THE STATE AND RELIGION IN MUGHAL INDIA

(1526-1707 A. D.)

INTRODUCTION

İslâm is "surrender" to Allâh. Allâh is impersonal; necessarily "surrender" to Allâh by a person involves a mental condition. In its inward conception "surrender" implies a resignation to the will of God as revealed in the Qur'ân and in its outward expression "surrender" implies a conformity to the code of conduct as may be found in the Shari'at and Sunnah (the Divine Law and the practices of the Prophet Muḥammad). By such surrender, a man becomes Muslim and he attains "peace." İslâm, therefore, has two factors—one involving an attitude towards God and the other an attitude towards the affairs of the world. The attitude towards God supplies the background of the religion and ethics of İslâm, and that towards religion gives the background of the state and politics in İslâm. The implications are so wide that gradually İslâm has come to be interpreted as a faith, a religion, a community of the faithful, a code of conduct, a civilisation and a culture.

Muḥammad was certainly conversant with the existence of states, because there were states near
about Makkah; yet he did not directly advocate any state as such for the followers of his faith; had he done so, he would surely have given direct indications as he had done on many other affairs of the mundane existence. Instead, he conceived a Brotherhood of the Faithful, bound together by certain ties of faith and rituals. But after the battle of Badr, the conduct of his life gave clear indications that the affairs of the community could no longer be decided and governed by the tribal customs of the Arabs, and in discharge of his responsibilities to the growing members of the Brotherhood, he had to undertake functions akin to those which a modern state undertakes. Gradually those precedents became models of conduct for the successors of the Prophet. Thus, round the personality of the Prophet and his actions and conduct grew up social ethics and conduct for the members of the Islamic Brotherhood.

With the disappearance of the Prophet, came the question of succession to his mission, and Abu Bakr As-Siddiq, his father-in-law and disciple, succeeded and became his Khalifah (successor). For more or less 30 years the centre of the Brotherhood was Madinah, and it was the period for some of the most spectacular conquests. The system of administration was simple. A great innovation was that the Arabs became a standing militia and were paid by the state for protecting it, the provincials supplying the funds. And it was the work of 'Umar, the second successor to the Prophet and another father-in-law of his. But all those thirty years contain, as well, the germs of political discontent and tribal jealousy leading to the
murders of some of the Prophet's successors, 'Uthmān and 'Āli.

Then followed the rule of a dynasty in Islām from 662 to 750 A. D.—the rule of the 'Umayyads who removed the capital to Damascus. The role of carrying out the Prophet's mission now passed on to a dynasty. The transfer of the capital from Madinah to Damascus exposed the government to influences of Christian population and of the Greco-Roman civilisation. The rule of Mu‘āwiyyah was essentially an Arab rule; though the extension of the empire, or the propagation of the faith was in the name of Islām, yet the Arab element preponderated in the 'Umayyad period. Throughout the rule of this dynasty the antithesis between an Arab and a non-Arab continued. Except 'Umar II, who wanted to model his government on the ideals of his great namesake, hardly any member of the family took any deep interest in religion, and the Muslim Law began to develop away from the court and government.

The 'Umayyad dynasty succumbed to internal troubles and to an attack from outside which promised to elevate the family of the Prophet to the Khilāfat. The 'Abbāsids claimed a nearer descent to the family of Muḥammad and was supported by the Persians who were devoted to the family tradition of the founder of the Brotherhood. At their new capital, Baghdad, and for some time at Samarra, the 'Abbāsids reigned, though they did not always rule. They were Muslims first and monarchs next. As Muslims they were exact in the observances of their religious duties, and were often genuinely interested
in religion. As their supporters generally came from the Persians, and as the 'Abbāsids placed their confidence in the matter of state affairs in the hands of the Persians, naturally, the Arabs lost their pride of place. The court was open to anyone who professed to be a Muslim. Thus the antithesis between an Arab and a non-Arab disappeared, and in its place the difference between a Muslim and a non-Muslim was widened. The contagion spread all over the Muslim world.

At the outset the 'Abbāsids claimed to rule over the entire Muslim world except Spain. In about 864 A. D. Egypt became practically independent under 'Āhmad ibn Tulun. In 946 A. D. the Dilamite family of Bu'waith who were Shi'as, conquered Baghdad and kept the 'Abbāsid Khalifas practically under their tutelage. In 969 A. D. the Fatimids, who too, were Shi'as (also called Isma'ilians by some), conquered Egypt and later Syria, retained their overlordship for two and a half centuries. In 1055 A. D. the Seljuk Turks conquered Baghdad, and for a long time they monopolised all powers in the state, though the 'Abbāsids were allowed to retain all the paraphernalia of the court with their Wazirs and ministers. The 'Abbāsids now laid more stress on their position as Imāms and they were satisfied with their primacy in the domain of religion. While they were busy in theological discussions in Baghdad, the empire of Islam outside split into a number of small states and Baghdad was no longer important as the seat of the Khilāfat. By 1258 A. D. the rule of the Arabs over the Islāmic world was substituted by that of the
Turko-Mongols. The meteoric rise of the Mongols and the Turks and their acceptance of Islām gave a fresh orientation to the history of Islām. By the 16th century the glory of Islām in the East was shared amongst the ʿUthmānīs, Timūrids and Safawīs, and none of these were Ārabs. Each of them took a pride in his race and in his ancestors. Though they had accepted the religion of the Ārabs, they could not shake off their racial heritage, social instincts and political achievements. The Mughals¹ were Muslims by conversion; yet, for a long time, they retained many of the elements of their home culture—the culture of Central Asia. That culture was eclectic and elastic. After their conversion, the culture of Arabia supplied a fresh element to the Turki culture. In spite of their reluctance to admit any foreign intrusion into their social regions, the religion of the Prophet of Arabia imperceptibly influenced the social life of the Mughals. Again, after they had come in touch with the soft culture of Iran, especially after the entry of a larger number of Persian ladies into their harems, the influence of Iranian culture became prominent in their society. When they conquered and settled in Hindustan, they adopted the manners and customs of the country of their adoption. Few of the Chaghtāīs had any extra-territorial patriotism. They looked upon themselves as Indians, specially after their matrimonial

1. We use the word "Mughal" deliberately; the correct denotation of the Indian Mughal should be "Chaghtāī Turk". The word Mughal has been used to refer to the Chaghtāīs in India. To avoid confusion, we stick to the inaccurate nomenclature, though the repetition of a wrong cannot make it right.
the crest of that wave did not miss any of the undercurrents that flowed below the surface.

The gradual disintegration of the ‘Abbāsids in Arabia necessarily gave rise to new religio-political pretensions in the Islāmic world. Of these, the ‘Uthmānlis in Constantinople and the Timūrids in India were the most pretentious though the scope of the former was wider. The growth of different political interests in different parts of the Islāmic world had broken the solidarity of a common Muslim state. The new races that entered the arena of Islām with different cultural outlooks and social backgrounds, naturally struck a serious blow against the idea of pan-Islāmism which was the fond hope of the early Arabs. The Timūrids in India took full advantage of the absence of a strong Khalifah and of the disintegrating factors inherent in a wide and heterogeneous theocracy if the Khilāfah could be so termed. The development of a new political synthesis was the direct result; the status of a subject was not to be determined by the acceptance of the religion of the conquerors but by the offer of loyalty to their throne. This had a profound influence on the religious structure of the Mughal Empire in India.

Ethnological structure, cultural eclecticism, social environment and political necessity ultimately compelled the Indian Mughals to attempt some experiments which have given them a distinct position amongst the great rulers of mankind.

The present thesis is an interpretative one. We have interpreted the old facts from new angles,
INTRODUCTION

The old idea of catalogue-making history no longer interests the intelligent student. Formerly interpretation was rather analytical and to-day it is more synthetic. New materials for the reconstruction of Mughal history are presenting themselves. The isolationist tendency of Indian life and civilisation, for which India was condemned by the Westerners, is no longer borne out by facts. The trans-Indian currents which entered into the silent stream of Indian life since the conquest of India by the Muslims, made Indian life sufficiently complicated. The Muslim period of Indian history so long exclusively interpreted by Indian events now needs re-interpretation in the light of information supplied by non-Indian sources. Some references to Indian religion, culture and civilisation influencing Islāmic life have been found in Arabic and Persian materials, while events occurring in the contemporary Asiatic countries and affecting the events of Mughal India were already there. The peculiar structure of Islāmic social life and the Khilāfāt pretensions over the Muslims all over the world including those in India, the Shi'a-Sunni conflicts in the 16th century and the Mahdi movement amongst the Muslims in many parts the of world had their repercussions on many events in the Mughal kingdom in India. Events in Qandahar, Trans-Oxiana, Persia, Golconda and Bijapur, as much as the events concerning the Rajputs, Sikhs and Mahrattas determined the action of the Mughal State. So, in evaluating the actions of the Mughal Empire in India, we have to take a comprehensive view of all
claim a fair share of their contribution to the historical literature of the Mughal period. Administrative history is also attracting the attention of scholars in some quarters; and the study in this direction has been much facilitated by the writings of Abūl Faḍl in the earlier period and by the discovery of Dasturul-‘amal of the post-Akbar period. Beginning with Monstuart Elphinstone in the forties of the last century to Dr. P. Saran of the present, both Indian and European scholars have made contributions to the various aspects of Mughal Indian history. But none of them has attempted to approach the subject from a religious standpoint in its entirety. Without a religious background the life of a Muslim is never complete, and every mediaeval Muslim claimed, in theory at least, that there was not much in the life of a Muslim if it was not religious. What was true of the individual was true of the society and the state. So the currents and cross-currents

| 1. Ashraf, A. | Husain, W. | Payne, C. H. |
| Bailey, E. C. | Hodiwalla | Qanungo, K. R. |
| Banerjee, S. K. | Irvine, I. | Raverty, H. |
| Basheer uddin | Jarret, H. S. | Ross, Denison |
| Beveridge, A. (Mrs.) | Karkaria. | Roy, S. |
| Beveridge, H. | Khosla, R. P. | Roy, Choudhury, M. L. |
| Bird, I. Major | Lane-Poole, S. | Rushbrook, L. F. |
| Blochmann, H. | Maclagan, E. D. | Saran, P. |
| Dutt, K. K. | Modi, J. J. | Sarkar, J. N. Sir |
| Elliot, H. | Moreland, W. | Sarma, S. R. |
| Erskine, W. | Nazim | Saksena, B. P. |
| Habib, M. | Noer, Von | Smith, V. A. |
| Haig, W. | Prasad, Beni. | Tripathi, R. P. |
| Hasan, Ibn | Prosad, Iswari | Vayle, F. |
of the state and politics in a Mediaeval Islamic country cannot be fully understood unless they are considered and interpreted with reference to the religious currents that ran beneath. In my work, *The Din-i-Ilahi* or *The Religion of Akbar*, I have attempted to interpret the different forces influencing the politics of Akbar from the standpoint of religion. Much of the history of the Mughals remains unexplained if the religious aspects are left unnoticed and untouched.

Amongst the Indian historians of the Mughal period of the Indian history, Blochmann has written a valuable note on the religious views of Akbar in his *A'in-i-Akbari* in connection with *A'in* No. 66. Vincent Smith, in his *Akbar the Great Mogul*, has devoted a chapter to the religion of Akbar under the title of Divine Monotheism (*Tawhid-i-Ilahi*) which is totally misleading. His complete reliance on the writings of the European travellers and missionaries to the exclusion of indigenous sources, is responsible for his misconceptions and consequent misrepresentations. In the introduction of my work *the Din-i-Ilahi* (pp. xxxii-xxxv), I have critically examined the non-Indian sources utilised by Vincent Smith and exposed their shallowness. Payne, in his *Akbar and the Jesuits* and *Jahangir and the Jesuits* threw some light on the personal relation of these two mighty monarchs with their “Christian guests”, and narrated incidental details on the manners and prejudices of the common folk. Maclagan’s famous work *the Jesuits and the Great Moguls* abounds in details regarding relations of the Christians with
the Mughal Empire but he has refused to discuss the Indian point of view, and unfortunately his own views have been vitiated by the superiority complex which led to the display of his patronising attitude towards the Mughal Emperors. His book betrays a lamentable lack of sympathetic understanding of other men's points of view. But Maclagan must be read critically in order to have an idea of the attitude of the Mughal Emperors towards the Christian sojourners in the Mughal Empire. In that connection the accounts of the European travellers and missionaries are very useful, because they often embodied into their despatches observations on minor details of the social life of the people which were neglected by the contemporary indigenous writers as too trivial. Take for instance Pelsaert, the Dutch traveller (1626 A. D.), who in his Remonstranti (edited by Moreland), Chapters xii to xv, has written on "The Manner of life", "Religious Superstitions", "The Hindu Religion" and "A Moslem Marriage in Agra". These chapters supply interesting facts. References to details by the European travellers and missionaries are helpful to the study of the socio-religious aspects of the Mughal Indian life but their general observations and theories should not be accepted without a critical scrutiny.

J. J. Modi of Bombay has done valuable work on the position of the Zoroastrian religion in the Mughal state. He was challenged by Karkaria, and a controversy continued in the contemporary journals for about a decade, but in the end Karkaria's
conclusions were found to be weak. (Asiatic Quarterly Review, 1898 and Calcutta Review, 1906-08). Sir Jadunath Sarkar's work on Aurangzeb is classical and it is a mine of information. But his book does not contain much systematic study of the religious currents affecting politics of the Mughals. In the third volume of The History of Aurangzeb, he has devoted two chapters (xxvii and xxxiv) to the religious aspects but they are rather incidental references. In his two series of Readership Lectures on the Mughal Administration at the Patna University (1920), Sir Jadunath made observations on some religious aspects but they are often uncoordinated and not always based on any deep synthetic study of facts taken together. Sir Jadunath's conclusions have been viewed with suspicion by the Muslim scholars like Mr. Wahed Husain, Dr. Ibn Hasan, Mr. Faruki and Mr. Sadiq Ali as having been the outcome of an unsympathetic perspective. Even Dr. Parmatma Saran, in the Introduction of his recently published book, Provincial Government of the Mughals (pp. xvii and xviii) has remarked, "The spirit underlying the work of Sir Jadunath, as it seems to us from the author's method of treatment, betrays an unfortunate lack of sympathetic appreciation of the relative values of the mediaeval political institutions and environment in which they grew. Consequently, the conclusions that have been drawn appear to be unfair and present an undeservedly dismal picture of the effects of the Mughal administration on the people". To be fair to Sir Jadunath, we might say that his work supplies abundant materials for further
study on the various aspects of the Mughal India history when the Indian social life had been influenced by long association with the Muslim rule, life and culture for more than four hundred years. K. R. Qanungo's remarks on Sher Shāh's religious views are extremely flattering; Sher Shāh is credited by Dr. Qanungo with having introduced new elements into his system of administration by divorcing religion from politics as far as possible, which according to S. R. Sarma of Lahore, "Sher Shah never dreamt of pursuing". (Indian Historical Quarterly, Dec. 1936 on Sher Shāh's Administrative system). In course of his contribution to the Indian History Congress at Allahabad in 1937 (Proceedings pp. 368-375), Rama Shankar Avasthy challenged some of the data of Dr. Qanungo. Dr. Beni Prasad in his monograph on Jahāngir has devoted only five pages (pp. 430-434) to Jahāngir's religious views; though his references to sources of study are copious, yet some of his conclusions are often extremely fantastic. Dr. Saksena in his monograph on Shāh Jahān traversed a very wide field no doubt, but has made no systematic study of the religious aspects; Shāh Jahān's political actions were often coloured by religious motives and trans-Indian currents; they should have been studied in detail though there are occasional references (pp. 80-90, 295-98) in Dr. Saksena's book. Dr. S. K. Banerjee in his short article on the religion of Humāyūn in the Indian History Congress at Poona (1936) attempted to study Humāyūn's religion on the basis of Jauhar and Khwānd Mir and in the U. P. Journal of
Historical Society, 1936, he contributed an article on "Bābur and the Hindus"; he has traced the effect of Shi'ah forces on the religious views of Bābur and Humāyūn. Iswari Prosad's work, The Mediaeval India is written from a different point of view, and, within its scope, it is a fine work and is eagerly read by the students for its vivid expressions. R. P. Khosla's work, The Mughal Kingship and Nobility, though based on translated versions of native historians, is good in its own way, but religious aspects have been almost entirely neglected. Dr. R. P. Tripathi's work, Some Aspects of the Muslim Administration, though primarily concerned with the Sultānate period, has been brought down to the reign of Akbar. The book contains two valuable chapters on "Muslim Theory of Kingship" and "Turko-Mughal Theory of Kingship" which are connected with my subject. This work may be supplemented by Dr. Iswari Topa's book, Politics in the Pre-Mughal Period. Sarkar and Dutta's work, A Text Book of Indian History, is a voluminous catalogue of quotations based on printed works, and their observations on religion are written from the college students' point of view and add no new information to religious aspects. K. P. Mitra contributed an article, "The Jains at the court of Akbar" in the History Congress, Calcutta, 1940, which supplies more information than Dr. Smith does on the same subject in his Akbar the Great Mogul. In his Evolution of the Khalsa Dr. I. B. Banerjee has discussed the Sikh relations with Jahāngir with special reference to Gūrū Arjūn,
which differs widely from Cunningham’s conclusions. The Mughal-Sikh relations in the light of religion require study de novo as to the early Mahratta-Mughal relations. Dr. S. N. Sen’s work on Shivaji and the Mahrattas supplies valuable though stray materials connected with my subject.

In the field of research on Indo-Muslim history, Muslim scholars, owing to their natural acquaintance with Persian and Arabic, are expected to have an advantage over other scholars in general. Recently they have taken to research in this field and have made some notable contributions on the subject. The *Islamic Culture* published from Hyderabad has done great service to the study of Indo-Muslim cultural history. Articles from Messrs. Sherwani, Basheeruddin, Hamidullah, Ashraf, Yusuf, Nazim, Rahman and others are generally good in their own way. Ibn Hasan’s work, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* contains some information which relates to my subject, such as “King and his position in the state” (chap. i), “King and the State Business” (chap. ii) and “Sadr” (chap. viii). But he has not discussed the subject of religion in its entirety and has omitted references to Aurangzeb. He traced only those points which are connected with the framework of the state machinery at the centre and not with the actual working of the ecclesiastical machinery at the extremities. His untimely death has unfortunately cut away a very promising scholar from the field of research on the Mughal Indian History. Wahed Husain, in his thesis for
Griffith Scholarship (Calcutta University) on *The Administration of Justice in Muslim India*, has supplied some valuable information on "The Judiciary" as a part of the *Shari'at* in Islām, and maintenance of *Shar'*, being a binding duty of the state, the Mughal Emperors took personal interest in the administration of justice. In his *Theory of Sovereignty in Islam* Wahed Husain has failed to take into consideration facts of history and has indulged in mere theories which are no improvement on Arnold's famous work on *The Caliphate*. The Christian missionaries found everything wrong with the Mughals, and Wahed Husain has found everything wrong with the Christians. For the judicial aspect of Muslim administration, Basheeruddin's book is good but he has referred to matters, for which the materials being in manuscript only, are not ordinarily available; so judgment cannot be passed on them, nor could we verify them in all cases.

For the legal aspect of Islāmic rule, A. Rahim's *Jurisprudence* is an excellent and handy work, but sometimes he is too partial on points of interpretation of facts connected with the 'Abbāsid ideals. Basheeruddin's article on the Political Theory of Islām in *The Islamic Culture*, 1934, has taken into consideration some Indian aspects of the subject as was done also by A. Ashraf in his widely known contribution to the *J. R. A. S. B.*, 1935. H. K. Sherwani, in 1936, again discussed the same subject in *The Islamic Culture* and his observations are interesting. His work, *The Early*
Muslim Political Thought and Administration should be read by every student of Islamic political institutions. Prof. S. R. Sarma has published a small book, The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors which is a catalogue of stray incidents affecting "the taxation, court ceremonies and social reforms" of the individual Mughal Emperors (Bābur to Aurangzeb), as is written in his author's note. But unfortunately the Mughal Emperors had no policy about religion as such; mostly they took action as a matter of administrative convenience. Prof. Sarma lost sight of the background of those actions, and he did not discuss the extra-Indian forces and tendencies that determined the religio-political movements in Mughal India. He has merely given a catalogue of incidents without attributing them to their sources. His conclusions, though few, are very startling and are not fully borne out by facts so far as he had mentioned them.

None of the above works on the history of Mughal India was written from the broad standpoint of religion affecting the political events of Mughal India. In my work on the religion of Akbar under the title of The Din-i-Ilahi, I made an attempt to discuss the background of the religious movements of the Mughal Empire, both Indian and trans-Indian. I have tried to maintain continuity of the same method in the treatment of materials and synthesis of events in this thesis too. My thesis may fill up a gap in the history of Mughal India, which has escaped the attention of
almost all the scholars of the Mughal Indian history. In this thesis, I have subjected important events of the Mughal period connected with religion to a critical analysis and attributed the same to their fountain source. In order to have a true perspective of Indian Mughal history, movements of Islam and Islamic forces in and outside India have to be studied. Take, for instance, the conception of kingship in Mughal India—it is a Dar-ul-Islam in the Islamic sense, it is a Khânate in the Chaghtâi' sense, and it is a Divine Monarchy in the Hindu sense. It is interesting to note how the descendants of Timûr the Amir became Bābur the Padshah, Akbar the Khalifatullah, and Shâh Jâhân the दिल्लीभरो या जनाबीभरो या (the lord of Delhi or the lord of the Universe).

My thesis opens with a description of the religious background of the Mughal State in terms of the Bid for Honours amongst the principal Muslim states in Persia, Turkey and Hindustan. Really the 16th century witnessed the growth of the very powerful dynasties within Islam, contiguous to each other, the 'Unthmânli, the Safawi and the Timûrid. In the absence of any central political organisation of the Brotherhood, the new dynasties aspired after the prime position of leadership. Though the power of the Khalifah was long defunct and with it the prophetic mission was shelved background, yet the halo of the great name was there still to conjure with. The Khalifah is dead, long live the Khalifah was the conception. The later mediaeval mind, inspite of the approaching modernity, clung to old heritage
especially when it was associated with religion. Further, the picture was the more confused because of the Shi'a-Sunni differences. The Mughal state drew inspiration from three different sources, Turki, Arabian, and Iranian and all three ultimately blended into the Indian. Thus the Mughal state in India was some thing different from what Muslims are accustomed to notice in other parts of the Muslim world. The Turko-Afghan relations with the Baghdad Khalifas and the Egyptian Khalifas came in for a passing mention only from Sir T. Thomas Arnold.

Many of the events of the Mughal history otherwise inexplicable may be easily explained in the light of the contest between the Shi'ah and Sunni forces for the prime position of honour in the circle of contemporary Brotherhood of Islamic peoples.

In the second chapter, Mughal Polity and its Legal Conceptions have been discussed from the orthodox and the Indian stand points. Politics in Islam is an extremely interesting study; the Islamic state defies all the theories that are propounded by modern writers on polity regarding the origin of the state. There is no word for state in Arabic language. The Muslim state in conception is divine and in practice it is human; the Mullahs claimed that the state emerged out of divine ordination by Isharat (implication) and, as such they claimed to guide it, whereas the Muslim rulers often treated the state as a mere human organisation though they would administer it as agents of Allah. The contest between divine agency and human agency in the
government of the land is an interesting feature of the Islāmic state.

Then comes *The Law in the State and its Applicability to Administration*. The law, as a modern man understands it, is but social conscience codified; but in Islām, the Law (Shar’i) which is Allāh’s Revelation, is to be interpreted in the light of the Prophet’s traditions, the jurist’s decisions and the learned man’s pronouncements (Ḥadith, Fiqh and Fatāwa); and to all these in India was added the spirit of the deeply rooted customs and laws of the Hindus. As such, Muslim law could not be applied to the conquered Indians in its entirety and the Mughal Indian law of administration was something different from the laws that are found in other parts of the world governed by the Muslims.

In the third chapter, *Theological Organisation of the Mughal Emperors*, theological personages and their functions in relation to the Mughal state have been depicted. In Islām there is no provision for a priestly class. Every Muslim is expected to do his bit for the maintenance and propagation of Islām; in fact, every follower of the Faith is a missionary. Yet the difficulty of interpretation of the Qur’ān which is the principal book of guidance for a Muslim in all stages of life, called forth the existence of a learned class able to interpret the same. Khalīfah ‘Umar was the first to found a college of six theologians who were recognised as official interpreters of the Qur’ān and Hadith. The state with its avowed duty of maintaining the Shar’ looked upon the ‘Ulamā’ class with reverence and accepted their interpretations
as unimpeachable. Within a hundred years of the
death of the Prophet the 'Ulamā' consolidated their
position in the society and state and established a
sort of hierarchy with duties individually assigned.
The Şadr-us-Şudūr; Qaḍi-ul-Quḍāt, Qaḍi, Mufti, and
Mir 'Ādī were the recognised theologians of the
state. Each of them was to be maintained by the
state and it was the duty of the Sultān to consult
the 'Ulamā'. On the other hand, the executive
officers like the Subadār, Faujdar, Kotwāl and
Shiqdār, had also to perform some religious duties.
But the Mughal 'Ulamā' did not look upon the
Arabian Mufti, Sharif or Imām for their protection
and privileges, as the Roman Catholic clergy did
upon the Roman Pope for theirs. In fact, there
was no demand and consequently no contest for
the privileges between the 'Ulamā' and the secular
state in Mughal India, as there was in England at
the time of Henry II, in France at the time of Louis
XIV, or in Germany at the time of the Kultur
Kampf of Bismarck. Only in Akbar's reign there
was a religious revolt of the Mulas in Bengal and
Behar mixed up with politics, encouraged by Persia
and supported by the dissatisfied Jagirdārs after
the recital of the Khutbah by the Emperor himself
and declaration of the Mahdah in 1578-79. It
ended in the discomfiture of the 'Ulamā' class\(". In
fact the relation between the State and Religion in
Mughal India is an interesting study from the political
point of view, as much as the political history from
the religious point of view.

\[1\] For this context, see my work The Din-i-Ilaahi, pp. 88-94
In the fourth chapter, *Personal Religion of the Mughal Emperors* has been narrated in details. Each Mughal Emperor was a type by himself. In the first chapter of the *Din-i-Ilaahi* on the Central Asian Background, I described the special characteristics of every Chaghtai Amir, Timur to Akbar, from a cultural standpoint; here I have confined my remarks to the actions of every Mughal Emperor, Babur to Aurangzeb, from a religious standpoint. Babur was a free thinker, and mystic and was least sophisticated. Humayun loved nature, venerated light, and was more mystical than his father. Akbar was extremely eclectic and impressionable with a Sufi bent of mind who chalked out his own line of action. Jahangir's was a different type of personality. He lived by moment, acted by fits and starts; and inconsistency and romance were the two main features of his character. Shah Jahan's orthodoxy was more than compensated by his political sense; he stood between the liberalism of his father and the bigotry of his successor. Aurangzeb was a "Muslim with vengeance," whose principles and practices in politics require further study from religious standpoint. In spite of Sir Jadunath's caustic writings on Aurangzeb, in spite of Zahiruddin Faruki's white-washing brushes and in spite of Sadiq Ali's *Vindication of Aurangzeb*, his religion and politics need further scrutiny. The trans-Indian forces, the non-Indian traditions, the influence of blood and eugenics have not been properly presented to show the part played by them in Aurangzeb's
decisions on religious matters. I believe Aurangzeb was not as bigoted as he posed to be; he had to continue the cry of religion in danger to maintain his position. In the end, he steadfastly clung to his professions as his physical powers and political position began to decline; but there was no going back as he had already gone too far.

The successors of Aurangzeb had no personality. They were too weak to enforce their religious views on the state and the people. From the study of the life and facts of the individual Mughal rulers, it may be concluded that they were essentially a band of compromisers who were ready to accommodate to tendencies from outside; and in their life except in Aurangzeb's, personal equation was a greater factor than any clean-cut principle.

In the fifth chapter, Position of the Dhimmis, the non-Muslim subjects of the Mughal Empire, has been discussed in details. The Chaghtāi's became naturalised in India as were the Angles, Saxons and Jutes in England. By intermixture of blood, they raised the conquered Rajputs to the position of "King's caste" as the Anglo-Saxons did of the Britons. So the application of Arabian principles of treatment of the Dhimmis was out of the question in India. I have discussed the status of the Dhimmis in Islām as was defined by the Qur'ān, determined by the jurists and illustrated by the 'Umayyad and 'Abbāsid Khalifas. The Chaghtāi's had their own way of doing things. Their attitude towards the Dhimmis and Musta'mans
was not worse than that of the contemporary Christian rulers towards the heretics in European countries. I have discussed the position of the conquered non-Muslim subjects and that of the alien guests so far as freedom of worship, building of temples and churches, representation in state service under the Mughals and socio-intellectual approach on both sides were concerned.

An Appendix A on the Position of the Musta'mans has been added. In this Appendix the relation with the non-Muslim guests or sojourners has been narrated.

In Appendix B on the Jiziah, the genesis of this old custom, its justification, its exemptions its rates and modes of payment have been discussed without reference to India. Portions dealing with India have been mentioned in their respective places.

In the sixth chapter, Some National and Liberal Aspects of the Mughal Empire have been presented. It is doubtful if the words nationalism and patriotism were understood by the Muslims of the earlier period in their modern connotation, though the words Mulk (country), Qawm (nation), and Hubbul Watan (love of country) were familiar terms in Arabic lexicon. The infiltration of non-Islamic influences was so complete and political necessity was so pressing that the old ideas of life and government in Mughal India often changed yielding place to new conceptions as demanded by time and circumstances. I have discussed in this chapter points of mutual adoption by the Hindus and the Muslims in Mughal India of each other’s laws,
dress, languages, manners, customs and socio-intellectual approaches, and have assigned their place in the development of a united Mughal India. The process of fusion began from the time of Humayun and though for a time checked by Aurangzeb, it could not be completely obliterated all at once. Had Darâ succeeded Shah Jahân or if the Westerners had not supplanted the force of Indo-Muslim civilisation in India, the Chaghtâi's might have left to the East a heritage of which India might have been proud.

The seventh chapter ends with Conclusions. The universal role of Islām has been viewed historically and the Indian aspect of Mughal Rule has been particularly noticed. The theocratic nature of the Mughal State has been critically analysed and it has been found that the Mughal State was not a theocracy.
DIACRITICAL MARKS

Diacritical marks are highly disgusting and they often smack of pedantry. In fact, sound and voice differ according to the structure of the body; the climatic influence plays no small part in the formation of sound. No two countries have common sounds in all details of orthography and alphabet. The same letter is pronounced differently in different regions of the same country by the people of the same race. Difference is more visible in the case of a language of different races. Semitic sounds cannot be completely converted into Aryan sounds; only an approach may be made—that is why there is so much difference from time to time in matters of diacritical marks. The distinction in pronunciation of $\text{ṭ} \cdot \text{h}$ and $\text{k} \cdot \text{h}$, $\text{b} \cdot \text{t}$ and $\text{ṭ} \cdot \text{t}$, $\text{l} \cdot \text{a}$, $\text{i} \cdot \text{a}$, $\text{ṭ} \cdot \text{a}$, and $\text{k} \cdot \text{a}$:

$\text{ṭ} \cdot \text{ṭ}$ $\text{ṭ} \cdot \text{dh}$, $\text{ṭ} \cdot \text{z}$, and $\text{k} \cdot \text{ṭ}$, $\text{ṭ} \cdot \text{s}$, $\text{k} \cdot \text{s}$ and $\text{ṭ} \cdot \text{th}$ is often puzzling to any one whose mother tongue is not Arabic. Even they are often pronounced in a similar or different way according to the letter preceding or succeeding them. Again, according to

Vowel forms-$\text{u}$, $\text{u}$, $\text{ā}$, $\text{ā}$, $\text{ī}$, $\text{ī}$, the same letter is pronounced differently and as such diacritical marks differ.

In my work The Din-i-Ilahi, published by the Calcutta University, I avoided using those marks partly due to the difficulty of the pressmen and
partly due to a sense of difference in the method of pronunciation of the Indians, Arabs and Persians. In the present work I have used diacritical marks as given below. I confess, they are not and cannot be absolutely perfect.

The following are the English equivalents of Arabic alphabet used in this book:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{A} & \rightarrow \text{a} \\
\text{B} & \rightarrow \text{b} \\
\text{C} & \rightarrow \text{c} \\
\text{D} & \rightarrow \text{d} \\
\text{E} & \rightarrow \text{e} \\
\text{F} & \rightarrow \text{f} \\
\text{G} & \rightarrow \text{g} \\
\text{H} & \rightarrow \text{h} \\
\text{I} & \rightarrow \text{i} \\
\text{J} & \rightarrow \text{j} \\
\text{K} & \rightarrow \text{k} \\
\text{L} & \rightarrow \text{l} \\
\text{M} & \rightarrow \text{m} \\
\text{N} & \rightarrow \text{n} \\
\text{O} & \rightarrow \text{o} \\
\text{P} & \rightarrow \text{p} \\
\text{Q} & \rightarrow \text{q} \\
\text{R} & \rightarrow \text{r} \\
\text{S} & \rightarrow \text{s} \\
\text{T} & \rightarrow \text{t} \\
\text{U} & \rightarrow \text{u} \\
\text{V} & \rightarrow \text{v} \\
\text{W} & \rightarrow \text{w} \\
\text{X} & \rightarrow \text{x} \\
\text{Y} & \rightarrow \text{y} \\
\text{Z} & \rightarrow \text{z}
\end{align*}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Afif</td>
<td>Tārik-i-Firūz Shāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.A.</td>
<td>Ā'īni-i-Akbari by Abūl Faḍl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.N.</td>
<td>Akbar-Nāmah by Abūl Faḍl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. I.</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Indica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad.</td>
<td>Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh by 'Abdu'l Qādir Badā'ūni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barni</td>
<td>Tārikhi-i-Firūz Shāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beni Prasad</td>
<td>History of Jahāngir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bev.</td>
<td>Akbar-Nāmah translated by H. S. Beveridge</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bloch.</td>
<td>Ā'in-i-Akbari translated by H. Blochmann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lāhōri</td>
<td>Bādshāh-Nāmah by 'Abdu'l Ḥamid Lāhōri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. A.</td>
<td>Fatawā-i-'Almgiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferishtah</td>
<td>Tārikh-i-Ferishtah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K. K.</td>
<td>Kitāb-u'l-Kharāj by Abū Yūsuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. N.</td>
<td>Humāyūn-Nāmah by Gulbadan Begum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. T.</td>
<td>Malfuzāt-i-Timūri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. U.</td>
<td>Ma'āthir-u'l-Umarā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. L.</td>
<td>Muntakāb u'l-Lubāb by Khāfi Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. A.</td>
<td>Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi by 'Alī Muhammad Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. A. S.</td>
<td>Royal Asiatic Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qr.</td>
<td>Qur'ān</td>
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<tr>
<td>T. U.</td>
<td>Tadhkhīrat-u'l-Umarā</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tūzuk</td>
<td>Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THEOLOGICAL NON-INDIAN SOURCES

Al Qur'an: It is the fountain of all that Islam denotes and connotes. Even the worst of the apostates, or heretics could not dare say that the Qur'an was not a revealed book. During the time of the third Khalifah 'Uthmān, the Qur'an was published in its present form. According to the Muslims, the Qur'an was the message of Allāh through His messenger Gabriel to His Rusūl Muḥammad bin ʿAbdullāh.

According to some modern scholars, the Qur'an contains two kinds of Revelations:—

(a) occasional,
(b) universal.

Occasional ones were revealed to meet the particular need of the hour, and between them differences cannot be fully understood unless one refers to the context (Shān-i-Nazūl). Universal ones were of the nature of general propositions. The orthodox Muslims hold that it is the eternal book of guidance for mankind for all times and climes. Any thing that a man needs under any condition of life may be found in the Qur'an.

The Qur'an has been available to the English-knowing people through translations of Sale, Palmer, Pickthal, Muhammad Ali and Yusuf Ali. Sale's introduction is good; Muhammad Ali's comments

1. This view of two types of Revelations is not generally accepted by the orthodox group.
are partisan though systematic. Yusuf Ali is generally more rational.

Tafsir, or the Commentary of the Qurʾān is an interesting study. There are more than ten thousand commentaries of the Qurʾān. The Muslims of every Islamic country have written commentaries, and the contribution of the non-Arabs to the Tafsir literature is immensely large. The commentary of Fakhru’d-Din Rāzī (at-Tafsir al-Kabir) is by far the most authoritative. As men of different races and nationalities wrote the comments in different times, the subjective element of the commentators predominate in matters of interpretation.

Hadith, or the Sayings of the Prophet are ordinarily known as the Traditions in Islam. What the angel Gabriel revealed to Muhammad the Rasūl (the One sent by God) was explained by his speeches and actions. If the Qurʾān preached the tenets of Islam, Muhammad gave the practices of Islam. Muhammad is the Tafsir (commentary) of the Qurʾān and the Qurʾān is his Tasbir (replica)—so says Ā’yesha. Of all the prophets, Muhammad's life yields most to historical scrutiny. Every word that he said and every action that he did, have been recorded. He had seen life in every phase of it and his examples of life offer illustrations to a prince as well as to a peasant. Though the Qurʾān contains few references to state-craft directly, yet there is no denying the fact that Muhammad found himself at the head of a political organisation after the battle of Badr. His actions in connection with
the brotherhood of Islam during the latter period of his life have been expanded into a political philosophy by the Muslim jurists. Thus the knowledge of the context of the Hadith is essentially necessary for having a clear idea of the origin of the Islamic state.

Of the Hadith, that of Bukhari is the most authoritative. He collected about 700,000 Hadith but ultimately he found only 9,000 to be correct. The author of Tajrid-ul Bukhari has further reduced them to 2,400 as absolutely correct. Prof. Hassan Ibrahim Hassan of Cairo says that the number of absolutely correct Hadith is only sixteen. There are other Hadiths collected by Muslim, Nasawi, Abu Dawud, At-Tirmidhi, Ibn-Majah, but they are not accepted by all classes of Muslims. The acceptance of one or the other tradition depends on the sect to which a particular Muslim belongs.

To the European readers, Wensineck's Handbook, Early Muhammadan Traditions and Winfield's Key to the Dictionary of Traditions are well known. But Tahir Sindi's book is excellent.

The Fiqh:—The Fiqh, or the juristic decisions of the early Muslims were often accepted as guides by the Muslim monarchs. The Fiqh literature has not been translated as yet systematically, though quotations have been made by different authors especially by the Muftis of the Mughal Empire.

The Jurists, or the Fiqaha like the Imams Abu Hanifah, Shafi'i, Malik and Ahmad Ibn Hanbal compiled Muslim laws. It is true that Islam should have no other political philosophy except what is
in the Qur'ān, yet out of necessity the Muslims had to develop different laws and regulations according to time, place and circumstances and they have been recognised as authoritative texts of guidance. Though ʿAbū Hanifah was not an Ḥārām by birth, his knowledge of the Shara‘ was unquestionable. The Ḥanafi law is recognised by the Sunnis as superior to other laws. The Ṣatāwa-i-ʿAlamgiri is mostly based upon the Ḥanafi law. The Mālikī law along with local customs is followed by the Shiʿah and Muslim sects like Bohrās, and Ismāʿilīans though the Ḥanafi and other laws are not openly rejected by them.

In Mughal India, the Ḥanafi law was recognised officially though decisions given according to other laws were not ordinarily challenged.

Fatāwa (Injunctions, pronouncements, opinions of the learned men) have their peculiar place in Islām. It is nothing but concensus of public opinion (Ijmā‘). On important occasions these Fatāwa were often used to legitimatise some Coup de Etat or some political expediency. Even a saint life Sarmad was found guilty by virtue of a Fatāwa. One of the reasons for the eminence of the Mulla class was the esteem in which their pronouncements were held, because the Prophet had said, “the learned of my community are like the Prophets of the Israelites.”
THEOLOGICAL INDIAN SOURCES

Dabistān-i-Madhāhib—probably by Moḥsin Fāni; it is an important theological source for study of the religious history of Mughal India. Moḥsin Fāni had a romantic outlook and there is a touch of romance in what he says. For the study of contemporary religious tendencies prevailing in Akbar’s time, and for the discussions of the ‘Ībādat Khānah of Akbar, the Dabistān is highly valuable. I have used the printed text of Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, and translation by Shea and Troyer (Ed. 1843 A.D.).

Safinat-u’l Āwliyā-by Dārā Shukoh; it is interesting because it gives a clue to the mind of the prince who was saturated with the idea of Emperor Akbar. It is a collection of lives of saints including those in the Mughal period up to his time. Prince Dārā personally made pilgrimage to the tombs of many of these Indian saints and he described his own mystic experience in course of the pilgrimage. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a litho print text.

Majmaʿ-u’l-Bahrain by Dārā Shukoh; it is the meeting of the “Two Seas”—the sea of the Hindu thoughts and the sea of the Muslim thoughts. Dārā was essentially a philosopher who was born a prince by mistake. His intention in writing this book was to find a synthesis between the two philosophies during the Mughal days. For a true perspective of the higher type of Indo-Muslim mind of the 17th century, the Majmaʿ- u’l Bahrain is invaluable. A text has
been printed by R. A. S. B., ably edited by Prof. Mahfuz-ul Haq.

*Akbār-u'l Akhyār*—by 'Abdu'l Haq Delhvi compiled in 1590 A.D.; it is a collection of biographies of saints and scholars of India. The author was a contemporary to 'Abdu'l Qādir Bā'da'ūni. A comparative study of the two scholars representing two opposite schools of thought is interesting. In Mughal India the existence of the orthodox and the liberal type of Islāmic mind side by side was an interesting feature. What the one lacked the other compensated.

*Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgiri*—compiled under instructions of 'Ālamgir; it was intended to put into a proper form the various conflicting juristic decisions that had crept into the Muslim jurisprudence in India. Since the beginning of the Mughal period, majority of Muslims in India were Sunnis and the Hanafi Law was the accepted school of law in India. So Aurangzeb decided to systematise the Muslim jurisprudence in India with the help of a Jamā'at (assembly) of Hanāfī theologians. It contains juristic decisions, their criticisms, religious laws and usages and personal law of the Muslims. In it, the daily life of a Muslim as it ought to be, has been fully described. It is in Arabic, though the court language was Persian. The size of the Fatāwa has frightened the translators and it has not been translated in full. Baillie's Digest contains part of the Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgiri.

*Majma'-u'l 'Almgiri*—by 'Abdu'l Haq; it is a corollary of the Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgiri and is very useful in making a study of the daily life of a Muslim.
NON-THEOLOGICAL SOURCES

(a) Political theories:

The Qur'an being the only book of guidance, all other philosophical, or legal texts relating to guidance of human affairs are claimed by the Muslims to be nothing but deductions from the Qur'an. In Islam actions came first and theory followed next. Pure political theory came only late in the days when Islam had come into contact with other political organisations in the East and the West. The Muslim rulers in order to find support for their political actions commanded the Mallas, who were the custodians of the Shar'i, to find justification for their conduct, as ways the Qadi Abü Yüsuf asked to do by Harun-ar-Rashid. Thus, we find that the early development of political literature came through the hands of the theologians and not of the statesmen. Hence a touch of religiosity runs through the political works of Islam.

Suluk-u'l Muluk by Faḍl Ibn Rozahāhān Ispāhānī—The manuscript in the Royal Asiatic Society Library at Calcutta is not in a satisfactory condition. The author Faḍl was a Ḥanafi. Though a book of law and jurisprudence, it discusses amongst other things, the structure of a Muslim state. This treatise was written in response to a request of Ubaidullāh Khān Uzbek.

Dhakhirat-u'l Muluk by 'Ali Ibn Shahāb Hamlānī—Though the background is ethical the book
deals with different topics of the structure of the Islamic state. The chapters on the conception of Khilāfat are excellent (specially chapters five and six). About the date of the authorship there is a controversy, but the general view is that it must have been written earlier than the 9th century A. H.

Sulūk-u'l Sāltanat by Imām Ghazzāli—It is a small work of the eighth century and has been translated. The author is possibly the most reputed Muslim scholar known for his catholicity of views. He is essentially a philosopher who was caught in the whirlpool of dirty politics. His work deals with the art of government but it is rather an abstract.

Khīṭaṭ by Maqrizi—It is a book of finance. The author is famous for spectacular generalisations. He quoted a tradition that the Khilāfat would end within thirty years of the Prophet’s death, and after that would come the rule of kings. The Khīṭaṭ has been profusely quoted by European authors.

Kitāb-u'l Kharāj by Abū Yusūf—It is a book on revenue. Its French translation by Fagnan is popular. While at Cairo, I used the Arabic original Mss. in the Timuria Library, Bab el Khalq, Cairo.

(b) Biographies —

Malfuẓat-i-Timuri—Autobiography of Timūr. Some scholars doubt if Timūr wrote it and they attribute the authorship to Saifu’d-Din. Any way, it must have been written under his inspiration and instructions. From the point of view of Turki manners and customs, it gives some interesting details. For a study of the background of Chaghtāi
history, a detailed knowledge of Timūr and his time is essential. Timūr's conception of Khilāfat, of his autocratic kingship, and of his relations with the Sultāns of Rūm, may be found in it. So far as Persia was concerned he conquered the minor dynasties of Ispāhan, the Mazaffarids and Kirt Ṿallikis. His speeches on the eve of each expedition and the religious urge that accompanied it may be read with interest. They show how the Chaghtāi' conqueror utilised religion for a political purpose. The translation by Davy is popular.

Tūzuk-i-Bāburi—Autobiography of Bābur. The original was in Turki. It was translated into Persian during Akbar's time by 'Abdu'r Raḥim Khān-i-Khanan in 1589 A. D. Bābur narrated frankly the details of his life which included his beliefs in prayers, in witchcrafts, witches and omens; his wine cups and revelries have been gloriously paraded in it. He mentioned the destruction of temples at Ajodhya and at Gwalior but he claimed that the destruction was done due to the nudity of idols therein. R. B. Williams in his An Empire Builder of the 16th Century has utilised the Tūzuk in full. Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge has translated it from a Turki text of Hyderabad manuscript.

Humāyūn Nāmah, also known as Gulbadan Nāmah—It was written by Gulbadan under instructions from Akbar for supplying materials for 'Abu'l Faḍl. She was a daughter of Bābur by his wife Dildār Begum and was with Humāyūn since her eighth year. Her Husband was a Chaghtāī noble, Khizr Khwājah. She died at the age of eighty-two. The
details in her book are authentic because she had seen the events of the life of Bābur and Humāyūn. In so far as the religion of the two emperors and their relations with Persia are concerned, the details of her record are very useful. The work has been translated from the only available manuscript in the British Museum by Annette S. Beveridge. Her notes are valuable.
TRAVELS

Sidi 'Ali Pāshā—He was a Turkish envoy. His work was translated by Vambery. It contains references to the claims to supremacy and honour laid by the 'Uthmānlis and the Chaghtāī’s.

Safar Nāmah by 'Abdu'l Laṭīf—The author was a servant of Mir Abū'l Ḥasan who held the post of a governor under Jahāṅgir for some time. His travels record interesting details of countries he crossed in the course of his journey from the Gujarat to Bengal. Temples and their descriptions form a large part of his book.

Accounts of the European travellers are very important sources of information for construction of the religious or social history of India during the 16th and 17th centuries. Muslim historians, excepting only a very few, are more or less cataloguers of events. They recorded only noticeable events connected with wars, intrigues, victories, defeats and some startling incidents connected with the lives of kings, queens, princes and nobles. Events connected with the daily life of the common folk hardly formed their subjects of study and record. We are indebted to the European travellers for their attention to the ordinary events of the ordinary men. Though their angle of vision was exclusive, they recorded facts more or less faithfully when they did not concern the question of conversion of the Mughal Emperors. V.A. Smith put too much stress on the versions of the
European writers; but we have critically examined their records in general; readers must be warned beforehand of the danger of relying too much on the unverified versions of the Europeans (See Introduction to The Din-i-Ilahi, pp. xxxi-xxxviii.). The European records supply us with important information concerning our present thesis. Take, for example, Palsaert (Remonstranti, 1620 A.D.). Though a very short sketch, it is full of interesting facts concerning the manner of life (pp. 66-69, Moreland's edition), the religious superstition (p.p. 69-76), Muslim marriage at Agra (pp. 81-85), regulations prohibiting cow slaughter and contemporary Hindu religion. All these are of peculiar interest to the student of Indo-Muslim religious facts and currents.

Pietre Della Valle (1623 A.D.) speaks highly of the freedom of conscience enjoyed by the non-Muslims in India. Respect for Hindu sentiments was illustrated by the prohibition of cow slaughter in Cambay. His description of cities is accurate.

Peter Mundi (1628 A.D.) made important observations on Hindu society and religion, and he is very useful for the purpose of our thesis. He described the manner of 'Id celebrations, Minābāzār, and Naurūz festivities; his description of marriage processions of princes is beautiful. Shāh Jahān's order for demolition of temples in Benares is graphically narrated. His statements are, however, sometimes incorrect, e.g., when he says that Nurjahan was the mother of Shāhjahan.

Manrique (1629 A.D.) travelled from the Deccan
to Qandahar. His description of Arakan and his reference to the social life of Indians during this period offer delightful study. Mass education through temples, mosques and monasteries was a feature of intellectual life in Mughal India. As in the case of many other travellers, his knowledge of political events is often inaccurate.

Mandeslo (1638 A.D.) gave a vivid description of the festivals of Naurūz at Agra. Emperor’s weighing ceremony was celebrated with great splendour. Hindus were not to appear on the street in times of religious processions like Muḥarram.

Tavernier (1640 A.D.) was a commercial traveller; his records of precious stones, of stone-merchants and Shāh Jahān’s love for stones offer interesting details. His references to social life corroborate Bernier’s.

Bernier (1658 A.D.) was a medical man by profession. He was patronised by Dānishndand Khān. He was bitter against the nobility of the court, who according to him, were tyranny personified. He was attached to the royal house as a physician and thus some of his informations are correct. He recorded Shāh Jahān’s order for the demolition of temples, Aurangzeb’s suggestion regarding change in the manner of offering prayer, and Aurangzeb’s accusation of Shāh Jahān for training his sons in the conventional way.

For details, the following works may be used profitably:

(1) Monserate’s accounts of Akbar (1582) published in the J. & P. of A.S.B., 1912.
(2) Hawkins (1608-1613), Early Travels in India, edited by Foster.

(3) Thomas Roe (1615-1619), Embassy to India, edited by Foster.

(4) Palsaert, Jahangir's India, Trans. by Moreland.

(5) Coryat (1614-1617), Early Travels in India, edited by Foster.

(6) Bernier (1656-1668), Travels in the Mughal Empire, edited by Archibald Constable.

(7) Tavernier (1641-1667), edited by V. Ball.


(9) Withington (1612-1616), Early Travels in India, edited by Foster.

(10) De Laet (Compilation, 1630-1632), Description of India, translated by Hoyland and Banerjee.


(14) Mandeslo, A complete collection of his voyages & travels by John Harris.

Non-Theological Indian Sources

Qanun-i-Humayuni (also known as Humayun Namah) by Khawnd Mir. The work has recently been published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. It contains valuable information on
Humayun's views on astrology, and his beliefs in supernatural agencies of light, stars and numerals (up to Twelve). In the eighth chapter, interesting accounts have been described regarding anniversary festivities.

Tadhkirat-i-Waqiat (or Humayun Namah) by Jauhar. He was Aftabchi or "ewer-bearer" of Humayun; He wrote under the command of Akbar to supply material for Abu'l Fa`dil. He was all praise for his master and held that his master was infallible and as such could not do anything reprehensible. Jauhar was no scholar and his narrative is simple; he is thus free from unnecessary hyperboles and obnoxious eulogy so common amongst court-writers. This book does not give any information regarding Humayun's religious life, but his versions indicate that Humayun was not treated with great respect by Shah Tahmasp though Abu'l Fa`dil tried to convince his readers that the relation between the exiled Padshah of Hindusthan and ruling Shah of Persia was one of friendship and equality. But it has all the faults of mere cataloguing. It was translated by Stewart in 1832 in an unsatisfactory manner. Elliot and Dowsen's summary on Jauhar's life in Vol. v, pp. 136-149, is good.

Akbar Namah and Ain-i-Akbari are the two most important works on the Mughals in India. The Akbar Namah is historical and the Ain-i-Akbari is an appendix to the former, and it deals with institutions. It is useful as an administrative manual for Akbar's time.

Abu'l Fa`dil will live in his Ain-i-Akbari. No one
scholar can work on the religious and institutional life of Mughal India without the A'in-i-Akbari. The advantage of Abūl Faḍl was that he was the man who was responsible for the development of many of those institutions which he described. The spirit of the system was in his mind, the details were in his brain and execution was under his command. His expressions were lucid though verbose. Both the volumes must be studied together in order to have a thorough grasp of India of the glorious Mughals. Though Abūl Faḍl promised to write a separate volume on His Majesty as the Spiritual Guide to his Subjects, and a cruel member did not permit him to fulfil his desire, yet the Akbar Namah and the A'in-i-Akbari contain valuable references to the religious aspect of the Chaghtāi' state in India. His political philosophy and religious dissertations are unique amongst the Muslim writers of India. In the A'in-i-Akbari, the fifth chapter deals with Hindu literature, institutions, etc. The sixth chapter on the Happy Sayings of Akbar is invaluable for the study of Akbar's character. We have seen an excellent copy of the Ain-i-Akbari at Monghyr with the Keeper of the Rahmaniah Mosque about 300 years old, well-illustrated and pictured. Pictures look fresh as if they were drawn yesterday. Illustrations are of excellent value. The Ms. in the Khuda Buksh Library was copied in Aurangzeb's time.

The Akbar Namah has been translated by H. Beveridge in the Bibliotheca Indica series.

Mantakhabu't Tawārīkh by 'Abdul Qādir Badā'uni—The book has been published both in
original and in translation, Vol. I by G.S.A. Ranking, Vol. II by W.H. Lowe, and Vol. III by T. W. Haig. A part of this work has also been translated separately by E. Rehatsek, Bombay in 1866, under the title Tewhhyd Elahy Akbar Shahy. It was written by one who was connected with the court as an Imam. He was a theologian per excellence with all usual defects of exclusive attention to theology. He gives details on Akbar's life and court, and on the personalities in contemporary India, more from the standpoint of religion than from that of history. In discussing the religion of Akbar, his work is valuable though he dared not to publish the work during the life time of Akbar. It is a useful compendium for the study of The State and Religion in Mughal India, specially as an illustration of the orthodox point of the Mulas. Short sketches of lives of Muslim scholars and theologians of contemporary India are given in Vol. III.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari (also known as Tārikhi Niẓāmi) by Niẓāmu'd-Din Āḥmad Bakshi, who was the chief paymaster of Akbar; it comes down to 1594. The work has been more or less a chronology, and Niẓāmu'd-Din has purposely avoided the religious side of Akbar's life. It was first published by the Nami Press, Lucknow, in 1175. Mr. B. De, I.C.S. has translated the work; it has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica series.

Tadhkirat-ul-Muluk by Rafi'u'd-Din in the time of Jahāngir. So far as the Deccan was concerned, his work supplies many factual details. The contest
between the Indians and the Safawis is well described, and incidentally the position of the Shi'ah practices in the South. Some references to the religious beliefs of Akbar and Jahangir may be found in it. The style is simple without the usual metaphors of the Persian language.

Intikhāb-i-Jahāngir Shāhi—Elliot and Dowson have translated extracts in Vol. VI, pp. 447-52. It is a good authority on Jahangir's charities and on details of his private life. Though the author does not mention his name, we may surmise that he was a devoted servant of Jahangir.

Iqbal Nāma-i-Jahāngiri by Mu'tamad Khān—Jahangir personally wrote his memoirs up to the 16th year. His health began to fail and he entrusted the work to his Bakshi Mu'tamad Khān, who wrote it under the emperor's personal supervision until the 19th year. From the 19th year, Mu'tamad Khān continued the work independently. It was completed by Maulānā Hādi. So the work has three authors namely Jahangir, Mu'tamad Khān and Maulānā Hādi. Mu'tamad Khān had the advantage of direct approach to the contemporary events and is correct in details. The way in which he described the events of the great plague shows that he was rather superstitious. The Khuda Buksh Library Ms. (No. vii, pp. 560-61) does not contain Hādi's portion. Bibliotheca Indica's volume published in 1865 was edited by 'Abdu'l Hayi and Ahmad Ali; Elliot and Dowson have translated a part of it in Vol. VI, pp. 363-438.
Tārikhi-Ferishtah by Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, better known as Ferishtah, written in 1612 A.D.—It has been translated by Briggs but not satisfactorily and it is known as The History of the Rise of Muhammadan power in India and was published in 1829 by Messrs. R. Cambray & Co., College Square, Calcutta. It is not very reliable, and it has to be supplemented and verified by contemporary evidence. He was a medical man who blundered into the region of history. Elphinstone had based his History of India on Ferishtah's work.

Pand Nāmah-i-Jahāngiri—The name of the author is not known. The Folios are attached to the manuscript copy of Tārikhi-Salim Shāhi at the Khuda Buksh Library. The Pand Nāmah gives a good account of Jahāngiri's private life and contains many maxims and regulations which related to his public life. The Tārikhi-Salim Shāhi pictured Jahāngir in a lurid light which is responsible for Elphinstone's unhappy conclusion on Jahāngir. A reprint of Tārikhi-Salim Shāhi was published by the Bangabasi Press, Calcutta, in 1906.

Tārikhi-Shāh Jahān by Muḥammad Sadiq, who was the Darogha-i-Ghusalkhānah (Superintendent of the Bath) and also a court-writer (Wāqi‘āh Navis)—The author held the rank of six thousand. He is more critical than many of the contemporary writers on Shāh Jahān. His authenticity cannot be questioned. He was personally above the orthodox influence of the court as his autobiographical references indicate. He unreservedly praised Hindus like Murāri Pandit and
Mukunda Rāy. His record is rather strongly worded and sometimes he is too sentimental. This work has been utilized by Khāfi Khān in his Muntakhab-u'1-Lubāb without sufficient recognition.

‘Amal-i-Ṣalih by Muḥammad Ṣalih Kambū in 1660 A.D.—This work has been printed by the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal and edited by Ghulām Yazdānī (B.I.) The Khuda Buksh Library copy (No. vii, p. 565) contains a dozen beautiful pictures. The style of composition is ornamental and may be taken as a model of contemporary Persian style. Kambū gives a list of the high officials of the state, poets and scholars of the period in which the Hindus also have a place. It contains Shāh Jahān’s life from birth to death. Personal religious practices of Shāh Jahān have been depicted by the author. Elliot and Dowson have translated a portion in Vol. VII. pp. 124-32.

Khulāsat-u’t-Tawārikh by Sujan Rāi Khattāri of Batala, the Punjab—In his work, a description of the great Hindu religious fair at Hardwar may be found. It seems to be a borrowed work from the Tūzuk and the Iqbāl Nāmah. It has made important references to the Sikhs. It was edited by Muhammad Zafar Hasan from Delhi in 1918. Sir Jadunath Sarkar translated a large part of it in his India of Aurangzib.

Muntakhab-u’1-Lubāb by Muḥammad Hussain commonly known as Khāfi Khān—It is a very well-known work on Aurangzeb. Khāfi Khān has earned fame as a historian as he wrote his
work knowing that Aurangzeb did not approve of it. Sometimes he was bitter on Aurangzeb. This has made him rather popular as a narrator of truth. But Prof. Sri Ram Sharma has laboured hard to prove the wholesale plagiarism of Khāfi Khān and branded him as an impostor. But the arguments of Prof. Sharma cannot be fully accepted. They require further investigation. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal published it (B. I. series) in 1869. The language is clear, powerful and simple. The portions in connection with Aurangzeb may be found translated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 207-10.

Chahār Chaman—The author is a Hindu Brāhman named Chandra Bhān. He is one of the foremost Persian scholars amongst the Hindus. He occupied a very trusted position under Shāh Jahān. He filled up posts of Mir-i-Sāman, Diwān-i-Kūl and Wāqi’a Navis (the steward of the household, the chief Diwan and the court-writer). He was for sometime in charge of the draft of Farmāns and was thus actually in the know of details. His life may be found in the Mā‘athir ul Umarā, Vol. I, pp. 145-51. His famous work Chahār Chaman may be called the Akbar-Nāmah of Shāh Jahān’s reign. The 1st and 4th chapters are important. The former deals with the daily life of Shāh Jahān and the latter with moral and religious regulations.

The Chahār Chaman mentioned the personal aspect of Shāh Jahān’s reign, so far as the anti-Hindu farmāns were concerned. In 1795, a part of this work was published in Gladwin’s Munshes.
under the title of Qowayid us Sultannat Shah Jahan or the rules observed during the reign of Shāh Jahān.

Guldasta-i-Sultanat by Chandra Bhān—The author described the daily life of Shāh Jahān. It contains details of the festivities of the court, feasts of lamps, 'Id celebrations, Jharoka-i-Darshan (Royal Presence on the Balcony), Chahār Taslim (the four salutations) and the Ghusal Khānah (the Bathroom) amongst other things. It may be regarded as a supplementary volume of the Chahār Chaman.

Mirāt-i-Ahmadi by Āli Muḥammad Khān (1761)—It is a very compendious history of Gujarat, one of the most important provinces of India from the earliest times to the conquest of Aḥmad Shāh ‘Abdāli in 1761. The work ends with a description of the lives of the saints, Sayyids and holy men buried there; we find the Hindu temples and shrines described not in hatred but in an appreciative tone. It also furnished information on geographical features of the country—its rivers, mountains, ports and cities. Officially, it recorded some important Farmāns relating to the duties of officials, both secular and spiritual. Aurangzeb was in the Deccan for about a quarter of a century and his contact with the southern provinces is an interesting study. His attempts to restore Islam in Gujarat and the opposition encountered by the state officials, illustrate the spirit of antagonism that was roused amongst the two rival communities at the fag end of Aurangzeb’s reign.

The book was published from Bombay in 1888.
by 'Ali Ahmad Khan; The Gaikowad Oriental Series No. 50, edited by Syed Nawab Ali is good. Major Bird has added his notes and annotations to a publication known as The Political and Statistical History of Gujarat, London, 1835. The Khuda Buksh Library Ms. No. vii, p. 611, is a specimen of beautiful calligraphy, dated 1189 A. H.

Mirâ’t-i-‘Alam Muhammad Baqa (not by Bakhtawâr Khan as is generally claimed)—Its scope is very wide but only a small portion of it is devoted to India. It gives some interesting details regarding Aurangzeb’s charity, his life and his personal habits. This portion may be found translated in Vol. VII. pp. 156-63 by Elliot and Dowson. The Royal Asiatic Society of Calcutta has a good manuscript.

Bādshâh Nāmah—There are seven historical works known by the common title of Bādshâh Nāmah—by Aminâ’i Qazvini, by ‘Abdūl Hamid Lâhârî, by Tahir (generally known as ‘Inâyat Khân), by Kalim, by Wârith, by Tabâtâba’i and by Mu’tamad Khân. Aminâ’i Qazvini began his work in 1635-36 and it contains the history of the first ten years of Shâh Jahân’s reign. His style is simple and easy to follow; but Shâh Jahân did not like his style and commanded ‘Abdūl Hamid Lâhârî to write a fresh Bādshâh Nāmah in imitation of the style of Abûl Faḍl. He wrote the history of Shâh Jahân for the first 20 years. After him Muḥammad Wârith compiled Shâh Jahân’s history from the 21st to the 30th year. He was killed by one of his students in 1680 A. D. All these three authors give official accounts; as they were in
the service of the Emperor, but none could give his best. Ṭabāṭaba’i confined his narrative to the early years of Shāh Jahān. He is picturesque in style but incorrect in details. Amināi Qazvini was a superstitious man and he ascribed the early troubles of Shāh Jahān’s reign to unfavourable stars. He gives a list of the pro-Muslim regulations during the early years of his reign. ‘Ābdul Ḥamid was a scholar and had a wonderful command over language almost equal to Ḥaṭṭī Faḍl. His was a voluminous work and has been published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal containing about 1600 pages. He described the anti-Hindu regulations with great glee and always sought to justify them and he glorified his Emperor with a divine touch. Wārith followed Lāhōrī but his value is that of a mere narrator.

The Khuda Buksh Library at Patna contains three other Bādshāh Nāmas. Ṭahir (also known as ‘Ināyat Khān), who was the royal librarian, wrote a supplementary volume on Shāh Jahān’s reign dealing with finance. It gives interesting glimpses on Shāh Jahān’s literary excellence. Kalim’s Bādshāh Nāmāh is in verse and was written during the last part of Shāh Jahān’s reign and is incomplete (Ms. vol. iii, p. 316). Mu’tamad Khān, who was long associated with Jahāngir, wrote a Bādshāh Nāmāh at the fag end of his life when his intellectual powers had declined. Lāhōrī’s Bādshāh Nāmāh has been published in the B.I., edited by Kabiruddin Ahmad and Abdul Karim. The Khuda Buksh Library, vol. vii, no 365, is defective.
' Alamgir Nāmah by Munshi Muḥammad Kāzim, son of Muḥammad Amināi' Qazvini, author of Bādshāh Nāmah—The author was a Munshi of Aurangzeb in the first year, then a Waqī'āḥ Nāvis, and then a Dāroga-i-Ittīlā-Khānāh. He was entrusted with the recording events of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign. This book has been published in B.I. Series, Calcutta (1865-1873), edited by Husain and Haiy. The Khuda Buksh Library has got a manuscript copy which is not very old.

Hatim Khān has abridged Kāzim's work under the same title of ' Alamgir Nāmah but he did not complete it.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar utilised a considerable amount of available Persian materials to write his History of Aurangzīb. He utilised the materials with sufficient labour and patience and deserves the laurel of a pioneer.

Siyār ul Mutā-khkharin by Ghulām Hussain Khān Ṭābaṭabā'i—it is a history of India from 1707-1781 and was completed in 1781. It is divided into three chapters:—

1. From Aurangzeb's death to Nadir Shāh's invasion (1707-1739.)
2. History of Bengal from the death of Shujā'-u'd-dawlāh (1739)
3. History of India is again continued from 1740 and brought down to 1781.

There is a concluding chapter in which remarks have been made on Aurangzeb's character and an account of his capture of Bijapur and Golconda has been given. The details are not
faultless they lie buried in the midst of the mass of materials. Some important side lights on social and religious institutions may also be found there.

This voluminous book was translated in 1789. Messrs. Nawal Kishore of Lucknow have a printed text.

An abridged edition called Mulakhkhas-u’l Tawārikh or Zubdat-u’l Tawārikh has been compiled by Farzand Ali Husain of Monghyr.

**INDIAN BIOGRAPHIES**

Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri—It is Jahāngir’s auto-biography, also known as Jahāngir-Nāmah. This interesting work is divided in two volumes: the first volume comes up to 1617 and the second up to 1624 A.D. After 1624 A.D. Jahāngir was unable to write any more in his own hand owing to loss of capacity due to over-drinking. The latter portion of the work was completed by Mu’tamad Khān Bakshi, and Muḥammad Hadi. There are many versions of the work but that one of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1864) from Aligarh is the most authoritative (Khuda Buksh Ms. No. vii, p. 557) The work was translated by Alexander Rogers and was edited by Henry Beveridge. This translation is very good. The first volume was published in 1909 A.D. and the second in 1914 A.D. by the Royal Asiatic Society of London. The translation of David Price, dated 1829, is based on a spurious Ms. Elliot and Dowson have made partial translation, vide Vol. VI, pp. 276-391. In this work, the religious practices of the Emperor
have been recorded and also some other details in connection with state patronage of religion, especially his discussions with Jadrüp pandit and Christian fathers. The details on conversions and destruction of temples made during his reign, his peculiar belief in astrology and his attitude towards other religions may be read with advantage in the Tūzuk.

Ma'āthir-i-Rahimi or life of 'Abdu'r Rahim Khān Khānān by Khwājah Baqi Nihāwāndi compiled in 1616 A.D.—‘Abdu'r Rahim Khān Khānān was the embodiment of Indo-Muslim culture of the early Mughal India. The cultural side of the Khān forms an important landmark in the eclectic culture of the period. His patronage of Hindi poets is a noticeable feature. The fourth chapter deals with mosques, colleges and baths built by him. There is an excellent manuscript in the Royal Asiatic Society Library, Bengal, which has published a text edited by Muhammad Hidayat Husain in the B. I. Series.

Tadhkirāt-u'lı-Umarā by Kewāl Rām—It is another valuable biographical dictionary which contains a short history of the nobles and Āmirs of the Empire (1194 A.H.). It may be utilised for a detailed knowledge of the works that were entrusted to each great officer of the Empire. Kewāl Rām treated the Hindu and Muslim Āmirs separately unlike Shāh Nawāz Khān.

The Anjumān-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdū of Hyderabad has published a list of the Āmirs of Hindustan named Umarā-i-Hanūd collected from Ma'āthir-u'lı-Umarā, Tadhkirāt-u'lı-Umarā and Mir'āt-i-Ahmadi and from contemporary Persian histories. Personal religious
practices of some of the nobles may be found in this book. Unfortunately, it mentioned no references and its figures differ widely from those in other sources like the Ā'in-i-Akbāri or the Mā'athir-u'l-Umarā.

Mā'athir-u'l-Umarā by Shāh Nawāz Khān Shams-u'd-Dowlāh—It is a very well-known biography of the grandees of the Mughal Empire (1742-1747). The author was fortunate in having a son 'Abdu'llāh Khān who supplemented his father's great biographical dictionary and has put it in the present form. It contains valuable details concerning the nobility which may be used as a back-ground for a non-political history of the Mughal period. In that sense it may be taken as a corollary to 'Abdu'l Qādir Badā'uni's third volume of Muntakhabu't Tawārikh. The chief defect of the work is that it contains no references to sources. The R. A. S. B. has published it in 3 volumes and part of it has been translated by Beveridge and Baini Prasad, for the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Blochmann has utilised the Mā'athir-u'l-Umarā in his biographical notes in the Ā'in-i-Akbāri.

LETTERS AND FARMĀNS

Ākhbārāt, or news letters, or court bulletins are important sources for getting unalloyed versions of daily transactions of the courts. The Mughals used to appoint clerks to copy out every order that was passed with date, month and year of the reigning monarch. Every sheet began with Ākhbārāt-i-Darbār-i-Mu'alla. Even a province had its Ākhbārāt and some local states also had their
record department. Many of them have been destroyed by insects. Some are in the *Royal Asiatic Society, London*. The Jaipur State maintains a good collection. The Hyderabad archives possesses a variety collection of *Akhbārāt* specially after 1724 A.D.

The value of these *Akhbārāt* lies in the unconsciousness of the proceedings and recordings. They reveal the inner workings of the system. Almost every detail that a historian might require as information regarding the Mughal Empire may be found the *Akhbārāt* there. For the purpose of this book, the *Akhbārāt* supplied references to personal lives of the kings and princes. From Bābur to Muḥammad Shāh there were about 2000 births in the Timūrid line. Separate palaces were built for the members and grants were made to each of them for his marriage. The style of living of the kings and names of the members of the royal family, their food and drink, their contests for thrones, ceremonies of coronation, appointments, dismissals, promotion of officers, orders for demolition of temples, protection of mosques, grants to theologians and scholars and many other things may be found in the *Akhbārāt*. In fact, every detail from birth to death is given there often with human touches. The king sometimes attended the sick-bed of a noble, sent him medicine, attended his funeral and made provision for his family. Even dreams dreamt by the Emperors were recorded. What a wonderful sea of materials are these *Akhbārāt*!

Dr. Kumar Raghuvir Singh has published some of these *Akhbārāt* and Sir Jadunath Sarkar has done
a service by getting transcripts from London. They should be printed in extenso.

The Jaipur State, which was connected with the Imperial Mughals in various capacities for a long time, has a good collection of these records. Relation between the Rajputs and the Chaghtāis may be studied a second time in the light of the Jaipur Records.

The Jodhpur Records though not complete as yet, have been occasionally discussed in the Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress by Sardar Bishweswar Nath Rau. Ruqāt-i-Abū'l Faḍl:—These letters were written in a very circumlocutory manner. After his death during the life of Akbar these letters were collected by his son (according to some by his son-in-law) 'Abdu's Samad. For a long time these Ruqāt were selected in Madrasas for models of style. Dr. Smith refused to recognise the value of Abū'l Faḍl's letters. But recently they have attracted the attention of historians. In reply to a letter of 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek charging Akbar with apostasy, Abūl Faḍl recorded the official declaration of Emperor's Faith in Islām. Such important references are not rare in the Ruqāt-i-Abūl Faḍl.

Aḥkām-i-Ḥāmidu'd-Din, Dastūr-u'l-'Āmal and Ruqāt-i-'Ālamgiri—All these three are more or less the different versions of the same thing. 'Ināyat-u'llāh Khan, who had filled up important positions in the reigns of Aurangzeb, Jahāndār Shāh, Farrukh Siyār and Muḥammad Shāh collected the orders and Farmāns issued to the princes and Āmirs at different
periods. He was a Waqī'ah-Nigār and a Diwān-i-Tān of Aurangzeb; a Nāzim at the time of Jahāndār Shāh; a Diwān-i-Khalsah, a Diwān-i-Tān and a Subadār of Kashmir at the time of Farrukh Siyar; and a Mir-i-Sāmān and a Nāīb-Wazir at the time of Muḥammad Shāh. He had intimate knowledge of the Mughal Court (1653-1726) (for his life see Mā'athir-u'l-Umarā, Vol. I, p. 831) and his collections are very valuable. The Khuda Buksh Library and R. A. S. B. possess these manuscripts.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has published a collection of anecdotes incorporating the Farmāns of Aurangzeb under the title of Āḥkam-i-Ālamgīrī. But it is only a part of the above-mentioned work. In his introduction (p. 32), Sir Jadunath Sarkar ascribed the authorship to Ḥāmidu’d-Dīn. Is he the same Ḥāmidu’d-Dīn referred to in the Ma‘āthir-u’l-Umarā, Vol. I (K. B. Ms. 00.605-611)? It requires more investigation. The Āḥkām of Ḥāmidu’d-Dīn contains information regarding Aurangzeb’s relation with Gūrū Govinda Singh, imposition of Jeziah, Farmāns prohibiting the appointment of Hindus as Subadārs and Foujdārs, his judicial procedure and occasional notices of Europeans.

Farmān-i-Muḥammad Shāhi—It contains some letters granting stipends to scholars, theologians, Imāms and Mu’adhdhīns (who call believers to prayer). Provisions were made for fees for lawyers, and expenses for lights on the tombs of saints and for supply of water to the thirsty travellers. Even a grant made by Aurangzeb to a Hindu astronomer, Malhar Bhatt, is also mentioned there.
Synopsis
CHAPTER I
THE BID FOR HONOURS

Khilāfat the arch-stone in the organisation of the Muslim Brotherhood; the Honour; ‘Umayyad drive; ‘Abbasid bid; the Unity breaks; Neo-Muslim States; their relation with the Khilāfat of Baghdad; Khalifah an ornamental figurehead, yet tradition continued.

Timūr’s challenge; his coquetry with Khilāfat honours; the ‘Uthmanī bid; the Ṣafawīs held balance; their triangular contest in the 16th century for honours—Shi’a-Sunnī feud alias Perso-Rumi feud.

Bābur and Humāyūn in relation to ‘Uthmanīs and Ṣafawīs; Akbar overthrew politico-religious pretensions of both Persia and Constantinople; Akbar faced with opposition from the orthodox section but survived. Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān in relation to Rum and Iran; ‘Uthmanīs ready to take advantage of any ugly situation of the Timūrids; Qandahar the apple of discord between the Ṣafawīs and Timūrids; Duel of adjectives; Aurangzeb though orthodox yet steady in maintaining family tradition; bid for honours a feature all through; Khilāfat traditions cum-Timūrid traditions maintained; Islām no longer interested in mere shadowy honours; new problems; later Mughals too impotent to make their position felt.

CHAPTER II
THE MUGHAL POLICY AND ITS LEGAL CONCEPTIONS

Origin of the Muslim State; Arab Tribal Shaikhdom; the Quraish; the Muslim Brotherhood and its complex of superiority on the basis of its being the “chosen community of Allāh” and Muḥammad being the “last Prophet”; the first political action of Islām; Prof. Sherwani’s views; Prophet’s actions the background of the Muslim state; His personality; the Age of the Pious Khalīfas.

The ‘Umayyad State a national Arab State; The ‘Abbasid state and its religious associations more prominent; foreign contributions to the growth of State and Government; growth of political philosophy in Islām; some important political treatises in Islām; growth of unorthodox traditions like kingship, succession, sovereignty, property—sense around the state, succession of minors, females, primogeniture; right of revolt and deposition.

Kingship and its duty; King’s prerogative.
Law of the State; Civil Law; Criminal Law; their applicability; Abūl Faḍl's theory of sovereignty compared to that of Ibn Khaldun, Farabi, Ghazzali; compared to Kautilya's and Hobbes'; Divine Right theory; Social Contract theory; a changed outlook.

The alleged "Profanity" of the Mughal State.

CHAPTER III

THE THEOLOGICAL ORGANISATION IN MUGHAL INDIA

Definition of a Muslim—his status in society; 'Alim, 'Ulamā; absence of Priesthood is a distinctive feature; no "church" in Islam; political organisation and the Khalīfah; 'Ulamā to be consulted; their departments—Diwān-Sa'adat and Diwān-i-Quḍat; Šadr, Šadr-u's-Sudūr, Qādi'ul-Quḍat; Shaikhu'-Islām; Qādi, Mir 'Adl; Mufti, Muḥtaṣib.

Šadr-u's-Sudūr:—his duty, his political position, his powers; Šadr-u's-Sudūr 'Abdūn-Nabī under Akbar; Šadr-u's-Sudūr under Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb; their emoluments.

Qādi'ul-Quḍat:—His powers and functions; Makhduму'l-Mulk 'Abdu'llah Sultanpūrī under Akbar; their encroachments upon royal prerogatives; they lose power under Akbar; posts continue but dignity lost.

Qādi:—his position in the Mughal Empire; his qualification; his salary; powers; rivalry between judiciary and executive; Qādi's court described.

Mīr-'Adl:—his origin; his duty; Change in his status under the Mughals.

Mufti:—his origin; his function; Mufti'u'l-'Azm.

Muḥtaṣib:—his position in Arabia, in India; limited nature of his duty.

Governor's religious functions as king's representative; his collaboration with different functionaries.

The Kotwāl:—his origin; his functions; as master of ceremonies; as inspector of public works; as municipal magistrate, as quasi-judicial officer.

CHAPTER IV

PERSONAL RELIGION OF THE MUGHAL EMP Emperors

Bābur:—a mixture by blood, by association, by nature; spirit of free thinking in Bābur.

Humāyūn:—the mystic element in his nature—adoration of Light; freedom in religious observances and festivities; association with Hindus; his intermittent rule and slackness could not develop any tradition.
Akbar:—his birth; early faith; influence of Shi'ism; Akbar swings to the left; his regulations; political, economic, cultural, social and religious; criticism of his regulations.

Jahangir:—his birth and training; his relation with different faiths, with Sikhs—with Christians—with Hindus; he attempted conversions.

Shâh Jahân:—his birth; pro-Muslim regulations; personal religion of Shâh Jahân; Hindu-Muslim marriages discouraged; department of proselytisation; his concessions to the Hindus; popular encomiums.

Aurangzeb:—his idea of a Muslim; orthodox Muslim structure of his rule; propagation of faith; traditional concessions to Hindus withdrawn; his attitude towards Shi'as, towards Hindus; Jeziyah reimposed; his reformist tendencies; Aurangzeb not above superstitions; effect of his religious policy.

Later Mughals—attempts to reimpose Jeziyah; they could no longer afford to be anti-Hindu; structure of the state Islâmic, but political necessity too strong for a revival of unalloyed orthodoxy.

CHAPTER V
NON-MUSLIM SUBJECTS OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

Dhimmi—Protected non-Muslim Subjects

Dhimmi: its meaning: attitude of Muḥammad towards non-Muslim residents, of Abu Bakr—of ʿUmar; legal status of a Dhimmi; attitude of the Khalifas not consistent; how was the status of a Dhimmi lost; views of Titus regarding Hindu subjects of the Muslims; his view not tenable; Turko-Afghan attitude: impossibility of infliction of all the harsh laws in Hindustan; growth of a new conception in Hindustan, namely, allegiance to the throne and not to religion; experiments in the south; Mughal elasticity; Bâbur's heritage to Humâyûn; Mughal experiments; Akbar's attitude; new synthesis; Hindu right to live; freedom of worship; privilege of State service; social and cultural unions; linguistic approach; Hindu gods in Muslim books; Persian elements in Hindu books; Historiography adopted by the Hindus; translations; common ground of approach through music and Šûfîsm; science and medicine; mutual reactions.

Appendix A

Musta'man—Foreign residents

Meaning of Musta'man; foreigners but not citizens; non-Muslim aliens like Christians; Akbar and the Christians; their rights to purchase lands, to make churches and cemeteries; to join public service; freedom from Jeziyah; individual Mughal Emperors in relation to Christians; Akbar; Jahângîr; Shâh Jahân; Aurangzeb; later Mughals.
Appendix B

Al-Jeziah—Compensatory-tax

Al-Jeziah; meaning of the word Jeziyah; why was it imposed?
As (a) Punishment for unbelief, (b) Price for protection, (c) Price for free exercise or religion, (d) Exchange for military service. Who were liable to pay? Who were exempted from payment? Different kinds of Jeziyah: Rate of imposition; payment in kind; payment in cash; mode of collection; conclusions.

CHAPTER VI
SOME NATIONAL AND LIBERAL ASPECTS
OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

Did Islām conceive a national state? Predominance of Arab elements in Islām; Is Islām favourable to the growth of nationalism and patriotism? Still there are Muslim patriots in many countries; Federal element in Islamic Khilāfat; Turko-Afghan conception of government; Sher Shāh's synthesis; healthy precedents for Akbar; factors of national unity in the Mughal Empire: (a) Administrative laws, (b) Criminal laws, (c) Common court language—Persian; Common spoken language—Hindustani; (d) a new civic conception of common loyalty to the throne and not to religion; State-service open to all subjects though Rajputs preferred; Khalfas and anti-Dhimmī laws; the Dhimmis on a new basis during the Mughal rule; attitude of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān towards the State in relation to Religion; Aurangzeb's anti-national policy and its effect on the Mughal Empire.

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS

Role of Islamic State viewed historically: Universal role of Islām; break down of Unity; new States with new outlook; Indian problem different owing to distance of time and owing to its being conquered by non-Arabs; Mughal conception of State; Mughal attitude towards Religion; Divine aspects of the Mughal Kingship; its secular aspects.

 WAS MUGHAL STATE A THEOCRACY?

Theocracy defined; "Church" the main element of theocracy is absent in Islām; Shari'at—the theoretical guide in Muslim State; Shar'—the legal sovereign and the Khalīfah or Sultan or Padshāh the real sovereign; Mughals always claimed to act as agents of Islām theoretically, but in practice followed their own track; Mughal State was not theocratic but 'profane';
CHAPTER I
THE BID FOR HONOURS

The institution of the Khilāfah was the keystone in the organisation of early Muslim community. The Khalīfah was the successor to the Prophet of God; he was the Amīru'l-Mū'minin or the leader of the Faithful. As Imām he occupied the foremost place in public worship and delivered the Khutbah. As a Khalīfah, the leader of the Faithful, he claimed obedience from all members of the Muslim community.

The word Khalīfah has been used in the Qur'ān only in six places. The word implied either

1. a man,
2. vice-regent,
3. one who comes after.

1. Khalīfah comes from a root meaning "to succeed," "to come after"—he comes after the Prophet, he is Khalīfah Rasūl Allāh.

2. Khutbah is an oration where the name of the ruler of the community is recited in a mosque when believers assemble; prayers are offered by the community in his favour. It has a political significance no less important than the religious one. The Khutbah is a pre-Muslim institution. In Arabia, before the advent of Muḥammad, the Khātib was the orator of the tribe, who also acted as the judge of the society; Muḥammad utilised the Khutbah to announce the need of day; the Khutbah often took the shape of political pronouncements in His case.

3. The word Khalīfah has undergone several changes in meaning. Originally in old Arabic Khalīfah was used in its etymological sense, i.e., it meant one who came after, then it signified Man, i.e., a Leader; then a Ruler or Emperor; finally an Emperor and Pope combined together. When the power of the Khalīfah was lost, it was used to signify an expert. It meant a clerk in Egyptian Arabic; in Turki language it meant a barber. In Indian language Khalīfah means a tailor and a wrestler in common parlance.
In the following places the word Khalifah was used in the Qur’an but the word signifies a “man” and not a “ruler” as has been advanced by Hughes in his Dictionary of Islam, pp. 263-66.

The following are the revelations regarding Khalifah in the Qur’an:

Surah II. 30—“And when the Lord said to the angels, I am about to place a vice-regent (Khalifah) on the earth, they said, Wilt Thou place therein one who will do evil and shed blood?”

wa idh qala rabbuka lil-malā’kati inni jā’ilunn fī l-Ard. Khalifatunn, qatlā ataju’ul fihā man yuṣsi’dū fihā wa yasfik’u’d-dimā’.

Surah VI. 165—“And it is He who has made you Khalifas on the earth.”

Wa Huwa’l-ladīh jā’alakum Khalī’ifā fī l-Ard.

Surah VII. 69—“And remember when He made you Khalifas after Noa’s people.”

Wadhlurū idh jā’alakum Khalī’ifā fī l-Ardī ba’da yuwmi Nuh.

Surah X. 14—“Then we have made you Khalifah on earth after them, so that We may sec how you act.”

Thumma jā’alnakum Khalī’ifā fī l-Ardī mim ba’dihim liinānqura ka’fa ta’malūn.

Surah XXIV. 55—“He promised to those who are believers amongst you and perform pious deeds that they shall be made Khalifas on earth as they have been made Khalifas as their predecessors have been.”

Wa’adā’l-lāhu al-ladīhīna ‘amūnī minkum wa ‘amilū aq-Sāliḥātī liyastakhliifanahum fī l-Ard.

Surah XXXVIII 26—“Oh David, Verily We have made thee a vice-regent (Khalifah). Judge thou between men with justice.”

Yū Dāwūdū inna jā’alnāka Khalīfatunn fī l-Ardī, fa’khkum bayna’n-nāsi bi l-Hagg.
Immediately after Muḥammad’s death, Ābu Bakr, the Prophet’s father-in-law was chosen as his successor. To express his position as a successor, Ābu Bakr chose the word Khalīfah meaning simply ‘one who comes after’, a word very humble in meaning and very common in use at that time. Though the prophetic function of Muḥammad had ceased with his death, Ābu Bakr officiated as the leader in public prayers, in other words, he acted as an Imām. The leadership in prayer signified his leadership in other affairs of the community. ‘Umar, successor of Ābu Bakr, went a step further and styled himself the Commander of the Faithful or Āmir-u’l-Mū’minin, because he had commanded the army of the Faithful as the Prophet had done. Thus the position of the successor of Muḥammad was expressed in three terms—the Khalīfah, the Imām, the Āmir-u’l-Mū’minin. Khalīfah expressed leadership of the mission of the Prophet, Imām expressed leadership in religious functions and Āmir-u’l-Mū’minin expressed leadership of the army and the administration.

The civil war that broke out during the rule of ‘Ali, a son-in-law of Muḥammad, laid the

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1 The word Imām was used in the Qur’ān several times in the sense of a leader (Surah, ii. 124) qāla inni ja‘iluka bī-nāsī Imāmann; of a guide (Surah, xxi. 73) Waja‘alnāhum a‘immata man Yaha‘ūna bī-amrinā; of an example (Surah, xxv. 74) Waja‘alnā‘il Matta‘īna Imamann; of an Inspired Book (e.g., the Book of Moses; Surah, xi. 17) Wala min qabilihi Katābu Mūsā Imāmann wa raḥmatan; of a leader of the unbeliever (Surah, ix. 12) Fqātilū a’immata‘lkufr. The dignity of Imām as a title is not found in Islām before Mā’mūn the ‘Abbasid Khalīfah (813-833 A.D.).

2 Before ‘Umar, this title of Āmir-u’l—Mū’mīnīn was given to one Abdu’llāh Ibn Jahsh for his successful raid at Nakhlah in the 2nd year of Hijrah. Al-Maq‘ūdī, Kitābu‘l–Ṭandih, p. 236.
foundation of the theories of that great institution known in Islām as the Khilāfat. Whom to chose as the successor of the Prophet was the question? The Arabs often quoted Traditions that the Khalifah must be from the Quraish, the tribe of Muḥammad.

Hujjatu'l-lahil Bālagha1 quotes a Tradition, “It is a necessary condition that the Khalifah be of the Quraish tribe.”2

During the ‘Umayyad period the political conquests of Islām were going on pari passu the Arab national movement and as such the time of a Khalifah was mostly absorbed in his political and governmental activities. During the civil war between the ‘Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids, the Shi’as emphasised the hereditary aspects of the ‘Abbāsid claims and the ‘Abbāsids succeeded through the preponderance of the ‘Alīids at the court and in the household. Since then the Khilāfat took a new character, the ‘Abbāsid Khalifas became general patrons of the ‘Ulamā because the ‘Ulamā had supported their claims to the Khilāfat and they laid emphasis upon their function as protectors of Islām after they had come to power; Baghdad, the ‘Abbāsid capital, became the chief centre of Islāmic theological activities. The Fiqh (Law) received its definite shape during this period. The pristine simplicity and easy accessibility of the ‘Umayyads were substituted by the solemnity and majesty of


2. *Hujjat-ul-lahil Bālagha*—(Egyptian Ed.) p. 606

the ‘Abbāsids. In their new capital at Baghdad, the traditions of the Persian monarchy reasserted themselves due to the support of the Persians from whom their supporters generally came. ‘The ‘Abbāsid sat on the throne in solemn majesty, surrounded by his guards and the executioners with their drawn swords by his sides. At the same time, he emphasised the religious aspect of his office by wearing the mantle of the Prophet.”

With the decline of the temporal power of the ‘Abbāsids in the 9th century A. D., they began to lay more stress on their position as Imām in the religious order and posed as the representatives of the Faith. What was lost in the secular side of the Khilāfat was sought to be compensated by emphasis on its religious side. The Ulamā began to emphasise the religious aspect by encouraging persecution of the heretics and of the non-Muslims. The Khilāfat traditions of the power of the Khalīfas continued and were regarded as the foundation of all political authority and power in the Muslim world.

The point becomes clear when we consider the status and position of the new states that had been established by Muslim potentates outside the authority of the Khilāfat of Baghdad.

1. Hadith is eloquent on Imām and Imāmat—especially Bukhārī and Muslim, Actually the Prophet said, “He who obeys the Imām, obeys me”—Bukhārī, Taman, Bab. 1. “Even an unjust Imām must be obeyed,” Muslim, Imara, Bab. 49. Abū Yūsuf in his Kitāb-u’l Kharāj (p. 6) says, “If the ruler is a tyrant he will get his punishment,” but “people are exhorted to obey even a tyrant.” For the exclusively religious aspect of Imām, see Bukhārī, Bab. Adhan, 51-53, 74, 82, 128; Taksir-u’s-qalat. Bab. 17,
With one God, one Prophet and one Qur'ān, one controlling authority in Islām was but a natural corollary; one Prophet must have but one successor. The Ḥadith records, "If there are two Khalīfahs one must be killed." It is therefore clear that no obedience was due to any other claimant to the civil authority. But no one can deny the historical fact that during the weak days of the ‘Abbāsid Khilāfat many new political states grew up ruled by the followers of Islām; and all of them could not be suppressed and some of them survived for more than five hundred years. What could a follower of Islām do but offer allegiance to the ruler de facto in spite of the Tradition telling him to kill the new claimant and what could an ‘Abbāsid Khalīfah do but recognise him as the ruler of the soil? So, a silent understanding was arrived at, by which a strong Muslim ruler who had established an independent kingdom was recognised as such by the Khalīfah with honorific titles like Āmiru’l-Islām, Nā‘ib-u’l-Khalīfah, etc., and the new potentate by accepting these titles from the successor of the Prophet tacitly acknowledged his overlordship. At once the Muslim subjects could with clear conscience submit to the new authority. The Khuṭbah was read in his name and they accorded him welcome as their political chief. Even a powerful potentate like Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna

1 Muslim, Bab. Imāra. 61. 'An Abī Hurairat: qāla Rasūlullāhī, Man aṣā'ānī faqad aṣā'ālāha; wa man 'aṣānī faqad 'aṣa'il lāha wa man yuṣfi Amīra faqad aṭā'ānī, wa man ya'sīl Amīra faqad aṣānī. Wa 'an Abī Sā'īdīn qāla; qāla Rasūlullāhī ..........ādāhā būyīna, kalifatīmahī faqūlūlī Akhara.
on renouncing his allegiance to the Samanids in 997 A. D. was glad to have his independent position recognised by the Khalifah under the title of Yamin-u’d-Dowlâh (the Right Hand of the Empire) and Amir-u’l-Mû’mînîn wa’l Millat (the Leader of the Faithful and of the Community). Yûsuf bin Tâshfin, the founder of the Al-Morawid dynasty of Spain, received the title of Amir-u’l-Muslimin from Muqtâdî, an ‘Abbâsid Khalifah of Baghdad. In 1175 A. D. Saleh-u’d-Din assumed the sovereignty of Egypt and Syria and he was happy to have his title confirmed by Khalifah Muqtâdî. The founder of the Rasûlid dynasty of Yaman, Nur-u’d-Din ‘Umar, received investiture from Khalifah Mustansîr in 1235 A. D. The same Khalifah responded to the wishes of Iltutmîsh who was the first Muslim Sultân of Delhi to have his title recognised by the highest dignitary of Islam. The classical scholars had to submit to the logic of facts and acknowledge more than one independent Muslim state at one and the same time. As-Sarakhsi, recorded the opinion of Abû Yûsuf and Ash-Shaîbâni as follows:—

"They both maintain, a territory is related to its people on account of their controlling hand over it and their establishing protective authority therein."

That the Khilâfat association was prized during the Turko-Afghan period of Indian History is proved by the fact that a strong king like Balban inscribed his coins with the names of ‘Abbâsid Khalifas. Dia-u’d-Din Barâni says that Balban asked his

son to have his title confirmed by the 'Abbāsid Khalifah. 'Alāū'd-Dīn Khaljī who had but little respect for the forms of religion found it necessary to assume the title of Yamin-u'l-Khilāfāt Naṣīr-i'l-Āmir-u'l-Mū'mīnīn (the Right Hand of the Khalifah and the Helper of the Leader of the Faithful.) Of the Indian Turko-Afghans, Mubārak Khaljī went to the length of assuming personally the title of Khalifah himself as his coins indicate.²

The Tughluqs revived the Khilāfāt slogan and Muḥammad Tughluq applied to the Khalifah in Egypt for confirmation of his accession to the throne through his envoy, Ḥājī Sar Sarī, in 1340-43 A. D. He removed his own name from the coins and substituted those of the Fāṭimid Khalifas. Even after the death of Khalifah Mustakfī in 1340, he continued the name of the dead Khalifah in his coins for 3 years with a prayer, "May God make his Khilāfāt abide for ever".³ Firūz Tughluq, who was not quixotic like his cousin, made similar submission to the Khalifah, revived the Khutbah and substituted his own name and those of his predecessors including Muḥammad Tughluq and Mubārak Khaljī. He sent presents to the Khalifah and wrote in his auto-biography that his authority had been confirmed because of his submission to the Khalifah, and he says, "It is by this sanction that the power of kings is assured and no king is secure until he has submitted himself to the Khalifah and has received confirmation from

1. Barānī, B. I. Text, 103.
2. Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, pp. 177-81.
the sacred throne. A diploma was sent to me fully confirming my authority as the Deputy of the Khalifah, and the Leader of the Faithful was graciously pleased to honour me with the title of Sayyid-u's Salāṭin. He also bestowed upon me robes, a sword, a footprint as badges of honour and distinction."

The Khalifas of Egypt who held the shadowy office for over two and half centuries almost as prisoners, were utilised by Mamlūk Sultāns to give legitimacy to their rule. The Mamlūks always claimed a higher status for themselves than other Muslim potentates because their title of Sultān was conferred upon them by the Khalifah who was in Egypt. It may appear silly to-day on the part of the Mamlūk that they interpreted this dignified title granted by a dishonourable puppet as a mark of honour, yet they were so particular about this titular dignity that they grudged the assumption of the title of Sultān by any Muslim potentates. ¹ How degrading was the position of the Khalifas in Egypt! Some of them (except al-Wāthiq bi'ilāhi-Ibrāhim) were even denied the privilege of having their names recited in the Khutbah, yet Khalil Ibn Shāhin az-Zahiri (1410-1468 A.D.) described the ancient Fatimid Khalifah, who was a prisoner in every sense, in such glorious terms. "He has inherited the Khilāfat from the Prophet. God, the Almighty

¹. Extracts from Faṭuhat-i-Firūs Shāhī, Elliot and Dowson, III, p. 387.
has made him the Khalifah over the lands of Islam............."

Mubāriz Ibn Muẓaffar, the conqueror of Mongol Ilkhān, took an oath of allegiance to Al Muʿtaḍid bi'ilāh in 1354 A.D. and inserted the name of the Khalifah in his Khutbah. His son Shāh Shujāʿ (1357-1384 A.D.) recognised the Khalifah al Mutwakkil in 1369. Muḥammad Tughluq and Firūz, as has been told before, felt proud that they had been recognised by the Khalifas in Egypt.

As opposed to this, another current was running with equal, if not greater, force against the Khilāfat title, honour and primacy in Islam. Ghazān Khān refused to recognise the ‘Abbāsid Khalifah at Cairo, and after the occupation of Damascus he was described as “the Sultān of Islam and the Muslims”. After the fall of the ‘Abbāsids in 1258 A.D. gradually the title lost its real character so much so that any Muslim who could control some territory assumed the title and styled himself as a Khalifah. To name a few:— (1) Abū Ābdullāh Muḥammad, the Ḥafṣid ruler of Tunis, took the title of Āmir-ullū Māʾminin Khalifah wa Imām (1249-1277 A.D.) (2) Abū ‘Inān Fāris, the Marinid ruler of Morocco, was called Āmir-ullū Māʾminin (1348-58 A.D.). Ibn Baṭutah, who visited his land, described him as Khalifah, or the shadow of God upon Earth. (3) Quṭub-u’d-Din Mubāraḳ Khalji of Delhi styled himself (1316-23 A.D.) Imām, Khalifah of God and Pole Star on the Earth in his coins.——

1. Ibn Baṭutah, Travels, I, p. 382.
(4) Muḥammad Shaʿbānī, the founder of the Uzbekh kingdom of Trans-Oxiana (1500-10 A.D.) described himself as the "Imām of the Age" or the "Khalifah of the Merciful."

That the Khilāfat was a very exalted position and that the Khalifah was the most exalted personality in Islām is proved by the fact that there was so much scramble for the dignity, or its association in almost every part of the Muslim world. Except the Shi’ah rulers of Persia, one or more powerful potentates claimed the title in one or another period of their supremacy. Timūr, though not strictly very orthodox, was conscious of the importance of the dignity of the Khalifah in the Muslim world. He was glad to vindicate his conquest by assuming the title of Khalifatu’llāh and by reading the Khuṭbah in his name. Further, when the Sayyids gave in writing their right of governing the Prophet’s Ummat to Timūr; he had the Khuṭbah read in his name again. It was not that the assumption added more prestige to his power or made him more powerful, because Sulaimān, son of Bāyazid, had already accepted Timūr’s vassalage, Egypt hastened to send its submission, and Timūr’s name was read in public prayers there1. The Khilāfat was rather the cementing bond of his vast empire which was predominantly Muslim in composition. The advantage of this Khilāfat title was that the military conquest of the Timūrid family was sanctified by a religious association. Previously, the Mongol Khānate had hardly

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1 Gibbon, Foundation of the Ottoman Empire, pp. 250-60. Akbar Nāmah, I. p. 80
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any definite religious connotation, or spiritual background; but since Timūr the Mughal sovereignty was presented with a new role connected with the religion beset with complications inherent in a religio-political state. Politically, the advantage of an unrestricted suzerainty of the Mughals was curbed and limited by the religious obligations as pronounced by the 'Ulamā. The moment the religious obligations were given superior consideration to the political, the Mughal empire began to lose its position. The reason why the Mughal rule in India could not find its natural development and could not give its best, was partly due to the religious restrictions that were placed on its administrative ideals by the interpreters of the Faith.

Timūr divided his empire amongst his sons on a territorial basis¹ and this practice was later followed by his successors. According to the orthodox conception of a Muslim State, the Khilāfat was indivisible and elective; but the Umayyads broke through that conception and held that the Khilāfat was hereditary though the fiction of election was maintained. As a shrewd politician Timūr adopted the title of Murawij wa Mujaddid, Promoter and Renovator of Religion, and ranked himself with some of the famous Mujaddids of the good old days such as 'Umar, 'Abdu'l-Aziz, Mā'mūn and Muqtadīr bi'llāh. The family traditions and blood ties were great factors amongst the Mongol tribes and many of the currents of the Turko-Mongol history could be explained with

¹ Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, pp. 108-10.
reference to these fundamental traits of their character.

Within half a century of Timūr's death, his political conquests were practically lost, though the ruins remained. Only Shāh Rukh, his son, claimed the dignity from his father and it was accepted by Qārā Yūsuf of the Black Sheep Turkoman Family and Hamzah Beg of the White Sheep Family. In India Khiḍr Khān accepted the Khilāfāt pretensions of Shāh Rukh. But Barsbay, a Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt, tore to pieces the letter in which his agent claimed the recognition of the Khalifah in 1426 A.D., while Murād II of Constantinople treated the claim of Shāh Rukh as a mere joke. The four generations that followed was not a glorious record for the Timūrids in the history of Central Asia. The growth of the 'Uthmānlis in Constantinople, the rise of the Ṣafawī dynasty in Iran, and the Shaibānids in Trans-Oxiana (Mā'warā-u'n-Nahr) had practically eclipsed the glory of the dynasty of Timūr. It was not till Bābur came to the throne of Kabūl that the Timūrids began to be counted as a serious power.

Bābur was faced with two very strong Muslim powers, the 'Uthmānlis and Ṣafawīs, both in the flush of their youthful vigour and Bābur had an uncomfortable time. He felt pride in his "ennobled blood" and believed that the Timūrids had an inherent right to rule. He was a believer in hereditary monarchy. To him the conquest of Hindu- stan was nothing but the acquisition of his ancestral property to which he had a claim to succeed

1 Faridun Bey. Munshairat-ūs Salāţin, I, 144
by right of birth. The question of minority did not prevent his succession to the territory of Samarqand. A division of Hindustan amongst his sons was exactly what Timür had done in Samarqand. But what was his attitude towards the traditional leader of the Islāmic Brotherhood?

Bābur was by birth a Sunni and as such the Sunni Khalifah controlling Makkah and the Baitu'l Muqaddas in whose name the Khaṭbah was then recited in Makkah and Madinah, naturally had a claim on his allegiance and obedience. He was no theologian but a simple believer. By the time Bābur came to Hindustan often political expediency outweighed religious considerations with the rulers. As has been narrated already, politics had struck deep root into the minds of the Muslim philosophers and potentates, and the prestige of the Khilāfat as a shield for the faithful was to a great extent compromised owing to the rise of Shi'ism. Under the influence of Šāh Ismā'īl (1502-24) many of the important Muslim potentates were forced to renounce Sunnism and accept Shi'ism which added a new factor to the Perso-Rnmi feud. In fact, Baysunghar, Sulṭān Ḥussain and his son Muḥammad Ḥussain were Shi'as at one or another period of their lives; gradually the Şafawi dynasty became the rallying point of the Shi'ah religions and political movements. Bābur's own relation, Ḥussain Baiqara, a strong ruler of Khurāsan was a Shi'ah and Bābur narrated with pride his glorious deeds.

The rise of the ‘Uthmānli and Chagtāi’ Turks after the fall of the ‘Abbāsids are significant because both were Turks and converts. Soon after the death of Timūr the Chagtāi’s kept themselves confined to Samarqand and the Uthmānliş planted themselves in Constantinople as successors to the Khalfas of Cairo. By the time Bābur came to the forefront, Persia was being ruled by one of her ablest monarchs, Shāh Ismā‘īl (1502-24) and Constantinople was under the hegemony of one of her strongest rulers, Salim the Grim (1512-20). Shāh Ismā‘īl made Shi‘ism the national religion of Persia and he became the champion of a militant national movement under cover of religion thus following the example set up by the Arabs in the early days of Islām. The war of Merv (Dec. 2, 1510 A. D.) between Shāhbānī Khān Uzbekh and Shāh Ismā‘īl Šāfawi, was a great event in the Muslim world in the first quarter of the 16th century. Shāhbānī Khān’s body was dismembered and his limbs were sent to different parts of his empire to be exposed to public gaze; the skin of his head was stuffed with hay and sent to Sultān Bāyazid II of Constantinople. The skull set in gold was used as a drinking vessel. Bābur certainly felt relieved and sent one Khān Mirza with presents to congratulate Shāh Ismā‘īl on his victory over this common enemy and to “dispose him to lend assistance in the attempt,

which he now meditated, to recover the kingdom of Māwarā-u'n Nahr". Mirzā Haider says, "the Khān was sent with tenders of obedience and aid". This assistance was given and Bābur was "conceded the possession of Māwarā-u'n Nahr". He wore the Shi'i-Tāj and struck coins bearing the Shi'ah religious texts; and between 1510 and 1512 A. D. there is no doubt that Bābur was almost a protege of Persia up to the battle of Ghazdawan though he was never serious in his professions of Shi'ism. Against the avowed traditions of Timūr he recited the names of twelve Imāms from the minar of the Mosque of Samarkand. He had to face an open war backed by Salim the Grim, and lost Samarkand which passed into the hands of Ubsid u'llāh Khān, a friend of Salim. In the Shi'a-Sunni contest that followed between Shāh Ismā'il and Salim the Grim, the former compelled many of his vassals to accept Shi'ism and the latter replied by massacring some of his Shi'ah subjects in Constantinople. The Persian Shāh was defeated.

1. Erskine, op. cit. p. 306
3. Rush Brooke Williams flatters himself that his hero, Bābur was equal in status to Shāh Ismā'il because Bābur used the word 'friend' in his Memoirs to describe their relation. Dr. S. K. Banerjee holds a similar view in his note on the religion of Humāyūn. But 'Ubaidu'llāh Khān describe him as Zisthaktar bddbakht ḥākim-i-Kābul. Vide Munshīat Ḡulāṭīn by Faridun Bey, 1274 A. H. Constantinople, Vol. I, p. 116. Here Bābur is described as a Shi'ah while he was the ruler of Kabul and Qandahar, R. Williams, op. cit. 102, n. 1