, unvarnished Persian translation of the *Qur'ān* and send it to the court by his son Jalāl-ud-Dīn.[108] This was probably the first attempt at translating, rather than expounding the *Qur'ān*. It had been fashionable to write commentaries on the sacred book, but it was felt a translation was almost an act of profanation, an attempt at matching the Prophet's own miracle of revelation. Nothing further is heard of this translation and it seems the matter was not further pursued. Sayyid Muhammad was probably the scholar known as Sayyid Muhammad Maqbūl Khān Ahmadābādī who died in Shāh Jahān's reign early in 1045 A.H. leaving a large number of works to his credit.[109] Persian and Arabic translations of the Bible were also presented to Jahāngīr by the Jesuit Fathers.[110]

Some of the scholars of Jahāngīr's time acted as a link between the two communities. 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānāna under his Hindi pen-name of Rahīm wrote all sorts of Hindi verse including many in praise of Hindu gods and a description of the feelings of a devotee towards God in his various incarnations.[111] Jahāngīr is said to have patronized Sūr Dās whose Sūr Sāgar is reputed to have been compiled under Jahāngīr's patronage. The emperor is said to

have given Sūr Dās one gold coin for every verse of his.[112]

Like Akbar, Jahāngīr continued his patronage of painting, including portrait-painting.[113]

Jahāngir and Islam

The accounts of European travellers and Christian missionaries at his court throw a good deal of doubt on Jahāngīr's Islam. Coryat makes him a follower of a religion of his own making.[114] Roe speaks of him sometimes as an atheist, sometimes a Hindu in his ceremonies, professing Islam when it was necessary, glad whenever any one broke out against the Prophet.[115] Finch makes him declare openly that Christianity was the soundest faith.[116] A later Jesuit tradition declared him to be a baptized Christian afraid of openly declaring himself for fear of his son.[117] A contemporary Persian writer accused him of being a member of the Dīn-i-Ilāhī.[118] Fortunately for Jahāngīr, he could not have been all these things together or even by turns. His modern critics do him less than justice. Blochmann sought safety in dividing his religious opinions into fits or periods without stopping to inquire whether these periods, by cutting into each other, did not destroy themselves.[119] Dr. Beni Prasad blunders into stating that Jahāngīr did not believe in the Prophet.[120]

Let us examine these statements. The Jesuits, unaccustomed to religious liberty as they had been in Europe, seem to have been as much dazzled by the toleration granted by Jahāngīr as they had been under Akbar. To them, if a man believed in the truth of a religion, he could only prove it by persecuting the non-believers. If Jahāngīr listened to their statements of the merits of the Christian religion, he lost caste among Muslims. We have already seen that their statements about his conversion are wrong. Jahāngīr maintained intact the Muslim organization of the State in its essential aspects. The Muslim magistrates and judges remained as heretofore in office.[121] The Sadr-us-Sadūr remained in charge of justice and charities.[122] As we have already seen, he punished heresy and suppressed conversions to Hinduism. He ordered that escheated property should be spent, among other things, on mosques.[123] In the thirteenth year he gave Shaikh Pīr Rs. 8,000 for building a mosque.[124] In the thirteenth year he publicly kept the fast of Ramzān. In the eighth year he walked on foot to Ajmer.[125] However

much he may have indulged in Hindu ceremonies, he rejected the Hindu doctrines of reincarnation and idol-worship.[126] One of his judges held in 1610 that debts to Christians need not be paid.[127] When the Roman Catholic Jesuits refused to allow the body of a Protestant Englishman to be buried in their graveyard he insisted on the burial being carried out.[128] The most that can be said against him is that he hunted wild boars and presented their meat to Rajputs and Christians.[129] If this is held against him it betrays a gross ignorance of the Muslim attitude towards the question of pigsticking. Pigs are not sacred to Muslims, pork is unlawful to them. The hunting of pigs therefore is not an unlawful act according to Islam.

It is said that in the beginning of his reign Jahāngīr favoured Islam in order to seat himself securely on the throne of Delhi, but thereafter his orthodoxy waned. But Shāh Jahān's rebellion belies this statement. When he rebelled, he could very easily have assumed the position of a defender of the true faith. Yet during the whole course of his rebellion, not once did he try to gain any advantage over his father by such a suggestion.[130] Whatever Jahāngīr's personal shortcomings might have been, he was, to a majority of his subjects, a good Muslim. Only a Muslim could have desecrated the temple at Kangra, destroyed idols and temples at Pushkar and in Mewar, upheld the true law by preventing the conversion of Qutub and his companion to Hinduism, stopped the conversion of Muslim girls by marriage to Hindus in Rajauri, ordered a simple translation of the *Qur'ān* and supported the whole structure of a Muslim state. It is rather strange that, though his Muslim subjects did not find any fault with him, it was left to the contemporary non-Muslims to discover flaws in his profession of Islam.[131] How much truth there was in their accounts is proved by the fact that all of them assert without truth that Salīm was not circumcized, whereas we have the definite statement of 'Ārif Qandahārī that Salīm had undergone this Muslim rite.[132] They do not stop short even of making him a baptized Christian, without at the same time showing how they overcame the obstacle presented by his vast harem. It seems that the Jesuits were in these matters concerned with sending in good reports of their labours rather than with truth.

A Muslim contemporary writer asserts that things had become so difficult that no other way was left for honourable men (Muslims)

but to leave the country.[133] But he seems to have based his inference on the fact that under Jahāngīr the Hindus were not kept away like dogs.[134]

In short, Jahāngīr ordinarily continued Akbar's toleration. He experimented in the simultaneous maintenance of several religions by the State. He did not, in most cases, make any distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims in public employment. He placed no restriction, except in the case of the Jains, on the public celebration of religious fairs and festivals. With all this, Jahāngīr sometimes acted as protector of the true faith rather than as the king of a vast majority of non-Muslims. Departures, however slight, from Akbar's wide outlook had begun.

NOTES

[1] Mullā Ahmad, I, 2, 46. [2] Ibid., I, 2, 26.
[3] Ibid., I, 3, 82.
[4] Botelho Hosten : *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, V, 154.
[5] Payne's translation of Guerreiro's account, 16-23.
[6] *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, 146. [7] Payne, op. cit., 15.
[8] Payne, op. cit., 27, 29 [9] Payne, op. cit., 72-73.
[10] *Tuzak*, 83. [11] Ibid., 51.
[12] Ibid., 322. [13] Ibid., 101.
[14] *Persian Letters* (Ethe's *Catalogue*, MS., No. 2118), 15-16 ; *Travels of 'Abdul Latīf*, 35.
[15] The temple at Mathura was destroyed by Aurangzeb and that at Urchha by Shāh Jahān. Lāhaurī : *Badshāhnāmā*, II, 121. Lāhaurī mentions the temples that were built but were not completed when Jahāngīr died, I, 451-52.
[16] *J.P.H.S.*, V, 12, 17, 21.
[17] Qazvīnī, *Bādshāhnāmā*, f. 82*b* ; *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī*, 37f.
[18] *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, 346-49. *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngīrī*, f. 161*a*.
[19] Sujān Rāi, 71-72.
[20] Withington : *Early European Travellers to India*, ed. Foster, 223.
[21] *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, 125 ; *Ma'āsir-i-Jahāngīrī*, f. 98*a*-98*b*.
[22] Cf. also, Lāhaurī, I, 136.
[23] *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, 847 ; Finch : *Early European Travellers to India*, 180.
[24] Coryat : *Early European Travellers to India*, 269 ; Sir Thomas Roe : *Embassy to India*, ed. Foster for the Hakluyt Society, 312.
[25] Mullā Ahmad, I, (2), 45 ; II, (7), 93.
[26] Ibid., II, (7), 94.
[27] Terry : *Early European Travellers to India*.
[28] Roe, op. cit., 316 ; Withington, op. cit., 223.
[29] Quoted in Hosten, op. cit., 124. [30] Payne, op. cit., 26, 41, 42.

[31] Payne, op. cit., 2.
[32] Payne, op. cit., 25.
[33] Finch, op. cit., 147.
[34] Roe, op. cit., 315 ; Hawkins : *Early European Travellers to India*, 86, 116.
[35] Roe, op. cit., 316.
[36] Ibid., 316.
[37] Hawkins, op. cit., 84.
[38] Maclagan, op. cit., 78.
[39] *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, V. 15.
[40] Cf. Roe's account of the difficulties experienced by him on account of Muqarrab Khān's opposition.
[41] Maclagan, op. cit., 77, 78.
[42] Payne, op. cit., 41, 42.
[43] Maracci as quoted by Maclagan, op. cit., 98.
[44] Maclagan, op. cit., 38 ; Austin of Bordeaux writing on March 9, 1632 declares that Shāh Jahān poisoned Jahāngīr because he was afraid he would become a Christian, *J.P.H.S.*, IV, 14. Unfortunately Shāh Jahan was not even near his father at the time of Jahāngīr's death.
[45] Withington, op. cit., 223 ; Payne, op. cit., 35 ; Botelho in Hosten, 153.
[46] *Tūzak*, 35. Mullā Ahmad rejoiced at the killing of 'that... kāfir of Govindwal'. He declared that he was the leader of the infidels and that his death would serve as a great blow to them. Mullā Ahmad, I, (3), 82.
[47] Payne, op. cit., II, 12.
[48] Sikh tradition, recorded in Macauliffe, III, 90-101.
[49] Payne, op. cit., II, 12, Macauliffe, as cited above.
[50] *Dabistān*, 234 ; Macauliffe, IV, 10-41. The author of the *Dabistān* knew the seventh Guru. His account seems to be more reliable. The Sikh tradition is full of the miracles of the Guru.
[51] *Tūzak*, 63, 219.
[52] Ibid., 219.
[53] Ibid., 102.
[54] Ibid., 414.
[55] Ibid., 453.
[56] Ibid., 218.
[57] Ibid., 37.
[58] Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, 54.
[59] Rieu, 1.
[60] *Tūzak*, 275.
[61] Rahmān 'Alī, Ulma-i-Hind, II, 12.
[62] *Tūzak*, 275.
[63] Ibid., 213, 279 ; Rahmān 'Alī, 12.
[64] Rahmān 'Alī, op. cit., 12.
[65] Payne, op. cit., 75.
[66] Pelsaert, translated by Moreland and Geyl, 75.
[67] Payne, op. cit., 72.
[68] *Tūzak*, 243.
[69] Ibid., 276.
[70] Ibid., 124.
[71] Ibid., 179.
[72] Ibid., 280, 319.
[73] Ibid., 132.
[74] Payne, op. cit., 32-33, 46-47, 75.
[75] Mullā Ahmad, I, (4), 126.
[76] *Tuzak*, 15.
[77] Payne, op. cit., 49-56.
[78] *Tūzak*, 290.
[79] Ibid., 62.
[80] Ibid., 10.
[81] *Tūzak*, 176, 177, 252, 282-84.
[82] Ibid., 50.
[83] Mullā Ahmad, III, (9), 100.
[84] Hawkins, op. cit., 98, 99.
[85] *Tūzak*, 8.
[86] Ibid., 99.
[87] Cf. Sri Ram Sharma : *Bengal under Jahāngīr, Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIII, Part II, 69.
[88] *Tūzak*, 24.
[89] Hawkins, op. cit., 106-07.

[90] *Tūzak*, 75. [91] Ibid., 5, 76.
[92] Roe, op. cit., 303, 304. [93] *Tūzak*, 76.
[94] Ibid., 73. [95] Withington, op. cit., 219.
[96] Hawkins, op. cit., 119 ; Pelsaert, 78-79 ; Withington, op. cit., 219.
[97] *Tūzak*, 23. [98] Ibid., 79.
[99] Ibid., 183. [100] Ibid., 56.
[101] Pelsaert, 77. [102] *Tūzak*, 100.
[103] Rahmān 'Alī, op. cit. [104] *Tūzak*, 5, 90.
[105] Payne, op. cit., 38. [106] *Tūzak*, 92.
[107] Roe, op. cit., 124.
[108] Cf. the author's description of the work and its date in *Studies in Medieval Indian History*.
[109] *Tūzak*, 244-45. [110] Cf. Rahmān 'Alī.
[111] Payne, op. cit., 30-32.
[112] Cf. *Rahim Sudhā*, edited by Tripāthī.
[113] Cf. *Sūr Sāgar*. [114] Cf. Brown : *Mughal Paintings*.
[115] Coryat, op. cit., 147-48 [116] Roe, op. cit., I, 157.
[117] Finch, op. cit., 147-48. [118] Maclagan, op. cit., 92.
[119] *Tazkirāt-ul-Malūk*, 567.
[120] Blochmann in *Calcutta Review*, 1869, 139-40.
[121] *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, 431. [122] Ibid., 100.
[123] *Tuzak* mentions Sadr-i-Jahān as Jahāngīr's first Sadr-us-Sadūr (page 22) Rahmān 'Alī describes Mullā Taqī as his Sadr-us-Sadūr. Musāwī Khān was his last Sadr-us-Sadūr, Lāhaurī, I. 181.
[124] *Tuzak*, 5.
[125] Ibid., 119. [126] Ibid., 125 ; Coryat, op. cit., 280.
[127] *Tūzak*, 15. [128] Finch, op. cit., 147.
[129] Payne, op. cit., 81.
[130] Roe, op. cit., 105, 157, 284 ; Coryat, op. cit., 281.
[131] Cf. Shāh Jahān's letter to Jahāngīr in *Munshiat*, quoted by the present writer in an *Unexplored Source of Mughal History*. Lāhaurī, Shāh Jahān's official historian accuses Jahāngīr of wasting Akbar's treasure, leaving the work of the State to the governors and officials or to Nūr Jahān but he casts no doubts on Jahāngīr's religion. Lāhaurī, II, 148, 475, 713.
[132] Roe, op. cit., 313 ; Coryat, op. cit., 246.
[133] *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad 'Arif Qandahārī*, MS., 270. The present writer described the only known fragment of this work for the first time in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, October, 1933.
[134] Mullā Ahmad, I, (2), 45. [135] Ibid., I, (3), 43.

SANSKRIT WRITERS OF JAHĀNGĪR'S REIGN

1. Ananta Bhaṭṭa, he wrote nine works on various subjects, one of them *Vidhāna Pārijāta* was definitely composed in A.D. 1625.

2. *Caitanya Caritāmritam* was composed in A.D. 1625 probably by Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Kavirāja.

3. *Karkabhāṣyam* was composed in A. D. 1615 by an unknown writer.

4. *Aṣṭodayādhikāra*, on astronomy, was written about A.D. 1624 by a writer whose name is not traceable.

5. Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa. Between A.D. 1610 and 1640, he wrote about ninety works in Sanskrit on law, daily duties, consecration of wells, etc., coronation of kings, astronomy, astrology, Samskāras, philosophy, judicial procedure and poetry. His famous work, *Nirṇaya Sindhu* (printed), written in 1612, has been accepted as a work of authority on Hindu Law by the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta.

6. Kṛṣṇa Gaṇaka served under Jahāngīr and wrote several works on astronomy and astrology.

7. Gaṇeśa Daivajña, son of Gopāla, wrote *Jātakālaṃakāra* on horoscopy in A.D. 1613.

8. Gaṅgādhara, son of Rāma Candra, wrote *Pravāsakritya* at Cambay in A.D. 1606-07. This describes the duties of a Nagrik Brahman driven to a foreign country for the sake of livelihood or otherwise.

9. Gourīśa Bhaṭṭa wrote *Anumaraṇapradīpa* in 1609.

10. Cāmuṇḍa Kāyastha wrote *Jvaritimirābhaskara* in 1623.

11. Cintāmaṇi composed *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi* in 1607.

12. Jayaratna, a physician, wrote *Jvaraparājayah*, on the treatment of fevers in 1605.

13. Jagannātha, another Hindu physician, wrote *Yogasaṅgraha* on medicine, in A.D. 1616.

14. Jinarāja (1591 to 1643) wrote *Naiśadhīyatīkā*.

15. Dāmodara.

16. Dādā wrote *Dattārka Dharmaśāstra* in 1621.

17. Divākara, born in 1606, and a voluminous writer, author of some seventeen works wrote some of them during Jahāngīr's reign.

18. Nanda Paṇḍita, a great writer on law, wrote mostly between A.D. 1595 to 1630.

19. Narasimha wrote a commentary on *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra.*

20. Nārāyaṇa wrote a work on devotion at the instance of Rājā Hari Dās of Banaras.

21. Nārāyaṇa Śarmā wrote a commentary on the famous dictionary of Amara Sinha in 1619.

22. Nāgeśa worte a tract on astronomy in 1620.

23. The literary activities of Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa ranged between the year 1610 and 1645. His famous work on Hindu law, dedicated to his patron, Bhagvanta Deva, a Bundela chief and known after him as *Bhagavanta Bhāskara*, is recognized as an authority by the High Court of Bombay.

24. Narasimha wrote a commentary on the astronomical work *Sūryasiddhānta* in 1611.

25. Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. He was alive in about A.D. 1610 and wrote verses in praise of Hari.

26. The famous grammarian and author of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and several other works lived about the years A.D. 1575-1650 and was alive during Jahāngīr's reign. Some of his works must have been written during this period.

27. Balabhadra Śukla wrote his *Kunda-tattvapradīpa* in 1623.

28. Mahādeva Vidyāvāgīśa wrote a commentary on *Ānanda Lahari* in 1606.

29. The literary activities of Mitra Kṛṣṇa the famous jurist, whose work *Vīramitrodaya* is recognized as an authority by the Privy Council on the Hindu Law of the Banaras school, were spread over a period of 30 years between 1610 to 1640.

30. Mohana Miśra Tarkatilaka wrote a commentary on *Kālanirṇaya* discussing auspicious times for various sacrifices.

31. Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa who flourished between the years 1545 to 1625 wrote his *Kālatattavavivecana* in 1620 and may have written some of his other undated works in the reign of Jahāngīr.

32. Ratna Simha wrote his *Pradyumna-carita*, a biography in verse of Pradyumna in 1615.

33. Rāma composed his *Rāmavinoda* for Rāmadāsa, a former Minister of Akbar, in 1613-14.

34. Rāmarsi commented on Ravidāsa's *Nalodaya* in 1608.

35. Rūpa Gosvāmin whom Jahāngīr respected so much died in A.D. 1618. Though he was very old on Jahāngīr's accession (being

78), he seems from Jahāngīr's account to have still led an active life in his reign. Some of his 39 works may have been written in Jahāngīr's time.

36. Laksmaṇa Bhaṭṭa is the author of two works on Dharmaśāstra, one of them has already been printed.

37. Laksmaṇa wrote a treatise on Yoga in A.D. 1613.

38. Laksmī Dāsa wrote on the determination of auspicious hours in 1618.

39. Viṭhala Dīkṣita wrote his *Kundamaṇḍapasiddhi* and its commentary in 1620. Some of his other works may also have been written during Jahāngīr's reign.

40. Visṇu Daivajña wrote a commentary on *Sūryaprakāśaśaraṇa* in 1613.

41. Viśvanātha Daivajña wrote several works between the years 1612-30.

42. Vaidya Nātha Bhaṭṭa, a Vedic scholar, wrote *Lakṣaṇaratna* as an aid to the study of the Black Yajurveda.

43. Śaṅkara wrote several works on devotion, astronomy and ritual.

44. Śrīvimalaprabodha Parivrājaka wrote in 1610 his *Kalikālakrama Vacanam*.

45. Sādhu Sundarāgni wrote several lexicons. *Uktiratnākara* explains Sanskrit works in Prakriṭ.

46. Samaya Sundarāgni, a voluminous writer, wrote works on various subjects.

47. Sundara Miśra wrote on dramaturgy.

48. Sumati Harṣa wrote several commentaries.

49. *Voṇṭhalakṣaṇa*, an index of words in the *Ṛg-Veda* arranged according to their peculiarities was written at Banaras in 1622 by an unknown author.

CHAPTER V

SHĀH JAHĀN

His Accession

With the accession of Shāh Jahān, the Mughal empire entered upon a new phase. If Akbar was liberal in his religious views and Jahāngīr indifferent to nicer questions of theology, Shāh Jahān was an orthodox Muslim. Although born of a Rajput mother to a father whose mother was also a Rajput princess, Shāh Jahān does not seem to have been much influenced by these factors. He was thirty-six at the time of his accession and thus old enough to chalk out a policy for himself. He was a favourite of his grandfather, Akbar, and his early education was no doubt carried on under liberal teachers of Sūfist leanings.[1] Akbar died when Shāh Jahān was only twelve. Though Khurram was his grandfather's favourite, there did not seem to be much chance of his occupying the Mughal throne during his grandfather's lifetime as he was not his eldest grandson. Because of this he must have been educated as an ordinary Mughal prince rather than a future emperor. But towards the end of Akbar's reign, intrigues on behalf of Khusrū increased the status of Khurram. Early in Jahāngīr's reign we find Khurram appointed the President of the Council of Regency formed by Jahāngīr when he left the capital in pursuit of his rebel son in April, 1606. This was followed by a more formal recognition of his new position in 1607. From then till his rebellion in 1622, Shāh Jahān remained basking in his father's favour as a likely successor. The years that followed his defeat and reconciliation with Jahāngīr did not bring the father and the son much closer together. Shāh Jahān did not, however, raise the standard of 'Islam in danger' against his father, and when he succeeded him in 1627, he had no religious commitments. But unlike his father and grandfather, he married no Hindu princess, and thus that mellowing influence was lacking in his harem.

Court Ceremonies

On his accession, the court ceremonies attracted his attention

first. The mode of salutation in the court by *Sijida* had become common, though not compulsory, under Akbar. Under Jahāngīr the religious officers, the Qāzīs, the Mīr 'Adals, and the Sadrs were exempt from paying respects to the emperor in that fashion. Shāh Jahān carried the modification still further. *Sijida* was abolished forthwith as it involved prostration which, according to the Islamic tradition, is due to God alone.[2] But this did not produce any change in the court etiquette. The *Zamīnbos* form of salutation that was still allowed was no better. Shāh Jahān's orthodoxy at last resulted in abolishing both these humiliating forms of salutation in A.D. 1636-37 (1046 A.H.)[3] and in their place '*Chahār Taslīm*' was made current. This involved bowing and touching one's forehead, eyes and arms four times. Even this was against the Muslim usage. There seems to have ensued a conflict between imperial grandeur and orthodoxy. The former won, but to the latter a point was conceded. The '*Chahār Taslīm*' remained the court ceremony of salutation, but an exception was made in favour of the theologians of various degrees. They were excused '*Chahār Taslīm*' and were to salute the emperor by using the common Muslim formula of 'wishing peace'.[4] It is probable however that the unorthodox practice of raising hands in salutation was not discontinued even in their case. The '*Chahār Taslīm*' however soon assumed a form which made it difficult to distinguish it from the *Sijida*. Manucci thus describes it : 'I arose, stood quite erect, and bending my body very low until my head was quite close to the ground, I placed my right hand with its back to the ground, then raising it, put it on my head, and stood up straight. This ceremonial I repeated three times.'[5] As Manucci himself notes further on, this had to be done four times.

Shāh Jahān was anxious to give his court a Muslim colouring. All the Muslim festivals were now regularly celebrated with imperial grandeur. Rs. 70,000 a year was set apart for distribution in charities, Rs. 30,000 was given away during the month of Ramazān, Rs. 10,000 was distributed during the months of Muharram, Rajab, Shābān and Rabī'-ul-Awal.[6] These festivals were court festivals ; Hindus and Muslims alike attended them, made presents to the emperor who, in his turn, gave gifts to the Amīrs. The 'Īds and Shab-i-Barāts were occasions of great rejoicings. Rājā Jaswant Singh and Rājā Jai Singh were both given an elephant each on the occasion of the Īd in the Twelfth year.[7]

Rs. 5,00,000 were set apart to be sent to Mecca in instalments. Occasionally a royal Mīr-i-Haj was appointed to take these offerings and also act as the leader of the pilgrims going to Mecca.[8] When Sayyid Jalāl Gujarātī was appointed the Sadr-us-Sadūr in 1642, he was made a mansabdār of 4,000 horses. Soon, however, he became a commander of 6,000 men.[9] This naturally increased the influence of the theologians at court. Never before had such a high status been combined with this sacerdotal office. It is not surprising therefore, to find that annalists and poets sing of Shāh Jahān's piety and love of Islam.

In other ways too, Shāh Jahān acted as the champion of the true faith, the Sunnī variety of Islam. When he despatched a mission to Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golconda in A.D. 1635-36 (1045 A.H.), he definitely proclaimed himself ordained by God not only as the leader of the Sunnīs but the destroyer of all those who did not conform to his ideas of Islam.[10] Hard pressed by the Mughal armies, Qutb-ul-Mulk had to proclaim himself a Sunnī and inaugurate Sunni rites in his state, before he was able to obtain respite from the imperial forces.[11] In A.D. 1629-30 (1039 A.H.) Shāh Jahān suppressed what he considered heretical practices among the Afghans.[12] The Muslim creed continued to be stamped on the coins as in Jahāngīr's times.[13]

In certain other matters Shāh Jahān continued the old practices. He sat daily in the salutation balcony, even though to his more orthodox son and successor, Aurangzeb, it smacked of worship of man instead of God. In order to make it more comfortable for his subjects to see him there, he caused roofs to be set up in the courtyards below the salutation balconies in Agra, Delhi and Lahore.[14] He continued the customary annual ceremony of Tulā Dān, weighing himself against different commodities and giving them away. He kept astrologers at court. He was a patron of painting, even of portrait-painting, and many great paintings of his court are still preserved. But he discontinued the practice of allowing favoured nobles the honour of wearing the imperial likeness in their turban. He is said to have discontinued the use of the Ilāhī calendar, but documents of his reign are in existence bearing the Ilāhī dates.[15] The *'Amal-i-Sālih* almost always gives both the Ilāhī and the Hijrī dates. The *Bādshāhnāmā* of Lāhaurī frequently uses the Ilāhī calendar. The custom of weighing the emperor twice according to the lunar and solar reckoning involved the use of the

Ilāhī calendar. The fact that Aurangzeb had to discontinue the use of the Ilāhī calendar in the revenue and accounts departments[16] proves that under Shāh Jahān it had been retained in use. It seems that Shāh Jahān instituted the practice of having his official chronicles drawn up according to the Ilāhī calendar and one of his annual New Year Day parties was held according to the same reckoning. But he introduced another innovation in the time schedule of his day. He changed the traditional division of day and night according to the rising and the setting of the sun to an equal division of time between the day and the night.[17]

The emperors used to make the *tikā* sign on the forehead of the Hindu Rājās when they acceded to their titles. Shāh Jahān, though he would not discontinue it, delegated this task to his prime minister.[18] Music and dancing remained in fashion at the court and the emperor kept court musicians who sang daily at regular intervals.

Public Services

So far as the Public Services were concerned Shāh Jahān started by issuing rather a tall order. It was decreed that only Muslims were to be recruited to the public services.[19] But this order does not seem to have been enforced. In the thirty-first year there were fifty-two Hindus in a total of two hundred and forty-one, serving as mansabdārs commanding 1,000 to 7,000 men.[20] At the end of the tenth year there were 189 mansabdārs of 1,000 and above. Of this number 35 were Hindus.[21] At the end of the twentieth year out of a total of 231 living mansabdārs of 1,000 and above, 51 were Hindus.[22] The total increase in these ten years was 42 of which the number of the Hindus was sixteen. Thus whereas the percentage of the Hindus at the end of the tenth year was only 18·5 of the total strength, they secured 38 per cent of the new creations. Towards the end of the reign, however, the percentage of the Hindus seems to have gone down. Though the strength of the cadre rose from 231 at the end of the twentieth year to 241 at the end of the thirty-first year, the number of Hindus rose to 52 only. Even then the percentage of the Hindus stood at 21·5 instead of 18·5 as at the end of the tenth year. If we include the number of the mansabdārs of 500 and above, the position revealed is almost the same. At the end of the tenth year, the number of the Hindu mansabdārs of 500 and above was 76 out of a total of 419.[23] At

the end of the twentieth year there were 97 Hindus out of a total of 453.[24] The Hindus thus secured 21 out of 34 new creations.

An examination of the list of the Hindu mansabdārs at the end of the twentieth year yields very interesting results. Here are the names of the mansabdārs of 1,000 and above.

COMMANDERS OF 5,000

1. Rājā Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur.
2. Rājā Jagat Singh of Udaipur.
3. Rājā Jai Singh of Jaipur.
4. Rājā Bithal Dās Gaur

COMMANDERS OF 4,000

5. Rājā Rāi Singh son of the late Mahārājā Bhīm Singh (of the house of Mewar).

COMMANDERS OF 3,000

6. Rājā Pahār Singh Bundelā of Urchhā.
7. Rāo Satarsāl Hāda of Bundī.
8. Mādho Singh Hāda (uncle of the above).
9. Udājī Rām
10. Parsojī Bhonsla
11. Jādu Raī
12. Mankojī Nimbālkar — All from South India.
13. Rāwat Rai
14. Dattārjī

COMMANDERS OF 2,500

15. Rājā Devī Singh Bundelā.

COMMANDERS OF 2,000

16. Rājā Rājrūp of Nūrpur (in the Punjab).
17. Rāo Karn Bhurtīya of Bikāner.
18. Rājā Jairāmdās Bargojar.
19. Prithvī Rāj Rāthor.
20. Rūp Singh Rāthor.
21. Rām Singh Rāthor (a cousin of the Rānā).
22. Patoji
23. Arīrāi — All from South India.
24. Bābāji

COMMANDERS OF 1,500

25. Rāwal Punja of Dongarpur.
26. Ratan Rāthor.
27. Rāo Rūp Singh Chandrāwat.
28. Chand Ratan Bundelā.
29. Sujān Singh Sissodiā.
30. Rāi Todar Mall (Dīwān)
31. Anrodh
32. Shivrām } sons of Rājā Bithal Dās Gaur.
33. Raibā Dakhannī.

COMMANDERS OF 1,000

34. Rāwal Samarsī of Banswārā.
35. Rājā Gursen of Kishtwar, Kashmir.
36. Rājā Prithī Chand of Chambā.
37. Rājā Badan Singh Bhadorya.
38. Kanwar Ram Singh (son of Rājā Jai Singh of Jaipur).
39. Gopāl Singh Kachhwāhā.
40. Pratāp.
41. Girdhar Dās Gaur.
42. Rāi Singh, cousin of Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur.
43. Arjun, son of Bithal Dās.
44. Rāi Singh Jhālā.
45. Rājā Amar Singh.
46. Bhojrāj Dakhanī.
47. Rāi Kāshī Dās (a provincial Dīwān).
48. Rāi Dayānat Rāi (Accounts Department).
49. Rāi Bhār Mal (a provincial Dīwan)
50. Mahesh Dās Rāthor.
51. Rājā Tralok Chand Kachhwāhā.

Out of these 51, numbers 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 15, 16, 17, 25, 35, 36, 37, and 38 (in all 13) were ruling chiefs. Rājā Bithal Dās Gaur was himself a Commander of 5,000. One of his sons was a commander of 1,000 and two commanders of 2,000. Rāi Todar Mal, Rāi Kashī Dās, Rāi Dayānat Rāi and Rāi Bhār Mal represented the Revenue and Accounts Departments. A very interesting element is the strength of the Deccanese officers who held eleven commands among themselves. They represent probably the price of the policy of expansion in South India which Shāh Jahān had pursued for

several years. The rest are chiefly Rajputs belonging to the various ruling houses in Rajputana and elsewhere. The Dīwāns seem to have risen from the ranks.

In the Revenue Department besides the four provincial Dīwāns ranking as Commanders of 1,000 or more, there were others occupying less exalted stations yet discharging equally responsible duties. Rāi Sobhā Chand was the Dīwān of Lahore in the twelfth year.[25] Rāi Mukand Dās was a Dīwān-i-Tan and Dīwāni-i-Bayūtāt. He served for some time as the officiating Revenue Minister in the twelfth year.[26] Rāi Dayānat Rāi, who was a commander of 1,000, became the Dīwān of all the Mughal territories in the Deccan.[27] Benī Dass served as the Dīwān of Bihar.[28] Rāi Raghū Nāth officiated for some time as the Imperial Finance Minister,[29] whereas Rāi Chandar Bhān was officer-in-charge of the Dār-ul-Inshā, the Secretariat.[30] Probably the most interesting appointment of the reign was that of Shāhjī whom Shāh Jahān tempted into imperial service by conferring on him the highest command, 6,000.[31] He does not seem to have actually joined the Mughals. Yet the appointment is significant as he was appointed to a rank higher than that of any other Hindu mansabdār. We further find that on the outbreak of the War of Succession, Mahārājā Jaswant Singh was the premier noble of the empire,[32] holding the rank of a commander of 6,000. Thus under Shāh Jahān Hindus counted among them the mightiest subject and the highest public servant, the Imperial Finance Minister and several provincial Ministers of Finance besides several military commanders of great fame.

When Aurangzeb was Viceroy of the Deccan, Shān Jahān sharply reprimanded him for his anti-Rajput bias.[33] In one case the record keeper of the salaries office, Rāi Māyā Dās, was replaced by a Muslim probably on account of his religion, though the court annalist would have us believe it was old age which necessitated his removal.[34] On the whole, however, one may hold that no dislodgment of Hindus from the public services seems to have taken place.

Pilgrimage Tax

Shāh Jahān did not reimpose the Jizya but tried to make money out of the religious convictions of the Hindus in other ways. The pilgrimage tax was revived.[35] It was a heavy burden, and an

obstacle in the way of the Hindus who wanted to fulfil their religious obligations. On the importunity of a Hindu scholar of Banaras, Kavindarācārya, who led a deputation to the emperor against this hateful imposition, the emperor remitted it and thus allowed his Hindu subjects religious liberty.[36]

Religious Places of non-Muslims

Shāh Jahān changed the spirit of religious toleration that had characterised the Mughal government so far in several other ways as well. To begin with, the emperor forbade the completion of certain temples that had been started during his predecessor's reign. Repairs to old temples were prohibited and the building of new temples was forbidden.[37] Complaints against the Hindus on the frontiers of the Punjab had been received. It was alleged they had rebuilt seventy temples using the material of the mosques which had been in their turn built utilizing the material of the temples which had originally stood there. All these temples were ordered to be destroyed and mosques built in their place. Shāh Jahān now embarked on a campaign of complete destruction of the new temples of the Hindus. Three temples were destroyed in Gujarat, seventy-two temples in Banaras and its neighbourhood, and probably four temples elsewhere in the province of Allahabad.[38] Some temples in Kashmir were also sacrificed to the religious fury of the emperor. The Hindu temple of Ichchhabal was destroyed and converted into a mosque.[39] This betokened a rather serious fit of religious frenzy which Akbar's reign seemed to have made impossible. The materials of some of the Hindu temples were used for building mosques.[40]

In the ninth year a magnificent temple built by Bīr Singh Bundelā at Urchha was destroyed during the course of military operations against Jujuhār Singh Bundelā.[41] Several other temples suffered the same fate or were converted into mosques. When the fort of Khata Kheri was conquered and taken from its Bhil ruler Bhāgīrath in 1632, Muslim rites were performed there[42] just as had happened in the temple of Kangra on its conquest by Jahāngīr. The fort of Dhamuni under Jujuhār Singh was similarly desecrated in A.D. 1644-45 (1045 A.H.).[43] Earlier, in A.D. 1630-31 (1040 A.H.) when Abdāl, the Hindu chief of Hargāon in the province of Allahabad, rebelled, most of the temples in the state were either

demolished or converted into mosques. Idols were burnt.[43a] Prince Aurangzeb while viceroy of Gujarat (February, 1645 to January, 1647) was responsible for the demolition of several temples. In Ahmedabad and elsewhere in Gujarat and Maharashtra many temples were destroyed, among them being the temple of Khandai Rāi at Satara, and the temple of Chintāman close to Sarashpur. Probably after Aurangzeb's departure in 1647 many of these temples were again taken possession of by the Hindus.[44]

Shāh Jahān thus reverted to the practice of systematically desecrating the religious shrines of rebel chiefs and enemies. He also tried to enforce the Muslim injunction against new place of worship being built by non-believers. But it seems that his fury did not last long. Though in general terms some of the chroniclers of the reign remember the emperor as the destroyer of temples, no more specific cases find mention in the later part of his reign. Probably due to Dārā's increasing influence we find Shāh Jahān reversing this policy. The prince presented a stone railing to the temple of Kesho Rāi at Mathura.[45] A letter written during the year A.D. 1643-44 (1053 A.H.) to Jai Singh, Rājā of Jaipur, conceded to him full liberty to appoint the presiding priest at the temple of Brindāban built by Mān Singh.[46] Mān Singh's mother had died in Bengal and by a letter dated August, 1639, Shāh Jahān granted two hundred *bighas* of land to be attached to her mausoleum in order to ensure its upkeep.[47] The restoration of their temples to the Hindus of Gujarat, however, took place after 1647.

The Christians themselves brought about the destruction of some of their religious privileges. The Jesuits at the Mughal court had been mixing politics with religion and they had little to complain about when on the outbreak of hostilities with the Portuguese at Hooghly, Shāh Jahān ordered the dismantling of their church at Agra and the destruction of their church images. He allowed them, however, the right to hold their religious ceremonies in the houses they were permitted to retain.[48] Thus Shāh Jahān interfered with open public worship in the Christian fashion in churches, allowing Christians, however, to hold religious ceremonies in the privacy of their own houses. But unlike the Protestant and Roman Catholic governments of Europe during the religious wars and after, the Mughals seldom tried to interfere with the privacy of their subjects in religious matters. The rights enjoyed by the Roman Catholics in India, even after this eruption, far exceed those enjoyed by their

religious brethren in Protestant England about this time and even later.

Conversions to Other Religions

Shāh Jahān also stopped the prevailing practice of allowing the Hindus and the Christians to make converts to their religion. The permission granted to Christians was withdrawn as the result of the war against the Portuguese. Christians had never been able to convert a large number of Hindus and Muslims to their faith. Their efforts had mainly been confined to keeping within the Christian faith such Armenians, Europeans and others of their faith who happened to take service at the Mughal court. Before the establishment of the Jesuit Missions at Agra and Lahore, the Christians entering the Mughal service usually adopted non-Christian modes of life from which they were rescued by the Jesuit missionaries. Now that the missionaries were established at Agra and Lahore, such cases became rare. The refusal of the permission, therefore, was simply the denial of a principle and implied Shāh Jahān's anxiety to conform to the Muslim theological injunctions rather than create practical obstacles in the path of the Christian missions. In the case of the Hindus, however, it was otherwise. They had been actually absorbing a number of Muslims by conversion to Hinduism. In the sixth year of his reign when Shāh Jahān was returning from Kashmir through Jammu, he discovered, as Jahāngīr had discovered before him, that the Hindus of Bhadauri and Bhimbar accepted daughters of Muslim parents and converted them to their own faith. These women were cremated at their death according to Hindu rites. Jahāngīr had tried to stop this practice but to no avail. Shāh Jahān not only issued order making such marriages unlawful henceforward, but ordered that these converted Muslim girls be taken away from their husbands, who in turn were to be fined. They could escape the fine if they accepted Islam. So widespread was this practice of converting Muslim girls to Hinduism that these orders discovered more than 4,000 such women.[49]

During the course of the same journey Shāh Jahān came across the same source of uneasiness to his orthodoxy in Gujarat. Here again some seventy such converts were discovered. General orders were issued to scour the Punjab and put down these practices

by force. Four hundred cases were further reported in consequence.[50]

In his tenth year Shāh Jahān discovered that his orders had not completely stopped this source of conversion to Hinduism. Dalpat, a Hindu of Sirhind, had converted a Muslim girl, Zīnab, given her the Hindu name, Gangā, and brought up their children as Hindus. He had also converted one Muslim boy and six Muslim girls (his own) to Hinduism. The emperor was now exasperated by this persistence and defiance of his orders. To put a stop to this practice and warn all future transgressors of the law, Dalpat's wife and children were taken away from him. He was sentenced to death by dismemberment with the option that he could save himself by becoming a Muslim. Dalpat, however, was made of the stuff of which martyrs are made and he flatly refused the offer. He was cruelly done to death.[51]

Another method of conversion to Hinduism was also stopped. Though Akbar had discontinued the practice of making slaves of prisoners of war, it seems to have been too deep-rooted to disappear so easily. It had now revived. These slaves were publicly sold to bidders or retained by the soldiers. Shāh Jahān now issued an order that Muslim prisoners of war were not to be sold to the Hindus as slaves. Hindu soldiers were also forbidden from enslaving Muslims.[52]

After his tenth year, however, Shāh Jahān seems to have left the proselytizing activities of the Hindus alone. During the rest of his reign we do not hear of any attempts to put down the efforts of the Hindus to make converts to their religion. This did not mean that these activities had been finally crushed. We come across several cases of the conversion of Muslims by the Hindus. There was a Hindu saint, Kalyān Bhāti, living in Kiratpur, in the year 1643. He was a *Sanyasi* who had travelled to far off Persia where he had been converted to Islam. When he returned to India, he became a Hindu and was accepted as a religious leader by the Hindus. It is said that the licentious life of Shāh Abbās Safavi of Persia (A.D. 1583 to 1628) had disgusted him.[53]

A large number of Muslims were converted to Hinduism by the Vairagīs. The author of the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* speaks of these conversions as if from his own personal knowledge. Two Muslim nobles are mentioned among these converts, Mirzā Salih and Mirzā Haidar.[54]

When the Sikh Guru, Hargōbind, took up his residence at Kiratpur in the Punjab, he succeeded in converting a large number of Muslims some time before 1645. In the words of *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, not a Muslim was left between the hills near Kiratpur and the frontiers of Tibet and Khotan.[55] The Mughals conquered Kiratpur in 1645 and it is possible they might have made some efforts at reconverting the people. But the Muslim chroniclers are silent about the fate of any such attempt.

Conversions to Islam

Though persecution for such malpractices may have come to an end, proselytizing activity seems to have continued throughout Shāh Jahān's reign. Early in his reign Shāh Jahān had appointed a Superintendent of Converts to Islam, thus setting up a department for the special purpose of making converts.[56] This solicitude for increasing the number of the Muslims was accompanied by various measures calculated to effect this end. The one common practice was to make terms with the criminals. Any crime could be expatiated if a man was willing enough to become a Muslim. The Hindus of the Punjab, Bhimbar, Bhadauri and Sirhind, who were guilty of the offence of abetting apostasy, were all offered remission of their sentences provided they accepted the 'true faith'. When the war with the Portuguese started, many of them were made prisoners and condemned to slavery or death. But they too were offered their freedom and life if they accepted the 'true faith'.[57] Of the four hundred who were brought before the emperor, very few, however, accepted the offer, the rest were imprisoned but orders were issued that whenever they should express their willingness to be converted they should be liberated and given daily allowances.[58] The Hindu law confined rights in the property of a joint family to the Hindus alone. Naturally, if a Hindu was converted to Islam he lost his right in the joint property. Like Lord Dalhousie two centuries later, Shāh Jahān could not tolerate this artificial obstacle to the spread of the 'true faith', and an order was issued in the seventh year of his reign that if a Hindu wanted to be converted to Islam, his family should not place any obstacles in his way.[59] Most probably this refers to the threats of depriving the 'renegade' of his share of the joint property. But Shāh Jahān's order differed to a great extent from Lord Dalhousie's legislation.

Dalhousie, by allowing Christian converts to claim their share of the joint property, brought conversion to and from Christianity to the same level. No law entailed the confiscation of his property on a Christian if he became a Hindu. Thus Dalhousie's order established no inequalities. But under Shāh Jahān, apostasy from Islam had again become a capital crime. His order made conversions from among the Hindus easier and gave the state full power for keeping Muslims true to their faith.

It is no wonder that this led to forcible conversion in times of war. When Shujā' was appointed governor of Kabul, his assumption of office was accompanied by a ruthless war in the Hindu territory beyond the Indus. Shankar was the ruler of these tribes. During the war, sixteen sons and dependants of Hāthī were converted by force. The sword of Islam further yielded a crop of 5,000 new converts. Hindu temples were converted into mosques. Anyone showing signs of reverting to the faith of his forefathers was executed.[60] The rebellion of Jujuhār Singh yielded a rich crop of Muslim converts, mostly minors. His young son Durgā and his grandson Durjan Sāl were both converted to become Imām Qulī and 'Ali Qulī.[61] Udai Bhān, his eldest son, when captured preferred death to Islam. Another son who was a minor was however converted. Most of the women had burnt themselves to death but such as were captured—probably slave girls or maids—were converted and distributed among Muslim mansabdārs.[62] When Pratāp Ujjainya rebelled in the tenth year, one of his women was captured, converted to Islam[63] and married to a grandson of Fīroz Jang.[64] The conquest of Beglana was followed by the conversion of Nāharjī's son and successor who now became Daulatmand.[65] Nasrat Jang converted a Brahman boy to Islam who, however, seemed to have resented it and killed his 'benefactor' while he lay asleep.[66]

There was a severe famine in the Punjab in A.D. 1645-46 (1055 A.H.) when people began to sell their children. Shāh Jahān ordered that the sale price be paid by the state and the Muslim children be restored to their parents.[67] Hindu children bought in this way, by the state, were probably brought up as Muslims.

It is not surprising, therefore, that some noteworthy converts were made during this reign. Rājā Rāj Singh's son Bakhtāwar Singh and his grandson were converted.[68] One Gurū Kishan of Amroha, however, does not seem to have been suitably rewarded on his

conversion and had to remind the emperor of his services in becoming a Muslim and solicit a mansab, in order to make this an inducement to others.[69] The Zimindar of Bhimbar (Jammu State) was converted to Islam along with several of his kinsmen.[70] Sri Ranga III of the Carnatic was attacked by 'Adil Khān. Pressed in from all sides he was promised safety on the renunciation of his religion and conversion to Islam.[71]

Shāh Jahān discovered other means of swelling the ranks of the Muslims. When Hindu princesses had been married to the Mughal kings and princes, they do not seem to have been formally converted to Islam. It is true that their marriage in itself constituted an act of conversion. But Akbar seems to have allowed these princesses a good deal of religious liberty and Jahāngīr does not appear to have changed the practice of his father very much. Under Shāh Jahān, however, the Muslim law was more strictly followed. The princesses were first formally converted to Islam, the emperor himself teaching them the elements of the Muslim religion on their entry into the palace.[72] Marriage was solemnized after this formal conversion.

Thus Shāh Jahān took active steps not only for stopping the conversion of the Muslims to other faiths but for swelling their number by all possible means. Herein he earned the praises of almost all the Muslim annalists of his reign and came to be regarded as a great Muslim king, anxious to restore the lost privileges of Islam.

Blasphemy

As Shāh Jahān made apostasy criminal, he took similar measures to enforce the Muslim penal code in connexion with other religious crimes as well. Blasphemy was once again made a criminal offence. A Hindu who was alleged to have behaved disrespectfully towards the *Qur'ān* was executed.[73] Chhaila, a Brahman and provincial qānūngo of Berar, lost his head because he was similarly accused of disrespectful language towards the Prophet.[74] While Aurangzeb was Viceroy of Gujarat, Rājū, a Sayyid holding heretic views, was first expelled from Ahmedabad and subsequently killed on his opposing the imperial officers sent in order to accomplish and hasten his departure.

Sumptuary Laws

The Muslim tradition further laid down that it was the duty of a Muslim king to see that the Hindus were not allowed to look like the Muslims. This naturally demanded the promulgation of sumptuary laws. Shāh Jahān took a step towards reviving them by ordering that the Hindus be not allowed to dress like the Muslims.[76] No serious attempt seems to have been made to enforce this regulation as no *muhtasibs* were appointed to look after the enforcement of these orders.

In his sixth year Shāh Jahān prohibited the sale, public or private, of wine.[77] Jahāngīr had only prohibited public sales. This order therefore involved the extension of the prohibition to private sales as well. When it was discovered that going without drink made Christians indifferent gunners, they were allowed to manufacture their own drinks.[78]

Shāh Jahān's attitude towards the prohibition of the slaughter of animals as practised by Akbar and Jahāngīr was again that of an orthodox Muslim. He himself has no leanings towards Sūfism though his son Dārā was a Sūfī. Naturally, the prohibition of the slaughter of animals on certain days of the week as enforced by Akbar and Jahāngīr was discontinued. But the respect Akbar and Jahāngīr had shown towards Hindu feelings by prohibiting the slaughter of certain animals continued to some extent in certain areas. Manrique discovered that in Bengal the killing of animals held sacred by the Hindus was a crime punished by amputation of a limb. He was able, however, to compound for it by paying a fine and spirit away the culprit after he had been whipped.[79] It is reasonable to suppose that these prohibitions were not confined to the districts visited by Manrique alone and that elsewhere as well such respect was shown to Hindu feelings.

Cultural Contacts

Thanks probably to Dārā, Shāh Jahān continued the policy of his predecessors in another important field. Dārā's Sūfist leanings led him to explore the depths of Hindu religion and under his patronage and partly by his own efforts several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. These included the famous 'song celestial', *Bhagavad Gītā*, *Yoga Vaśiṣtha*, and *Probodhacandrodaya*. He himself

translated the *Upanishads* and declared them to be the 'book' referred to in the *Qur'ān*. He further wrote a tract comparing the Vedāntist terms with Sūfist expressions proving thereby that both came very near each other. He definitely set out to prove by these efforts of his that the Hindus deserved toleration not because it was politic even for the Muslim emperors of India to show them this concession, but because Islam enjoined such toleration to Hinduism as a kindred faith.[80] A translation of the *Rāmāyana* was also made by a Hindu scholar.

More important, however, was the patronage of Hindu poets by Shāh Jahān. Sundar Dās and Chintāmaṇī were two great Hindi poets of the age who received court patronage.[81] They wrote on various themes, including religious topics.

Shāh Jahān's reign is famous for the quality and the quantity of the Sanskrit writings that it produced. The great jurist, Kamalākar Bhaṭṭa, author of the famous *Nirṇayasindhu*, was alive. One of Shāh Jahān's proteges, Kavindarācārya, wrote a commentary on the *Rigveda*. Jagannāth, who was a court poet, besides compiling poetic works singing the praises of Dārā and Āsaf Khān, wrote religious tracts in praise of the Ganges, the Yamunā and the Sun. Nityānanda who was patronized by Āsaf Khān wrote two works on Hindu astronomy. Vedāngarāja, another protege of Shāh Jahān compiled in Sanskrit a vocabulary of Persian and Arabic terms used in Indian astronomy and astrology. Mitramiśra, the famous jurist whose interpretations of the Hindu law are still upheld by the High Courts of Calcutta and Bombay, was also living during Shāh Jahān's reign.

Conclusion

To sum up, Shāh Jahān was a more orthodox king than his two predecessors. During the sixth to tenth years of his reign he embarked upon the active career of a persecuting king. Several orders were issued during these years for the purpose of achieving his end. New temples were destroyed, conversions were stopped, several Hindus were persecuted for religious reasons, and probably the pilgrimage tax was reimposed. Soon however his religious zeal seems to have spent itself. Shāh Jahān's ardour as a great proselytizing king cooled down when he discovered in the heir-apparent, and his deputy in many state affairs, a religious toleration equall-

ing that of his grandfather Akbar. Of course the discontinuance of certain court ceremonies which smacked of Hindu practices was permanent. Yet he continued the use of the Ilāhī year even in his *farmāns* and in revenue accounts. His royal mandates still began with *Alla hu Akbar* made popular by Akbar. He continued patronizing dancing, music, portrait painting and astrology. The ceremony of weighing the emperor against different commodities was performed every year amidst the applause of the court poets and annalists.

But as a pious Muslim, Shāh Jahān showed greater interest in the celebration of Muslim festivals as state ceremonies. Larger amounts were given in charity to Muslims on these occasions. The gulf between the state and the orthodoxy was partially bridged by the increasing importance attached to the office of the Sadr-us-Sadūr and by the appointment of an officer to look after new converts and possibly to encourage conversions to Islam. Shāh Jahān tried to convert his court into that of a great Muslim emperor. Frequent missions were sent to Mecca in charge of the pilgrims as also for the distribution of the charities set apart by the emperor. It is rather interesting to note that the larger part of Shāh Jahān's gifts to Mecca was sent in the shape of merchandise which was sold in Arabia and the proceeds given in charity. His letters to Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golkanda portray him as the champion of the Sunnī variety of Islam.

It is not wholly true to say that Shāh Jahān's reign was a prelude to what followed under Aurangzeb. Much of what his successor did constituted a vote of censure on Shāh Jahān for failing to do, in its entirety, what the Muslim law and tradition demanded of a Muslim king. It is true that the five years from the sixth to the tenth of his reign gave the Hindus a foretaste of what might happen if the Mughal throne happened to be filled by an orthodox king who insisted on following in their entirety the contemporary Muslim practices. Shāh Jahān—despite the praises showered on him by his court poets and annalists—was never consistently or for long a persecutor. Towards the end of his reign, we actually find him restraining the religious zeal of Aurangzeb and overriding him in many important matters. It must, however, be admitted that Akbar's ideal of a 'comprehensive state', was gradually being lost sight of, although only partially.

NOTES

[1] Sālih, I, 30-32.
[2] Lāhaurī, I, i, 110
[3] Khāfī Khān, I, 540; Lāhaurī, I, i, 112.
[4] Lāhaurī, I, 3; I, i, 222-23.
[5] Manucci, I, 87-88.
[6] Lāhaurī, II, 114; I, 196, 200, 204, 252, 539.
[7] Ibid., II, 144.
[8] Ibid., I, 306-07.
[9] Ibid., II, 718.
[10] Khāfī Khān, I, 518.
[11] Ibid., I, 533.
[12] Ibid., I, 423, 424.
[13] Ibid., I, 397.
[14] Lāhaurī, I, 222-23.
[15] Khāfī Khān, I, 7; Lāhaurī, I, i, 126-29; J.P.H.S., V, 26.
[16] Cf. below.
[17] Sālih, II, 388-89.
[18] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 175.
[19] Khāfī Khan, I, 399-400
[20] *Bādshāhnāmā-i-Mulakhas*, Tāhar, 248ff.
[21] Lāhaurī, I, ii, 258-328.
[22] Ibid., II, 717-52.
[23] Ibid., I, ii, 258-321.
[24] Ibid., II, 717-52.
[25] Sālih, II, 304; Lāhaurī, II, 279.
[26] Lāhaurī, II, 132, 310.
[27] Ibid., II, 132.
[28] Ibid., II, 408.
[29] *Chahār Chaman*, account of the Mughal Emperors.
[30] *Chahār Chaman*, his autobiograhpy.
[31] Sālih, I, 393.
[32] Khāfī Khān, I, 379.
[33] *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 55.
[34] Tabātabāī, 19; Lāhaurī, I, 446.
[35] Cf. *Kavindarācārya's list.*
[36] Ibid.
[37] Lāhaurī, I, 452; Qazvīnī, 405.
[38] Ibid., I, 452, II, 258; Sālih, I, 522, II, 58; Khāfī Khān, I, 472, 501; Qazvīnī, 357, 455; *Bādshāhnāmā-i-Mulakhas*, 75.
[39] Lāhaurī, II, 58; Sālih, II, 41.
[40] Khāfī Khān, I, 472.
[41] Lāhaurī, I, 121; Sālih, II, 258.
[42] Sālih, I, 518.
[43] Khāfī Khān, I, 510.
[43a] Sālih, I, 430; Khāfī, Khān, I, 510.
[44] Khāfī Khān, I, 454; Sālih, I, 430; *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 220, 259; *Kalimāt-i-Ta'yibāt*, 7*b*; *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, i, 280.
[45] *News Letter* dated 14-10-1666.
[46] *Jaipur Records.*
[47] *Jaipur Records*, Letter dated August 7, 1639.
[48] Shāh Jahān's *farmān* in J.H.P.S., V, 25, 26.
[49] Qazvīnī, 444-45; Lāhaurī, I, ii, 58; Khāfī Khān, I, 510; Sālih, II, 64. Sādiq Khān says that the offenders were executed, whereas other historians mention either a fine or a punishment.
[50] Lāhaurī, I, 58; Lāhaurī, I, 57; Qazvīnī, 562.
[51] Sālih, II, 246-47; Lāhaurī, I, ii, 57; Qazvīnī, 562.
[52] Qazvīnī, 405.
[53] *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 186-87.
[54] Ibid., 203.
[55] Ibid., 203.
[56] Lāhaurī, I, 58.
[57] See above.
[58] Sālih, I, 612.
[59] Lāhaurī, I, 535; Qazvīnī, 401-02, 405.
[60] *Inshā-i-Ibrāhīmī*, letter No. 8
[61] Lāhaurī, I, 133.
[62] Ibid., I, 139; Khāfī Khān, 522-23.
[63] Khāfī Khān, 545; Sālih, I, 240.
[64] Lāhaurī, I, 274.
[65] Khāfī Khān, I, 564; Lāhaurī, II, 109.
[66] Lāhaurī, II, 246.

[67] Khāfī Khān, I, 626.
[68] Qazvīnī, 407.
[69] *Letters* (Ethe 2118), 37.
[70] Lahāurī, II. 57.
[71] *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 65-68.
[72] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 37.
[73] Qazvīnī, 445.
[74] *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 101.
[75] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 220, 227.
[76] Qazvīnī, 445.
[77] Ibid., 405.
[78] Manucci, I. 140.
[79] Manrique, II, 105-15.
[80] Cf. *Dara Shukoh* by Qanungo; *'Prince Dara Shukoh'* by Dr. Yusuf Husain in the *Journal of the Muslim University, Aligarh*, I, 543-62.
[81] *Miśra Bandhu Vinod*. Cf. Sālih, I, 269.

SANSKRIT WRITERS OF SHĀH JAHĀN'S REIGN

1. Ananta Bhaṭṭa. He wrote *Tirtharatnākara* for his patron Anūpa Simha.

2. Ananta Paṇḍita. He commented on *Govardhana Saptaśatī*, and *Rasa Mañjārī* of Bhānu Datta (A.D. 1636), and wrote a prose version of Mudrā Rākṣasa.

3. Ananta Deva. He wrote a commentary on Kātyāyana's *Śrautasūtra*.

4. Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, the famous jurist.

5. Kavīndarācārya. He was a Vedic scholar, and wrote a commentary on the *Ṛg-Veda*, of which only a fragment is now available.

6. Kamalākara. He was an astronomer, and wrote various works on the subject.

7. Kavicandra. He was a grammarian, and wrote several commentaries on grammatical texts.

8. Kṛṣṇa. He wrote an elementary text-book of grammar in 1645.

9. Kṛṣṇadatta Miśra. In about 1650, he compiled a guide to the sacred places of Kurukṣetra.

10. Kālidāsa. One of his works was written in 1632.

11. Gaṅgādhara. His two works on astronomy bear the date 1633.

12. Gaṅgādhara. He compiled some manuals on festivals.

13. Govinda. He wrote a work on astrology in 1638 mainly concerning the determination of auspicious times for various works.

14. Gokulajit. He was an astronomer, and wrote thereon in 1632-33.

15. Gaurīpati. He commented on *Ācārādarśa* of Śrīdatta in 1640.

16. Cintāmaṇi. He was interested in poetry, and wrote a manual on metre in 1630.

17. Jagannātha. He was the court paṇḍita of Shāh Jahān, and wrote various works in that capacity. He wrote his *Jagadābharaṇa* in Dārā's praise, and *Āsaf Vilāsa* in praise of Āsaf Khān. His *Bhāminīvilāsa* treats of erotics. He wrote, besides, several works on grammar, poetics, and in praise of the various gods.

18. Jagadānanda Śarman.

19. Jinārjuna.

20. Jīvagosvāmin. He was a nephew of Rūpagosvāmin, the famous leader of the Bhakti school during this period. Some of his famous works on devotion must have been written during this period.

21. Dayā Dviveda. A collection of several moral stories written in 1628 is attributed to him.

22. Durgā Dās. He wrote a text book on grammar in 1639.

23. Devasāgara. A grammarian, he was interested in etymology and wrote a treatise thereon in 1630.

24. Dhanarāja.

25. Nanda Paṇḍita. Another great jurist.

26. Nityānanda. Like Jagannātha he was also a protege of Āsaf Khān and wrote two works on astronomy dated 1629 and 1640

27. Nīlakaṇṭha Śarman. He was a grammarian and one text-book written in 1639 bears his name.

28. Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa. He was attached to Bhagavant Deva, a Bundelā chief. After the name of his patron, he wrote *Bhagavant Bhāskara* on law which is recognised as an authority on Hindu law by the High Court of Bombay.

29. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita. He was a voluminous writer, and is the author of some sixty-three works on gramma. and devotion, several of which have been printed.

30. Puruṣottama. In 1628, he wrote a manual on the religious duties of the pilgrims to Jagannātha.

31. Balabhadra. He was a mathematician, and wrote several works on astronomy and mathematics.

32. Bhāvadeva Miśra. He belonged to Patna, and wrote several works on Yoga, Vedānta, and devotion.

33. Bhāvadeva. In 1649 he wrote a commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra.*

34. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. This famous grammarian and jurist was still alive.

35. Maṇirāma. He was a physician, and wrote a text-book on medicine in 1642.

36. Maṇirāma Dīkṣita. He was another protege of Anūpa Siṃha.

37. Mādhava Śukla. His work *Kuṇḍakalpadruma* written in 1656 has been printed.

38. Mādhava Jyotirvid.

39. Mahādeva. He was a Paṇḍita interested in the technique of rites, and wrote a work explaining the construction of sacrificial Paṇḍālas.

40. Mitramiśra. The famous jurist whose works are still recognized as an authority by the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta.

41. Raghunātha. Another jurist who wrote a work on Dharmśāstra in 1656.

42. Raṅganātha. He commented on the *Vikramorvaśī* in 1656.

43. Rāmacandra. He discussed the religious duties of the Hindus.

44. Rājarṣi. He was an astrologer and wrote a work on astrology in 1633.

45. Rāmanātha. Vidyāvācaspati. He was a great scholar and wrote various works on law, poetics, astronomy, ritual and lexicography. He commented on the *Śākuntala.*

46. Rāmāśrama. He wrote a commentary on the daily prayers of the Hindus.

47. Datta.

48. Vijayānanda. He described the duties and religious attractions of Banaras in 1641.

49. Vidyānanda. He was a grammarian, and wrote a work on etymology.

50. Vidyādhara. His patron was Rājā Vīrabhadra of Rajkot. He wrote several works on the religious duties of the Hindus in 1639 and 1644.

51. Viṣṇu Puri. He selected verses on devotion from the various Purāṇas and wrote two independent works on devotion.

52. Viṣṇu.

53. Viśvarāma.

54. Viśvarūpa.

55. Viśvānātha Daivajña.

56. Viśvanātha Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya. He was a great philosopher and wrote on various schools of Hindu philosophy.

57. Vedāṅgarāja He was a protege of Shāh Jahān. He wrote *Pārsī Prakāśaka*, a vocabulary of Persian and Arabic terms used in Indian astronomy and astrology in 1643.

58. Veṇidatta. He wrote a dictionary in 1644 and a biography of Vāmadeva.

59. Śiva Rāma. He was a Vedic scholar, and wrote on chanting

of Vedic mantras, on poetic's and Dharmaśāstra.

60. Śrī Dharmapati Śarman. He compiled a commentary on *Prabhākaracandrodaya*.

61. Sahajakīrta. He was a Jain and wrote two works on Jainism.

62. Haridatta Bhaṭṭa. After the name of his patron, Rājā Jagat Singh he wrote *Jagadbhūṣaṇa* in 1630.

63. In 1632 an unknown writer wrote a commentary on *Atharvana Prātiśākhya*.

CHAPTER VI

AURANGZEB

THE accession of Aurangzeb to the throne in 1658 heralded the triumph of Muslim theologians. He invited their intercession in the affairs of the state when, after the capture of Dārā, he had him tried and condemned as an apostate. After that it was but natural that he should assume the role of a conforming Muslim anxious to follow the Letter of the Law at least in matters ceremonial. It has been suggested that Aurangzeb became a disciple of the Naqshbandia order. A grandson of Shaikh Sirhindī was sent by his father to guide Aurangzeb in his progress on the way, another grandson seems to have been constantly in attendance at the royal court.[1a] The traditions of the order are silent as to the date or the time.

To begin with Aurangzeb discontinued the use of the solar Ilāhī year for the purpose of counting his regnal years.[1b] Aurangzeb may have liked to supplant the Ilāhī year for all purposes but the use of a lunar Hijra year was bound to create difficulties in administrative affairs. It was decided, therefore, only to begin every regnal year from the first of Ramazān. That the use of the Ilāhī year continued is clear from the fact that Aurangzeb went on celebrating his solar birthday as well.[2] The *'Ālamgīr Nāmā* very often gives Ilāhī dates. There are some extant *farmāns* of Aurangzeb bearing both the dates.[3] It is interesting to note that even the Hindu calendar remained in official use till at least 1671.[4]

In the second year he discontinued the celebration of the solar New Year even though the official historian recognized frankly that it had been hallowed by its traditional celebration by Persian kings.[5]

In his eleventh year, court singers were allowed to be present at court; but music and dancing were forbidden. After some time even their presence was dispensed with. Instrumental music was continued in the court at least till the eleventh year.[6]

The same year also saw the discontinuance of the practice of the Jharokā-darshan.[7] Shāh Jahān had put the practice on a permanent footing by constructing sheds for the public below the salutation balcony. To Aurangzeb it seemed too much like human

worship. This, he naturally wanted to discourage. But unfortunately, this deprived his subjects of an opportunity for seeking redress for their grievances when every other avenue of approach to the emperor was denied to them.[8]

In the twelfth year weighing of the emperor's body against gold, silver and various other commodities was also given up.[9] Even when Aurangzeb lay dying he preferred giving charity without the formality of following this Hindu custom.[10] But he continued believing in its efficacy for warding off evil and even recommended this short cut to attaining happiness in this world to one of his grandsons.[11] Most of the princes continued celebrating their birthday by *Tulādān*.[12]

In order to avoid the *Kalima* on the coins being defiled by its handling by the Hindus, its stamping on the coins was abolished in 1659.[13] Here Aurangzeb modified the traditions and the practices of earlier Muslim kings probably because he thought that whereas their coins were issued for use among the Muslims, his were used by a population the predominant majority of which was non-Muslim.

Aurangzeb continued participating in the celebration of the Hindu festival *Dasahra* as long as Mahārājā Jaswant Singh and Rājā Jai Singh were alive. The official historian described it as the Hindu 'Īd. During the celebrations Aurangzeb gave gifts to the Hindu Rājās who were present at the court. Among the recipients of the robes of honour on various occasions on the *Dasahra*, the names of Rājā Jai Singh, Kunwar Rām Singh, Mahārājā Jaswant Singh and Kunwar Prithvī Singh are mentioned.[14] In January, 1662, we find the *Akhabārāt* mentioning the return of a mace-bearer after the distribution of robes for the *Dasahra*.[15]

The accession of the Hindu Rajas was solemnized by the emperor's making the sacred sign, *tikā*, on the forehead of the new Rājā if he was present at the court. Under Shāh Jahān this duty had been delegated to the prime minister. Aurangzeb, however, discontinued the practice altogether in 1679.[16]

In the beginning of the twelfth year, royal astronomers and astrologers were dismissed.[17] It was a part of their duty to convert the lunar into solar years, furnish tables of salaries and help other departments in payment of correct salaries. The accounts department protested against their dismissal as they were left without expert guidance in the correct reckoning of months and days. Their

protests were ignored because one of the duties of the astronomers was to ascertain auspicious hours for the performance of different works which, on account of their being Hindus, was done according to the Hindu astrology. Some times thereafter Aurangzeb appointed Muslim astrologers for the same purpose.[18]

The order dismissing the Hindu astrologers does not seem to have been completely enforced at once. When on 5 November, 1671, Aurangzeb asked the astrologers to fix an auspicious date for his entry into Delhi, they fixed Maghar Badi 5 (26 November) which was accepted.[19] A date described in this fashion could have been fixed by Hindu astrologers alone. In 1702-03 (1114 A.H.) making of almanacs was also forbidden.[20]

In the twenty-first year scent-burners of gold and silver were removed from the court. The use of silver inkstands which was conferred on some public servants as the badge of their office was discontinued. Silver salvers used for bringing in money when it was to be given to any one, disappeared, shields taking the place of silver salvers. The manufacture of the cloth of gold in the royal workshops was stopped and so was its use.[21]

Moral Regulations

Besides thus discontinuing Hindu practices at his court Aurangzeb tried, in various other ways as well to impose a Muslim way of life on his people. Fortunately a part of this effort implied eradication of certain social evils as well. Preparation and public sale of wine had been prohibited by Shāh Jahān. But Manucci had found its use rather too common among the nobles. Unlike Jahāngīr and Shān Jahān, Aurangzeb was not content with issuing an ordinance alone. A special department was created—that of the Religious Censor—which was entrusted with the task of enforcing prohibition on the people.[22] When a wine-seller was apprehended, he was only whipped if he was a first offender. On repeating his offence, however, he was imprisoned till he repented of his evil ways.[23]

But all the activities of the state, backed by vigorous censorship, failed to root out the evil. In 1683 the army of Khān-i-Jahān was reported to be sinning heavily in this respect.[24] On 24 April, 1693, a Rajput mansabdār was ordered to be transferred as a penalty for drinking.[25] Muhammad Fāzil Muhtsib of Ranthambore repor-

ted that he visited Raj Nagar in the jāgīr of Rām Singh Gaur and broke all the vessels full of wine as well as those used in storing wine or drinking it from.[25a] A *mufti* gave a *fatwa* that sale of toddy was lawful whereupon a prince-viceroy allowed it to be used. This was reported to the emperor who angrily reprimanded the prince for following a foolish theologian.[26] A Parcha-navis (newswriter of a sort) was reported going drunk to the tomb of a saint and becoming sick there. He was ordered to be brought in chains to the imperial presence.[27] On 6 May, 1702, Rājā Mān Singh Rāthor and many others were degraded for drinking alcohol.[28] In February 1703 it was reported that wine was selling freely in the Bāzār-i-Mansabdārān, whereupon on 28 February the bazaar was closed and the mansabdārs were ordered to remove their tents to the neighbourhood of the imperial bazaar.[29] Again in August, 1703, it was reported that wine was being openly sold in the camps of some of the mansabdārs. On 14 August, 1703, the censor was ordered to stop it.[30] On 6 June, 1705, the censor reported to the court against the settlement of the Kachhwāhās of Jaipur at Jaising Pura near Aurangabad.[31]

The provincial governors were ordered to strengthen the hands of the censors in seeing that intoxicants were not openly sold. Muhammad Fāzil, censor of Ranthambore in the province of Ajmer reported that he visited Raj Nagar in the jāgīr of Rāi Singh Gor and broke all the vessels full of wine along with such vessels as were used for drinking.[32] But it was not found possible to enforce complete prohibition, the disease had already advanced too far to be capable of an easy remedy. Forbidden by the Hindu religion and Islam as its use was, this support from the state must have kept many men from drinking wine. Aurangzeb even prohibited the use of such textbooks in the schools as according to him encouraged drinking. *Diwān-i-Hāfiz* was thus proscribed.[33]

One very important cause of the failure of these regulations was the permission usually granted to the Europeans to distil wine and use it. Many Europeans were appointed as gunners in the imperial artillery. In the reign of Aurangzeb a group of Europeans sent by Khairiyat Khān and Yāqūt Khān was reported to have violated the general imperial commands forbidding alcoholic drinks. It was, however, discovered that no action against them was likely to be effective. This was, then, reported to the emperor who ordered that they be allowed to drink according to their religion and prac-

tices.[34] They were not however permitted to sell wine. These orders seem to have been circulated to the censors in different parts of the empire. It was very easy to make a mercenary use of this exceptional permission because the Europeans could make easy money that way. Aurangzeb had assigned quarters outside the city to Europeans in order to guard against their corrupting the morals of the people. Now and then a flagrant case of their selling wine was discovered when the offender would be arrested and imprisoned.[35] It is not, however, surprising to find Manucci asserting that there were few who did not drink ; even the chief Qāzī, whom Aurangzeb believed to be innocent was drinking Manucci's wine secretly.[36]

Further Aurangzeb ordered that prostitutes and dancing girls should marry or else leave the empire.[37] This order does not seem to have been much enforced. The difficulties of carrying it out were even greater than those of enforcing prohibition. The great nobles kept very large harems where, if they wanted, they could keep —and did in fact keep—a large number of dancing girls for their own entertainment. The order seems to have been modified as, later on, the censors were ordered to put down prostitution and fornication.[38] This again seems to have availed nothing. In the eighth year orders were issued prohibiting the processions of prostitutes.[39] Ovington who was in Surat in 1679 found many dancing girls and prostitutes there.[40]

Aurangzeb continued the practice of his predecessors of prohibiting the burning of unwilling Satis.[41] In 1688 he prohibited the castration of young children throughout his empire.[42]

The cultivation, sale and public use of *bhang* were also prohibited.[43] An order was issued by the imperial finance minister, Rājā Raghu Nāth, to the provincial dīwāns all over the empire asking them to see that *bhang* was not cultivated.[44] It was easy to enforce this, as the cultivation of all crops had to be recorded and reported every season by the revenue officials. But Aurangzeb's government had probably to face the same difficulty which the British Government had to face when it set about limiting cultivation of the poppy to licence-holders. Manucci tells us that it was very vigorously enforced at first at any rate.[45] But his description of the measures taken for the purpose seems to refer to wine rather to *bhang*. Gambling was also prohibited.[46]

Puritanic Restrictions

Aurangzeb further tried to impose the Muslim way of life in certain other more questionable matters. He was not content with forbidding singing in the court, he forbade public musical parties as well.[47] Even religious music on the day of the Prophet's birth was prohibited. There were some Sūfīs, however, who would not give it up. One such was Shaikh Yahyā Chistī, who was a well-known saint of Ahmedabad. When the orders for putting down musical assemblies reached Ahmedabad, the censor, Mirzā Bāqar, tried to enforce it on him as well. He refused however to alter his practices even for a king particularly when, as a prince, Aurangzeb had been one of his devotees. The censor then tried fraud and force, but his plans leaked out and the Shaikh and his followers came armed to the assembly. The Shaikh now petitioned Aurangzeb but the friend through whom it was sent dared not present the petition. At last a letter of complaint found its way to the emperor who admonished the censor and ordered him to leave the Shaikh alone.[48] This seems to have been followed by a general relaxation in favour of permitting singing at Muslim religious ceremonies. But there was one theologian who was so much upset with the prevalence of musical services on the tombs of the saints that he demanded their instant abolition holding that such services brought the bones of the saints out of their graves.[49] Even the suppression of music in general does not seem to have continued long. We find a theologian being put to the trouble of putting down music in the street himself—of course because the censor would take no action.[50] Towards the end of his reign Aurangzeb sent a special order putting down the practice of the hereditary singers of Kashmir who used to welcome the viceroys and high officials to Kashmir on their assuming office.[51]

Aurangzeb further tried to rule the fashions of the day by various measures. The allowable length of the beard was fixed at four fingers and orders were given to cut down any extra length wherever found. If we are to believe Manucci's account, an army of men armed with scissors was mobilized which set upon, arrested, and cut off offending beards under the command of the censor and his underlings.[52] As was but natural the poor suffered most. But such of the nobles as had to appear in the court dared not rouse imperial wrath by any unseemly conduct.

Garments of cloth of gold were forbidden in the twelfth year.[53] The length of the trousers to be worn without socks was prescribed in the twenty-first year.[54] When prince Sultān Muhammad was discovered to be attending the mosque in an unsuitable attire, he was reprimanded.[55] Rashīd Khān, Dīwān-i-Khālsā, was found in court with a dagger having a bone handle. When this was pointed out he pleaded he had no other. At once another dagger worth Rs. 177 was given to him on 7 August, 1681.[56]

On Hindu and Muslim festivals, clay figures of birds, animals, and men and women were made to delight the children. This representation of living beings was considered unlawful and orders were given for its suppression in November, 1665.[57]

On Thursday nights, then as now, lamps used to be lighted on the tombs of the saints and other persons. Aurangzeb stopped it.[58]

The Bohrās were divided between the Sunnīs and the Shi'as. From time to time the Sunnīs had sought the help of the state in order to bring the erring Shi'as to the true faith. Aurangzeb issued an order for the appointment of Sunnī amāms and muazzins in their mosques. Most of them seem to have conformed[59] to the order but the rest kept their faith secret.[60] His success seems to have been shortlived. Even till 1881 Bohrās in the Punjab had kept up many of their Hindu customs and followed the Hindu law of inheritance.

The Khojās received his attention next. Their leader Sayyid Shāhjī was called to the court. Rather than face the irate emperor, he poisoned himself on the way. His minor son, who was only twelve, was taken to the court. His followers, however, accused the governor of the province of Gujarat of having poisoned their leader and marched on Ahmedabad, seeking redress against the governor. The fojdār of Bharoch did not allow them the use of the boats across the Narbada. They took possession of the boats by force and made themselves masters of the fort of Bharoch. The local fojdār sought help from his neighbours but they did not succeed in expelling the rebels. The emperor, therefore, ordered the provincial governor to take the fort by assault. Even his efforts were unavailing till he succeeded in surprising the besieged. However, the imperialists had to pay dearly for their success. This probably happened in A.D. 1689-90 (1101 A.H.).[61]

Manucci mentions that one Qumir was beheaded by Aurangzeb's orders on account of his writing a work with Christian tendencies

which none of his Muslim divines could refute. Another young man is said to have been beheaded for a similar reason.[62] A faqīr, who claimed to be God, was executed in 1694.[63]

Husain Malik, probably a Shi'a, was beheaded for using disrespectful languages towards the Prophet's companions.[64]

In 1669 Aurangzeb stopped the celebration of the Muharram.[65] This was not an idle threat or a single police measure. The Governor of Ahmedabad was degraded from the command of 3,500 to 3,000 in August 1700 for celebrating the Muharram.[66] Two more mansabdārs were also degraded about the same time.[67]

A Portuguese who had at first been converted to Islam and then reverted to his own Christian faith was beheaded as an apostate.[68] Dīwān Muhammad Tāhir—a Shi'a—was executed for using unbecoming language towards the first three Khalīfas.[69] Mīr Hasan came to Kashmir in A.D. 1683 (1094 A.H.). During the Muharram he held an assembly and because clouds hid the sun, he was found guilty of breaking the fast before the sun had actually set. He was thereupon expelled from Kashmir.[70] 'Alī Sirhindī used to drink. When remonstrated against, he declared that he was guilty equally with the angels. For this disrespectful language, he was ordered to be beheaded.[71]

Aurangzeb's invasions of Bijapur and Golkonda were also partly ascribed to his hatred of the Shi'a kingdoms.[72]

When Sarmad, a famous Sūfī, came to Delhi from Hyderabad towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, Dārā Shikoh had sought his company and paid him many marks of respect. But when Aurangzeb came to the throne, the things took a different turn. Sarmad cried out 'whoever gained the knowledge of His secret became able to annihilate distance. The Mullā says that the Prophet ascended to the heavens, Sarmad declares that the heavens came down to the Prophet'.[73] The Mullās now found their opportunity. But Sarmad did not deny the ascension of the Prophet.[74] Aurangzeb sent the chief Qāzī to Sarmad to question him about his nudity. Sarmad explained it by declaring that the devil had the upper hand. His answer was so worded as to offend the theologian by a pun on his name. But this in itself was not enough. Sarmad was summoned to the royal court and asked to repeat the whole of the Muslim creed. Sarmad went so far as to declare that there is no God. When asked to repeat the rest he said his realization went no further. He could now be easily condemned.

When the executioner brought forth his axe for his hateful task, Sarmad welcomed it crying 'I know You in whatever form You care to come' and embraced death like a martyr. His contemporaries associated many miracles with his death and his tomb is still venerated as that of a great saint.[75]

Another scholar who felt the wrath of the emperor was Mullā Shāh Badakhshī. He was a disciple of Miān Mīr. He acquired a great reputation as a teacher and mystic. Shāh Jahān and Dārā respected him very much. Shāh Jahān used to exclaim, 'There are two emperors in India, Mullā Shāh and myself'. He was however too independent to give in to wordly considerations. He always contrived to meet Shāh Jahān while standing in order not to have to pay him any honours. When Aurangzeb came to the throne he sent for him at the instigation of some of the courtiers who were opposed to Dārā.[76] Mullā Shāh was in Kashmir and refused to leave his pleasant abode at the Royal Spring in Srinagar. The emperor, however, wrote to the governor who at last prevailed upon him to answer the royal summons. From Lahore he sent a chronogram on the emperor's accession. The emperor was very much pleased at this and allowed him to live at Lahore. The verses however bore two meanings, one of them being not very complimentary to Aurangzeb. He died in Lahore in 1672 and was buried near the grave of his guide, Miān Mīr. Mullā Shāh was a great writer and wrote a commentary on the *Qur'ān* as well.[77]

Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh was also summoned from Bengal. He had been on good terms with Shāh Shujā'. He refused to obey the royal command. Fearing worse, his son placed him in a boat which was about to leave when another order came cancelling the previous summons.[78]

Shaikh Muhīb-Allāh of Allahabad also incurred royal displeasure for one of his works. When orders reached Allahabad demanding his presence he had passed beyond the royal reach. His disciples were called upon to explain their teacher's heretic opinions. One of them thought it best to disavow his master. Another, Shaikh Muhammad, acknowledged that he was a disciple of his master but he regretted that he had not attained to the position of his master and could not, therefore, either fully expound his master's work or prove it orthodox.[79]

The emperor's orthodoxy could not tolerate even a good poet. Shādmān wrote some verses which pleased the emperor. But in order

to save the soul of the poet, he made him renounce the muse.[80]

So great was the emperor's hatred of this 'useless calling' that Qāzī 'Abdul Azīz very nearly secured the dismissal of another theologian by suggesting that the seal of his office was a foot of a verse. The accused had to convince the emperor that he had nothing whatever to do with such an objectionable art as poetry.[81]

NOTES

[10] Nizāmī, Naqshbandī Influence on Mughal Rulers, 50.

[1b] Khāfī Khān, II, 8, Kāzim, 388-89.

[2] Cf. Kāzim's accounts of various festivities on these occasions.

[3] Cf. *Royal Framins*. Marshall describes the Mughal king's year as divided into Ilāhī months; cf. p. 277.

[4] *Akhabārāt* of 19 February, 1667 and 5 November, 1671.

[5] Kāzim, 390.

[6] Khāfī Khān, II, 212, 561.

[7] Khāfi Khān, II, 564.

[8] *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī*, the present writer's summary in the *Journal of Indian History*, XIV, 78.

[9] Khāfī Khān and *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* describe these yearly functions. Ovington, who was in Surat in 1680, says that on 5 November, every year, the emperor was weighed, 109.

[10] Khāfī Khān, II, 549.

[11] *Letters*, No. 18.

[12] *Inshā-i-Mādhorām*, 12, 44-45.

[13] Khāfī Khān, II, 77; Kāzim, 366.

[14] Kāzim, 868, 914.

[15] *Akhabārāt*, 1 January, 1662.

[16] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 176.

[17] Khāfī Khān, II, 214-15.

[18] *News Letter*, 20 August, 1681.

[19] Ibid., 5 November, 1671.

[20] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* I, 352.

[21] *Ma'āsīr-i-'Ālamgīri*, 162.

[22] Khāfī Khān, II, 8; Kāzim, 391-92.

[23] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, I, 281.

[24] Khāfī Khān II, 220.

[25] *News Letter*, 2 April, 1693.

[25a] *Akhabārāt-i-Sarkār Ranthambore*, 19*a*.

[26] *Letters*, No. 90.

[27] *Letters*, No. 71.

[28] *News Letter*, 6 May, 1702.

[29] *News Letter*, 28 February, 1703.

[30] *News Letter*, 14 August, 1703.

[31] *News Letter*, 6 June, 1705.

[32] Ja'far Khān who was for seven long years the imperial wazīr (1663-1670) was publicly known to drink. On Aurangzeb's remonstrating with him, he declared that 'by drinking wine he got sight for seeing, power for wielding the pen in the service of His Majesty, felt strength in his feet to run to court when His Majesty called' (Manucci, II, 157). A letter to Muhammad Ūsaf, mutsaddī of a palace at Agra warned him against the prevalent sale of drinks in the area under his control and called upon him to take action against the offenders on pain of imperial displeasure (*Inshā-i-Mādhorām*, 83, 84). We find Dāūd Khān, sent in command of an expedition to the Karnatic in 1701, drinking openly to the health of the King of England (*A Pepys of Mughal India*, 299). Cf. Manucci, II, 5-8, 548; and Ovington, 141. Tavernier, I, 95,

mentions that one could obtain wine at Lahore. He emptied two bottles of Shiraz wine in the open street at Patna 'Because in this country one lives without ceremony and with perfect liberty' (I, 122). *News Letters of Ranthambore*, 19a.

[33] *Mirāt-ul-Khayyāl*, 298.
[34] *Inshā-i-Mādhorām*, 59.
[35] Manucci, II, 6.
[36] Ibid., II, 5-8.
[37] Ibid., II, 9; *Ā'zamī*, 196.
[38] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 250; Orme, Notes, 85.
[39] Ibid., I, 263.
[40] Ovington, 153.
[41] Manucci, II, 9; *Dastur-ul-'Amal*, 103*a*; Ovington, 201. Tavernier, II, 210-16; Manucci, III, 156, Manucci, II, 60-61, 65-66. We are told however that widows who have no children should burn themselves on the funeral pyre. 'For, as for the widows who have children they are not permitted under any circumstances to burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands, it is ordained that they shall live in order to watch over the education of their children.' Tavernier, II, 210-16; Manucci, III, 156, Manucci, II, 60-61, 65-66, 68, and 156 tell us that the Brahman widows always burnt themselves at the funeral pyres of their husbands but that among the trading classes, the custom was not so common. Cf. Marshall, 384.
[42] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 75.
[43] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 282. This order was issued on 25 June, 1672. It seems to have been a sort of circular letter.
[44] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 247.
[45] Manucci, II, 7.
[46] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 251.
[47] Manucci, II, 8.
[48] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Supplement, English Translation, 70.
[49] Khāfī Khān, 564.
[50] Ibid., II, 561.
[51] *Kalimāt-i-Ta'yyibāt*, 77*a*.
[52] Manucci, II, 7-8.
[53] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 79.
[54] Ibid., 162.
[55] *Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī*, Letter No. 565.
[56] *News Letter*, 7 August, 1681.
[57] *Mirāt-i Ahmadī*, I, 262.
[58] Ibid., I, 263.
[59] Ibid., I, 263.
[60] Ibid., Supplement, 110.
[61] Ibid., I, 323-24.
[62] Manucci, IV, 118-21.
[63] *News Letter*, 7 July, 1694.
[64] *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, 165.
[65] Khāfī Khān, II, 213-14.
[66] *Akhabārāt*; 28 August, 1700.
[67] *Akhabārāt*, 17 July, 1700.
[68] Manucci, II, 160,
[69] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīri*, 120.
[70] *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, 165.
[71] Ibid., *Khazānū-i-'Āmra*, 328.
[72] Manucci, III, 132.
[73] *Mirāt-ul-Khayyāl*, 191, *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 242, 243.
[74] *Islamic Culture*, VII, 670.
[75] *Aurangzeb Nāmā*, 45*b*; *Mirāt-ul-Khayyāl*, 191, 192; *Riaz-us-Shu'ra*; *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, 172; Bernier, 317.
[76] *Tārikh-i-Kashmir*, 161, 162.
[77] *Mirāt-ul-Khayyāl*, 175-78.
[78] Ibid., 195-96.
[79] Ibid., 226-27.
[80] Ibid., 209.
[81] Ibid., 238-39. Tavernier, I, 356; *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 248.

AURANGZEB'S REBELLION AGAINST SHĀH JAHĀN

THERE being no law of succession among the Mughal emperors, or among Muslim rulers either, the Mughal period witnessed several princely rebellions and intrigues for succession. Bābur's prime minister tried to keep Humāyūn out, Jahāngīr rebelled against his father and some of Akbar's 'nobles' intrigued in favour of Khusrau against Jahāngīr. Jahāngīr's reign saw Khusrau and Khurram rebel in turn. After his death, the unfortunate Bulāqī was raised to the throne to keep it warm for Shāh Jahān who, on ascending the throne, had him murdered.

But Humayūn, Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān had succeeded in occupying the throne. They were the eldest living sons of their predecessors and their success in ascending the throne seemed to establish a presumption in favour of the eldest son succeeding his father. Akbar and Jahāngīr were able to cope with their rebellious sons successfully and had, before long, become reconciled to them. Both indicated their preference for their eldest sons in several ways and allowed them to play at being heir-presumptives. Humayūn and Akbar had no other son living at the time of their death and were thus spared a fratricidal war of succession after their death. Jahāngīr however left two sons and four grandsons living behind him. Shāh Jahān and his supporters made short work of their pretensions and had them murdered, as they had murdered Khusrau, Shāh Jahān's most serious rival, in prison during Jahāngīr's reign.

It was a bloody inheritance on which Shāh Jahān entered in 1627. In 1656 he had four sons living, all of them governors of provinces. Like Akbar and Jahāngīr he had chosen to indicate the eldest son, Dārā, as the heir-presumptive but unlike them both he tried to keep him at the capital instead of employing him in administrative or military jobs elsewhere. But unlike Salīm or Khurram, Dārā had presented no problem to his royal father. He had never tried to pull down his father from his throne as both Salīm and Khurram had done. Unlike Khurram again, he had not murdered a possible rival during the life time of his father. It is not surprising, therefore, that Shāh Jahān was not afraid of

keeping Dārā near him.

But Shāh Jahān may have had another good reason for keeping Dārā near him. With his advancing years, Shāh Jahān may have felt that this was the only way to keep the throne safe for Dārā. Shāh Jahān himself would have missed his chance to the throne if his father-in-law had not put up a blind in Bulāqī to act as an estoppel. He may have thought fates might not be as kind to Dārā.

But those who blame Shāh Jahān for keeping Dārā at the capital, do not suggest an alternative which would have either made the rebellion of Shujā', Aurangzeb and Murād against Shāh Jahān impossible or avoided the war of succession which began after Aurangzeb had made Shāh Jahān a prisoner. Shāh Jahān was faced with a problem which none of his predecessors had faced. He had four sons long past majority for whom he had to find continuous employment. Unlike Akbar's sons, none of them drank himself to death. Unlike Jahāngīr's son, Khusrau, no one disputed the throne unsuccessfully to die in prison. They were all alive and kicking.

Shāh Jahān answered the question by distributing, towards the end of his reign, the government of the larger part of his empire among his sons. Aurangzeb had the four provinces of the Deccan; Khandesh, Telangana, Bedar and Ahmednagar. Murād had Malwa and Gujarat. Shujā' held Bengal. Dārā was governor of the Punjab and Multan.

Of course it is possible to argue that if Shāh Jahān had allowed Dārā to remain in his provinces, Dārā might have become a better leader of men and a more consummate diplomat.[1] He might have thus bettered his chances of survival in the war of succession. But this is something quite different from asserting that Shāh Jahān could have avoided the rebellion of his sons by not keeping Dārā with him. As it was, Dārā was blamed for everything that was supposed to go wrong at the court. The resentment which otherwise would have been directed against Shāh Jahān now found a victim in Dārā.

Shāh Jahān became ill on September 6, 1657,[2] while in Delhi. Delhi was in commotion. Only the high officers of state were admitted to the royal bed chamber for some time. But by September 14, he was well enough to show himself at the window of his bed chamber to waiting multitude outside. This was followed

by a court. Prisoners were set free, *Zakāt* was remitted and Rs. 5000/- was given away in charity.[3]

Shāh Jahān now remained in his chamber but disposed of urgent and personal matters as they arose. Problems connected with the war in the Deccan were decided here.[4] Aurangzeb's letter reporting the birth of prince Mohammad Akbar was read here and special robes of honour were ordered to be sent to him.[5]

It has been customary to accuse Shāh Jahān of having resigned all authority into the hands of Dārā or alternatively condemn Dārā for usurping all royal power during this period. This accusation has arisen on account of a revised version of what happened during this period which Kambu added, possibly after Aurangzeb's accession, to his account of Shāh Jahān's reign. His first version makes no mention of Dārā's exercising any authority on behalf of the emperor whereas the second version lays the foundation of the story as it was developed later on by Aurangzeb's historians.[5a] It is unfortunate that Sir Jadunath accepted the second version of the story[6] and thus perpetuated the legend. But as the imperial orders issued during the time amply prove, authority was still in Shāh Jahān's hands.[7] Of course Aurangzeb's letters to Shāh Jahān justify his own rebellion by asserting—what Aurangzeb had no means of learning—that he was marching north because Dārā had usurped all authority in the state.[8] Aurangzeb could have offered no other explanation for his rebellious conduct but this is no reason for our believing that what Aurangzeb asserted was true. He had even asserted that Shāh Jahān was dead.

Tavernier reports a conversation between Dārā and Shāh Jahān in which the emperor suggested that Dārā should set himself on the throne. Dārā naturally refused to follow this advice.[9] It would have been suicidal for him to assume royal authority while Shāh Jahān was still alive. It would have been nothing short of rebellion and would have considerably weakened Shāh Jahān's scheme of helping Dārā to succeed him.

Shāh Jahān gave public audiences on October 15 and 17 and deemed himself well enough to move down to Agra, by river on October 18. Kambu would have us believe in his second account that the move was actuated by Shāh Jahān's desire to end his days in peace at Agra within sight of the Taj Mahal, the tomb of his beloved wife.[10] It has yet to be suggested that Shāh Jahān intended to abdicate in favour of his son. But even if he did,

he could not be sure of living in peace after abdication as there was no chance of his other sons accepting his abdication in favour of Dārā. If anything such a move would have destroyed whatever chances Dārā might have had of succeeding Shāh Jahān. As Shāh Jahān wrote to Aurangzeb, the move was intended to restore order in the empire.[11] Kambu in his first version suggests that Shāh Jahān moved down to Agra for reasons of health.[12]

Shāh Jahān made several appointments before leaving Delhi and distributed a large number of presents. He travelled by slow stages reaching Ghat Sami, six miles from Agra, on November 5. He did not, however enter the city till November 26. The delay was partly caused by astrologers' search for an auspicious day for the imperial entry into the capital. On December 5 a great public court was held in the fort when a large amount was given away in charity as a thanksgiving offering for Shāh Jahān's complete recovery. Presents were given to several officials including Dārā. Agra celebrated the emperor's recovery with great rejoicing.[13]

But elsewhere, Shāh Jahān's illness in his advanced age opened the floodgates to rebellion. Aurangzeb, Murād and Shujā' all found in it an excuse—if one was needed—for treading the path of rebellion against Shāh Jahān so that they could wrest the reins of government from his hands and hold on to them against other contestants. The struggle that followed differs from the earlier princely rebellions in two things; three of the princes simultaneously rebelled against their father and unlike all other Mughal princes in earlier rebellions, one of them was able to dethrone his father and keep him a prisoner for seven long years till his death. No princely rebellion had been successful so far. Mughal princes had rebelled against their fathers no doubt, but none had been able to lay his hands on the person of his father and make him a prisoner. This culminating honour in princely rebellion seems to have been reserved for Aurangzeb alone!

It has been usual to describe the struggle that followed as a war of succession among four brothers.[14] As long as Shāh Jahān was alive, the question of succession did not arise. It suited the purpose of Aurangzeb, Murād and Shujā' to proclaim that Shāh Jahān was dead, and the throne, vacant. But Aurangzeb accepted Murād as a sovereign prince and promised Shujā' independent government of the eastern provinces—Bihar, Bengal and Orissa.

Murād and Shuja' who crowned themselves while Shāh Jahān was alive, were certainly rebel princes claiming to oust their father from the throne. Aurangzeb proclaimed himself the ally of Murād and thus became a rebel himself. As the abettor of Shujā's claim as well he cannot escape the title. When he entered Agra and wanted to proclaim himself the emperor while Shāh Jahān was still alive, his chief *Qāzī* would have none of it and refused to countenance his ascending the throne on the fictitious plea that Shāh Jahān had become incapacitated for work. Such disqualification, the *Qāzi* seems to have pointed out, arose out of Aurangzeb's own action—his having made Shāh Jahān a prisoner.[15] No further proof of Aurangzeb's being a rebel needs be looked for.

Of course Aurangzeb succeeded in dismissing the *Qāzī* and securing another more convenient successor who accepted his plea and blessed his ascending the throne. After his coronation, Aurangzeb could certainly proclaim Dārā and Shujā' as rebels against his own authority and thus count the struggle that followed both as a rebellion and a fratricidal war of succession. He had already disposed of Murād by making him a prisoner. Shujā' certainly disputed Aurangzeb's title to the throne and may therefore be said to be fighting a war succession. Dārā's claim was not for the throne itself but for placing Shāh Jahān on the throne. He was disputing Aurangzeb's right to the throne while Shāh Jahān was still alive, not fighting in his own right.

It has been said that the struggle originated because Aurangzeb, Murād and Shujā' thought that their chances to the throne would be affected if Dārā was allowed to entrench himself further in authority. Even this did not make the fighting that followed a war of succession. Salīm and Khurram had rebelled against their fathers on the same plea-apparent danger to their chances of succeeding their father.

Even the fact that three princes simultaneously rebelled against their father does not make it a war of succession. They were not disputing one another's claim. Left to himself Shujā' may have been content to be an independent king of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Aurangzeb did not dispute Murād's right to the throne, he conceded Shujā's title to the government of the eastern provinces. Look at it how we will, the struggle that followed was a rebellion of the Mughal princes against their father. Dārā was not fighting to safeguard his claim to succession, much less to assert

a right of succession to the throne. The armies that fought against Shujā' in the east or the combined forces of Murād and Aurangzeb in the west were Shāh Jahān's armies.

It is rather amusing to find Aurangzeb appearing to be acting in opposition to Dārā alone and seeking his brother's cooperation therein.[16] He was able to deceive Murād thoroughly. Opinion has been divided on what exactly was the carrot that he dangled before this imperial ass. The evidence from Aurangzeb's side gives one version.[17] Non official historians supply another,[18] neither flattering to Murād's intelligence. Aurangzeb in a letter to Murād is said to have proposed a division of the empire between the two, Murād taking the Punjab, Kabul, Kashmir and Sind. Abdul Fazl, Bhīmsen, Īshar Dāss, Tavernier, Lāl and Manucci are all agreed that Aurangzeb offered much more attractive terms to Murād. Abdul Fazl Ma'mūrī has it that Aurangzeb told Murād that he did not covet the throne for himself, but was only interested in keeping Dārā out. He promised Murād, who had already crowned himself, that after helping Murād in defeating Dārā and Shujā', he would retire to Mecca leaving Murād to the enjoyment of the crown and the empire! It has been suggested that Murād would have seen through Aurangzeb's deceit if Aurangzeb had promised to efface himself to this extent.[19] But the critics forget that Aurangzeb was out to deceive Murād in any case and that Murād had already crowned himself whereas Aurangzeb had not. Any offer from Aurangzeb had to start by accepting Murād's coronation. Foolish though he was, even Murād would have been offended if Aurangzeb had offered him Dārā's inheritance only adding, as Aurangzeb's version of the negotiations does, that as soon as Dārā was defeated Aurangzeb would allow Murād leave to enter upon his inheritance. One does not if one is intelligent, and Aurangzeb certainly was, deal in this way with crowned kings howsoever foolish crowned heads may be. Aurangzeb had nothing to lose by making tall promises to Murād: the taller the better, as they would take in Murād more completely. Aurangzeb did not intend to keep his promises even though his letter to Murād said that he took God and the Prophet as his witnesses. The alleged agreement between the two brothers finds no place in the official history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign. The entire tenor of the letter is so very condescending that it could have only exasperated Murād, instead of making him join Aurangzeb.

As against this, the agreement given in *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh* and supported by other non-official historians, strikes just as the note which would have made a prince, who had already crowned himself and issued coins in his own name, accept the offer of help which Aurangzeb makes in that letter. Aurangzeb had to pretend taking Murād's coronation seriously. His entire attitude thereafter is governed by the assumption that he is dealing with a crowned king. He congratulates Murād for his kingdom when the two meet at Dipalpur.[20] After the battle of Dharmat, Aurangzeb congratulates Murād, as one does a sovereign.[21] When the battle of Samurgarh is happily over, Aurangzeb congratulates Murād on the commencement of his reign.[22] He asks all the commanders to go and wait upon Murād[23] as upon their king. When Aurangzeb is about to set out in pursuit of Dārā, he waits upon Murād and asks for his permission to do so.[24] As Manucci has it, during all this time, Aurangzeb showed the greatest respect to Murād in public and in private and referred to him and spoke to him as to a king and sovereign.[25]

Though Aurangzeb was pretending to act against Dārā alone, his rebellion came as a culmination of a series of defiant acts against Shāh Jahān. He had been disobeying and defying Shāh Jahān for long in the south. While he was on his way to assume his viceroyalty of the Deccan, Aurangzeb displeased Shāh Jahān by his conferring with Shujā' at Agra and with Murād at Doraha. While Shāh Jahān was ordering him to assume charge of his province promptly by going straight to Daulatabad, Aurangzeb spent nine months at Burhanpur.[26]

When in the south, he added one act of disobedience to another. When Shāh Jahān ordered that Aurangzeb should close the huge gap between income and expenditure in the Deccan, Aurangzeb saucily suggested that his staff and his armies be paid from the revenues of other provinces.[27] When some officials complained to Shāh Jahān against Aurangzeb's high-handedness, Shāh Jahān was moved to admonish the latter, dubbing his conduct unworthy of a Musalmān.[28] Shāh Jahān would not accept some of Aurangzeb's recommendations for appointments under him.[29] Aurangzeb employed all the skilled weavers at Burhanpur in his own workshop. This led to Shāh Jahān's ordering that all order weaving factories at Burhanpur except the royal factory should be closed.[30] When Shāh Jahān ordered Aurangzeb to secure some

elephants from Qutb-ul-Mulk in *lieu* of his tribute, Aurangzeb procured them[31] but long delayed sending them to court.[32] Shāh Jahān got offended at Aurangzeb's alleged failure to write in his own hand to the emperor.[33] But his final act of defiance made Shāh Jahān suspect his good intentions. In order to strengthen himself for the inevitable contest for the throne he cleverly got Shāh Jahān agree to Aurangzeb's making war upon Bijapur and Golkonda but in specified circumstances. When he had thus slyly procured additional military and financial resources, he started disregarding all the imperial instructions in order—so Shāh Jahān began to suspect—to aggrandize himself. Shāh Jahān had asked Aurangzeb to demand, in emperor's name, the release of Mīr Jumla's family from the king of Golkonda and if he disregarded the demand, then alone to invade Golkonda. Aurangzeb invaded Golkonda without giving Qutb Shāh the chance of accepting Shāh Jahān's ultimatum. When Qutb Shāh agreed to release Mīr Jumla's family, Aurangzeb, in defiance of Shāh Jahān's instructions, did not cease hostilities. Peace was made only when Qutb Shāh had at last succeeded in establishing direct contact with Shāh Jahān. Aurangzeb crowned this act of disobedience by forcing a treaty upon Qutb Shāh which made a grandson of Aurangzeb born of Qutb Shāh's daughter heir of Golkonda, to the exclusion of every other claimant. No wonder Shāh Jahān became suspicious and refused to ratify this treaty.[34] When ordered to send to the court the rich prizes of war against Golkonda, Aurangzeb flatly denied that any booty had fallen into his hands![35]

The same story repeated itself in Bijapur with a little variation, partially on account of the fact that anti-Deccanese Mīr Jumla had by now become, the prime minister of Shāh Jahān. On the death of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur in 1656, Aurangzeb played upon Shāh Jahān's greed and anti-Shi'a sentiments to wring from him an order sanctioning invasion of Bijapur without any cause whatever. Imperial contingents were sent under Mahābat Khān and Chhatarsāl to reinforce Mughal military resources in the Deccan. With their help Bijapur was invaded. Aurangzeb however was told that should the king seek peace, hostilities should cease at the cost of annexing a part of Bijapur and exacting an indemnity. Aurangzeb in his letter to Mīr Jumla quotes Shāh Jahān as authorizing him to conquer Bijapur, if he could, otherwise to be content with annexing a part of it and exacting an

indemnity.[36] It is more reasonable to suppose that Shāh Jahān put the second alternative first.

Bidar fell to Aurangzeb in March 1657 and Kalian on August 1, 1657. When Bijapur was facing extinction, it seems to have dawned upon 'Alī 'Ādal Shāh II, that he might yet save himself, as Golkonda had done, by direct negotiations with Shāh Jahān. An envoy was sent to the imperial court who seems to have succeeded in persuading the emperor that Bijapur had given him no cause for offence and therefore his war there was not justified. Shāh Jahān seems to have been taken aback by what the envoys represented to him and immediately sent orders to Aurangzeb to cease hostilities. As was but natural, this order was accompanied by another order to imperial commanders to return in all haste with all the Mughal reinforcements sent south for the prosecution of the war. Shāh Jahān seems to have been so upset by all that he was now told that he tentatively offered the government of the Deccan to Shujā'.[37] Shāh Jahān seems to have rightly suspected Aurangzeb of intriguing in the south for an increase in his resources in order to follow the usual path of a Mughal prince in rebellion against his father. It is wrong to think of Shāh Jahān being preoccupied in his design for securing for Dārā the throne of Delhi after his own death.[38] The contingency of a civil war was remote and would not affect Shāh Jahān very much. But a princely rebellion was one thing which his predecessors had had to face in their own life time. It was a prince toying with the idea of rebellion whom Shāh Jahān sought to curb; it was a defiant governor that the emperor sought to bring to the right path. It has been sometimes suggested that Shāh Jahān prevented Aurangzeb from conquering Bijapur and Golkonda. Those who make this suggestion not only ignore the pertinent question whether Shāh Jahān had any excuse for annexing these kingdoms but also forget that Aurangzeb himself was not able to conquer these kingdoms till 1692. If the fruit had been ripe for plucking in 1657, it could have only become rotten when Aurangzeb came to the throne in 1659. But Aurangzeb sat still for 21 years after his accession and even when he was in the Deccan himself at the head of the imperial armies, the two states did not fall into his hands easily.

When the news of Shāh Jahān's illness came, Aurangzeb decided to play for the high stakes of the Mughal throne. He had long been preparing himself for this day. His objective was to become

the emperor of India and he decided to allow nothing to stand in his way. It would have complicated matters and detained him in Gujarat if he had declared war on Murād. So he duped the unlucky prince just as Bulāqī had been duped in the interest of Shāh Jahān. Rebel Mughal princes before him had never succeeded in their designs; Aurangzeb therefore decided on more comprehensive plans.

The success of a rebellion depends very much on the resources of the rebel. Aurangzeb, therefore, decided to cast his net wide for allies. He was sure to find them among dissatisfied ruling princes and disgruntled Mughal public servants and army leaders.[39] Fortunately for him, Dārā had been so long at court that every grievance could be easily laid at his door and help sought against him.[40] Aurangzeb wrote to Mahārānā Rāj Singh of Mewar tempting him with the promise of returning the districts of Pur and Mandal Garh which the Rānā had lost to Shāh Jahān.[41] He tried to entice the Rājās of Devgarh and Chanda to his side so that they should not obstruct his path to Agra.[42] He wrote to several nobles at court. Mīr Jumla was in the south about this time but under an order of return to the court. Aurangzeb tried to dissuade him from obeying the royal summons and on his refusal arrested him. Bernier and Manucci suggest that he was arrested at his own suggestion. Had this been the case, Aurangzeb would not have tried to offer excuses to Mīr Jumla for his arrest later on when he had no need to dissemble.[43]

Aurangzeb now decided to advance upon the capital. He left Daulatabad on February 5 and reached Burhanpur on February 18. Here he received a letter from Shāh Jahān reprimanding him for his leaving the Deccan and marching north.[44] With his tongue in his cheek, Aurangzeb assured Shāh Jahān that he was only trying to serve Shāh Jahān and restore order in the kingdom disturbed by Dārā's action.[45]

It has been customary to see in Aurangzeb a standard-bearer of Islam against Dārā whom Aurangzeb accused of being a heretic. But this did not mean that Aurangzeb was setting himself up as the guardian of Islam in the sense in which he unfolded himself in the later part of his reign.[46] He could not afford to be anti-Hindu at this time. He needed all the help that he could get; Hindu Rājās wielded a lot of power in India at this time[47] and Aurangzeb could not neglect this source of strengthening himself. He might have

hoped to secure some Muslim commanders to his side by representing Dārā as a heretic. His standing as a rebel prince is well brought out by the refusal of a Muslim mullā, Hazrat Hājī, at Burhanpur to wish him well. Try as Aurangzeb would, all that he could get from the saint was that Islam should succeed.[48]

Aurangzeb and Murād met the royal army sent to dissuade them from proceeding any further at Dharmat. Shāh Jahān had accused Aurangzeb of rebellious intentions but his orders to Jaswant Singh laid emphasis on Jaswant's securing Aurangzeb's and Murād's retirement peacefully.[49] Much time was wasted by the royal commanders in parleys with the rebellious princes. This put life into the rebel army and to some extent demoralized the royal troops. The battle that followed was like so many other battles that had been fought between rebel princes and their fathers. Those in the royal army were torn between their loyalty to the king *de jure* and the suspicion that the rebel prince might after all succeed in making good his claim to government. If his sons would not be loyal to the emperor, why should his public servants imperil their lives in his cause? But it was Shāh Jahān the imperial commanders were seeking to serve, not Dārā.

Aurangzeb's success in the battlefield made it possible for him to march to Agra and threaten his father. The battle of Samurgarh on May 29, 1658, was waged by Dārā on behalf of Shāh Jahān. Much ingenuity has been wasted on what would have happened had Shāh Jahān marched against Aurangzeb in person.[50] But Shāh Jahān was restrained from marching at the head of his armies by the usual Mughal tradition of the emperor's not facing his rebel princes in person. If the rebel was defeated, the king's cause was served. But even if the rebel prince was victorious the father could still offer opposition and even try parley with the prince. But if the emperor was defeated in person no quarter was possible. He would have lost everything in one throw.

Samurgarh apparently left the coalition of Aurangzeb and Murād victorious. But Aurangzeb had never intended to allow Murād any share in the government of the country. The luckless prince was invited to meet Aurangzeb in his tent and there imprisoned.[51] He was later on sent to prison in Gwalior. Then on December 4, 1661, he was surprised to learn that an old incident of his Governorship of Gujarat—his execution of 'Alī Naqī in 1657—had been revived. He was sentenced to be executed.[52] Thus

did Aurangzeb keep his word to God and the Prophet!

After disposing of Murād's pretensions, Aurangzeb marched on Agra. Here helpless Shāh Jahān tried to play at still being the emperor. When this failed, he tried to act the part of an affectionate father.[53] Aurangzeb matched Shāh Jahān in his duplicity. He posed as both a loyal subject and dutiful son.[54] Much ink has been wasted in determining who was trying to deceive the other and to what extent.[55] Neither of them was sincere in his protestation. Both were trying to gain time in one way or another. Shāh Jahān's cause was however lost for ever. Aurangzeb could not even pretend to be moved by Shāh Jahān's offer of letting Aurangzeb run the empire in Shāh Jahān's name. He aimed at both the form and substance of power and could not be content with one of these only. So Shāh Jahān had to accept Aurangzeb's assumption of imperial power on the twenty-first of July, 1658 and be content with being spared his life. He passed his days as Aurangzeb's prisoner from the eighth of June, 1658, to die in 1665. Aurangzeb thus began what became so common in the eighteenth century India—the sight of a former Mughal emperor spending his last days in prison. He spared his father the final humiliation of being executed which many Mughal 'emperors' suffered in the eighteenth century in the 'interests' of their successors.[56]

NOTES

[1] Cf. Dārā's relations with nobles in *Anecdotes*, 34-35.

[2] Kambu, III, 264.

[3] Kambu, III, 265.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[5a] At the end of this appendix is reproduced in original Persian Kambu's account of Shāh Jahān's illness.

[6] Sarkar, Aurangzeb, I, 281.

[7] Kambu, III, 264, 272.

[8] *Ruqa'āt*, I, 197-199, 211.

[9] Tavernier, 327.

[10] Kambu, III, 277; of Aurangzeb, I, 278, 279; *CHI*, IV, 211.

[11] *Ruqa'āt*, I, 298.

[12] Kambu, III, 266. Cf. appendix.

[13] Ibid., III, 266-271.

[14] Cf. Elphinstone, Sarkar, Saxena, *Cambridge History of India*, IV. J. 15.

[15] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, I, 248.

[16] *Letters Ruqa'āt*, I, 352.

(i) Aurangzeb to Murād (Ruqa'āt, I, 367); Murād to Aurangzeb (Ibid., I, 359).

(ii) Agents exchanged, ibid., I, 352, 364-365.

(iii) Promise of help to one another, Ruqa'āt, I, 351-352, 256-257.

(iv) Suggested reply to Dārā, ibid., I, 256-257, 354.

[17] 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, 25.

Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī in *Ruqa'āt*, I, 265-369.

[18] *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb*, II, 9; *Nushka-i-Dilkushā*, 18; *Fatuhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī*; 17-A; Tavernier; 330-331; *Chhatar Prakāsh*, 45; *Storia*, II, 248.

[19] Sarkar, II, 428.

[20] Ishar Dās, 17b and 18a; *Storia*, II, 253.

[21] Ishar Dās, 21b.

[22] Ishar Dās, 26a; cf., *CHI*, IV, 214.

[23] Khāfi Khān, 19.

[24] Ishar Dās, 30a.

[25] *Storia*, II, 253.

[26] *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī* in *Ruqa'āt*, I, 80, 84, 85, 86-102.

[27] *Ruqa'āt*, I, 121, 122.

[28] *Ādāb* in *Ruqa'āt*, I, III, 114.

[29] Ibid., I, 115.

[30] *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīri*, 176b.

[31] *Ruqa'āt*, I, 160.

[32] Ibid., I, 166.

[33] *Ruqa'āt*, I, 171.

[34] Cf. Kambu, III, 281-282.

[35] Kambu, III, 281.

[36] *Ruqa'āt*, I, 317.

[37] Kambu, III, 271.

[38] Cf. Sarkar and Saxena, *Cambridge History*, Vol. IV.

[39] *Ruqa'āt*, I, 339-340.

[40] Cf. *Anecdotes*, also *Dārā Shikoh* by Qanungo, I, and *Aurangzeb* by Sarkar, I and II.

[41] *Vīr Vinod*, II, 419-424.

[42] *Amal-i-Salih*, Bernier, 31 ff, *Storia*, II, 249, *Ādāb in Ruqa'āt*, 428-429.

[43] *Ruqa'āt*, I, 197-198.

[44] *Ruqa'āt*, cf. however *Aurangzeb*, I, 211.

[45] *Ruqa'āt*, I, 197-199, 211.

[46] Cf. *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, Aurangzeb's letter to Rānā Rāj Singh of Udaipur preserved in the Udaipur Archives and reproduced in *Vīr Vinod*, 10, 419 to 421 assures Rāj Singh that Aurangzeb, after becoming emperor, would govern as his forefathers had done before him so as to secure equal protection for all his subjects. Cf. *Mahārānā Rāj Singh and His Times*, by Sri Ram Sharma.

[47] Cf. ibid., 129, 130, Hindu contingents in Aurangzeb's ranks include those from Toda, Deogarib, Chanda, Gohad and Bikaner.

[48] *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr, A'zamī*, 159.

[49] *'Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 58, 64, 65; cf. *CHI*, IV, 212.

[50] Aurangzeb's historians assert that Shāh Jahān advised Dārā not to fight and even moved his own advance camp between the two armies in order to avert war. *'Ālamgīr Nāmā*; 84 to 87. Aurangzeb's letters to Shāh Jahān reproduced by 'Āqīl Khān advise Shāh Jahān against moving in person against Aurangzeb.

[51] Bhīm Sen, cf. 33(a) and following.

[52] Khāfī Khān, II, 156.

[53] Cf. 'Āqīl Khān Rāzī, Sālih, III, 303, 305-315, 317, *Fayyāz-ul-Qawānīn* in Ruqa'āt.

[54] Cf. Sālih, III, 304, 305-315, 417; 'Āqil Khān Rāzī *'Ālamgīr-Nāmā*.

[55] Cf. *Aurangzeb* by Shiblī and *Aurangzeb* by Fāruqī.

[56] This is a corrected, revised and extended version of the essay under the same title, first published in my *'Studies in Medieval Indian History'*.

APPENDIX 2

KAMBU'S ACCOUNT OF SHĀH JAHĀN'S ILLNESS

عمل صالح

264 هفتم ذی حجه سنه ۱۰۶۷
ضعف روبکمی نهاده طبیعت مکرر اجابت نمود دریں مدّت اگرچه شاه بلند اقبال
محمد داراشکوه وبعض از خاصان و مقربان حضرت خلافت درآسائش گاه
مقدس باریافته ازمشاهدهٔ طلعت نجسته کسب مادهٔ آرامش خاطر وتسلی
می نمودند

265 پانزدهم ذی حجه بجهروکهٔ دیوان خوابگاه معلیٰ تشریف آورده

265 درین ولا خبر تولد فرزند سعادتمند شب یازدهم ذی حجه سنه ۱۰۶۷ از
نظر فیض اثر گزشت

266 هفتدهم و نوزدهم محرم بجهروکهٔ درشن درآمده

266 بجهت تخفیف کوفت و تغیّر مکان حرکت بر توقف اولیٰ وانسته بیستم محرم
روی توجه بصوب اکبرآباد آورده

268 طبیعت اجابت نموده روز بروز اثر صحت رو بافدایش نهاد

268 مزاج وهاج بمرکز اعتال و حالت اصلی بازآمد

269 (نوزدهم محرم) بعد از نه روز ..... رای علم آرا برآن قرار گرفت
که مجلس ترتیب دهند ..... هر روز بنوروز عشرت می گزرانیدند
..... جشنِ قمری انتهائے سال ۶۸ روز دوشنبه ۲۴ ربیع الاول
در دولت خانه پذیرفته ـ

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3. *Travels by Tavernier*, English translation by Ball.
4. *Ruqa'āt-Ālamgīrī*, Persian text edited by Nadvī. A collection of letters of Aurangzeb from various MS. sources covering Aurangzeb's rebellion against Shāh Jahān. I have also cited the original collection from which the letters have been taken.
5. *Zafar Nāmā*, Āqīl Khān Rāzī.
6. *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb*, Khāfi Khān. It reproduces Abul Fazl Ma'mūrī's account of Aurangzeb in most places. I have cited Ma'mūrī for events of which he says he was an eyewitness.
7. *Nuskha-i-Dilkushā*, Bhīm Sen, MS.
8. *Fatuhāt-i-Ālamgīrī*, Īshar Dās, MS.
9. *Chhatar Prakāsh*, Lal.
10. *Storia De Mogor*, Manucci, English translation by Irvine.
11. *Ādab-i-Ālamgīrī*, A collection of Aurangzeb's letters brought together by Abul Fath, MS.
12. *Travels*, Bernier.
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14. *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr*, Ā'zmī.
15. *'Ālamgir Nāmāh*, Muhammad Karīm.
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17. *Aurangzeb*, Jadunath Sarkar.
18. *Shāh Jahān*, Saxena.
19. *Dārā Shikoh*, Qanungo.
20. *Aurangzeb*, Shiblī.
21. *Aurangzeb*, Fāruqī.
22. *A History of India*, Elphinstone.
23. *Cambridge History of India*, IV.
24. *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, Sri Ram Sharma.
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CHAPTER VII

AURANGZEB (2)

Hindus in the Public Services

AKBAR had opened the ranks of the Mughal administration to the Hindus and Muslims alike with the result that out of 137 living mansabdārs of 1,000 and above fourteen were Hindus at the time the *Āīn* was completed. Under Jahāngīr, out of forty-seven mansabdārs of 3,000 and above six were Hindus. In Shāh Jahān's reign the number of mansabdārs was very much increased. At the end of the 31st year, there were 241 mansabdārs of 1,000 and above out of which fifty-one were Hindus. When Aurangzeb rebelled against his father, Mahārājā Jaṣwant Singh of Jodhpur was the premier noble of the empire holding the status of a *Haft Hazārī* and 7,000 horses out of which 5,000 was Do Aspa and Sih Aspa (having two or three horses). He, thus, held the highest office which was open to an imperial subject. In the revenue department Rāi-i-Rāyān Raghū Nāth was the imperial revenue minister at the time. Thus when Aurangzeb challenged his father's right to the throne the Hindus occupied a very important position in the public services of the empire.

In the subordinate ranks they monopolized the revenue and accounts department. The Muslims had no turn for such routine work and preferred to enter the state service by joining the army. Besides this the personal assistants of most of the executive heads were also Hindus.

Such was the position when Aurangzeb claimed the empire. Unfortunately for us we have no detailed official history of Aurangzeb's reign. Muhammad Kāzim was allowed to write the history of Aurangzeb's reign for the first ten years only. The *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* and the *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb* do not give us that detailed account of the reign, the standard for which was set by Kāzim. Of course there are the voluminous *Jaipur Records* and the *News Letters* of Aurangzeb's reign. But these leave many tantalizing gaps. The result is that it is rather difficult to assess the position of the Hindus in the public services of his reign.

An analysis of the list of mansabdārs above the rank of *Yak*

Hazārī (one thousand) compiled from the contemporary *Akhabārāt*, *Jaipur Records*, *'Ālamgīr Nāmā*, *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* and the *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb* and published as an appendix to this chapter, yields a few interesting results. We have to keep in view the fact that it includes all appointments made during the reign. Thus the large number of the Hindu mansabdārs—206—does not necessarily indicate any liberal policy of Aurangzeb. It is largely to be credited to his long reign. Thus we have four Rājās of Jaipur, Jai Singh I, Rām Singh, Bishan Singh and Jai Singh II included in the list. Similarly Udaipur is represented by three Rājās, Rāj Singh, Jai Singh and Amar Singh. Bikaner saw Rāo Karn, Rājā Anūp Singh, the minor, Sarūp Singh, Anurodh Singh and Budh Singh in succession ; the last outliving Aurangzeb. In Kota, Jagat Singh, Kishan Singh and Rām Singh succeeded one another during the fifty years of the Mughal emperor's long reign. We cannot therefore profitably compare this list of 206 mansabdārs with the 51 Hindu mansabdārs, all of whom were living at the end of the 30th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.

We definitely know that out of the first forty-nine of these mansabdārs, not more than ten survived Aurangzeb. Out of the next thirty-three commanders of 3,000, eight of them were Marathas who had deserted Mughal service, one had ceased to figure in the annals, and was probably dead, six alone are definitely known to be living. Thus out of the eighty-two grandees in the list only sixteen were known to be living. It is thus safe to conclude that the total number of Hindu mansabdārs alive at the time of Aurangzeb's death was fifty as against fifty-one towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign.

This means that towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign there was a smaller number of Hindus occupying the mansabs of 1,000 and above, than the number of similar mansabdārs towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign. But the decrease in number becomes still more significant when we take into account the increase in the total number of the mansabdārs which rose enormously in the reign of Aurangzeb. In 1657 under Shāh Jahān there were 8,000 mansabdārs in all,[1] whereas in 1690, the number of mansabdārs had risen to 14556.[2] During the later seventeen years of Aurangzeb's reign the number must have increased still further.

This doubling of the number of mansabdārs of all classes does not show a proportional increase in the number of the Hindus who held mansabs of 1,000 and above. Thus it is safe to assert

that the number of the Hindus holding such ranks towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign had gone down. The percentage of the Hindus in the higher ranks of the state could not have been more than 50 per cent of what it was towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign.

This list is suggestive in another way as well. When Aurangzeb became the emperor, we find that the two premier nobles of the empire were Hindus, and the finance minister also was a Hindu. Mahārājā Jaswant Singh served as the Governor of Gujarat, as the leader of the first Mughal expedition against the Marāthās, and then as a regent of a royal prince in the government of Kabul. He was deputed wherever hard work was expected. When he was sent against Shivājī to the Deccan, Rājā Jai Singh controlled all the civil and military authorities in the Deccan and became the highest ruling authority in the area.[3] After exhausting all imperial favours as far as official salary and status were concerned, the emperor added to his salary a princely allowance of Rs. 25,000 a year.[4] But towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign we do not find a single Hindu provincial governor. In fact no Hindu was appointed a provincial governor after the death of these two Rajput commanders; no Hindu succeeded Rājā Raghū Nāth as the finance minister either. *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgirī* contains an order which Aurangzeb issued forbidding the employment of Rajputs either as fojdārs or provincial governors.[5] This seems to have been acted upon. When the prince commander of an expedition recommended an increment in the status of Indar Singh and Bahādur Singh, Aurangzeb sharply reprimanded the prince and turned down the recommendation.[6] Another prince recommended Jai Singh II, for deputy governorship but Aurangzeb told him that it was not proper for him to make such a recommendation.[7] Aurangzeb thus deliberately shut out the Hindus from the highest offices, though not from the highest ranks of the imperial services. As will be clear from the list in the appendix there were Hindu commanders of the highest ranks. But of them Sāhu was a minor whom Aurangzeb was trying to convert to Islam.[8] He drew a salary without filling any office. Among the thirteen commanders of 5,000, nine were Marāthās who were really raised to their high status on their submission; most of them had been directly appointed to their high commands. Among the remaining five, two were reigning Rānās of Udaipur, one of Jaipur and the rest also held hereditary lands. Thus under

Aurangzeb, though some Hindus enjoyed the salary and the profits of even the highest ranks, they were not called upon in the latter half of his reign, to fill any high executive or administrative offices.

The study of the fortunes of certain houses who held hereditary office as ruling princes also yields similar result. Rānā Rāj Singh of Mewar was a commander of 6,000, not so his successors who received a command of 5,000.[9] Rājā Jai Singh of Jaipur was a commander of 7,000.[10] The fortunes of his house show an increasingly declining tendency. His successor Rām Singh rose to be a commander of 5,000.[11] Rājā Bishan Singh died as a commander of 4,000.[12] Rājā Jai Singh II, had the lowest command ever held by a Kachhwāhā prince, that of 2,000. In Jodhpur, after Mahārājā Jaswant Singh came a deluge. Rājā Indar Singh, a nephew of his, was no doubt at first appointed to the command of 3,500 as his successor. But the Rajput War followed and Jodhpur was 'annexed' though the Rajputs did everything to make the occupation as difficult and as costly as possible. Rājā Rājrūp of Nurpur (in the Punjab) was a commander of 3,500.[13] His son and successor Māndhātā is only mentioned as holding the rank of a commander of 1,000.[14] Rājā Bhīm Singh, the founder of the house of Banera (in Udaipur, Rajputana), was a commander of 5,000,[15] but his son and successor Sūraj Mal rose to the command of 1,000 only.[16] Thus the fortune of many distinguished houses declined under Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb seemed to have followed a threefold policy with regard to the high Hindu mansabdārs. There was a general reduction in the number of Hindus holding high mansabs. Hindus were not appointed to high executive office, nor called upon to discharge responsible military duties. Usually the heads of various hereditary houses were not given the same status as had been held by their predecessors.

The petty officials could expect to fare no better. Various orders were passed to break the monopoly of the Hindus in the routine jobs in the revenue department and in the clerical establishment. There is a general order in the *Kalimat-i-Ta'yyibāt* forbidding the employment of the Hindus.[17] Then there is the order preserved in the *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīri*[18] and *Muntakhib-ul-Lubāb*[19] forbidding the employment of the Hindus in the revenue department and as personal assistants to various executive heads. An attempt was

made to enforce these orders. But the Hindu monopoly of these jobs was due to the fact that the Muslims preferred military careers. Though Aurangzeb reprimanded even a prince for daring to suggest the name of a Hindu for such an appointment, he could not succeed in diverting the energies of the Muslims to these petty offices.[20] The attempt failed. Some Hindu Karorīs of crownlands gave place to Muslims,[21] others in the revenue department changed their religion to retain their places.[22] Aurangzeb then ordered that at least one of the two personal assistants to various officers should be a Muslim.[23] He valiantly tried to replace Hindu public servants by Muslims wherever he could. Twenty Hindu musketeers of the royal guards were dismissed to give place to Muslims on 27 July, 1703.[24] In his sixteenth year he had resumed all the grants made to Hindus.[25]

No wonder these things created a feeling of superiority among the Muslims. One Sayyid Amīr came to Gujarat in the forty-sixth year of Aurangzeb's reign. He was appointed to fill a post. The Governor discovered that he would have to serve under a Hindu, no other than Durgā Dās Rāthor. He declined to allow him to assume office thinking it derogatory for a Muslim to serve under a Hindu. A Hindu thereupon was appointed to the office in question.[26]

Aurangzeb contributed to the widening of this gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims further by ordering on 19 November, 1702 that no Hindu in the army was to employ Muslim servants.[27]

The turning point in this as in many other things in this reign seems to have been the death of Mahārājā Jaswant Singh. Rājā Raghū Nāth Dās, Rājā Jai Singh, and Mahārājā Jaswant Singh had been three checks on Aurangzeb's religious enthusiasm. One after another they died, and with the death of the last he felt emancipated. The Rajput War, born of his intention to swallow Jodhpur, further estranged the Hindus, particularly the Rajputs. It is not right to say that after the Rajput War no Rajput served under Aurangzeb. Except those bent on carving out new independent hereditary principalities, few Rajputs, however, could be found to serve enthusiastically under him. As long as Bijapur and Golkonda lay unconquered, there was some work for Rajput blades to do. But after their conquest the Marāthā warfare had little to attract Rajput valour. When forts were surrendered by bribing

the commanders systematically,[28] the Rajputs were no longer in demand.

Thus Aurangzeb deliberately worsened the position of the Hindus in the public services. Higher offices were closed to them; the Muslims were openly preferred. A wholesale dismissal of the Hindus from the revenue department was attempted without much success.

NOTES

[1] *Bādshāhnāmā*, Wāris, 70.

[2] *Zawābat-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 15*a*, *f*. The author breaks up this number into Jagirdārs (6992) and Mansabdārān-i-Naqādis, mansabdārs receiving cash salary. Athar Ali wrongly argues that the number shown as mansabdārs receiving cash salaries included persons other than mansabdārs. The text of the *Zawābat* does not yield any such interpretation, see his *Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*.

[3] Kāzim, 1036. [4] Ibid., 618.

[5] *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī*, MS. 72*a*, *f*. [6] Ibid., 5*b*.

[7] *Kalimāt-i-Aurangzeb*, 223.

[8] *News Letter*, 10 May, 1703; *Kalimāt*, 153.

[9] *Vīr Vinod*, IV, 426. [10] Kāzim, 618.

[11] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 154; *Jaipur Records*, II, Nos. 25, 41; *News Letter*, 30 December, 1681.

[12] *Jaipur Records*, VI, letter of 2 July, 1691.

[13] Kāzim, 625. [14] Ibid., 1,000.

[15] See the present writer's article on *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, January, 1935.

[16] *News Letter*, 19 September, 1694.

[17] *Kalimāt*, letter No. 34; cf. Manucci, II 154.

[18] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 528. [19] Khāfī Khan, II, 249.

[20] *Letters of Aurangzeb*, Letter No. 33, *News Letter* 28 July, 1694.

[21] Khāfī Khān, II, 252.

[22] Cf below.

[23] Khāfī Khān, II, 252.

[24] *News Letter*, 27 July, 1703.

[25] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, II.

[26] *News Letter* (Provincial, Gujarat), Sha'bān, 3, year 46.

[27] *News Letter*, 19 November, 1702. Cf. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, I, 354.

[28] Khāfī Khān, II, 503.

APPENDIX 1

HINDU MANSABDĀRS OF AURANGZEB'S REIGN

1659-1707

7000

1. Rājā Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur.
2. Sambhājī (for about 5 months on his desertion to the Mughals in 1678).
3. Sāhū, a ward of the emperor.

6000

1. Mahārānā Rāj Singh of Udaipur.
2. Rāi Bhān son of Shambhājī cretaed 6000er about 1703.
3. Rāo Kanhojī.
4. Achpat Nāyar; a Goalkonda noble who surrendered the fort of Satgarh to the Mughals. He joined Rājā Rām but entered the Mughal service in February 1694 when he was created a commander of 6000, Zulfikār, the Mughal Commander, had him killed in September 1694 as he did not trust him.
5. Satvad Dafalya.
6. Santājī Jādūn.
7. Kaj Nāyak.
8. Bījjā Nāik Nimbālkar was a 6000er in 1672.
9. Man (Madan Singh).
10. Mākojā Māne.

5000

1. Rājā Rām Singh of Jaipur.
2. Mahārānā Jai Singh of Udaipur.
3. Mahārānā Amar Singh II of Udaipur.
4. Rājā Bhīm Singh of Banera.
5. Rājā Rāi Singh Sassodiā of Toda.
6. Rām Nāyak of Sagar in Bijaipur. He surrendered the fort of Sagar to the Mughals on 28 November 1688 but died on 1 January, 1689 within a week of his receiving the Firman.
7. Nāgojī Māne.
8. Malojī of Madhol.

9. Akhaijī of Madhol.
10. Parsojī Bhonsle of Nagpur.
11. Bālājī Nimbālkar, Shivājī's commander-in-chief at the time of Shivājī's submission to Jai Singh. He deserted the Mughals later on.
12. Santājī, for a very short time, found fighting against the Mughals in 1700.
13. Rānojī held the mansab for a very short time and is found fighting the Mughals in 1700.
14. Baharajī, found fighting against the Mughals in 1700.
15. Shankarjī Malhār, garrison commander of Satara who surrendered the fort to the Mughals.
16. Jankojī.
17. Champat Bundelā, soon a rebel and died one.
18. Bhaku Banjārā.
19. Sume Shankar.
20. Rāo Jaswant Singh.
21. Jagnā Nāik.
22. Pidya (Piry) Nāik.
23. Sobhānjī.
24. Pratāp Rāo.
25. Banne Rāo.

4000

1. Rāo Chattar Sāl Bundelā, given the mansab in 1706. A rebel for 20 years in Malwa.
2. Rājā Indaraman of Dhandhera.
3. Rājā Bishan Singh of Jaipur.
4. Rāo Bhāo Singh Hādā of Bundi.
5. Dāmojī.
6. Jaswant Rāo.
7. Rāmbhājī.
8. Mahadji Nāik Nimbālkar.
9. Rāi Singh Rāthor.
10. Dattājī Jadav died in 1665.
11. Bāājī Dafale.

3500

1. Rājā Rājrūp of Nurpur.
2. Rāo Karan of Bikaner.

3. Rājā Anūp Singh of Bikaner.
4. Rāo Anurodh Hādā of Bundi.
5. Rājā Sujān Singh of Urchha.
6. Rājā Udai Singh Bundelā of Urchha.
7. Jakia (Jakojī).

3000

1. Rājā Mān Singh of Kishan Garh.
2. Rāo Dalpat Bundelā of Dattia.
3. Rājā Raghūnāth, Dīwān.
4. Viram Dev Sassodiā.
5. Rājā Kīrat Singh of Jaipur.
6. Girdhārī Dās Gaur.
7. Rājā Dalīp Singh of Urchha.
8. Himmat Rāo Kolī.
9. Durgā Dās Rāthor (for a very short time in 1706).
10. Rājā Sarūp Singh of Bikaner.
11. Rānā Raghūnāth Singh Chandrāvat.
12. Rājā Rām Singh Hādā of Bundi.
13. Mān Singh Rāthor.
14. Indar Singh Rāthor, for some time Rājā of Jodhpur.
15. Vāsudev Singh.
16. Udāji Rām.
17. Jokojī (takojī?).
18. Parsojī Bhonsle (=Tarsojī Pars Rām) a rebel in 1705.
19. Sundarjī.
20. Bājī Rāo.
21. Badarjī (=Jiwajī).
22. Dholujī (illegitimate) son of Sambhājī.
23. Anand Rāo.
24. Patang Rāo.
25. Dhanojī (=Badarjī).
26. Takojī (?) left the Mughal service in 1694.
27. Sambhājī, son of Laljī.
28. Netojī, son of Jadaun Rāo (?) (Khorde).
29. Dostajī.
30. Sujān Singh Sassodiā.
31. Bhān Parohit.
32. Kishnajī (=Krishna Rāo).
33. Jivājī.

34. Antājī.

2500

1. Rāo Shubh Karan of Dattya.
2. Rājā Devī Singh Bundelā of Urchha.
3. Rājā Bhagwant Singh.
4. Rāwat Amar Singh Chandrāvat.
5. Kishan Singh Kachhwāhā.
6. Rājā Rām Singh Hādā of Kotah.
7. Rāo Budh Singh of Būndi.
8. Sabal Singh Sassodiā.
9. Mayyājī (=Mohanjī'), son of Mankojī.
10. Sambhojī (=Sadhojī) Pandhre (=son of Nāgarjī).
11. Mahadjī : Mahadjī Ghorpare is found raiding Mughal territories in 1699.
12. Rāghojī.
13. Bankojī.
14. Kanhojī.
15. Baitojī.
16. Rustom Rāo.
17. Bābājī Bhonsle.
18. Trimbakjī Bhonsle.
19. Mankojī (s/o Mankojī).
20. Bholerāo s/o Karlujī Pandhre.
21. Narojī Rāghav.
22. Rustam Rāo.
23. Khandojī Ghorpare.
24. Bartojī.
25. Rāo-Kanho.
26. Dādājī.
27. Sadhujī.
28. Mahadjī.

2000

1. Rājā Jai Singh II of Jaipur.
2. Rāi Todar Mal (a Dīwān).
3. Rājā Vikram Singh of Guler (in Himachal Pradesh).
4. Mednī Singh of Srinagar (Garhwal).
5. Ani Rāi (Diwān).
6. Rājā Indar Singh. Probably 14 among 3000ers.

7. Rājā Prītam Singh (Prithvi Singh? Rāthor).
8. Rājā Jagat Singh Hādā.
9. Rām Chand Bundelā.
10. Bahādur Singh.
11. Rām Singh Rāthor of Ratlam.
12. Pūran Mal Bundelā.
13. Nimājī Shinde. He led the successful Marāthā invasion of Central India in 1704.
14. Arjojī, son of Sambhājī (?).
15. Mankojī, son of Ankojī.
16. Avojī (=Narojī?=Rāojī?).
17. Dinājī (=Devajī Salvī=Venajī).
18. Shiv Singh.
19. Lachhman Patel.
20. Mahman.
21. Bhūpat Singh.
22. Madho Narain.
23. Vyās Rāo.
24. Tamajī (=Teemojī).
25. Bhojrāj.
26. Jāojī.
27. Baithujī.
28. Isujī.
29. Rāo Devājī.
30. Nevojī Deccānnī (probably the same as no. 29).
31. Baliyā.
32. Truiājī.
33. Dhankojī.
34. Bagojī.

1500

1. Amar Singh Sassodiā of Rampura.
2. Rājā Mān Singh of Guler.
3. Amar Singh Kachhwāhā of Narwar.
4. Bīr Singh of Chamba (in Himachal Pradesh).
5. Rājā Ajīt Singh of Jodhpur.
6. Chaturbhuj Chauhān.
7. Raghunāth Singh Rāthor.
8. Udai Singh Mertia.
9. Manohar Dās Sassodiā.

10. Rāi Mukand.
11. Indar Man Bundelā?
12. Gopāl Singh Kachhwāhā.
13. Jagat Singh.
14. Kesari Singh.
15. Mitra Sen Bundelā.
16. Rājā Mohkam Singh.
17. Kishan Singh Tomār.
18. Udai Bhān Rāthor.
19. Jagrām Kachhwāhā.
20. Durgā Singh.
21. Pahār Singh.
22. Bijai Singh (=Bijai Rāo, son of Jodun Rāo).
23. Harjas Gaur.
24. Dakojī (=Beojī).
25. Krishnājī (3000er?)
26. Ramājī =Rām Rāo, son of Ganpatjī.
27. Sambhājī.
28. Jodāūnjī (=Sadhujī son of Shivajī Nelkar).
29. Akojī (=Byankar).
30. Anchi Achal Rāo.
31. Shivājī Nelkar.
32. Banbīr Rāo.
33. Hanbīr Rāo.
34. Kang Nāik.

1000

1. Gumān Singh.
2. Rājā Mahā Singh Bhadoryā.
3. Rājā Sher (=Chattar) Singh of Chamba.
4. Rājā Kalyān Singh of Bandhu.
5. Rājā Udai Singh of Chamba.
6. Rāwat Jaswant Singh of Dungarpur.
7. Sultān Singh.
8. Kapūr Singh Hādā.
9. Gopāl Singh Chandrāwat of Rampura. He became a rebel on his estate being given to his son on his conversion to Islam. He submitted for a short period, but died a rebel.
10. Vīrbhān.
11. Purshotam Singh.

12. Padam Singh, son of Karan.
13. Chet Singh.
14. Bhawānī Dās.
15. Sūrajmal Gaur.
16. Arjun Gaur.
17. Dal Singh Sassodiā.
18. Rājā Rām Dās Kachhwāhā of Narwar.
19. Badan Singh Bhodoryā.
20. Bahādur Singh.
21. Sūraj Mal, son of Rājā Bhīm Singh of Banera.
22. Raghūnath Ghorpara.
23. Khāndojī, son of Jiwājī.
24. Rāo Mān, son of Jadun Rāi.
25. Mahojī (=Mahadjī) of Mudhol.
26. Prahlādjī.
27. Āmbajī.
28. Chatrojī (=Chandujī).
29. Ratan Rāo.
30. Narsingh Rāo.
31. Rājā Bhagwant Singh of Urchha.
32. Lung Nāyak.
33. Sujān Rāo.
34. Dayānt Rāi (Dīwān).
35. Satar Sāl Rāthor.
36. Manajī, son of Nagojī.
37. Gharkujī, son of Vankar Rāo.
38. Malujī, son of Sarujī.
39. Bālujī =(Mahojī), son of Bahorojī.
40. Ambājī, son of Makujī.
41. Nabojī, son of Lakujī.
42. Rāo Joghat.
43. Birumjī.
44. Mān Singh, son of Jādūn Rāi.
45. Jagdev Rāo, son of Dattājī.
46. Jagdar.
47. Raghojī.
48. Netājī.
49. Bagājī
50. Baherjī.
51. Sambhājī.

52. Sidhujī.

53. Rām Rāo.

This list includes several names, not less than 40, who did not serve Aurangzeb as mansabdār for long. Some names appear twice in the same or varying spellings in the Court Records in Persian. The total in the text refers to such mansabdārs as, it could be ascertained, served Aurangzeb long enough for their holders to rank as mansabdārs. A Marāthā noted as a mansabdār at one place appears as a rebel soon after in other records.

AURANGZEB (3)

RELIGIOUS fanaticism has seldom been content with enforcing its edicts on the followers of the faith alone. When departures from the strict lines of the law are condemned in 'the faithful', it becomes naturally difficult to allow members of other religions to indulge in practices—not only sanctioned but ordained by their own religion—which are downright contrary to 'the faith'. Public acts naturally demand notice first.

Destruction of Hindu Temples

Early in the reign of Shāh Jahān, it was brought to his notice that the building of new temples and the repairing of old ones, though in conformity with the liberal practices of the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr were, in reality, against the Muslim law and usage. As we have already seen, Shāh Jahān for some time tried to enforce the Muslim law, as thus interpreted. But later in his reign several temples were repaired and added to. Shortly after coming to the throne, Aurangzeb issued the following order on 28 February, 1659, probably in connexion with a dispute as to the right of 'holding charge of' the ancient temples of Banaras.

'It has been decided according to our canon law that long standing temples should not be demolished but no new temples be allowed to be built....Our royal command is that you should direct that in future no person shall, in *unlawful ways*, interfere with or disturb the Brahmans and other Hindu residents in those places.'[1]

This, however, did not cover military operations. In 1661 Aurangzeb in his zeal to uphold, what he considered to be the law of Islam, sent orders to his viceroy of Bihar, Dāūd Khān, to conquer Palamau. In the military operations that followed, many temples were destroyed[2] signalizing the victories of the Mughal arms. Towards the end of the same year when Mīr Jumla made war on the Rājā of Kuch Bihar, the Mughals destroyed many temples during the course of their operations. Idols were broken, and some of the temples were converted into mosques.[3]

But these were military measures. Such destruction had taken place even in the reign of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān in the wake of military operations. Soon, however, Aurangzeb began to act even without the provocation of military necessity. The temple of Somnāth was destroyed early in his reign.[4] This seems to have been one of the results of the order sent to his officials in Gujarat dated 20 November, 1665.[5] Aurangzeb gave directions for the destruction of such temples in Gujarat as had at one time been destroyed or desecrated by him as the prince viceroy of Gujarat but had later on been resumed by the Hindus. It is difficult to understand why these temples in Gujarat were singled out for attack. Aurangzeb probably felt that he was thus initiating no new policy, but simply carrying out Shāh Jahān's original policy which had been later reversed.

This seems to have been followed by an order to the governor of Orissa. It bears no date, but as it refers to new temples only and orders the destruction of temples built during the last ten or twelve years, it might have been issued in 1669 and presumably within the first twelve years (lunar) of Aurangzeb's reign. The provincial governor thereupon issued the following order to his officials :

'To all fojdārs, garrison commanders, accountants, district collectors of land revenue and their officials from Katak to Midnapur on the frontiers of Orissa.

'The imperial bakhshī Asad Khān has sent a letter written according to the instructions of the emperor to say that the emperor, learning from the *News Letters* of the province of Orissa that at the village of Tilkkuti in Mednipur a temple has been built, has issued his august mandate for its destruction and the destruction of all temples built anywhere in the province. Therefore, you are hereby commanded with extreme urgency that immediately on the receipt of this letter you should destroy the above-mentioned temples. Every temple built during the last ten or twelve years should be demolished without delay. Also do not allow the Hindus and infidels to repair their old temples. Reports of the destruction of temples should be sent to the court under the seal of Qāzīs and attested by pious Shaikhs.'[6]

This order was obviously provoked by the building of a new temple in a village in Orissa. It is apparent even from a perusal of the Banaras *sanad* already quoted, that early in Aurangzeb's reign

it seems to have been ordered that no new temples were to be built nor old ones repaired. It was presumably on that account that the *News Letters* had mentioned the building of a new temple in an insignificant village of Orissa. As the law seems to have been defied and its defiance gone unnoticed and unpunished, the new order left nothing to the discretion of the civil or military servants of the empire—some of them were Hindus who might have ignored the order. The governor addressed his instructions to the military officers serving as commanders of garrisons, executive heads of the Sarkārs serving as fojdārs, heads of the revenue department in the sarkār, agents of the fojdārs, and accountants. Now this roped in almost all Mughal officers, civil and military. As usually there was not much love lost between the representatives of different departments in the same locality, the governor ensured that none of them should be remiss in performing his duty in this connexion by the fear of being complained against by others. However, there was still the fear that in any one locality all might conspire to leave this work undone. Even this was provided against. Their own accounts were not to be trusted. They had to get them attested by the Qāzīs and pious Shaikhs.

About the same time Aurangzeb's attention turned towards Mathura. Here many beautiful temples had been raised by the piety of the Hindu Rājās and rich men, particularly during the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr. Aurangzeb picked out for attack what looked like a work of repairs in the famous temple of Keshav Rāi. Its railing that had once been made of wood had long before become too weak to serve any useful purpose. Under Shāh Jahān, Dārā Shukoh had built at his own cost a railing of stone. Being a work of repairs as well as a new structure, it became an emblem of a Muslim's fall from grace. On 14 October, 1666, its removal by the fojdār of Mathura was reported to the imperial court.[7] Some time after the death of Jai Singh, Aurangzeb is alleged to have demolished the Lalta temple near Delhi.[8]

It was three years later that a general order was issued for the destruction of all the schools and temples of the Hindus. On 9 April, 1669, it was reported to the emperor, that the Brahmans of Sind, Multan and particularly of Banaras were using their temples as schools, which attracted students, Hindus and Muslims alike, from great distances. Jahāngīr had not been able to tolerate even a young Muslim going to a Yogī for instruction in religious

matters. It was but natural, therefore, that Aurangzeb should have been upset by such a report. But whereas Jahāngīr had held the two Muslims concerned guilty and punished them, Aurangzeb gave an order for the punishment of those whose only offence was the imparting of religious education to those who came to them.

Orders were now sent to the Governors of all the provinces that they should destroy the schools and temples of the 'infidels' and put an end to their educational activities as well as the practices of the religion of the Kāfirs.[9] De Graaf who was at Hooghly in 1670, heard about these orders and reported :

'In the month of January, all the governors and native officers received an order from the Great Mughal prohibiting the practice of Pagan religion throughout the country and closing down all the temples and sanctuaries of idol worshippers ..in the hope that some Pagans would embrace the Muslim religion.'[10]

It is rather difficult to understand the reasoning of the quasi-official historian or to follow Aurangzeb's line of thought. Complaints came only from certain parts of the country, not from all over the empire. If any party was guilty of the violation of any Muslim injunction or secular Mughal law, at worst they were the teachers concerned in those 'reprehensible practices'. The temples had rather been sinned against than sinning. For the fault of certain Brahmans, to destroy all the places of religious worship of the Hindus was nothing but criminal. It is more reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the reason officially advanced in the chronicle was only an occasion, if not the excuse, for Aurangzeb's embarking on a militant policy of religious persecution. He must have already made up his mind to launch upon a general attack on Hindu places of worship. It formed a part of his plan of governing India according to what he understood to be the strict letter of the Muslim law.

This general order formed a parting of the ways between the old and the new Mughal religious policy. It made Akbar's plan of a secular state in India a dream. It went back not only on the tolerant practices of Akbar, but the earlier Muslim ways of governing India as well. It made the Muslim rulers of India once again the conquerors and wielders of the sword of Islam rather than her rulers. Now and then a Feroz Shāh or a Sikandar Lodhī had tried to embark on such a policy earlier but even they had not thought it politic to embark on such programme of wholesale

destruction. Aurangzeb in launching forth this attack on Hinduism did go against the practices of most of the earlier Muslim rulers in India and elsewhere.

Soon after the order was issued, reports of the destruction of temples from all over the empire began to arrive. A royal messenger was sent to demolish the temple of Malarina (now in Jaipur but probably then included in the imperial district of Ajmer) in May, 1669.[11] In August, 1669, the temple of Viśvanāth at Banaras was demolished.[12] The presiding priest of the temple was just in time to remove the idols from the temple and to throw them into a neighbouring well which thus became a centre of pious interest ever after. The temple of Gopī Nāth in Banaras was also destroyed about the same time. He is alleged to have tried to demolish the Shaiva temple of Jangamwādī in Banaras. The tradition has it that his attempt failed because of the opposition which the heavenly hosts of Shiva threatened to put up if he persisted in his designs.

Then came the turn of the temple of Keshav Rāi at Mathura built at a cost of Rs. 33,00,000 by Rāo Bīr Singh Bundelā in the reign of Jahāngīr.[13] It had excited the envy of many Muslims, before Aurangzeb, who however had not Aurangzeb's opportunities and power.[14] It had been built after the style of the famous temple at Bindraban which Mān Singh had built at a cost of Rs. 5,00,000. But Bīr Singh had improved upon his model and spent more than six times as much as Mān Singh had lavished on his shrine at Bindraban.[15] It had become a centre of pilgrimage for the whole of India. The idols, studded with precious stones and adorned with gold work, were all taken to Agra and there buried under the steps of Jahānārā's mosque. The temple was levelled to the ground and a mosque was ordered to be built on the site to mark the acquisition of religious merit by the emperor.[16]

No wonder that this struck consternation in the Hindu mind. The priests of the temple of Govardhan founded by the Valabhācāryā sought safety in flight. The idols were removed and the priests softly stole out in the night. Imperial territories offered no place of safe asylum either to the god or his votaries. After an adventurous journey, they at last reached Jodhpur. Mahārājā Jaswant Singh was away on imperial errands. His subordinates in the state did not feel strong enough to house the god who might have soon excited the wrath of the Mughal emperor. Dāmodar Lāl, the head of the priesthood in charge of the temple, sent

Gopīnāth to Mahārājā Rāj Singh to beg for a place to be able to serve his religion in peace. The Sassodiā prince extended his welcome to Dāmodar Lāl. The party left Champasani on 5 December, 1671, and was right royally received by Mahārānā Rāj Singh on the frontiers of his state. It was decided to house the god at Sihar and with due religious ceremony, the god was installed on 10 March, 1672.[17] Mewar thus became the centre of Vaiśnavism in India. The tiny village of Sihar has now grown into an important town which, named after the god, is now known as Nathadwara.

At Kankroli (in Udaipur State) another Vaiśnava idol of Krsna similarly brought down from Bindraban had been housed a little earlier. It forms another, though less famous, shrine of Vaiśnavism in India today. Thanks to Aurangzeb's religious zeal, Udaipur state became a new Bindraban to the devotees of the Bhakti cult.

In Gujarat, the Hindus of Surat discovered an ingenious method of saving some of their temples. They agreed to pay for the privilege of keeping them safe. This, however, led to greater demands from the Qāzīs and the censors till at last the banias began to groan under their extortion.[18]

These measures were bound to create opposition in some quarters at least. In March, 1671, it was reported that a Muslim officer who had been sent to demolish the Hindu temples in and around Ujjain was killed with many of his followers in the riot that had followed his attempts at destroying the temples there. He had succeeded in destroying some of the temples, but in one place, a Rajput chief had opposed this wanton destruction of his religious places. He overpowered the Mughal forces and destroyed its leader and many of his men.[19] In Gujarat somewhere near Ahmedabad, Kolis seem to have taken possession of a mosque probably built on the site of a temple and prevented reading of Friday prayers there. Imperial orders were thereupon issued to the provincial officers in Gujarat to secure the use of the mosque for Friday prayers.[20]

We have already noticed that De Graaf heard of the general order issued by Aurangzeb for the destruction of Hindu places of worship in January, 1670. In far off Bengal, it took some time to actively pursue the policy laid down by the emperor. But at last in the first half of the year 1672, government agents were sent to all parganas with orders to carry out the emperor's instructions

and destroy all the Hindu temples.[21]

The records of the reign thereafter are silent for some years. This may be either due to a slackening of the imperial zeal in the matter or the incidents became too ordinary an affair to be recorded by the court chroniclers.

This lull was broken in 1679, when Aurangzeb's fury broke out with a vengeance. Mahārājā Jaswant Singh died on 10 December, 1678. When Aurangzeb heard of his death towards the end of the month, he waited patiently for some time and then on 9 March, 1679, orders were given for the sequestration of the state to the crown. About this time Dorāb Khān had been sent to Khandela where he demolished various temples in the neighbourhood on 8 March, 1679.[22] This was followed by the despatch of Khān-i-Jahān to Jodhpur. He destroyed many temples there early in 1679 and as an evidence of his 'meritorious conduct' he brought cart-loads of idols to Delhi. These were placed in public places in the court and the Friday Mosque.[23] Aurangzeb was not yet at war with Jodhpur which had really been converted into a crownland property. The destruction of its temples therefore was not an act of warfare. It was an announcement that the state was no longer being governed by a Hindu Rājā but had now passed into imperial hands.

Aurangzeb's dealings with the Rāthors of Jodhpur resulted in the Rajput War. Udaipur offered unique opportunities for harassing the Mughals. The Mahārānā fled to his mountains leaving Udaipur to pass into the hands of the Mughals. The royal temple in front of the palace was destroyed. When Aurangzeb visited Udai Sāgar on 24 January, 1680, he ordered that the three temples that were standing on the edge of the lake be demolished. On 29 January, it was reported that the number of temples destroyed in and around Udaipur (of course including the four already mentioned) was 172. Aurangzeb's visit to Chitor on 22 February, 1680, was followed by the destruction of 63 temples there.[24] Thus in the state of Udaipur alone 235 temples were reported to have been destroyed. These probably did not include the temple at Someśvara in Western Mewar.[25]

Udaipur was at war with Delhi, the destruction of its temples may have formed a part of the ruthless military campaign undertaken with a view to compelling the Rajputs to sue for peace. But it produced a lamentable effect. Bhīm, a younger son of the Rānā,

retaliated by attacking Ahmedabad and demolishing many mosques, big and small, there.[26]

But Aurangzeb did not confine his iconoclastic activities to the warring states alone. Orders were given to demolish Hindu temples in the friendly state of Jaipur as well. An imperial agent, Abū Tarāb, was sent for this purpose and he set about his task with a thoroughness that soon produced a panic. Most of the temples he was able to destroy easily,[27] but there was some opposition in one temple. Certain Rajputs assumed positions there wherefrom they could easily deal with the masons who were sent to demolish the temple. The imperial agents had soon to beat a retreat. The officer in charge of the party thereupon complained to the Rājā's officials. A fojdār was asked to accompany the imperial agent to insure that the imperial officials were not molested in their task of pulling down the temple. There was a skirmish between the soldiers accompanying the fojdār and the Rajputs in the temple. Not before all the Rajputs had been killed was it possible for the imperial agent to destroy the temple.[28] Abū Tarāb reached the court on 10 August, 1680, and reported that he had demolished as many as sixty-six temples in Amber.[29] A letter from one Bhagwān Dās to Rājā Rām Singh written probably about this time tells us of the destruction of Karor (?) temple in Amber by Dalair, an imperial messenger.[30]

When the war with the Rajputs was over, Aurangzeb decided to leave Ajmer for the Deccan. His march seems to have been marked with the destruction of many temples on the way. On 21 May, 1681, the superintendent of the labourers was ordered to destroy all the temples on the route.[31] Some time after, one Manawar Beg, a mason, with thirty artisans was sent to raze the temples of the Rajputs.[32] On 27 September, 1681, the emperor issued orders for the destruction of the temples at Lakheri.[33] On 13 October, 1681, when he left Jaipur, Qumar-ud-Dīn suggested that though all the temples in the neighbourhood had been closed, they should be destroyed. Aurangzeb however was content with closing them down and ordered that they be allowed to stand as there were no Muslims living in that area.[34]

When Aurangzeb made war upon Bijapur and Golkanda he met with stout opposition from some of his divines. Shaikh-ul-Islām, his Sadr-us-Sadūr, was dismissed for opposing it. His successor 'Abdulāh remonstrated against the destruction of the Muslims in

the affair. He was forbidden royal presence.[35]

Naturally when Golkanda was conquered, the emperor justified its conquest by ordering the destruction of the temples in Hyderabad and their conversion into mosques in 1687.[36] The fall and capture of Bijapur was similarly solemnized though here the destruction of temples seems to have been delayed for several years, probably till 1698.[37]

Elsewhere the same policy was being followed. About this time, on 14 April, 1692, orders were issued to the provincial governor and the district fojdār to demolish the temples at Rasulpur.[38] In 1693, the Haitheswar temple at Bar Nagar in Gujarat was demolished.[39]

A Jaipur letter dated 14 February, 1690, reported that in Kanwar in Jaipur, where the temples had perhaps already been demolished, a religious fair was held and idols were publicly worshipped. This happened three times in the course of a year. The censor complained to the emperor so that suitable action might be taken against those responsible for it.[40]

Ghulām Muhammed, a news-writer, accompanying the expedition against the Jāts reported on 28 May, 1690, to the emperor that Mohan Singh, one of the Rajput chiefs accompanying Bishan Singh, had set up a temple in the house of Sardūl Singh.[41] In December, 1690, a complaint was made to the emperor that the temples in Marwar that had once been converted into places of residence by the Muslim Jāgīrdār had again been opened for public worship.[42]

Sankar, a messenger, was sent to demolish a temple near Sheogaon. He came back after pulling it down on 20 November, 1693.[43] In April, 1694, it was reported to the emperor that the imperial censor had tried to prevent public idol worship in Jaisinghpura near Aurangabad. The Vairāgī priests of the temple were arrested but were soon rescued by the Rajputs.[44]

Bijai Singh and several other Hindus were reported to be carrying on public worship of idols in a temple in the neighbourhood of Ajmer. On 23 June, 1694, the governor of Ajmer was ordered to destroy the temple and stop the public celebration of idol worship there.[45] In A.D. 1696-97 (1108 A.H.) orders were issued for the destruction of the major temples at Sorath in Gujarat.[46]

Muhammad Shāh, censor attached to the army, reported that many soldiers went to worship idols in the temple at Purandhar.

On 2 January, 1705, orders were given that the temple be desecrated and demolished.[47] The temple of Wakenkhera in the fort was demolished on 2 March, 1705.[48]

Besides these cases where dates are available there are others where the dates are not definitely known.

The Jum'a Masjid at Irach (in Bundelkhand) is assigned to Aurangzeb's reign. It is said to be built of materials taken from a Hindu temple.[49] While passing through Udaipur in Bundelkhand (about 1681) Aurangzeb is said to have ordered the Śaiva temple there to be demolished. The orders were however modified and the temple was converted into a mosque.[50] The temples at Gayaspur near Bhilsa[51] and the temple of Khaundai Rāo in Gujarat were also destroyed.[52]

In a small village in the Sarkār of Sirhind, a Sikh temple was demolished and converted into a mosque. An imām was appointed who was subsequently killed.[53] Several other Sikh temples were also destroyed.[54]

In Orissa some time before 1670 the temple at Kedarpur was demolished and converted into a mosque.[55]

The private house of a Rajput, Devī Singh, in the pargana of Alup, which was used as a temple, was converted into a mosque.[56]

Aurangzeb urged the appointment of an officer on special duty in order to destroy the Hindu temples in Maharashtra. He discovered that it was not possible for the labourers accompanying the royal army on the march to destroy *all* the temples during the short time at their disposal with the limited number of men available to them.[57]

He stopped the public worship at the Hindu temple of Dwarka.[58]

When Aurangzeb conquered Karnatic he allowed the famous temple at Tirupati there to stand, partly on account of the large revenue he is alleged to have derived from the pilgrimages of the Hindus to the temple and partly for fear that its destruction might cause a rebellion difficult so suppress.[59]

Aurangzeb destroyed the temples at Mayapur (Hardwar) and Ayodhya.[60] 'All of them are thronged with worshippers, even those that are destroyed are still venerated by the Hindus and visited by the offering of alms.'[61]

The news-writer of Ranthambore reported the destruction of a temple in Parganah Bhagwant Garh. Gaj Singh Gor had repaired the temple and made some additions thereto.[61a] Royal orders for the

destructions of the temples in Malpura Toda were received and two officers were assigned for this work.[61b]

But India is a big country. Not even Aurangzeb's zeal was equal to the task of destroying *all* the temples in the country. From time to time he had to issue orders modifying the general orders passed in 1669. Thus we find that though he gave orders for the destruction of all the Hindu public temples, yet he was content with closing down those that were built in an entirely Hindu population. If the English Factors are to be believed, his officers allowed the Hindus to take back their temples from the government on payment of large sums of money. In the South where he spent the last twenty-seven years of his reign, Aurangzeb was usually content with leaving many Hindu temples standing as he was afraid of thus rousing the feelings of his Hindu subjects in the Deccan where the suppression of rebellions was not an easy matter. An idol in a niche in the fort of Golkonda is said to have been spared by Aurangzeb. But the discontent occasioned by his orders could not be thus brought to an end.

Some Hindu temples built in the reign of Aurangzeb are known to exist in the town of Bishalpur (in Bengal). These temples date back to his reign according to the inscriptions to be found on them. Two were built in 1681 and one was built in 1690.[62] As the Sanads and Parvanas preserved in various revenue record offices in Bihar illustrate, grants continued to be made occasionally to Brahmans, Bairāgīs, Bhats and Matthadeshes in that province at least till 1699. Occasionally an earlier grant was reduced in value.

Aurangzeb allowed the Sahasraing tank in Gujarat to be kept filled with water at the expense of the state.[63] He is said to have made a grant of land to a temple at Gaya. Another grant to the priests of a temple on the Brahmaputra has been traced in Assam.[64]

Aurangzeb and the Sikhs

After Guru Hargovind's release from prison, he was soon compelled to leave Chak Hargovind—as Amritsar was then known—and seek shelter in Punjab Hills. Here at last he was left alone for some time at Kiratpur. When Kiratpur was conquered, the Guru left it and took his residence at Taxal[65] (near Kalka). But he seems to have returned to Kiratpur. His successor Har Rāi, a grandson,

was barely fourteen when he became the Guru and seems to have passed his days in peace at Kiratpur. During Dārā's flight to the Punjab, the Guru accompanied the unfortunate prince with a contingent of soldiers. But when desertions started, Guru Har Rāi also left the prince to his fate.[66] His son Rām Rāi waited on the emperor at Delhi and incurred the emperor's displeasure for his brother's conduct at the court.[67] When the Guru died in November 1661,[68] he appointed his son Har Kishan who was not yet five years of age, to succeed him. The Sikh tradition asserts that Aurangzeb called him to Delhi; rather unwillingly, the child Guru went there with his advisors. The Guru died of smallpox in Delhi on March 30, 1664.[69] It is however difficult to believe that fanatic as he was, Aurangzeb would have summoned a child of seven years of age to him or, if he did so summon him, would have left him alone after he reached Delhi. The child Guru's visit to Delhi remains a mystery.

After his death the Guru's grandfather, Tegh Bahādur, then passing his days peacefully at Bakala on the Beas, was acknowledged the Guru.[70] He had been twice passed over for the office; once by his father in favour of Har Rāi, his grandson, who was only 14 at the time of accession, and then by this nephew, in favour of his own son, Hari Kishan, who was less then six when he became the Guru. Now when he was forty-three Tegh Bahādur became the Guru. He naturally came to Kiratpur where his two predecessors had lived. Soon he left it to found a new town Makhowal,[71] some 15 miles away. He did not remain here long and with his wife and mother left the Punjab to which he returned in 1671.[72] He was arrested in 1675, not at Makhowal but somewhere else in the Punjab,[73] probably on the same charge which Jahāngīr had at first thought of using against Guru Arjun, being a successful teacher whom people flocked to pay respect to. Brought to Delhi, he was condemned to a cruel death by the fanatic emperor on 11 November, 1675,[74] thus becoming the second martyred Guru of the Sikhs. But as events were to prove his martyrdom was not as easily forgiven as that of the first martyr Guru, Arjun. As mentioned above Guru Har Rāi had joined Dārā after Aurangzeb's first coronation but had left him when he discovered that his cause was becoming hopeless on account of desertions.[75] It is not likely that Aurangzeb recalled this after so many years and called upon the Guru to answer for his nephew's indiscretion now.

Various reasons for Guru Tegh Bahādur's arrest have been advanced. The popular Sikh tradition which makes the Guru offer his head to stem the rising tide of Muslim fanaticism under Aurangzeb[76] leaves many things unexplained and raises more questions than it seeks to answer. It is contradicted by contemporary historian, Sujān Rāi who flatly declares that the Guru was arrested by the imperial officers.[77] A Muslim writer ascribes his *execution* to Tegh Bahādur's refusal to become a Muslim.[78] But this could not be the original cause of his arrest. Guru Gobind Singh seems to imply that his father refused to reveal reality and chose to be beheaded. This has been usually interpreted as implying that he refused to perform a miracle. Bakhtmal writing early in the eighteenth century actually gives this reason for his execution.[79] It is possible that the arrest and subsequent execution, of the Guru was the result of Aurangzeb's fanatic campaign against active leaders of anti-Islamic thought in his dominions. It is possible that somebody might even have brought up the proselytizing activities of Guru Hargovind whom Muhsin Fani credits with converting many Muslims. The Guru's execution may have inspired a Sikh at Agra to throw a stone at the emperor while he was returning from Friday prayers in the Jam'a Masjid. The culprit was arrested and must have been executed.

Guru Tegh Bahādur's son and successor was yet a boy. The emperor was otherwise busy first in his Rajput war and then in his campaign in the south. Meanwhile grown to manhood, Guru Govind Singh had taken advantage of the respite granted to him and put his Sikhs together as a devoted band of the faithful. In 1693 it was reported to the emperor in the south that Guru Govind Singh had proclaimed himself an incarnation of Nānak. How this concerned the emperor, we do not know, but those who had conveyed the news must have been disappointed because all that the emperor did was to order that he be admonished through the fojdār of Sirhind. The imperial order was carried out but rather strangely this was reported to the emperor in the south on 16 April 1699.[80] Jaipur tradition has it that Rājā Jai Singh II under Mu'azzam defeated the Sikhs in a battle at Multan in 1697-98.[81] It is possible that 20,000 Sikhs who are said to have been killed while being escorted out of the Punjab died about this time.[82] This may have followed Aurangzeb's order to the prince to quell the Sikhs and drive them out of the districts under his command[83] because

they had been reported to be creating disturbances in the neighbourhood of Lahore.[84] The Guru had, probably about this time, advised his Sikhs to respect the political authority of Aurangzeb's government just as they would his own spiritual authority.[85]

We next hear of Khwājā Husain Khān's appointment for putting an end to the trouble caused by 'infidel worshippers of Nānak'. Reinforcements were sent to help him in this task.[86] He seems to have pressed the Guru very hard and at last compelled him to evacuate Anandpur on 21 December 1704. The Guru's departure from the town was not interfered with. But as soon as the Guru reached the banks of the Sarsa, he was set upon by the Mughals and their allies from the rear. The Guru escaped again to take shelter in a zimindar's house at Chamkaur. It was besieged by the Mughal commanders and even artillery, which might have been originally assembled for use against Anandpur, was moved thereto.[87] Once again the Guru was able to elude the besiegers and leave the havaili in the darkness of the night.

The Mughals, however, had captured a prize in the two sons of the Guru who had got separated from him when he had escaped from the Mughals at Kot Nahang on the Sirsa. They were asked to embrace Islam and at their natural refusal were executed at Sirhind. Their martyrdom was very much utilized by Bandā in his campaign against the Muslims in the Punjab.

The Guru spent his forced exile from Anandpur in a vain attempt at seeking redress from Aurangzeb. The emperor died in 1707 before the two had had an opportunity of meeting.

Punitive Regulations against the Hindus

Besides the measures Aurangzeb took for the purpose of reducing the number of the Hindus in the public services, many other restrictions were imposed on them. The pilgrimage tax was reimposed.[88] Bernier tells us that at the time of an eclipse of the Sun three lakhs of rupees were paid to the state.[89] Rūpā Brahman offered to pay to the state Rs. 1,000 in a lump sum on behalf of the pilgrims visiting Pushkar (near Ajmer) in order to save them the indignity inflicted on them during the collection. This was accepted.[89a] The celebration of some religious festivals was stopped. The Holī ceased to be celebrated by imperial orders issued on 20 Novermber, 1665.[90] It was not a police order alone, promulgated

for the purpose of keeping peace and order during the Holī days as Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has suggested.[91] Rājā Bhīm of Banera and Kishen Singh while serving in South India in 1692, made arrangements for the celebration of Holī. The censor tried to stop the celebration, but as Bhīm and Kishen Singh were officers of high status, the censor's attempts were of no use. He reported the matter to the emperor by whose order the celebrations were stopped.[92] In 1704, 200 soldiers were placed at the disposal of the censor for the purpose of preventing the celebration of the Holī.[93] Of course the emperor was not always able to stop the celebrations. In 1693 there was a riot in Agra during the celebrations and many persons were wounded.[94] The celebration of Dīpāvali also was prohibited in 1665.[95] In 1703 Hindus were not allowed to burn their dead on the banks of the river Ṣabarmati in Ahmedabad.[96] An earlier order issued in 1696 had imposed similar restrictions with regard to the Jamuna in Delhi.[97]

An order was issued to the jagīrdār of Mustafabad to close the hot water-springs there to the public. The Hindus performed worship there whereas Muslim paralytics came for a cure. The paraphernalia of worship were also confiscated.[98]

Fireworks of all kinds were prohibited.[99] It was laid down in the *Fatawa-i-ʿĀlamgiri* that the Hindus should not be allowed to look like Muslims. In furtherance of this it was ordered in 1694 that, except Rajputs and Marathas, no Hindus were to be allowed to ride an ʿIrāqī or Tūrānī horse, an elephant, nor to use a palanquin.[100] A Hindu disobeying this order in 1694 in Multan had his horse and saddle confiscated.[101] The deshmukh of Ahmadnagar was discovered in 1703 riding a palanquin and at once the imperial orders were enforced against him.[102] It seems, thus, that the exception in favour of the Marathas was not always respected. In 1702 orders were given that the Muslim engravers be not allowed to engrave the names of Hindu gods and goddesses on the seals of the Hindus' rings.[103] The *Maʿāsir-i-ʿĀlamgiri* assigns to the year 1693-94 the order prohibiting the carrying of arms in public by the Hindus.[104]

A further distinction was made between the Hindus and the Muslims in the matter of taxation. On 10 April, 1665, it was ordered that the customs duties on the Muslims be fixed at 2·5 per cent and at 5 per cent in the case of the Hindus.[105] Manucci suggests that this concession, or rather a greater one, the total

abolition of the customs duties, to the Muslims was Aurangzeb's thanksgiving after his serious illness in 1662.[108] But as the concession was granted almost four years after Aurangzeb's recovery the reason assigned does not seem to have been likely. The emperor soon found that even the levy of 2·5 per cent on the Muslims was unlawful. On 9 May, 1667, orders were issued totally forbidding the levy of the tax on the Muslims.[107] This privilege was abused by the Muslim traders. The goods of the Hindus were passed on as belonging to the Muslims usually for a consideration.[108] Aurangzeb was then compelled to re-impose on 5 March, 1682,[109] the tax at the former rate of 2·5 per cent on the Muslims.

Further, the tax on the produce from gardens was realised at the rate of 20 per cent from the Hindus and 16·6 per cent from the Muslims.[110]

In the year A.D. 1669-70 (1080 A.H.) it was ordered that in a lunar year the Muslims should pay 2·5 per cent on the price of their cattle, and the Hindus 5 per cent.[111]

The minting charges also differed and were fixed in A.D. 1682 (1093 A.H.) at 2·5 per cent for the Muslims and 5 per cent for the Hindus.[112] But the biggest difference lay in the imposition of the Jizya.

NOTES

[1] *JASB.*, 1911, p. 1789 ; cf. the text in the *Twentieth Century*, II, 2.

[2] Kāzim, 659.

[3] Ibid., 697 ; Khāfī Khān, II, 136, 152.

[4] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī, Supplement*, English translation, 120.

[5] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 259-60.

[6] *Maraq'āt-i-Hasan*, 202.

[7] *News Letter* of the same date.

[8] Manucci, II, 154.

[9] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 81.

[10] Orme's *Fragment*, Notes 85, translated from French.

[11] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 94.

[12] Ibid., 88. Cf. however the following contemporary account of the destruction of the Hindu temples at Banaras.

'The infidels demolished a mosque that was under construction and wounded the artisans. When the news reached Shah Yasīn, he came to Banaras from Mandyawa and collecting the Muslim weavers, demolished the big temple. A Sayyid who was an artisan by profession agreed with one Abdul Rasūl to build a mosque at Banaras and accordingly the foundation was laid. Near the place

there was a temple and many houses belonging to it were in the occupation of the Rajputs. The infidels decided that the construction of a mosque in the locality was not proper and that it should be razed to the ground. At night the walls of the mosque were found demolished. Next day the wall was rebuilt but it was again destroyed. This happened three or four times. At last the Sayyid hid himself in a corner. With the advent of night the infidels came to achieve their nefarious purpose. When Abdul Rasūl gave the alarm, the infidels began to fight and the Sayyid was wounded by the Rajputs. In the meantime, the Musalmān residents of the neighbourhood arrived at the spot and the infidels took to their heels. The wounded Muslims were taken to Shāh Yasīn who determined to vindicate the cause of Islam. When he came to the mosque, people collected from the neighbourhood. The civil officers were outwardly inclined to side with the saint, but in reality they were afraid of the royal displeasure on occount of the Rājā, who was a courtier of the Emperor and had built the temple (near which the mosque was under construction). Shāh Yasīn, however, took up the sword and started for Jihād. The civil officers sent him a message that such a grave step should not be taken without the Emperor's permission. Shāh Yasīn, paying no heed, sallied forth till he reached Bazar Chau Khamba through a fusillade of stones....The door (of temples) were forced open and the idols thrown down. The weavers and other Musalmāns demolished about 500 temples. They desired to destroy the temple of Beni Madho, but as lanes were barricaded, they desisted from going further.' (*Ganj-i-Arshadī* quoted in Fārukī, 127-28).

[18] *Mīrāt-ul-Khayyāl*. The paging of the copy I consulted is defective here.

[14] *Travels of 'Abdul Latīf*, 34-35.

[15] Ibid., 34.

[16] Manucci, II, 116 ; *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 95-96 ; *Mīrāt-ul-Khayyāl*, 101-02.

[17] Ojha, *History of Udaipur*, I, 35.

[18] *English Factories in India*, XIII, 141.

[19] *News Letter*, 27 March, 1670.

[20] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 261.

[21] *History of Dacca*, I, 372 quoted by Sarkar.

[22] *News Letter*, 8 March, 1679.

[23] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 175.

[24] Ibid., 186, 188-89.

[25] *Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī*, Letter Nos. 732 and 744.

[26] Ishar Dās, f. 79*b* ; *Rajaprashasti*, XXII, verse 29 ; *Jaipur Records*, XIII, 72-74.

[27] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 194.

[28] *Jaipur Records*, II, 161.

[29] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 194.

[30] *Jaipur Records*, III, 41.

[31] *News Letter*, 21 May, 1681.

[32] *Jaipur Records*, Letters of 18 September, 1681

[33] *News Letter*, 27 September, 1681.

[34] *News Letter*, 13 October, 1681.

[35] Khāfī Khān, II, 343.

[36] Khāfī Khān, II, 359.

[37] Ibid., II, 385.
[38] *News Letter*, 14 April, 1692.
[39] *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 328-29.
[40] *Jaipur Records*, XVI, 58.
[41] Ibid., XVII, 58.
[42] Ibid., X, 174-83.
[43] *News Letter*, 20 November, 1693.
[44] Ibid., 3 April, 1699.
[45] Ibid., 23 June, 1694.
[46] *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 354.
[47] *News Letter*, 2 January, 1705.
[48] Ibid., 2 March, 1705.
[49] *Archaeological Survey Report*, VII, 31-34.
[50] Ibid., VII, 85-86.
[51] Ibid., VII, 93.
[52] *Kalimāt*, 128.
[53] *Kalima-i-Ta'yyabāt*, 115.
[54] Khāfī Khān, II, 651-52.
[55] Hasan, 172.
[56] *Jaipur Records*, X, 42.
[57] *Kalimāt Aurangzeb* (Ram Puri), 34.
[58] *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, Supplement, English translation, 121
[59] Manucci, II, 144.
[60] Ibid., III, 245.
[61] Ibid., 244.
[61a] *Wāqi'āt-i-Sarkār Ranthambore*, MS.
[61b] Ibid.
[62] *Archaeological Survey Report*, VIII, 204-05, 241.
[63] *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, Supplement, English translation, 137.
[64] Fāruqī, *Aurangzeb*.
[65] *Sikh Religion*, V, 301.
[66] *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārīkh*, 13.
[67] Bakht Mal tells us that the emperor called the Guru to the court because he heard of his miracles, 14*b*.
[68] Bakht Mal, 15*b*.
[69] Ibid., 16*a*.
[70] *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh*, 70
[71] Sujān Rāi, 76.
[72] *Sikh Religion*.
[73] Sujān Rāi 70.
[74] Ibid., 870 ; Bakht Mal 17*a*.
[75] Sujān Rāi, 513.
[76] Tegh Bahādur is said to have sallied forth prompted by his sons of nine years to help the Brahmans of Kashmir escape Aurangzeb's campaign for forcible conversions.
[77] Sujān Rāi, 70.
[78] Quoted in the *Later Mughals*, 74*n*.
[79] Bakht Mal, 17*a* ; *Vichitra Nātak*, Ch. V. Cf. Trump, 708.

[80] *News Letter*, 20 November, 1693. Another *News Letter* (16 April, 1699), refers to the report brought by the imperial messengers who had been sent to the fojdār of Sirhind with instructions to admonish Gobind, son of Tegh Bahādur.

[81] *Decisive Battles of Jaipur*, Narendra Singh, 21.

[82] *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 255*b*, 256*a*.

[83] *Kalimāt*, 2*a*, Khāfī Khān, II, 651-52, speaks of Aurangzeb's orders for the desecration of Sikh temples and their expulsion from his territories.

[84] *Ma'āsīr-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 153.

[85] *Vichitra Nātak*, Ch. XII.

[86] *Inshā-i-Mādhorām*, 83.

[87] *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 255*b*, 256*a*.

[88] Manucci, II, 82. It was collected at Allahabad at the rate of Rs. 6½ per head.

[89] Bernier, 303.

[89a] *Wāqi'āt-i-Sarkār Ranthambore*, MS. 48*a*.

[90] *News Letter*, 20 November, 1665, and I April, 1692. Manucci, II, 154.

[91] *Aurangzeb*, III, 280*n*.

[92] Cf. below *Rājā Bhīm Singh of Banera*.

[93] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 261.

[94] *News Letter*, Agra 8 May, 1693.

[95] *Mirat-i-Ahmadī*, I, 261.

[96] *News Letter*, Gujarat, 22.

[97] Ibid., 16 April, 1696.

[98] *Kalimāt-i-Ta'yyibāt*, Letter No. 109.

[99] *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī* (Ram Puri), 68*a*.

[100] *News Letter*, 11 December, 1694.

[101] Ibid., 18 April, 1696.

[102] Ibid., 17 March, 1703.

[103] Ibid., 3 November, 1702.

[104] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* (Urdu), 262-63.

[105] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 158, 259.

[106] Manucci, II, 619.

[107] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 265.

[108] Khāfī Khān, II, 230-31.

[109] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 298-99.

[110] *News Letter*, 8 June, 1685. De Graaf heard of the trade taxes on the non-Muslims early in 1670. Orme's *Fragment*, notes, p. 80. De Graaf says that this was done with a view to compel the non-Muslims to accept Islam.

[111] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 275.

[112] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 304.

THE SIKHS AND THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

"AFTER some time the Muslims arrested Guru Arjun as a Kāfir. His head and feet were put into a press and he was then thrown into the river. He disappeared and was never seen again. He died on 4th Jaith, bright half, Friday, and was venerated as a Guru for twenty-four years and nine months.

"After Guru Arjun, his son Har Gobind became his successor. In order to avenge himself for his father's execution he decided always to wear arms, and equipped himself with two swords. On his becoming a Guru his followers became very piously inclined towards him. Whosoever became his disciple brought horses and arms as an offering. His followers also began wearing arms.

"Quarrels soon arose between the Udāsīs and the Muslims. Someone asked the Guru: 'Why do you wear two swords'. He answered, 'One is for avenging my father's death on the Muslims, the other for continuing the miracle-working power of the saints and prophets'. His wife was named Nānakī. Bābā Gurdittā, Tegh Bahādur, Ani Rāi and Atul Rāi and Sūrat Singh were his children Ani Rāi and Atul Rāi died childless. Sūrat Singh and Tegh Bahādur took refuge in the northern mountains during the lifetime of their father, being driven there by their enemies. Bābā Gurdittā left two children, Dhīraj Mal and Har Rāi. Har Gobind remained the Guru for thirty-one years, six months and two days. He died on 10 Chait, bright half, 1695 A.V.

"After Har Govind, his grandson Har Rāi sat on the throne of Khilāfat. He lived independently. He had a wife from a good family, Tarbenī by name. She gave birth to a son who was called Har Kishan. Another son was called Rām Rāi. When Aurangzeb heard of the Guru's miracles, he summoned him to his presence. It is said that the Guru excused himself and sent Rām Rāi. He told him not to disclose the secret of his powers. When Rām Rāi came before Aurangzeb, he gave him a seat on a well which had been covered over and looked like a solid floor. There was water underneath. He was not however injured. Aurangzeb was taken aback by this and gave him a livable place in which to stay. It is said that in order to test him, the Sultān sent a sheep for him to

eat. He took it and sent a quarter to the spiritual guide of the Sultān. Another day the Sultān asked for the sheep. Rām Rāi had not thrown away the skin and the bones of the sheep. He prayed for its life. The sheep rose on its three legs. The Sultān asked him where the fourth leg was. He answered, 'In the stomach of your spiritual guide'. When the Sultān recognised his power of working miracles, he sent him away and gave him a jāgīr in the plateau of the Srinagar (Garhwal) mountains. Though the Guru withdrew his blessing from this group, his abode has today become the place of worship of all. As he had disclosed his power of working miracles to the Sultān and disregarded the advice of his father, Bhāī Kalyānā and Bhāī Gurdāsa, who had accompanied him by his father's order to see that he did not leave the straight path, realized they had no influence over him and were not respected. Both of them left him and came to the Guru. They told him their story. He honoured both of them. Having placed his younger son, Har Kishan, on the honoured seat he died on Saturday, 9th Kartik, dark-half, 1710 A.V.

"In Makhowal Guru Har Rāi's son, Har Kishan, who was only six years old, became his successor. It is said that he also was called to court by Aurangzeb. The Guru said, 'I will not see the face of a Muslim'. His disciples seated him in a palanquin and brought him to Delhi, so that he might live there. When the rumour of his arrival in Delhi spread, some persons took the news to a Khatri who was closely allied to the family of the Guru. He said that the Guru was yet a minor and therefore he had no reason to come to Delhi. He further declared that if it was true, the Guru would himself come to his house. While this discussion was going on, the Guru's cavalcade reached his house. With all honours, he was taken into the house and served well. On Friday, 4th Chait, bright-half, 1712, the young Guru died of smallpox. He had not looked on the face of a Muslim. While he lay dying, his disciples asked him whom they should declare as his successor as he left no one of his own stock. He said, 'Take the Bābā of Bakāla', and died. He had been Guru for 2 years 5 months and 19 days.

"His disciples who had been set a riddle by the Guru about his successor began to search for him. The village of Bakala was near the Bari Doab and included many sons of the race of the Guru. They began to ask each other: 'The Guru appointed the Bābā of Bakala as his successor. There are many Bābās here. Whom

shall we elect as our Guru?' One of them said, 'I have vowed Rs. 500 to the Guru. Whosoever among these descendants of the Guru would demand this sum of me would be the person fitted to adorn the seat of the Guru'. All agreed to this form of making a decision and a day was fixed. All the descendants of the Guru were summoned and offerings were made to them. When the turn of the man who had made the vow came to make his offerings, Guru Tegh Bahādur who was present among those receiving the offerings, caught hold of his hand and demanded to know why after promising a larger amount he was paying less. The disciple thereupon called all his fellow disciples together and told them he had discovered the man for whom they had been looking. Here was the Bābā of Bakala. He paid Guru Tegh Bahādur the promised amount and with the consent of all seated him on the seat of the Guru.

"Now that Guru Tegh Bahādur had come to power, his faithful disciples came to his help and increased his influence. He lived a hard life. He was, however, very independent. Whatever his disciples brought to him, he distributed and kept nothing for himself. His wife's name was Gūjarī and his dear son was called Govind Singh. In a short time he acquired mastery over all his subjects. When Aurangzeb heard about the Guru, he summoned him to Delhi from Lahore. He was brought to Delhi. He did not mind the troubles he encountered on the way and travelled with an easy mind. When he reached Delhi, his disciples came and gave him valuable offerings. The Guru did not accept anything. When the Sultān heard of this he was upset and requested him to perform a miracle. The Guru said, 'Miracle is the head of the lovers. Place the sword on my neck'. The emperor was angry at these words and ordered his execution. The Sikhs say that the executioner felt himself almost incapable of touching the head of the Guru. Before he died the Guru requested a Sikh who was in attendance to carry away his head after his execution.

"A liberty loving faqīr happened to pass where the corpse of the Guru lay and said, 'The Sultān has not done well. Such things will lead to great rebellion and Delhi will become entirely desolated'. The Sikhs brought the Guru's head to Anandpur and kept it. The body was cremated at Rikāb Gunj. The places of execution, of cremation, and the burial of the head have become places of pilgrimage for the Sikhs. This happened in 1732 A.V. in the

month of Maghar, the fifth day of the bright-half."

(Translated from Bakht Mal's *History of the Sikhs*.)

CHAPTER IX

IMPOSITION AND COLLECTION OF THE JIZYA UNDER AURANGZEB

Much has been written on the principles underlying the imposition of the Jizya by a Muslim king on his non-Muslim subjects. Its origin has been traced, its nature analysed, and its relation with the general religious policy of the Muslim kings investigated. But historical origins and theological justification need not tally with the actual practice of a particular king in India or elsewhere. In what follows an attempt is made at studying from the official papers the practice and policy followed by Aurangzeb when he re-imposed the Jizya on the Hindus in April 1679.

To go back a little, the Jizya had been exacted by the Muslim kings of India from their Hindu subjects ever since the Arab conquest of Sind. At first the Brahmans had been exempted but Firoz Shāh Tughlaq failed to find any justification for this exception. As a part of his general policy to make the kingdom of Delhi conform as much as possible to his conception of an ideal Muslim state, he imposed this tax on the Brahmans as well. Thenceforth the tax was collected from Hindus of all classes till Akbar thought it fit to relieve his non-Muslim subjects of this humiliating burden. His successors pursued the same policy and continued this departure from contemporary Muslim practice.

But when Aurangzeb came to the throne, things took a different turn. Aurangzeb was a Puritan and was anxious to establish the kingdom of God on earth. He was a Muslim king and it seemed to him unreasonable not to govern the country according to his interpretation of the injunctions of the *Qur'ān* and the tradition. He was determined, like all contemporary kings of Asia and Europe, to rule his kingdom as a servant of his God. To him Akbar's policy of toleration looked like an aberration just as, about the same time, Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence seemed obnoxious to his Christian subjects even though it granted toleration only to fellow Christians.

Akbar was an exception to his age. Aurangzeb was content to be the norm. Further, Akbar's policy of toleration had not been willingly accepted by many of his officers and they had no enthu-

siasm for it. Thus there was no apprehension of opposition from the Mughal officialdom if a pious king chose to revert to the normal policy of the Muslim rulers of India. The Muslim theologians who constituted the only effective check on the despotic powers of the Muslim kings in India could not naturally be expected to oppose the designs of a king who looked up to them for advice and guidance. Thus everything favoured a change in policy.

Of course there remained the vast majority of Aurangzeb's Indian subjects, the Hindus. Aurangzeb fell into the error, common to his century, of disregarding their wishes and interests.

By 1679 Aurangzeb had advanced so far on the path of Puritanism that it was possible for him to order the levy of the Jizya on non-Muslims on the representation of 'Anāyat Khān, Dīwān-i-Khālsā.[1] It was to be paid by all and sundry in Muslim India and Rajput States, by officials, and non-officials, Brahmans and non-Brahmans, clerks and fighters. Aurangzeb's imposition differed from all earlier impositions in that it was laid on the persons living in feudatory states as well. The imposition was followed by a public protest by the Hindus at the capital and in the suburbs. They waited till Friday and when the emperor rode out on an elephant to say his Friday prayers in the Friday Mosque, they made a demonstration and blocked the path of the royal elephant. For some time Aurangzeb was non-plussed. As all efforts at securing a path for him failed, after a delay of an hour or so, he ordered the march to be resumed trampling underfoot many of the protestants. Abu'l Fazl Māmūrī, who himself witnessed the incident, tells us that this continued for several days and many lost their lives fighting against the imposition.[2] The Jizya is said to have evoked a vigorous protest from Shivājī.[3]

It has sometimes been asserted that the Jizya was a substitute for military service which was obligatory on all Muslims. None has, however, explained what steps were taken by Muslim emperors in India, particularly the Mughal emperors, to enforce this conscription on the Muslim section of their subjects. Apart from theory, there is not a single case on record, as far as Indian history is concerned, to show that any Muslim ruler of India ever called upon all the faithful to rally to his standard for the defence of his possessions either against internal rebellion or foreign danger. But even if it was a substitute for military service at any time it ceased to be so when it was levied upon the Rajput Rājās of Central India

and Rajputana.'[4] The appointment of the Amīn of the Jizya for the army can be explained only on the assumption that the Hindus in the imperial army paid the Jizya [5] In fact, there is nothing to suggest that the Jizya was not levied upon the Hindus forming the fighting forces of the Mughal rulers.[6]

It has been asserted that the officials did not pay this odious tax.[7] But the actual practices of Aurangzeb's reign show that no exemption was made in favour of any class of Hindus. Some Hindu officials, including a personal assistant to the provincial Bakshī, a Dīwān, and an Amīn of the court had, among others, delayed the payment of this tax in 1694. One of them pleaded that his Muslim superior was dangerously ill and that on account of his being busy with his affairs he could not pay the Jizya personally and would like to send it by a deputy. His request was turned down. He was reminded that paying the Jizya was a privilege and payment must, therefore, be made in person and as humbly as possible. The officials came and paid the Jizya in person as ordered.[8]

It was levied in the states as well. The *Jaipur Records* mention that on 2 May, 1688, postal messengers of Rājā Rām Singh were asked to pay the tax when they reached Burhanpur. They refused to pay as they had already made the payment in Jaipur. Their letters were forcibly taken possession of, they were imprisoned and were released only when the matter was brought to the notice of the emperor. It was ordered, then, that all messengers, private and imperial, should be taxed only in the place of their residence and no demand should be made on them while carrying the post.[9] In the jāgīrs, imperial officers were sent to collect the tax. Of course their task was none too pleasant. Collection of a tax is always an unpleasant task and the levy of this widely hated tax very often created trouble. On 28 January, 1693, for example it was reported that the Amīn-i-Jizya for the province of Malwa had sent a soldier in order to collect the Jizya in the jāgīr of Devī Singh, son of Bīram Dev Sissodiā. When he reached the place, Devī Singh's men fell upon him, pulled his beard and hair, and sent him back empty-handed. The emperor thereupon ordered a reduction in the jāgīr of Devī Singh.[10]

Earlier, however, another Amīn had fared much worse. Not content with sending his men to the jāgīr of a mansabdār, he himself proceeded to the jāgīr. In the scuffle that followed the

attempt at levying the tax, the mansabdār killed the amīn. The case was brought up before the emperor on 12 July, 1684, whereupon the mansabdār was degraded.[11]

In 1682 the Hindus of Burhanpur were reported to have made the task of the collection of the Jizya impossible. Mīr 'Abdul Karīm was thereupon appointed Amīn of Jizya, and horsemen and foot soldiers were attached to his establishment in order to facilitate his work. The kotwāl was ordered to punish the defaulters. So rigorous were his exactions that instead of a total of Rs. 26,000 from the whole city, as in the past year, he was able to collect from one half of the city about Rs. 1,08,000 within two or three months. It was discovered, however, that his methods were none too popular, and he was transferred.[12]

In 1689 and 1690, the Jizya of Palanpur and Jalore in Gujarat was discovered to be in arrears. Officers had to be sent there in order to help the local amīn in the collection of this tax.[13] Elsewhere Rāi Bhān created trouble for two years and made it impossible for any collections to be made. On 31 August, 1703, his conduct was reported to the emperor [14]

The incidence of the Jizya on the people was not inconsiderable. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has calculated that in the province of Gujarat it formed 4·42 per cent of the provincial revenues. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* seems to suggest that it formed 4 per cent of the total revenue at least in Gujarat.[14a] Further, we learn from the *Akhabārāt* that from Mander in Berar Rs. 30,000 had already been collected and the collections were still going on.[15] If Mander of our text is Manbah of the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, its revenue under Akbar was Rs. 20,000 only.[16] Under Aurangzeb, according to Sujān Rāi, the total revenues of the whole of the province of Berar amounted to Rs. 1,51,81, 750[17] only which is very nearly the same as under Akbar.[18] Under Akbar it contained 142 parganas. The richest pargana contributed Rs. 6,27,868 as revenue[19] and the collection of Rs. 30,000 from this unidentified pargana would come to 4·76 per cent of the total revenues of the richest pargana in Berar. If we account for the collections that were still due, we would not be far from the truth in asserting that Sarkar's estimate for Gujarat underestimates the percentage that the Jizya bore to the total revenues at least in the province of Berar.

An elaborate arrangement had to be made for the assessment and the collection of this tax.[20] A register of demand was prepared

showing the amount due from every assessee.[21] When the collections began, the amīn for the pargana was authorised to call for help from the local officials, kotwāls, qānūngoes, and thānadārs.[22] He reported the collections to the provincial amīn.[23] As we have already seen there was an amīn accompanying the royal court on march and separate officers were asked to accompany the armies sent on expeditions and collect the dues from soldiers. These officers usually did not occupy a very high rank in the Mughal hierarchy of officials. One of the amīns accompanying the emperor in 1702 was a mansabdār of three hundred horses.[24] The amīn of Khandesh was only a commander of 100, those of Burhanpur, Hyderabad, and Muradabad, of 100. The mansabdār in Berar was more fortunate and commanded 300, whereas the amīn at Aurangabad enjoyed the rank of a commander of 250.[25] The highest place occupied was the command of six hundred.[26] The *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* mentions the appointment of an amīn supervising the work of all the provinces in the Deccan. As we have already seen, the work of these officers involved considerable risk including danger to life.

There were three grades of assessment.[27] Those possessing property worth 200 dirhams (Rs. 52), i.e. silver weighing 51 tolas, 10 mashas and 7⅓ grains paid 12 dirhams (Rs. 3-2) as the Jizya.[28] This works out at about 6 per cent of the property.[29] It was a capital levy capable of wiping out the whole capital in about 20 years. A money transaction dated 10 February, 1704, states the rate of interest to be 4 per cent.[30] This would mean that in the case of the poor, i.e. the owners of real property worth Rs. 52, the entire income from that property was taken away as the Jizya. The second class consisted of those whose property ranged from Rs. 52 to Rs. 2,500 roughly. They were to pay 24 dirhams,[31] i.e. Rs. 6-4 as the Jizya. Rs. 2,500 at the rate of 4 per cent would yield Rs. 100, hence the Jizya works out at 6¼ per cent of the income. Here the Jizya was at a much lower rate. Those whose property was worth more than 10,000 dirhams were very easily let off paying 48 dirhams irrespective of their income. The rich paid the whole amount in a lump sum, the middle classes had the option to pay the whole in one or two instalments, and the poor could pay it in four instalments. In 1692 it was laid down that in case of wilful evasion discovered the year after, the evader was to pay for both the years. When, however, non-payment was due

to a clerical mistake on the part of the collecting agency, the Jizya was to be paid only for a year.[32]

Of course certain classes of people were exempted. Minors, women, slaves of all kinds, the blind, the mentally deficient, the unemployed, cripples, and beggars were not to pay the Jizya. Those who remained ill for more than six months were also excused this imposition.[33]

The tax-payer was to make the payments personally. He was to approach the platform on which the collector sat, stand opposite the collector who took it off the citizen. The collector was further warned never to think of remitting the dues.[34]

Remissions to localities were sometimes granted. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has cited two cases where Aurangzeb refused to grant remission of the tax even when recommended by the local officials.[35] Amānat Khān, Dīwān-i-Deccan, was very much given to granting remission of the arrears of the Jizya. His rival Rashīd Khān complained to the emperor that he had granted *sanads* of exemption to the Hindu population liable to pay the Jizya. Aurangzeb's wrath was roused. He told Amānat Khān whatever else he might remit, he should not remit the Jizya which the emperor had succeeded in reimposing after so many difficulties. Amānat Khān never again granted exemptions.[36]

As against that we have the records of five cases wherein Aurangzeb granted, or was prepared to grant, remission of the tax to harassed localities. On 12 December, 1681, a petition from the inhabitants of Bahadurpura (?) was presented asking for the remission of the tax. Aurangzeb thereupon called for a detailed report on the subject the same day.[37] Unfortunately there is no record of any further orders on the subject among the extant papers. The collection from Dahad (?) again was remitted for a year or two on the representation of its inhabitants and local officers.[38] On 19 February, 1704, the collection of the Jizya was stopped throughout the Mughal provinces of the Deccan on account of the difficulties caused by Maratha raids.[39] On 12 November, 1704, collection of the tax was forbidden in Deval Ghat for three years.[40] After the conquest of Hyderabad its Jizya along with certain other charges was remitted.[41] How long the remission continued it is difficult to say. It could only have been of a temporary nature. We are told, however, by another contemporary writer that after its conquest by Aurangzeb, the Jizya was levied and collected by

force in the Deccan.[42] Thus it is clear that Aurangzeb was not always 'deaf to the pleadings of pity and political expediency alike' in levying the Jizya. Cases of remissions were decided as occasion arose, and it is difficult to come to the conclusion that Aurangzeb was unduly harsh or obstinate in this respect.

Thus the Jizya formed a part of the avowed policy of Aurangzeb to govern according to the Islamic law. He did not stop to consider how it would affect his non-Muslim subjects. If they resented its imposition, he could not be false to his ideals. If the poorer among them discovered that it took away the bulk of their income and thus rendered it impossible for them to maintain themselves, that was none of his business. If they wanted to evade its payment, the way was open to them. They could accept the true faith and escape this burden if they found it too irksome to bear. But it is difficult to decide how many of the conversions were due solely or mainly to the burden of the Jizya which was pressing so heavily on the poorer classes.

It is well to remember, however, that the Jizya was levied by Aurangzeb at a time when toleration was an exception rather than the rule in the state-craft of the world. It was not necessarily the outcome of any feeling of dislike that Aurangzeb entertained towards the Hindus or their faith. It was imposed because the conception of the Islamic State with which Aurangzeb was familiar made it obligatory for him to do so and he was usually no more strict in the realisation of this particular tax. Although it formed a heavy burden on the poorer classes, the wealthier section did not find it exceptionally irksome. To Aurangzeb it was nothing more than the price of toleration that a non-believer was naturally expected to pay in a Muslim State.

NOTES

[1] *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* suggests that the theologians took the initiative in the matter and represented to Aurangzeb the anomaly of the non-believers being exempted from the payment of the Jizya under a king of Aurangzeb's piety. *Ma'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, 174; *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 296-98.

Khallaq-us-Sayyāq, 52-56; *Zawābat-i-'Ālamgīri*, 65*b*-67*a* ff. Ma'mūrī, 525.

If Manucci is to be believed, some of the highly placed and important men at court opposed the imposition of the Jizya. It was Aurangzeb's intention to use it for spreading the Muslim religion among his subjects. The Begam Sāhiba opposed it. There was an earthquake some time after and some of the

courtiers are said to have once again urged Aurangzeb to retrace his steps. Manucci, III, 288-91.

[2] Ma'mūrī, 525-26.

[3] *Khatūt-i-Shivāji*, cf. the English translation in *Aurangzeb* III, 325-29. A little different version of this letter is said to have been written by Rāj Singh as well.

[4] *The Court Bulletin* of Aurangzeb's court of 3 August, 1687.

[5] *Court Bulletin*, 14 July, 1702.

[6] *News Letter*, 12 July, 1702.

[7] *History of Aurangzeb*, III, 270, cf. *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*.

[8] *News Letter* (Provincial, Agra), 8 May, 1694.

[9] *Jaipur Records*, X, 18-20.

[10] *News Letter*, 28 January, 1703.

[11] Ibid., 18 July, 1694.

[12] Khāfī Khān, II, 278-79, 339.

[13] *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 325.

[14] *News Letter*, 31 August, 1703.

[11a] Foot note.

[15] Ibid., 24 May, 1695.

[16] *Āin-i-Akbarī*, II, 233n.

[17] *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārīkh*, 52.

[18] *Āin-i-Akbarī*, II, 231.

[19] Ibid., II, 236.

[20] *Zawābat-i-'Ālamgīrī*, *Khallāq-us-Sayyāq*, 34.

[21] *Jaipur Records*, IX, 148-49.

[22] Ibid., IX, 148-9.

[23] *Court Bulletin*, 11 July, 1694.

[24] Ibid., 14 April, 1703.

[25] Ibid., 19 February, 1704.

[26] Ibid., 1 July, 1694.

[27] Sarkar, III, 270,

[28] *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 206.

[29] Cf. Sarkar, III, 270, who erroneously estimates it at 6 per cent of annual income.

[30] *Jaipur Records*, XVI, 33.

[31] *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 296.

[32] Ibid., 304.

[33] Ibid., 297.

[34] Ibid., 297, *Court Bulletin* (Agra), 8 May, 1634.

[35] *Aurangzeb*, III, 272-73. He bases his statements of Khāfī Khān in one case and *Akhām-i-'Ālamgīrī* in the other.

[36] Khāfī Khān, II, 377-78.

[37] *Court Bulletin* of the same date.

[38] *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī*, MS. 13*b*.

[39] *Court Bulletin*, 19, February, 1704.

[40] Ibid., 12 November, 1704.

[41] Īshwar Dās's *Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī*, M.S. III(*b*).

[42] Bhīm Sen, *Nuskha-i-Dilkushā*, MS. 139*b*.

AURANGZEB'S ORDERS ABOUT THE IMPOSITION AND COLLECTION OF JIZYA

26th July 1696

JIZYA will be collected from every free, sane, adult, healthy and able-bodied non-Muslim subject, the Jew and the Christian, the Zoroastrian and the non-Arab and Sabian idol-worshipper, but not from an Arab idol-worshipper, an apostate, a women, a slave, a renegade, a slave who has been promised freedom on payment of stipulated price, a minor, a bed-ridden person, a person whose hands and feet have been cut off, a paralytic, a blind man, a decrepit, a palsied man, an insane person and an idiot. Whether they have fallen victims to these ailments and others resembling them, on account of which they have been bed-ridden after the imposition of Jizya or before, it is immaterial. Jizya will not be imposed on an invalid, beggar who is not able to work and earn and if, in spite of his ability, he avoids work, he should be treated as an able-bodied person.

Every year twelve Dirhams should be taken from a poor person, twenty-four Dirhams from a middle-class man and forty-eight Dirhams from a rich person. If the Dirham which is legal tender, is not available an equivalent of it should be realised in silver, every year, weighing exactly three tolas, one masha and 6½ gunjas from a poor person, double of it from a middle-class man and double that of a middle class man from a rich person. When paid in rupees the equivalent of this weight should be taken.

There is a lot of difference in the interpretation of the terms, a poor person, middle-class man and a rich person. According to the most reliable interpretation a poor person is he who possesses two hundred Dirhams or less than that ; a middle-class man is he who has more than two hundred Dirhams but less than ten thousand and a rich man is he who has more than ten thousand Dirhams in his possession.

During the first year (of the imposition of Jizya on the non-Muslim subjects), if a non-Muslim comes of age or a slave gets free or a soldier marries a non-Muslim or a sick person recovers, before the imposition of Jizya on the non-Muslims, the Jizya of that year

should be imposed and realised from every one of these in accordance with his (monetary) condition. And if after the imposition of this tax on the non-Muslims, a non-Muslim minor becomes a major ; or a slave becomes a free man, or a soldier becomes a non-Muslim, or a sick person regains his health, Jizya of that year should not be collected from him. If a poor person does not possess anything in the beginning of the year but becomes rich in the latter part of the year Jizya of that year will be realised from him. Whether he becomes rich after the imposition of this tax on the non-Muslims or before it being one and the same.

If a person has remained partly poor and partly rich during the year and if on investigation he has been found to be rich during the major part of the year, the rich man's Jizya should be realised from him and if he has been found to be poor for the major part of the year, the poor man's tax should be applied to him. But if he was poor for half of the year and wealthy during the other half, he should be charged the middle-class man's tax.

If a non-Muslim subject has remained sick for half of the year or more than that, Jizya of that year should not be taken from him.

Jizya lapses on death and on acceptance of Islam. Whether such lapse continues for the whole year or a part of it is immaterial. If a non-Muslim subject during the course of the year dies or embraces Islam after making the payment of Jizya, the tax of that year should not be shown against his name.

If a complete year or more passes and still Jizya is not collected and if the year comes to an end, according to the assertion of Imamabu-Hanifa (may the mercy of God be upon him), placing faith in his importunity, Jizya of the current year should not be taken ; but according to the opinion of Imam Muhammad the Jizya of the current year as well as the preceding year should be taken without accepting the importunity.

The Jizya becomes due in the beginning of the year and complete payment should be made by instalments and respites till the completion of the year.

The non-Muslim should himself bring the Jizya ; if he sends it through his deputy it should not be accepted. At the time of the payment the non-Muslim should keep standing. While the chief should keep sitting ; the hand of the non-Muslim should be below and that of the chief above it and he should say. "Make payment of Jizya O ! non-Muslim" and should not say, "Oh infidel".

MEMORANDA ON THE COLLECTION OF JIJYA PARGANAH NIVASE IN 1094 A. H.

शिवचरित्र साहित्य खंड ४
नेवासे-देशपांडे
लेखांक ६९४

ले. ६९४ }
मू.दा.प. }

(फा.शि.व.म.)

{ श. १६०६–०७
{ अि. १६८४–८५

तुमार यख(व)ज जेजये पाा नीवासे साा अहमदानगर खो (जस्ते) बुनियादी सुबे औरगाबद अुरफ दखन (सुा) सन हजार १०९४ मुताबिक सन २८ जळूस वा (ला) बअिस्तसवाब महमद काजम अमीन व दरोगे व महमद अली मुशरीफ व तहवेलीदार पाा माा अिाा छ १ माहे रमजान अवल साल ताा अखेर साल सन . . . मोकरा देह १४४ सम (–?) मुजेरी जिराती देह ७४ (बा)की कमाविसी देह ७० आसामी सीम भोा खाने ५६४ नफर ९५७ वज़ा जयेफ व अध वगैरा . . . नाा ३८४ बाकी खाने

–	खुर्दसाल	अध	नादार	कोढी	लगडे	थोटा
२९	१५९	१६	१६२	१०	११	७

बाकि खाने ५२५ मोा नाा ५६३ आसामी सीम माो रुपये १८६४।।।≡ भोा अठरासे चौसटी रुपये पधरा आने रास

बाा साल गुदस्ता ५०२
(खा) ने नफर
५१२ ५३८
भोा रुा १७८२८=
सम (–?) फकरी
खाने खाली नाा
११८ १२६
(भोा) रुपये ४१७।=
बाकी
खाने नाा
३८४ ४१२

अिजीफा साल मजकूर
खाने नाा
१४१ १५१८
भोकरा आाा सीम रुपये
५०० ८≡

भोकरा आा सीम रुपये १३६४।।।.

(अुजव्या बाजूस समासांत 'भोवनजी देसमूख' अशी सही व पुढील मजकूर)

'दाा त्रियक पेमाजी देसपाडिये पाा नीवासे तुमार जेजये सुा सन १०९४ सन २८ जळूसवाला अिाा छ १ माहे रमजान अवल साल ताा अखेर साल सन अिले भोा रुपये अठरासे चौसटी पधरा आने रास १८६४।।।≡

Source: Shivacharitra Sahitya, Vol. IV
Letter No. 694, Pp. 43-46

This paper belongs to Deshpande of Newasa, district Ahmednagar (Aurangabad Subha). It gives an account of the Jejiya imposed on that Pargana by the Mughals in 1684-85. There were 144 villages in the Paragana out of which 74 villages were almost barren. In the remaining 70 villages (कमाविसी देहे) of profit, (where revenue could be collected), there were 564 houses of the third order liable to taxation. Out of 957 persons in these houses 384 persons were not liable for taxation as they were either old, or blind, or insolvent or diseased or lame and disabled. The number of houses occupied by these people comes to 39. In the remaining 525 houses, there were 563 persons of the third order, whose Jejiya amounts to Rs. 1,864 and 15 annas.

The paper also gives details of Jejiya collected last year and also from that of an inam (इजार्फा) village.

These details are as below :

Number of Houses	*Number of Persons*	*Amount Collected*
		Rs. As
512	538	1,782 2
118	126	417 6
384	412	1,364 12
141	151	500 3

Muhammad Qazim Amin *vs.* Darogha Muhammad Ali Mushraf *vs.* Tahsildar Bhobanji Deshmukh.

CHAPTER X

CONVERSIONS TO ISLAM UNDER AURANGZEB

THEOLOGIANS and courtiers both have laboured hard to prove that all that Aurangzeb did was inspired by a desire to serve the cause of the 'true faith'. The culmination of such a 'service' would naturally lie in swelling the number of the faithful. The economic pressure put on the 'non-believers', their persecution, the war waged against their fairs and festivals, the perversion of the judicial system in the interest of the faith could not but result in some of the 'non-believers' seeking the easier way out.

The annals of Aurangzeb's reign furnish an interesting list of Hindus who were converted to Islam. The proselytizing activity of Aurangzeb seems to have started about the year 1666 and remained unabated till the end of his life. A list compiled after an exhaustive study of the original sources of his reign, more particularly the *News Letters* and the correspondence of the period forms an appendix to this chapter. Here it is necessary to take notice of some typical cases only.

In April, 1667, the cases of four revenue collectors (qānūngoes) were brought up before the emperor. They had been dismissed for various faults. On 22 April, 1667, it was reported that they had expiated their shortcomings by accepting the true faith whereupon the emperor was pleased to order their reinstatement.[1]

On 26 January, 1670, one Chandā submitted that he was a collateral of Budh Prakāsh, a zamīndār. He declared, he was willing to become a Muslim, if Budh Prakāsh were set aside and the zamīndārī assigned to Chandā. Aurangzeb was prepared to accept this time-serving convert, but the minister, Asad Ullah Khān, opposed this manifestly unjust deposition of an innocent zamīndār.[2]

Bhūpat Singh requested that his brother Murārī Dās be given the vacant chieftainship of Choki Garh. Aurangzeb at once used the occassion for attempting a conversion and ordered that Murārī Dās be made the chief of Choki Garh if he accepted Islam. It seems that Murārī Dās resisted the temptation held forth to him.[3]

A brother of the zamīndār of Dev Garh accepted Islam and was

given the name of Islām Yār. He was at once put into the possession of the zamīndārī, superseding the existing chief. A sister of his also followed suit. We find that this estate at last served the purpose of a bait for swelling the ranks of contemporary Muslims. Zorāwar Singh and Shyām Singh were made joint chiefs of Choki Garh after their conversion to Islam on 15 Ramzan of the sixteenth year of the reign.[4]

Devī Chand, a zamīndār of Manohar Pur, had been dispossessed of his chieftainship and dismissed from his mansab. On 12 July, 1681, he accepted Islam, whereupon he was restored to his rank of a commander of 250 and also given back his estate.[5]

On 26 September, 1681, an order was issued that all prisoners who would accept Islam be set at liberty.[6]

Lājpat, amīn and fojdār of Ram Garh, owed the State some money. He could not make arrangements for its payment and was therefore imprisoned. While in prison the light of the true faith dawned on him and he submitted that if he be released, he would accept Islam. Orders were at once given for his release. He was brought to the imperial court and on 15 January, 1704, the emperor personally initiated him into the true faith. His delinquencies were forgotten and his mansab was increased from a commander of 250 to 400.[7]

A letter of Aurangzeb's recalls a very interesting case. Rājā Islām Khān was a convert from Hinduism. He had, so Aurangzeb declared, promised to bring his mother, sister and several others into the true faith before his conversion. Nothing probably was heard of in this connexion later on. Aurangzeb therefore caused it to be known that if his sister were willing to accept Islam, she would be married to a grandson of the emperor.[8]

Rāo Gopāl Singh of Rampur was an imperial mansabdār. He was stationed in Aurangzeb's army in the Deccan and had left his son, Rattan Singh, in the state. The son created trouble in the administration and became a source of grave anxiety to his father. Gopāl Singh, thereupon, complained to the emperor and submitted that his son be called to the Deccan. Aurangzeb remained silent. To avoid the consequences of his conduct, Rattan Singh had become a convert through the governor of Malwa, who put him in possession of the state. When the father reached his state at last, he found his Muslim son in occupation. Gopāl Singh then sought refuge with the Rānā. Naturally this preferment of Rattan Singh

at his conversion produced a very strong effect. Many members of the younger generation among the Rajputs saw therein an easy way of acquiring territory.[9]

The Rājā of Palamau was offered better terms if he would accept Islam.[10]

A daughter of Rājā Anūp Singh Rāthor was married to Mu'azzam. She was first brought to the palace and there converted.[11]

Probably the most sensational case of the reign was that of Netojī. He was Shivājī's commander-in-chief. When the Maratha Rājā surrendered along with Sambhājī, Netojī was given a command of 5,000. When Shivājī escaped from Agra, Aurangzeb sent orders to Rājā Jai Singh to capture Netojī and to send him to the Imperial Court as a prisoner. Rājā Jai Singh carried out his orders and Netojī was sent to Agra. There he seems to have been kept a close prisoner. At last in the words of Abu'l Fazl Māmurī, he sought release by embracing Islam,[12] though the official annalist would have us believe that he was a willing convert.[13] He was thereupon liberated and given a mansab of 3,500. Later on he left the Mughal service and went back to Shivājī. There not only was he taken back into the Hindu fold, but Shivājī exalted him by giving him his own daughter in marriage.[14]

On the North-west Frontier some forty miles from Jalalabad, the inhabitants were converted at the point of the bayonet.[15]

A Hindu clerk killed the Muslim seducer of his sister. He was compelled to become a Muslim.[16]

It is not surprising to find Tavernier declaring, 'Under the cover of the fact that the rulers are Muslims, they persecute these poor idolators to the utmost and if any of the latter becomes Muslim, it is in order not to work any more'.[17]

A letter written by the President and the Council of Surat on 22 January, 1668, suggests a rather ingenious method of making converts. The factors state that trade had been largely obstructed by the fierce bigotry of Aurangzeb and his persecution of the Hindus. 'If a Muhammadan had no desire to discharge his debt to the bania and if the bania demanded the payment of the same, the Muhammadan would lodge a complaint to the Kāzī that he had called the prophet names or spoken contumaciously of their religion, produce a false witness or two, and the poor man was forced to circumcision and made to embrace Islam. Several persons had been thus served to the great terror of all. This king not at all

minding anything of his kingdom gives himself wholly upon the converting or rather perverting the banias.' Forcible conversion of the Hindus at Surat, at last drove them to plans of migrating from Surat to Bombay. The English, however, turned down their request. The Hindus then closed their shops at Surat and eight thousand of them marched on to Broach to the emperor who was supposed to be there.[18] What became of their appeal we do not know.

A study of these cases brings to light the several methods used by Aurangzeb for the purpose of making converts. Whenever two claimants to a property quarrelled, the most approved method of proving one's title was to become a convert. This provided the most conclusive argument which nothing could upset. Of course the recorded cases only refer to such important disputes as were brought before the emperor. It is unlikely, however, that this 'case law' of the emperor was not followed by the lower courts who had to deal with minor disputes. Thus wordly advancement was placed as a bait before likely candidates for conversion and it would not be unreasonable to attribute a large number of conversions to this factor. Another method was to make terms with the convicts or suspects. Whatever might be a man's crime, he could expiate for it by becoming a Muslim. Rebels thus could wash off their rebellions, felons their felonies, whereas the minor crimes of embezzlement and defalcation could be easily compounded by entry into the charmed circle of the faithful. Economic pressure was also used frankly for the purpose of making converts. The Jizya hit the poorest classes hardest and the Hindu traders paid higher taxes. War was used as a convenient weapon for the purpose of extending the faith and prisoners of war often swelled the ranks of the faithful. The converts, whatever their earlier failings, were always sure of a place at the court, in the imperial secretariat, and in the revenue or the accounts department. In certain cases 'forcible conversions' were also effected.

Popular Hindu and Sikh tradition ascribes mass conversions by force to Aurangzeb's reign. Of course it has heightened the colours in the picture. But the examples quoted above prove that the emperor made it a part of his imperial duty to encourage conversions, personally admit converts to Islam and grant favours to the initiated. Of the converts it must be said that very few, if any, seem to have changed their faith for religious reasons. Desire to escape

civic disabilities or worse, and to acquire material benefits formed the motive force in most cases. It may be argued that the religion which these converts shook off so easily must have been sitting very lightly on them. But the history of the world contains a few martyrs and a host of trimmers. Hindu India of Aurangzeb's reign was no exception. The wonder is not that so many were converted but that the vast majority of the Hindus kept their faith amidst so many temptations and such persecution.

NOTES

[1] *News Letter*, 22 April, 1667.
[2] Ibid., 26 January, 1670.
[3] *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 197*b*.
[4] *News Letter*, Ramzan 15, sixteenth regnal year.
[5] *News Letter*, 12 July, 1680.
[6] Ibid., 26 September, 1681.
[7] Ibid., 15 January, 1704.
[8] *Kalimāt*, Letter No. 109.
[9] *Nuskha-i-Dilkushā*, 130*a*, 145*b*.
[10] *'Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 655.
[11] Ibid., 648.
[12] Khāfī Khān, II, 207.
[13] *'Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 971-72, 987.
[14] *Marāthī Riyāsat*, I, 490; Khāfī Khān, II, 207, 234; *'Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 1062.
[15] *Ādab-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 107*b*.
[16] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 73.
[17] Tavernier, I, 391.
[18] *English Factories*, XII, 284.

HINDU CONVERTS TO ISLAM

DEBRA Jat was converted on 8 September, 1666 and Rām Chandra on 1 November. Hari Rām Bhagat who had been converted was given a daily allowance of a quarter rupee. The conversion of Larme, Ramse, Rupse and Janse was reported to the court on 1 April, 1666 and that of Biharī Lāl on 9 April, 1666.

The confiscated Zimīndārī of Etawah was conferred on Nilkanth and three other servants of the Zimīndār on their embracing Islam.

Sūrat Singh, Rām Dās, Nawal Kishore and Chohān Rupā were given dresses of honour on 16 February, 1667. Rishikesh, Chaudharī of Surat was converted to Islam on 11 April, 1667. Murārī Khatrī was admitted into 'the true faith' on 4 May, 1667. On the same day Parmānand Qānāngo and Mohan Dās Khatrī embraced Islam and were publicly given robes of honour. A Baluchi chief was converted and raised to the rank of 3000 zat on 25 June, 1667.

On 5 September, 1669, Pars Rām and four others were converted and on 2 November conversion of Murlī was reported.

On 26 January, 1670 Gopī Nāth was converted, named Aqīl Khān. An allowance of Rs. seven a month was ordered to be paid to him. On 14 April, Sujān Singh was converted and on 19 May Ghāsī Rām embraced Islam. On 14 January, 1671 two Hindu converts to Islam were presented to the emperor in court. He bestowed robes of honour on them. Gangā Rām was similarly honoured on 31 August, 1674.

Garīb Dās and Rām Singh were given Rs. 1,000 each on conversion on 7 September, 1680. Sahal Singh was equally favoured on 18 September.

Devī Chand Khatrī of Kalanaur was converted on 4 April 1681. On 25 April, Janam Singh, son of Harī Singh of Bangarh was reported to have been converted. Gūjar Khān's acceptance of Islam was reported on 15 May. Rām Narāin and Rūp Narāin Bhadoryā and Gharīb Dās were admitted into the charmed circle on 20 September, 1681.

The conversion of Sundar and two others with their wives was

reported on 2 May, 1682. Three Maratha prisoners were offered release if they would accept Islam.

Sobhā Chand was converted on 23 March, 1685. Parāgdās was released from prison on his acceptance of Islam on 11 August. On 6 April, 1682 orders were issued granting an allowance of Rs. four a month to every male convert and Rs. three to every woman.

Jairām was converted on 3 November, 1689. Guj Singh was converted on 10 October. On 23 October, the new convert, Muhammad Hayāt was presented at court and a little later Shaikh Abdullā.

Conversion of Chand Bhān was brought to the emperor's notice on 10 January, 1693. The next day Bhawānī Dās was summoned to the court to be converted—he must have been a person of some status to be thus chosen for the imperial favour. Nūrullāh, a new convert, was presented to the emperor and another convert was given a cash award. On 16 April Sarwan Singh's conversion is mentioned. On 17 April, a Hindu convict secured release by conversion to Islam. Nāthū's conversion figures in the *Akhabārāt* of 23 October, that of Achīna on 6 November. Tej Rām and Rām Chand's conversion finds place in the records of 13 November and of Gangā Rām of 21 November. Sāhib Rāi, Bhāg Rām and Jīwan blacksmith are mentioned on 3 December, 1693.

In the year 1694 conversion of several Marathas is mentioned; Lekhrāj, Banwārī, Araujī, Sujān, Harnarāin, Tulājī, Shambājī, Hem Rāj Jādaun, Rāmjī, Muttājī, Harilājī, Udai Rāo and Bhīkan, among others. Sulaimān, a new convert, was presented at court. Har Narāin, Jai Rām, Sūrat Singh, Chhatar Singh, Gangā Rām, Rām Rāi, Hīrā, Mān Singh, Lachhman Singh and Devī Chand also belong the corps of 1694.

On 7 June, Dayānant, a dismissed Qānūngo of Sialkot, joined the rank of 'the true believers' and was reinstated in his former office. Punjāb Rāo, at one time Qānūngo of Lahore, took the hint, embraced Islam and was duly restored to his former rank on 5 July. On 13 July twenty Hindu converts were given cash awards.

Ghāsī Rām and Bhīkam Dās, two new converts are mentioned in the *Akhabārāt* of 23 May, 1695, Jawālā Singh in those of 30 May. Manshā Rām figures on 13 March. Gūjar Mal and Rām Singh find mention on 5 June, Narāin Dās on 13 June and Kaitū on 7 July, 1695.

Maratha records speak of Aurangzeb's having already converted to Islam Netājī, Sāhajī Ghatge, Jāojī Rāojī in addition to several Brahmans. (Rājā Rām's letter of 22 March, 1690 to Bājī Sarazrāj Jedh cited in Sardesai's *New History of the Marathas*, I, 329.) The conversion of Sūryojī of Piscal as a condition precedent to the grant of Wai as a Watan Jāgir is referred to *Piscal Papers in Rajwade, III, 56-64* cited in *History of the Maratha People*, Kincaid and Parasnis, 156. Maratha tradition has it that Shāhū, on becoming a prisoner of Aurangzeb, escaped conversion to Islam only because Khandojī Gūjar offered to embrace Islam in his place. He was duly converted.

Khāndai Rāo and Jagan Nāth were made prisoners during the course of an imperial expedition into the Deccan. They were converted on 27 May, 1700.

Several converts are mentioned in the *News Letter* for the year 1702. On 28 February, one Ghulām Muhammed; on 9 March, Ballu; on 12 June, Nar Nārāyan; on 17 November, a Maratha deshmukh and a Hindu chaudhrī and on 18 November, one Dīn Dār.

The *News Letter* for the province of Gujarat speaks of the conversion of several Hindus there in the years 46 and 47 of the reign.

The year 1703 yields many cases of conversions. Jodh Chand's conversion is assigned to 22 March, 1703. Nām Dev, another convert from Hinduism, was appointed to the command of 400 on 2 May, 1704; Daulatmand Khān on 7 May. On 10 May, 1703, an unsuccessful attempt seems to have been made to convert Rājā Sāhū, Shivājī's grandson, who refused. Aurangzeb then gave orders to Hamīd-ud-dīn to continue trying and to seize the first favourable opportunity. On 14 May, however, Kesari Singh was converted. The office of qānūngo seems to have provided another convert on 26 June, when Bhīm Rāj, a former qānūngo of Sialkot, was converted. On 4 September, Jawālā Nāth was admitted to the fold; two days later, Jot Nāth and others were converted. On 15 September, Muhammad Rashīd, a new convert, is reported to have made his appearance in the imperial court. In the month of November, several such cases were reported. Shiv Singh, a grandson of Rājā Kishan Dāss of Amroha, was converted and reappointed as the Musharaf of Imtiaz Garh on 10 September. Shaikh Ghulām Muhammad, a new convert, figures in the *News Letter* of 9 November and Shambhū Nāth, a deshmukh, who was

in prison got its doors opened by his conversion to Islam and was restored to his former office on 22 November. Shaikh Husain figures in the *News Letter* of 30 November. In the month of December many more cases were brought before the emperor. On 9 December, Mohammad Wajīh, who had once been Karam Singh, paid his respects to the emperor in the open court. On 25 December, Sa'ādat Mand, son of Rāi Baikunth, an official in the revenue department, was honoured by an imperial audience. Malūk Chand was admitted to the court on 29 December.

Maratha prisoners provided two more converts this year. After the death of Rājā Rām some members of his family had fallen into the hands of the Mughals. On 24 January, 1704, a daughter of Rājā Rām was married to Shamsher Beg. On 5 March, a daughter of Sambhājī, who had probably been converted earlier to Islam after her father's execution, was married to Faqīr Muhammad.

Several mansabdārs of high ranks figure as converts from Hinduism. Nek Rām who rose to acquire the title of a Rājā is mentioned in the *News Letter* of 25 January, 1704. Dalāwar, another convert, is spoken of as a commander of one thousand in the *News Letter* of 17 June, 1704. Shankarjī, zamīndār of Patudi, appears in the *News Letter* of an earlier date, 13 June.

As usual the ranks of the qānūngoes provide some more converts. Devī Chand, qānūngo of Sadhora, is mentioned as a convert on 3 February, 1704, whereas Māyyā Rām, qānūngo of Shamsabad, makes his appearance as a convert towards the end of the year, on 10 December, 1704.

Aurangzeb himself initiated into Islam Sāhib Rām and several others on 4 November, 1704. On 4 September, 1704, Dinā Nāth, kotwāl of musketeers, was converted and given the Muslim name of Islām Yār.

Several other converts are mentioned in the *News Letter* of this year. Gajpat was converted on 7 February. He was given an elephant on 11 May. His sons seem to have soon followed his example and on 4 July, they figured as new converts in the court news. Shambhū Nāth's conversion is assigned to 14 February. In March, Bhūpat Rāi was converted and became known as Muhammad 'Alī. In May, Mīrājī became Islām Ghālib and Khushhāl Chand was also converted. In the *News Letter* of 18 June, Yudhrāj's conversion is mentioned, whereas Dal Kishan and Vīr Singh

were converted on 16 October. Fath Ullāh figures as a convert in the *News Letter* of 14 December. Yash Karn and a companion of his were converted on 26 March, 1705.

On 26 November, 1706, when operations against the Jats were brought to a successful termination, Fath Singh, son of Rājā Rām, was converted.

Original authorities other than the *News Letter*, also mention several other cases as well which may well be now detailed.

Lūn Karn was converted in the year 1705-06 and given the name of Abdul Latīf.[1]

A correspondent of Aurangzeb, to prove his zeal, reported that he had persuaded a Hindu to accept the true faith and probably sought imperial permission for the purpose of bringing him to the court. Aurangzeb wrote to him replying that the best thing was to convert him where he was. But if that was difficult, he might take him to the court of the provincial governor and convert him there. In any case Aurangzeb counselled expedition.[2]

Indar Singh, qānūngo of Rāsulpur, petitioned the emperor and said he was willing to be converted. The emperor, thereupon, ordered that he be granted the larger share in the proceeds of the rights of a qānūngo.[3]

The Rājā of Palamau was offered better terms if he would accept Islam.[4]

Sobhā Shankar Bhadoryā became a 'convert and was given a suitable gift.[5] A Deccanese was converted to Islam and was given Rs. 2,000.[6]

Bishen Nārāin, son of Rājā Shiv Nārāyan of Kuch Bihar, was admitted into the true faith while Aurangzeb's armies were busy in an expedition against his father.[7]

In the tenth year of Aurangzeb's reign Kondājī, uncle of Netojī, was also converted.[8]

A son of Gokal Jat was converted to Islam after his father's death and he became one of the most famous reciters of the *Qur'ān* of his days.[9]

A daughter of Amar Singh, Chief of Manoharpur, was, after being initiated into the Muslim faith married to prince Kām Bakhsh on 38 July, 1682.[10]

A daughter of the Rājā of Apsās was married to Muhammad Ā'zam in the eleventh year. She also had been converted first.[11]

Rājā Kishan Singh and his son quarrelled. The son promised to

become a Muslim if upheld against his father. He became a Muslim and later on turned a traitor to Islam as well.[12]

The Rāizāda of Rajauri became a Muslim and was named Lutfullāh.[13] Udai Rāj, a clerk of Rājā Jai Singh, was converted to Islam and nicknamed Tālih Yār.[14]

Balrāj Rajput is reported to have been converted to Islam and renamed Abdullā.[15]

NOTES

[1] *Kārnāma-i-Jethmall*, 168.
[2] *Kalimāt-i-Ta'yyibāt*, Letter No. 381.
[3] *Ahkām-i-Ālamgīrī*, 227*a*.
[4] *'Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 655.
[5] Ibid., 567.
[6] Ibid., 567.
[7] *'Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 648.
[8] *'Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 1062.
[9] *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 94.
[10] Ibid., 211.
[11] Ibid., 73.
[12] Manucci, III, 194.
[13] *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr*, 143.
[14] *Haft Anjaman*, *fla*.
[15] *Wāqi'āt-i-Sarkār Ranthambore*, MS. 20*a*.

CHAPTER XI

AURANGZEB'S FAILURE

THE foregoing outline of the religious policy of the Mughal emperors well illustrates the personal factor in the determination and execution of this policy. Even then there was in the background the Muslim conception of the duty of a Muslim king so to carry on his government as to make it redound to the greater glory of Islam. Akbar cut himself adrift from the contemporary intolerant current and embarked upon a policy of his own. Unlike 'Ala-ud-Dīn, he felt compelled to seek 'legal' sanction for what he did. The success of his attempt can be well seen in the continuation under his successors of the substantial part of his policy for more than a century after his death. Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān both preferred to be known as great Muslim rulers. But this did not always and necessarily mean that they reverted to the pre-Akbar policy of rating their non-Muslim subjects as second class citizens.

It was Aurangzeb's misfortune that he entirely succumbed to the contemporary intolerant attitude of the Muslim theologians. It is an irony of history that the ruler who was to surrender himself so thoroughly to the dictates of the 'law' began his reign by dismissing his Sadr-us-Sadūr who dared question his right to the throne while his father, Shāh Jahān, was still alive ! The mockery of a judicial trial by which he secured Dārā's condemnation and execution has sometimes made historians wonder whether his allegiance to 'the law' was not inspired by thoughts of self preservation. It is wrong to assume that he posed as the champion of the true faith against the latitudarianism of Dārā. He staked his claim to the throne in the usual fashion of a Mughal prince as a rebel against his father, the reigning monarch. As in the case of earlier princely rebels he was able to secure some partisan help of Hindu rulers and Muslim military leaders. Had he stood out as the champion of Muslim orthodoxy, he could not have secured the support of the Rānā of Mewar.

Even after his coronation Aurangzeb did not embark upon a policy of persecution of the non-Muslims immediately. Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh continued as the premier 'nobles' of the empire. Not many inroads were made in the comprehensive state which

Akbar had created. That Aurangzeb bided his time seems to suggest that his love for the 'law' and the 'true faith' was tempered with political wisdom.

After the death of Jai Singh and Jaswant Singh, Aurangzeb seems to have given free reins to his proclivities. The tradition is divided on the question whether the theologians egged him on or whether he himself assumed the task of following what he considered to be the Muslim traditions of government.

Aurangzeb tried to accomplish the impossible task of serving Mammon and God alike. He continued ruling over a vast empire and tried to serve his God as well. Unfortunately for him, the Muslim tradition of government had never had to deal with a vast majority of non-Muslim subjects who could not be easily converted. Still more unfortunately he refused to take notice of Akbar's practices because he regarded them as innovations. The result was that the comprehensive state of Akbar's reign gave place to the Muslim state of pre-Akbar days. With this change in its structure, it is not surprising that it shared the same fate. The pre-Akbar Muslim state in India had no hold on the vast majority of its subjects whose active loyalty it had never been able to secure. Naturally three centuries of Indian history (1194–1526) had seen the rise and the fall of several Muslim dynasties in Delhi—the Ghorīs, the slaves, the Khiljīs, the Tughlaqs, the Sayyids and the Lodīs. Their average life had not been more than sixty years. Aurangzeb could hope to fare no better. His religious policy lost him the active loyalty of his Hindu subjects. As under the sultanate, they were not concerned with what particular label the ruling dynasty bore. They ceased to be interested in the fate of their rulers as they knew that it would make no difference to them. Aurangzeb thus destroyed the *raison d'etre* of the Mughal dynasty.

But all this happened in the seventeenth century. Aurangzeb was no worse than the Cavalier Parliament in England which passed the Clarendon Code. His legislation lagged far behind that manifestation of the collective wisdom of the English at that time. He did not interfere with the celebration of private religious worship of his Hindu subjects. He did not forbid their priests teaching the Hindus. He did not entirely exclude them from public services.

Aurangzeb erred in common with most of the contemporary rulers of the world. If his church was that of a minority, so was the

Protestant church in Ireland. If he levied the Jizya on the majority of his subjects, the preponderant majority of the Roman Catholics in Ireland went on paying the tithes for the support of the alien Protestant church legally till the thirties of the nineteenth century but virtually till 1867. For almost everything that he did he could find an excuse in the state policy of his times.

But he had less of an excuse for departing from the path shown by Akbar. Elsewhere the state had not outgrown its thraldom of the church and treated the aliens in the state church as aliens in the state as well. This of course was the result of the fact that the state had been nursed in its early stages by the church and there had been a close alliance between the two. As Froude put it, at that time when men quarrelled about religion, they quarrelled about everything else. Toleration was supposed to be dangerous to the safety of the state. But Akbar had shown here in India that a policy of religious toleration was far from being dangerous to the state. It had really consolidated the Mughal state in India. With that demonstration before him, when Aurangzeb embarked upon a policy of religious persecution in India, he allowed the religious fanatic to get the upper hand of the king. In this respect he resembled Charles X of France who tried to make the state priest-ridden with the same disastrous effects on his own fortunes. Aurangzeb had not the English Puritan's excuse for his religious policy. If Cromwell persecuted the Anglicans it was partly because they were dangerous to the state. Aurangzeb had no cause for such suspicions.

CHAPTER XII

NATURE OF THE STATE IN MUGHAL INDIA

In the dust of controversy raised over the religious policy of the Mughal emperors in India, the nature of the Mughal state has become very much clouded. Sometimes it is described as an 'oriental despotism', sometimes as a theocracy. Some have even gone to the length of claiming a divine origin for it, others have invested its kings with Divine Rights. Unfortunately most of these conclusions have been arrived at without a critical examination of the original materials now at our disposal regarding the state in Mughal India. The theories of the early Arab jurists, the practices of Muslim kings elsewhere and the verbose discussions of writers outside India, though certainly useful in giving us a background, do not help us much in understanding the exact nature of the Mughal state in India.

Let us, first of all, clear the ground by examining the 'Divine' claims made on behalf of some of the Mughal kings by contemporary chroniclers and modern writers. Akbar and his successors are very often described as the Caliphs (agents) of God by contemporary writers, particularly by official historians of the Mughals.[1] Jahāngīr himself claims a divine sanction for his being the ruler of India when Khusrau, his son, rebelled.[2] Shāh Jahān described himself as 'the shadow of God' in one of his letters to 'Ādil Khān of Golkanda.[3] Aurangzeb speaks of himself as a 'vakil' (agent) of God on earth.[4] On the surface these claims seem to support the theory of the Divine Right of the Mughal kings. But, examined closely, they do not amount to much more than a mere assertion of the usual Muslim belief that whatever happens in this world is ordained by God. They do not claim for the Mughal emperors any status higher than that of mere men. Nor were they intended to confer on those who made these claims either a sacerdotal office or status. The emperors did not acquire a privileged position thereby, as many contemporary European kings did by becoming 'the Lord's anointed' at their coronation. The difference between the Mughal concept and the contemporary ideas of the Divine Right of Kings in the West can be best understood by examining the history of England in the seventeenth century. When James I

claimed a Divine Right for the royal office, it produced the religious doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience to the King. To rebel became not only a crime punishable by the State but a sin bringing about damnation in the next world. It led to the curious emergence of Non-jurors after the English Revolution. They counted among them some of the foremost churchmen of the time. They held that James II 'across the Seas' was their only lawful sovereign even though some of them had joined together in inviting William from Holland in order to put an end to James II's attempt at Catholicizing England. Such a concept of the royal office was foreign to the Mughal period in India. No qāzī condemned Salīm when he rebelled against his father, nor did any theologian damn Khurram with 'bell, book and candle' when he rose against Jahāngīr. It is true that on Aurangzeb's accession, his Sadr-us-Sadūr refused to read the Khutba in his name and thus proclaim him the emperor because his father Shāh Jahān was still alive.[5] But this did not imply any 'divinity hedging round the (Mughal) crown'. During Akbar's reign, when his half brother, Hakīm, invaded India, Akbar had no 'divine protection' to display against him and had to depend on his military strength to make good his claim to Bābur's empire. Thus whenever 'divinity' is dragged in either as an attribute of the royal power or the source of imperial authority, it is more or less a trick of the trade, a play upon words, or a mere assertion that, like everything else, royalty must trace its origin to Divine dispensation.

This brings us to the second aspect of our problem. How far and in what sense was the Mughal Government an Oriental despotism? That in itself raises the question of the significance of Oriental despotism. That there was any special variety of despotic rule manufactured in the East, and presumably on that account more despotic than the variety cultured in the West, is open to serious doubt. In this form of government there is neither East nor West. If Louis XIV could claim in France that he was the State, an Aurangzeb could go no higher and sometimes not even as high as that.

Despotic the Mughal emperors certainly were. There were no popular institutions acting as checks on them. But we shall get a wrong idea about the extent of their power, if we took this to mean that they had the right or the authority to issue commands concerning the entire life of their subjects or even concerning all

their political activities. They were never recognized as 'the masters of the Law', though they had to concede very often that they were its servants. The entire field of the personal law of their subjects was covered by the Hindu and the Muslim law which, the emperors admitted, they had no authority to change. The only known invasion of Hindu law occurred under Shāh Jahān when, as already related, Shāh Jahān took measures to secure that family pressure should not prevent a Hindu from being admitted to Islam.[6] This might possibly have involved a change in the Hindu law of property whereby an apostate was given a share in the family estate contrary to Hindu law. No change in the personal law of the Muslims seems to have been either attempted or carried out.

This explains the curious observation of some European travellers who declared that the Mughals possessed no written law.[7] The law was certainly written, but the Mughal state had had no hand in the making thereof. No Mughal law could be discovered because none such had been made. But of written laws there was such a multiplicity that Aurangzeb was driven to codify them—not by his authority as the Mughal emperor, but as a serious student of Muslim law, who felt that it was very difficult to find one's way in the intricacies of the Muslim law as it then stood.[8] The *Fatawa-i-'Ālamgīrī* that resulted from the labours of the theologians he employed owed nothing for its authority by being called after Aurangzeb; its compilers had to cite authority for every view they advanced or adopted.

Of course several Sanskrit Digests of Hindu personal law were prepared during the period. Again they owed nothing of their authority to the emperors. Kamlākar, Raghu Nandan, Mitramiśra Narasingha and a host of minor writers laboured hard in the various branches of the Hindu law, deriving their opinions from ancient law-givers or sometimes striking out new paths for themselves in order to get out of the confused growth of the multiplicity of opinion expressed by their predecessors. The Hindus were in a further position of advantage in this respect. They had courts of their own—the Panchayats—for deciding cases turning on the interpretation of their personal law. It is very difficult to discover any imperial attempt at modifying either the composition of these courts or their law of procedure during this period.

The criminal law was again Muslim. The relations between the subjects themselves as also between the state and its subjects were

fundamentally governed by the Muslim law. We have seen that Akbar made serious changes here when he changed the religious policy of the state. His modifications, however, really concerned the field of public law. Even here they usually involved a declaration by the state that it would not prosecute offenders—mostly non-Muslims—against certain laws. Sometimes this was extended to include the cessation of prosecution of the Muslims for what can only be termed as religious offences—their non-fulfilment of their religious duties.[9] One must admit that the Mughal emperors exercised a good deal of authority here. Akbar was not, however, an innovator herein as he is sometimes supposed to be. Before him, 'Ala-ud-Dīn and Muhammad Tughlaq had started on paths of their own.[10] As we have already seen, the so-called Infallibility Decree was mainly a concession to orthodoxy rather than a valid instrument for changing the Muslim Law.[11] Unlike 'Ala-ud-Dīn who declared that he did not know the law and acted on his intuition, Akbar still professed to act within the law, adopting one of the so many prevailing opinions among the canon law jurists. Strictly speaking then even Akbar did not claim the right of changing the Muslim public law in theory though he changed it in practice by his disuse of some of its provisions.

Under Aurangzeb this right to modify the Muslim law was surrendered. Time and again we find him consulting the theologians with regard to matters of civil or criminal law. We find him extending his submission to it even in matters of taxation and regulation of trade and commerce. He broke the monopoly enjoyed by the manufacturers of wire at Ahmedabad and threw the trade open to all after consultation with his theologians.[12] He gave up his attempt to regulate prices when he discovered that it was unlawful.[13] He even allowed his pet project of making converts to be endangered by remitting a case of murder to the qāzī rather than absolve the murderer when he offered to embrace Islam.[14] His reign was the Golden Age of mullādom and he accepted this check on his authority gladly.[15]

That brings us to the question of the alleged theocratic nature of the Mughal state. Whatever might have been involved in the practices of early Muslim rulers, under the Mughals the state could not be called a theocracy. This form of Government involves the subordination of the state to the church. Now, Islam did not set up an organized church, nor did it recognize the custom of priests

specially ordained for their office. It had no hierarchy of religious officials enjoying primarily a religious status. A theocracy in the ordinary sense of the term would have been impossible under Muslim rule when no one at any time possessed the right of rendering infallible interpretations of the Muslim law. Of course the Muslims did have a Khalīfa, sometimes more than one of them. But the Khalīfa was not a spiritual ruler in the sense in which the Pope is. He possessed no power of issuing *ex cathedra* interpretations of Islam legally binding on all Muslims. The *Qur'ān* interpreted in the light of the alleged early traditions of the life of the Prophet or His companions was, and still is, the only lawful religious authority recognised in Islam. Change had been permitted by the provision that whatever was sanctioned by the entire Muslim world was lawful.[16]

If this was the general position, it was much more so in India and particularly in Mughal India. The Muslim personal law here did not extend to the preponderant part of the Indian population. It is impossible to think of a state as a theocracy where such a large part of the population was admittedly left to its own devices in matters of such great importance. Even Aurangzeb made no attempt at introducing any changes here.

But there was one matter in which the Mughal state came dangerously near to recognizing the authority of an ecclesiastical dignitary. The Sadr-us-Sadūr was the chief theologian in the state, presumably the most learned doctor of the law and its most pious practitioner. All the Mughal emperors agreed in leaving to their Sadr the authority to declare the Muslim law. Akbar alone claimed for himself, as a righteous ruler, the power to adopt one of the many conflicting views on a matter under the Infallibility Decree. But even this did not profit him much until a change was made in the holder of the office. It was necessary for him even after this declaration to dismiss Abdun Nabī and install Sadr-i-Jahān as his Sadr-us-Sadūr. The declaration itself had been made only when the Sadr-us-Sadūr had signed it. Thus here was a curious situation. The Sadr-us-Sadūr had the right of declaring the law when in office. But the emperors appointed the Sadrs and could dismiss any incumbent. Thus while in office the Sadr-us-Sadūr was independent of the emperor, he could however dismiss him from office. This was well illustrated in connexion with Aurangzeb's accession. His Sadr-us-Sadūr refused to legalise his accession because his

father was still alive. Aurangzeb got out of it by dismissing the Sadr-us-Sadūr and finding a convenient successor who declared in advance that the Khutba could be read in Aurangzeb's name in his father's life-time because his father was incapacitated from acting[17]—presumably because he had been imprisoned by his son. Thus it was necessary for the Mughal emperors to be sure of securing a theologian learned enough to be raised to the position of the Sadr-us-Sadūr, if necessary, in order to justify their conduct. Under Aurangzeb the subservient position of the emperor with regard to the law was recognised in a very interesting manner. Vukla-i-Shar'a were appointed to enable his subjects to sue him and get justice done according to the law.[18] This only enabled the launching of what we call Petitions of Right in English constitutional law for the redress of private wrongs. It had nothing to do with Aurangzeb's administrative policy. It gave no one any right to control the political institutions of the country.

But if the Mughal empire was not a theocracy, the Mughal emperors in several ways undertook to act as the agents of Islam. In theory they were nothing more than that—above all in the case of Aurangzeb. Akbar took a pride in his conquests as a means of making ordinances of Islam known far and wide and spreading the authority of the Prophet to territories where even his name had not been heard of before.[19] Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān considered themselves the guardians of the true faith and watched over its legitimate interests.[20] Aurangzeb's supreme ambition was to promote the Muslim way of life not only among the Muslims but, at least in outward conduct, among the non-Muslims as well.[21] Even he made a concession in favour of the Christians allowing them to drink.[22]

But Muslim political theories, depending not mainly upon the *Qur'ān* but partly on the practices of the earlier Muslim kings and partly on the traditions of the Persian non-Muslim rulers, were not easily applicable to India. Was India a Dār-ul-Islām, the home of the faithful or Dār-ul-Harb, a target for Muslim attacks? Even in such a simple matter it was impossible even for an Aurangzeb to apply Muslim traditions of the law, which had arisen elsewhere, to Indian conditions. Still earlier, Muslim kings in India had sometimes presumed to act beyond the strict letter of the Muslim law. Early in India's contact with Islam, it seems to have been realised that it was impossible to dream of her accepting Islam

wholesale. The matter was left there and with it came several modifications in Muslim law and practice in India. Naturally this destroyed the theory that the Muslim rulers in India were to rule here entirely as the agents of Islam.[23]

To revert to the nature of the Mughal state then, it was a despotism of a limited nature where the rulers generally claimed to act as the agents of Islam the exact demands of which they felt themselves free to decide. It was a despotism that left a very wide margin to its citizens' choice, in theory as well as in practice.

It is necessary however to remember one very important factor. Limited though the authority of the Mughal emperor was in certain ways, if they decided to overstep those limits there was nothing in the political institutions of the state to serve as an effective check on them. But popular rebellion was always there as a well-recognised method of expressing disapproval of a ruler's policy. It did not carry with it the same religious taint as it did in contemporary England for example. Still further, hereditary monarchy as such, was unknown to the early Muslim law or practice though the Shi'a schism was based on an assertion of such claims. The early Muslim ruler—the Khalīfa—was an elect of the faithful. Neither the *Qur'ān* nor the Tradition, except among the Shi'as, recognised the principle of hereditary succession, so much so that there is no recognised law of succession for the state. The personal claim to the state was not recognised, it was not property in the legal sense of the term. Naturally no law of inheritance, as such, was necessary or valid. Earlier Muslim kings in India got out of this difficulty by denying in theory their sovereign position. They held power and exercised authority not in their own right but as officers appointed by some far distant Muslim rulers who claimed to be the Khalīfa.[24] Bābur and his successors refused to cling to that useless fiction particularly because they themselves were the greatest Muslim rulers in the world at that time. But even the allegiance to the Khalīfa, though useful sometimes as a convenient fiction to support an existing ruler, failed to provide any valid rule of succession. Where law failed the monarchy, practice proved of no better help. The deathbed of almost every Mughal emperor witnessed a feverish activity to settle the question of succession. While Bābur lay dying, his prime minister was busy conspiring to keep out Humāyūn.[25] Humāyūn's death was too sudden and the Mughal position in India too precarious at that

time to admit of much disputing about successions. Akbar's death was followed by Jahāngīr's accession; but Khusrau, Jahāngīr's eldest son, contested his own father's right to succeed. The latter part of Jahāngīr's reign was disfigured by conspiracies of various types regarding the succession. After his death the unfortunate Bulāqī was chosen to keep his place warm for Shāh Jahān, who was absent in the south. Shāh Jahān's arrival saw Bulāqī murdered and Shāh Jahān sat on his father's throne after wading through the blood of his possible rivals. Aurangzeb paid him back by imprisoning him and ruling, not in Shāh Jahān's name, but in his own, even while Shāh Jahān was alive.[26] Thus the Mughal practice adhered closely to the contemporary Muslim notions about succession to the state. It was not successful rebellion resulting in violently upsetting any recognised law or practice that was responsible for these incidents. It seemed to be the normal course of things and was the result of absence of law on the subject.

It is also necessary to remember that the Mughal emperors left a very wide field of their citizens' activities alone. In Europe it was the period when political authorities—whether ruling princes or kings in Parliament—were busy dictating to their subjects even the variety of religious beliefs they were to hold. Those who governed on behalf of Edward VI, for example, said that the religion of the English people should be Protestant and England became Protestant. Mary came after him and, as if by magic, England reverted to Roman Catholicism. With Elizabeth the wheel turned again and England emerged Anglican from the struggle. Howsoever accustomed we might be at the present moment to the state's leaving the religion of its citizens alone—and even in the twentieth century a Hitler would not allow us to take this as a matter of course—in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries the religious beliefs of their subjects were very much a concern of governments. The Mughals, therefore, proved an exception when they left the religious beliefs of their subjects alone. They passed no Acts of Supremacy, they enforced no Thirty-nine Articles, so far as the beliefs of the preponderant majority of the population were concerned. Even for the Muslims all that they did was to punish apostasy and extort outward conformity in certain matters of public conduct.

NOTES

[1] *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 97.
[2] *Tūrak*, 24.
[3] Lāhaurī, I, i, 174.
[4] *Nigār Nāmā Munshī*, 157.
[5] *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 248 ; Tavernier, I, 356.
[6] Lāhaurī, I, ii, 535, Qazvīnī, 401-05.
[7] Roe, 269.
[8] Cf. *Fatawa-i-'Ālamgīrī*.
[9] See Ch. 2.
[10] Barnī, 296, 338.
[11] See Ch. 2.
[12] *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadi*, I, 292-93.
[13] Khāfī Khān, II, 395.
[14] *Akhabārāt*, 10 May, 1700.
[15] Aurangzeb renounced the practice of attaching the property of the public servants and realizing state dues by its sale because he was told it was against the Muslim Law (*Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, I, 293).

One of Aurangzeb's governors was so much upset by the privileged position occupied by the theologians at his court that on hearing of the report of Mughal difficulties in the south, he suggested that they be asked to use their spiritual powers (Khāfī Khān, II, 343).

A quarrel between the qāzī of Lahore and the governor of the Punjab about their status resulted in the qāzī's losing his life and the governor's losing his office (Khāfī Khān II, 257-58).

For further instances of the powers and privileges of the theologians, cf. Kāzim 1075-76 ; *Jaipur Records*, VI, 260-61. *Akhabārāt*, (Provincial series, Gujarat) year 46, 22 ; Khāfī Khān, II, 444-45.

[16] *Mohammedanism* by C. S. Hurgronje, 66, 73.
[17] Tavernier, I, 356, *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 248.
[18] A Wakil-i-Shar'a holding the rank of a dosad panjahi (over 250) is mentioned in the *Akhabārāt* dated 17 January, 1703.
[19] *Letters of Abu'l Fazl*, part 1, Letter No 3.
[20] See Chs. III and IV.
[21] See Ch. V.
[22] *Inshā-i-Mādhorām*, 39.
[23] Cf. Nature of the State during the Sultanate in my *Studies in Medieval Indian History*
[24] Cf. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Rule in India*.
[25] *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 193.
[26] "Aurangzeb's Rebellion against Shāh Jahān" in my *Studies in Medieval Indian History*.

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